The Rose

Appendix

Distinguished Federal Judge Holds Naturalization Court Sermon in Hollywood Bowl Armistice Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, thanking you and all of my distinguished colleagues in this great legislative body for heretofore granting me unanimous consent so to do, I am pleased and honored to herewith place in the daily CONGRESIONAL RECORD the text of the remarks made by Hon. Peirson M. Hall, United States district court judge for the southern district of California, at Los Angeles, Calif., on November 11, 1954, at the famous Hollywood Bowl in Los Angeles, Calif.

The honorable judge on that historic date, November 11, held an outdoor special session of the naturalization court. Needless to say, the hundreds of new American citizens who were there in attendance and took the oath of American citizenship, together with the thousands of visitors to this unique court session, will not forget either the occasion or the few words by the distinguished Federal Judge Hall.

I have the special pleasure in presenting the news of this unique special session of the naturalization court with the judge's remarks, because Hon. Peirson M. Hall and I were classmates in Los Angeles law study class, and we took the California State examination before the Supreme Court of the State of California together to enter into the practice of the profession of law.

SPECIAL SESSION OF NATURALIZATION COURT, HOLLYWOOD BOWL, NOVEMBER 11, 1954

The court is meeting today as a naturalization court in special session.

Before administering the oath, I would like to say a few words which the occasion requires. Each of you, by seeking to become citizens of the United States, has made a free choice.

A free choice is of special significance in the world today because there are two basic conflicting ideologies at large in the world today engaged in a contest for men's minds and lives. One is godless and material, and uses all of the arts of deception and force to impose itself upon all the peoples of the world. The other is that which has found its highest expression in the Americas, and especially in this great land of ours.

All of you have been to school and have learned sufficiently of the Constitution, the laws, and the system and method of our government to pass the required examination. There are, however, some fundamental concepts which underlie our way of life and our system of government to which I would like to advert for a moment before administering the oath.

We, of course, look to our Constitution as the basic law; we look to the acts of Congress as providing the means for carrying that Constitution into effect. We look to the judicial department to interpret the Constitution and laws, and to the executive department to enforce them. However, if you look for the concepts which underlie our system and method of government and the freedom which is ours, you must look beyond the mere words of documents, and search for the spiritual quality which makes men free. So, may I suggest, that if you take the Ten Commandments, the Sermon on the Mount, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States with its amendments, I believe that in them you will find the written words for the concepts upon which this country was founded, and under which people, millions of them, just like you, who over the last 150 years have come from every land, have turned what theretofore in the entire history of time had been a desert into this productive and prolific country. To all of them it was, and today it still is, what Daniel Webster described as "The last best hope of mankind," for a system of government to secure the dignity and liberty of individuals under the rule of law.

The first and the one great concept which pervades our way of life is that there is a power which is greater than man, either individually or collectively, whether expressed in the form of government, or otherwise. That power some people call God; some people call it nature; some people call it the power of the universe; or whatever they wish. It may be beyond the reach of human reason, But the first concept is that that power does exist. And those of you who have been in travail, who have been in deep and heavy trouble, know that if you exercise some communion with that power—which some people call prayer—that you will receive a source of strength from it which tides you over whatever grief or care or burden or obstacle may confront you, or gives you the courage to face your troubles and to take the consequences, whatever they may

Another is, that individual man, the individual human being, is the most perfect creature which God created of all the creatures of the earth and the sky and the seas; and that all things created by man must be made to serve the needs of man, That is to say, if man creates a machine, that machine must be used and made to serve the needs of mankind, not to control him. Far more so, if man creates a government, that government must be created and used to serve the needs of mankind and not destroy him or enslave him, either to the state, the government, or to other human beings. States and governments, being the creatures of man, are lesser, ultimately, in the long run and in the whole pattern than the dignity of the individual person.

Another is that man can attain the natural dignity which he was intended to possess by his creator as an individual, by the preservation of individual liberty under law; and, that to love liberty, one must first love order; to want order is to desire the rule of law; to desire the rule of willing to yield to the dominance of law.

And when I say yield to the dominance of law, I do not mean to yield to the wishes or desires of any individual or group who proclaims that his or their wishes is the law, or,

the state or government, but the rules of law itself. And furthermore, that to yield to the dominance of law one must be willing to give up some individual liberty for the sake of liberty itself and for the sake of liberty of other people. Indeed, many thousands of people have given up their lives for the preservation of our concepts of liberty.

Law is not just a rule of action prescribed by a superior which an inferior is bound to obey, but law is the application of reason to the conduct of mankind based upon the experience of mankind in his search for

Another concept is that the end and aim of government must ever be to preserve liberty for human beings; not just the name of liberty but the fact of individual liberty.

And next, that howsoever the settings or circumstances of civilization, whether by gadgets or otherwise, which may change from generation to generation, or from day to day for that matter, these principles for the preservation of human liberty ever remain the same.

Another concept is that peace alone, without the fact of liberty, can be slavery, as indeed it was, and is in the whole vast area of the world's surface today where liberty and democracy and freedom are mere words that are used to conceal and further the purpose of the most brutal and barbaric absolutism and philosophy in its most highly developed form that has been known in modern times, if not in all history.

Another is that the touch of the Infinite within each individual, which some people call conscience, or spirit, is the greatest force for justice and right among men that has ever been discovered by human beings.

Another is that no official—I or any other—has, or can have any personal power. I, and every official, must be limited to official power; that is to say, the power which has been granted to the office by the law, as no power can be granted to the man.

Another is that three equal departments of the Government are necessary to maintain checks against the seizure and abuse of power by any branch of the Government; whether the legislative over the executive and judicial; whether the executive over the judicial and legislative; or whether the judicial, by expansion of power and self-declarations, attempt to seize the power of the legislative and executive. Thus, we can legislative and executive. Thus, we can prevent the occurrence of that pattern so familiar to the founders of America, and which is being followed today in too many places in the world where, under false pretenses and delusions offered to the people in one form or another, the people are first deceived, then they are vilified, and then they are enslaved.

Another concept is that the rights guaranteed to the individual shall not be distorted, by their abuse, into weapons to destroy those very rights; that human hunger and disease and despair and confusion shall not be created, and if existing, shall not be used as weapons for the destruction of liberty or the creation of absolutism, but that the elimination of these apocalyptic horsemen is the concern constantly of the whole people and of all mankind.

Finally, if I could sum it up in a few words, I should say that the philosophy of our Government is founded on four principles: The principle of love—I mean brotherly love—faith, reason, and truth. And as against that philosophy, there is the cruel

and monstrous attempt to force on all the peoples of the world today, a philosophy where hate is substituted for love, fear sub stituted for faith, force substituted for reason, and ignorance substituted for truth.

Someone once said that liberty was an eternal compact between the living with those who are dead and with those who

are yet unborn.

So to all of you who are about to take the oath and to all of those who are present. let us join in keeping the faith of that com-pact made by that little band of men in 1776, who struck off the immortal words of our Declaration of Independence, and concluded with the majestic phrase: "And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

I shall now administer the oath.

General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK A. BARRETT

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. BARRETT. Mr. President, I had the privilege of attending the annual convention of the National Wool Growers' Association at Salt Lake City early in December. Longtime members told me that it was one of the best conventions ever held by the association.

Mr. O. R. Strackbein, chairman of the Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on Import-Export Policy, delivered an outstanding address before the convention. I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

ADDRESS BY O. R. STRACKBEIN, CHAIRMAN, THE NATIONWIDE COMMITTEE OF INDUSTRY, AG-RICULTURE, AND LABOR, ON IMPORT-EXPORT POLICY BEFORE THE NATIONAL WOOL GROW-ERS ASSOCIATION, SALT LAKE CITY, DE-**CEMBER 8, 1954**

LOOK OUT FOR THE GATT-IT IS LOADED

When I was asked to provide a title for the present address I was at something of a loss, because I felt that I should talk to you about GATT, because of its great importance at this time. GATT is the short name of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. struck me, however, that not many people knew about the general agreement. people had perhaps read about GATT with-out knowing what it is. Considering the character of GATT and what it has been up to, it seemed to me that a pun on the name itself would help to alert you to the dangers that lurk in that international organiza-That explains the title: "Look Out tion. for the GATT—It Is Loaded."
Somebody will be sure to ask, what's

wrong with GATT? And that is the question that I hope will be asked. We hope that it will be asked all over the United States. The conclusion will then be reached that GATT is loaded, indeed.

What is GATT? Where did it come from?

Where is it headed?

GATT did not just happen. It is the brainchild of people whose names are quite surely not known to you. Definitely it is not the product of Congress. It was conceived 7 or 8 years ago in the Department of State and other executive departments who had one thing in common, namely, the planning of world trade and its regulation by an international organization dedicated to the principles of free trade. Seven or eight years ago, it will be recalled, the idea of world economic planning was in full bloom.

To keep the record straight we will have to provide you with a little background.

GATT, I. e., the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, a tariff-cutting conference, was negotiated in 1947 and signed on October 30 of that year in Geneva, Switzerland. Some 21 or 22 countries adhered to the agreement. Today the number is 34.

However, sometime before GATT came along the planners in the State Department and other departments drew up what was called a "Proposal for the Expansion of World Trade and Employment." This was an ambitious proposal to take on and make over the economy of the world. That was in 1945. Ideas of world planning and world government were in the ascendancy at that time. want to emphasize that.

This proposal was revised and emerged as a proposed charter for an International Trade Organization. After 3 more revisions over a period of nearly 3 years the ITO Charter, as it became known, was signed in Habana, Cuba, in March 1948 by more than 50 countries, including the United States.

It would have set up a governing or executive board on which the United States would have had 1 vote out of 50 plus. The objective was free trade through progressive re-ductions of the tariff and other trade barriers, and guiding the world's industrial, agricultural and mineral resources into the most productive channels.

The provisions of the charter went so far beyond the powers delegated to the President in the Trade Agreements Act of 1934, which empowered him to enter into trade agreements, that it was regarded necessary to submit the document to Congress for ratification.

Now let us go back to GATT and trace the relationship between GATT and the ITO

While the ITO Charter was still being revised and negotiated, it was decided to enter into a general trade agreement with a large group of countries. This was done in 1947, as already said, i. e., about 6 months before the ITO Charter was signed in March in

The plan was to turn administration of the General Agreement (GATT) over to the ITO or International Trade Organization when the charter was ratified by a sufficient number of countries. GATT was then to dissolve and pass out of the picture. one bothered to present GATT for legislative ratification even though it was also given powers that went far beyond those delegated under the Trade Agreements Act to the President. After all, once the ITO came into being it would replace GATT.
Obviously GATT should also have been

sent to Congress for ratification, but this was never done.

Then the unexpected happened. The ITO Charter was sent to Congress for ratification but never came out of committee. It was submitted to both the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate and the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. The Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House held hearings on the charter in 1950 but never issued a report to the House. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, on its part, failed to hold any hearings at all.

This was the legislative as distinguished from the executive reception given to the ITO. It was a revealing demonstration of how much Congress liked the ITO Charter. Disowned and spurned so unceremoniously by the legislative branch, the charter died quickly and has not been resurrected. No other country felt inclined to push the organization.

But while Congress was so emphatic in rejecting the charter the State Department went on with GATT as if nothing had happened; in fact, acted much as it might have done had Congress ratified the ITO.

Obviously GATT, not having been submitted for ratification at any time, had no legal standing with the possible exception of the schedule of tariff concessions which it contained. Nevertheless, it went right on with additional conferences and held periodic meetings at which disputed tariff and trade actions of the different members were reviewed.

Without bothering you with further details let me tell you that GATT has in the meantime come to act as the supreme arbiter over our tariff and similar matters. It has reviewed several sovereign acts of the Congress and the President and continues to do so. Also it bound member countries against unilateral withdrawal of concessions granted in the agreement. It bound them further against using import quotas except as a defense in balance of payment difficulties or to avoid breaking down government sponsored agricultural programs.

This is rather high-handed action to be

exercised by an illegitimate organization; but

GATT is not easily abashed.

I will give you 1 or 2 examples.

In 1951 Congress by law directed the President to withdraw all trade agreement concessions from the Communist-controlled countries. The State Department complied expeditiously by notifying Russia, Poland, expeditiously by notifying Russia, Poland, Rumania, Bulgaria, etc., but held off with respect to Czechoslovakia. Something stood in the way. Why could the State Department not notify Czechoslovakia as in the other cases of our withdrawal of trade agreement concessions? It was because Czechoslovakia, although Communist-controlled, was (and still is) a member of GATT.

Although Congress had passed a law and although the President had signed it, the United States had lost its freedom of action so far as Czechoslovakia was concerned. had signed away our freedom of action-i. e., the State Department had signed it away in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). Did you know this? Did any of you know it? No. It could be said that the American people did not know it. The State Department did not want anyone to know it.

Yet the fact is that the United States had to wait until the next meeting of GATT in the fall of 1951 before proceeding with the congressional mandate. We had to lay the question of cancellation of our trade agreement with Czechoslovakia before GATT so that GATT might decide the question for us. Fortunately, after hearing the arguments for and against, GATT said that we were free to do what Congress had directed the President In a very short time we withdrew from our trade agreement with Ozechoslovakia-but not before getting GATT's O. K.

In other words, Congress is no longer the supreme legislative body for this country. Did you know that? Were you aware that we had clothed an international body with a veto over our tariff and trade questions?

This was not the only case that demonstrated this fact. In another case we raised the duty on women's fur felt hats after a hearing by the Tariff Commission under the escape clause. That time, as it happened, Czechoslovakia was also the protestant and contested our action. GATT appointed a working party to make a study of all the circumstances and to make a report. The working party made a detailed study and submitted an elaborate report. We were found by GATT to be justified in our action once more and we accepted the GATT decision.

Now, the Department of State denies that we are bound by GATT, and denies that

GATT has the power of review over acts of the United States that fall within the purview of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade.

riow good is this denial?

It is obviously worthless as a practical matter. In the first place, the State Department wants GATT to have these powers otherwise it would never have entered into the agreement in the first place.

Secondly, it would otherwise have sub-mitted GATT to Congress for ratification, Evidently the Department, for good reason, feared the same result for GATT as was

accorded the ITO Charter.

Thirdly, the denial is without effect because we have as a member of GATT ac-cepted its jurisdiction in tariff and trade disputes. Moreover, we helped write the agreement in the first place and took part in and agreed to the procedures set forth. We are therefore in a poor position to repudiate its actions.

Fourthly, we accepted the two important decisions cited above. They were both in our favor. How could we then in good conscience or in good honor refuse to abide by GATT decisions if they went against us? The State Department knows that we are bound to accept such decisions and intends that we should.

Where does that leave Congress?

Out in the cold, so far as the tariff is concerned-or at least on the outer edges.

But the Constitution placed the regulation of our foreign commerce and the laying of taxes and duties squarely on the shoulders of Congress. The purpose was to keep control of these matters closely in the hands of the people. The effects of the acts since 1947 have been in the opposite direction. Congress is being elbowed out of the way to make room for the State Department.

What is happening and what has been

going on is this:

The State Department has sought to cut Congress out of control of the tariff because that Department wants to use the tariff as a pawn of diplomacy. If Congress controls the tariff, even if only indirectly, as through the Tariff Commission, the State Department is handicapped in its moves. Congress might assert its authority and embarrass

the Department.

The State Department is concerned with foreign relations and is properly interested in the economic factors that bring about good relations. On the other hand, the Department is entirely too prone to lose sight of the interests of the people back home in the factories and on the farms and ranches. That is why the system of executive domination of the tariff leads to a sacrifice of domestic producers in favor of considerations of diplomacy and in fayor of foreign producers.

That is not as it should be for several reasons. One is that the pawns of diplomacy are rather shifty and transient. looks good today may go sour tomorrow. Another is that when we seek to woo friends through economic concessions, these friends a habit of becoming insatiable. Instead of appreciating what we have already done they resent it when we try to call a halt. Economic concessions too easily deterior teriorate into economic appeasement—unless they are carefully watched.

In its designs to wrest tariff control from Congress, the State Department has given assurances abroad that were not in its place to give; or made agreements that lay beyond its powers. Then the Department has
expected Congress to make good on the
promises and agreements. Congress was to
consent to its own handcuming and like it.

This represents a form of coercion that is properly resented by Congress; because the State Department cannot bind the Congress in any field of its constitutional powers against legislating as it sees fit. Each new

bounds when it seeks to bind Congress as it has done in GATT.

The machinations of the Department in the field of tariffs and trade have been highhanded to say the least and devious to boot.

We have seen how GATT sits in judgment on tariff cases and similar disputes brought before it. We have seen how the State Department has worked hand in glove with this procedure by submitting cases to GATT and participating in the procedures. Also, we have witnessed State Department acceptance of the results.

And now, as if to prove what they have previously denied, that Department is seeking the strengthening of GATT by taking part in a revision of the general agreement designed to give it more teeth. Right today a conference is going on in Geneva, attended by some 50 countries. GATT is being revised and the new version will probably be ready in January or February. This time a lefthanded move will be made to bring the revised GATT before Congress for ratification. This looks like something new-like a change of heart.

But look out. The scheme is loaded.

The announced intention is to submit only the organizational features of the new GATT to Congress-not the part that counts, that is, the contents, such as the ban on import quotas, the provisions on valuation, the binding of rates against unilateral change, and so forth.

Should the organizational features, innocent as they are, be ratified, GATT would have the semblance of legality and would no doubt grow in its arrogation of powers with the full blessings of the State Department. Congress would find it ever more difficult to reassert and recapture its constitutional power; and the Department of State would describe congressional rebelliousness as evidence of irresponsible tendencies and instability. It would say that if Congress did not go along with the State Department design we would lose our friends abroad and be left high and dry and alone in the world. We would have to face Russia alone.

That is the gamut and that is the trap. So, I say, look out for the GATT-it's loaded. What do we propose as a substitute?

Some bills were introduced in the past session of Congress that embodied our objec-A few simple changes would be made.

Tariff changes would only be made if given individual rates could be shown to the satisfaction of the Tariff Commission to be too low and causing or threatening serious injury to domestic producers; or if export or import interests could demonstrate that individual rates are higher than necessary.

The Tariff Commission would hold hearings and make investigations as now, but its recommendations would go to Congress rather than to the President. The Department of State would have the right to send a report to Congress for its consideration along with other factors.

In this way the control over the tariff that has been usurped so deviously by the State Department would be broken and Congress would recapture its constitutional authority. Unless this is done all tariff legislation will be futile because it will be nullified by international procedures. You as wool growers might then just as well forget about electing men to the House and Senate, so far as the tariff is concerned, because they would be helpless. There would be no point in talking to them, sending them your complaints or asking their help. And, of course, as for going to Geneva itself—that is, to the new source of power-you would be voiceless for sure and completely ignored.

That is not the way the Constitutionmakers wanted things to be. So let's take the cartridge out of GATT and unload it.

Congress is free to repeal, amend, or leave alone any previous act of that body and the State Department is completely out of and Arthur Garfield Hays

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, with a profound sense of personal loss and with deep regret I announce to the Senate the death of Lt. Gen. Raymond S. McLain, who passed away at Walter Reed Hospital on December 14, 1954. General McLain was a distinguished

American who attained outstanding success in business and as a military man.

He began his brilliant military career as a National Guardsman, serving as a private, corporal, and sergeant in the Oklahoma National Guard from 1912 until he was commissioned as a second lieutenant in 1914.

He was the first National Guard officer ever appointed brigadier general with permanent rank in the Regular Army, and the first civilian soldier in either World War I or II to command an Army corps.

He started at the bottom and his outstanding record should be an inspiration to all young Americans to strive to sustain our American ideals.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an obituary from the Army and Navy Journal of December 18, 1954, which gives General McLain's record as a soldier and civilian, and also an editorial from the Pittsburgh Press of December 17 which combines tributes to General McLain and to Arthur Garfield Hays.

There being no objection, the obituary and the editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Army and Navy Journal of December 18, 1954]

LT. GEN. RAYMOND S. MCLAIN, UNITED STATES ARMY, RETIRED

Military services at the Fort Myer, Va., Chapel were held, on December 17, for Lt. Gen. Raymond Stallings McLain, United States Army, retired, distinguished citizensoldier, who died at Walter Reed Army Hospital, on December 14, of acute leukemia, after an illness of only 2 weeks. Burial was at Oklahoma City, Okla.

Born in Washington County, Ky., in 1890, General McLain served as a private, corporal and sergeant in the Oklahoma National Guard, from 1912, until he was commissioned as a second lieutenant 2 years later. In 1916 he served on the Mexican border, and in World War I, he went overseas with the AEF, participating in the Champagne and Meuse-Argonne campaigns. When the 45th Division of the Oklahoma National Guard was formed in 1924, General McLain became its first operations officer, later serving in turn as chief of staff; commanding general 70th field artillery brigade; and artillery commander.

General McLain's World War II service included a spectacular succession of com-He led the attack on Vittoria in the 45th's amphibious operations in Sicily; saw renewed action at Salerno; personally led a breakthrough of German lines, when the 179th Infantry was cut off and isolated near

Persano, and, with another officer and two enlisted men, made his way to the sur-rounded regiment, reorganized its defense and reestablished its communications. He continued with the 45th in the Italian campaign, in its drive to the Cassino district, when the division was diverted for the landing at Anzio in January 1944, where, despite severe losses, it succeeded in turning back prolonged German tank attacks.

In April 1944, General McLain assumed command of the 30th Infantry Division Artillery, landing in France on June 10, and participated in heavy fighting north of St. Lo. The following July, he was placed in command of the 90th Division, which formed part of the spearhead of General Patton's Third Army's smash across France and ultimately helped close the Falalse pocket. In October 1944, General McLain was named commander of the XIX Corps, then in the final stages of reducing the Aachen pocket, under whose command, during the Bastogne breakthrough, the corps took over the Hurtgen Forest sector. He led the XIXth in the crossing of the Roer, the fall of the Julich Fortress, in its drive to the Rhine, its capture of the Muchen-Gladback industrial area and the Ruhr, when the corps was relieved in order to drive on Berlin. The first to reach the Elbe, the corps, under General McLain's command, was all set for the Berlin drive, when it was halted and ordered to hold its position.

In June 1945, General McLain was promoted to the rank of lieutenant general, and 1 year later was commissioned a brigadier general in the Regular Army, the first National Guard officer to be so distinguished by Presidential appointment. In the period since World War II, he served as Chief of Information of the Army, Comptroller of the Army, on duty with the Defense Department's special staff as liaison officer between the Department and the President's Advisory Commission on UMT, and as a member of the National Security Training Commission. He was retired for statutory age in April 1952, when he returned to his former position as president of the American First

Trust Co. of Oklahoma City.

He is survived by his widow, Mrs. Bertha McLain, of 1709 Pennington Way, Oklahoma City: 2 sons, Mr. Raymond S. McLain, Jr., and Robert Duncan McLain; and 4 daugh-ters, Miss JenAnne McLain, Mrs. Betty Beloin, Mrs. Norman Guazzo, and Mrs. Dorothy Rogers.

A joint statement issued in the name of the National Security Training Commission, by Mr. Julius Ochs Adler, Mr. Warren Atherton, Mr. Alfred L. Hays, and Adm. Thomas C. Kinkaid, United States Navy, retired, said in

"General McLain's contributions to the Nation as one of our greatest civilian soldiers, as a distinguished and devoted public servant, as a successful businessman, and as a warmhearted individual have been great and can never be lost to us. Perhaps more than any other individual since the end of World War II, he has devoted himself to the cause of the training of civilian soldiersto the cause of national security through trained manpower. Sacrificing time which he could have given to his private business in Oklahoma City, he remained in Wash-ington after World War II to work on the problem of building a better trained Reserve. His work in this field was so active that he was one of the original five Commissioners appointed to the National Security Training Commission in 1951 when this Commission was established to study the problems of military training. He has de-voted himself selflessly to the task ever since.

"The Commission proudly salutes General McLain's devotion to duty, his vision, his humanity. His life and his works will be an inspiration to all who follow him." [From the Pittsburgh Press of December 17, 1954]

GENERAL AND LAWYER

On the same day this week, two distinguished men died.

One, and probably the better known, was Arthur Garfield Hays, the New York lawyer. The other was Lt. Gen. Raymond S. McLain, an Oklahoma banker.

For more than 30 years, Mr. Hays had been general counsel for the Civil Libertics Union. In this capacity, he had represented, for free, hundreds of persons in cases involving constitutional liberties.

Mr. Hays led a double life in the law. made (from fees) and spent several fortunes as attorney for Wall Street corporations and wealthy clients. But he devoted most of his efforts to the feeless cases of those whose rights he thought were being infringed upon.

He was, as he said, a nut on the Bill of Rights. The politics, backgrounds, opinions, or alleged offenses of these nonpaying clients were not so important as the question of whether they were getting a fair shake. Mr. Hays' career was born of a detest for intolerance and censorship and faith in the right of dissent.

General McLain was the first National Guard officer ever appointed brigadier general of permanent rank in the Regular Army, the first civilian soldier to be given battle-field command of a corps. He is the general who might have captured Berlin, except for orders from the top to stop.

But he also was an effective advocate of a system of universal military training, and had been since 1912, in his belief that service and sacrifice were the responsibility of all,

not just some.

The thing about these men is that, despite bountiful success in their personal vocations, they had the mettle and the devotion to give their time and talents to the causes which were at the heart of their convictions. Of such does our country grow strong and

Participation of United States Marine Band in Commemoration of the Victory at Yorktown

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article from the Newport News-Hampton-Warwick Daily Press, in regard to the commemoration, on October 19 last, of the American victory at the battle of Yorktown. The headline of the article is "Marine Corps Band Steals Show in 3-Hour Ceremony."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MARINE CORPS BAND STEALS SHOW IN 3-HOUR CEREMONY

Yorktown, October 19.—With a flare of drumsticks and blare of bugies the trim, blue-uniformed Marine Corps musicians be-came the "show stealers" during a 3-hour tribute commemorating American victory in

the Revolution here today.

The 35-man corps, led by M. Sgt. W. O. Nickell, had a well-rehearsed selection of

French martial airs including the French national Fe-File and French Foreign Legion airs. Another tune, oddly enough, had a title, "Downfall of Paris."

They waited patiently for their Com-mandant, Gen. Lemuel Shepherd, to arrive by police escort at the French grave site, 3

miles below Yorktown.

Asked if he was used to playing for the Marine chief, one youthful bugler replied: "Sure, this is old stuff for us."

Later, when the same Marine snapped to rigid attention as the famed general passed, the mouthpiece dropped from his bugle.

This was, without a doubt, the most widely

covered Yorktown Day in history.
On hand, not to mention a battery of Tidewater news and cameramen from both the civilian and military, was Robert Franc-special events officer for the French division Voice of America.

Franc captured most of the speaking and musical program on wire records. It will be played, via short wave, and picked up by the French National Network Saturday. wearing Washington correspondents for the Paris "Figaro" and the French News Agency were Nicolas Chatelain and George Wolff, respectively.

SPECIAL DINNER

The midday program included the long-awaited cornbread and bean dinner on the site where Rochambeau's 4,000-man army dined Surrender Day on the same date 173 years ago.

The food was prepared and a mobile kitchen supplied and manned by members of the 32d Truck Company of Fort Eustis under Lt. Col. Robert Smoak and Capt. Richard

Bergstrom.

Bonnet had expected difficulty managing his American field mess gear, but seemed to enjoy the novelty of it.

General Shepherd, next in the line of honor guests at this unique luncheon, grumbled good-naturedly for "some of that cornbread." bread.

Behind Shepherd was Rear Adm. B. Austin, commander of Cruiser Division Two from the USS Roanoke. It was an unusual array of service brass to be seen in a mess

The advance notices said the menu would consist of bread, beans, and coffee. Fort Eustis cooks, however, sent along a tray of cheese and a tub of lettuce to round out the meal.

In the line of parade were the Marine musicians, playing Semper Fidelis and the Marine Hymn as they approached the re-viewing stand on Main Street; two companies of naval and Marine personnel from the Naval Mine Depot here, and two units of soldiers from the 744th Transportation Com-

pany, Port Eustis.

The entire parade was marshalled by Lieutenant Colonel Lipot, commanding officer of the Marine Detachment at the Naval Mine Depot-followed by an eight-man color guard of depot marines in modern and both French and Colonial period uniforms.

NAVY BAND

After assembly call by a Marine bugler at the monument, the colors were brought forward. At this point the Navy's Cruiser Division Two band from the Roanoke struck up the national anthem and Marseillaise.

A trumpeter played church call before the Reverend Arbrose Brown, retired Episcopal Bishop of Southern Virginia, pronounced invocation.

Charles Parmer, Rochambeau Commission chairman, introduced State Senator John A. K. Donavan, of Falls Church-chief proponent of Rochambeau legislation in the Virginia General Assembly.

Colors were retired and the benediction

given by the Reverend Chester P. Michael,

of Williamsburg.

The Navy had a "walkle-talkle" system in use to coordinate developments at the mon-

5-7-

ument with crews at a 3-inch salute gun on CBS Makes Education Grants in Name of the Roanoke.

As the band sounded the last note of Marseillaise a Roanoke crewman, with a radio strapped to his back, barked the order to commence fire into his phone set. seconds later the first puff of smoke belched from the cruiser lying below the cliff.

His code signal for communication with his ship was "George"—as in Washington.

PERENNIAL VISITOR

A perennial Yorktown visitor who returned today was Mrs. John Hubbard, of New York-the lone American woman to wear the French Commander ribbon-a Legion of Merit degree awarded for outstanding service to France. She was given the decoration during 17 years in various activi-

Members of the Rochambeau group attending were Glen Mower, of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Granville Gray Valentine, president of the Colonial Dames of Virginia; Major General Charles Landon, of Alexandria, and Mrs. R. M. Reese, commission historian of Alexandria.

Other guests: Mrs. John P. Harrison, chairman of the Sarah Constant Chapter of Colonial Dames on the Peninsula; Mrs. Logan Billingsley from Connecticut; Mr. and Mrs. Stuart Jackson, of the Friends of Lafayette; Col. Catesby A. Jones; George Waller Blow, 3 Society of the Cincinnati; Col. S. S. Ballentine, commanding officer of Marine Barracks, Portsmouth Navy Yard; Capt. A. T. Walker, commanding officer of the Naval Mine Depot; Col. T. B. Tufte, chief of staff to Maj. Gen. Frank S. Besson at Fort Eustis; Mr. and Mrs. Henry Harrison De Frise; Jean Baube, aide to Bonnett and members of the Yorktown Day Association.

Establishment by Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., of a Foundation To Make Grants to Educational Institutions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the text of an announcement by the Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., of the establishment of a foundation which will make grants to the educational institutions from which the executive personnel have graduated.

I have long felt that the business institutions in this country should recognize the responsibility to their colleges, and I am pleased to note that CBS has originated a practical way to put the idea into effect. I sincerely hope that other business leaders in this country will follow this example.

In this connection, I should like to request also that following the announcement there be printed in the RECORD an editorial appearing in the New York Herald Tribune for December 28, 1954, commenting favorably on the establishment of the CBS Foundation.

There being no objection, the announcement and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows: KEY PERSONNEL—CBS FOUNDATION GIFTS RECOGNIZE JOB PERFORMANCE OF EXECU-TIVE STAFF

A plan of making financial contributions to privately supported colleges and universities from which key CBS executive personnel have been graduated was announced today by CBS Foundation, Inc., the agency for making charitable and educational grants on behalf of Columbia Broadcasting System, Inc., and its divisions.

A total of 14 colleges and universities are included in the first-year grants, which are being made on behalf of 16 CBS executives. The group was selected solely on objective standards which do not involve any appraisal or evaluation. The formula used foundation is not to be made public includes minimum service of 30 months on a continuous basis and promotion to or beyond a specified level of responsibility. Graduation from an accredited privately endowed educational institution is also required.

The 16 executives in the first group under the CBS plan are drawn from two classifications, those who met the standards in 1953 and those who had met the same standards prior to 1953. Not all of the CBS executives who had qualified prior to 1953 could be included in the first-year group, and their individual names and their colleges and universities will be announced in succeeding years on a seniority schedule.

Consultants in the foundation and educational field said they believed this type of plan on a general basis is unique in the history of financial aid to higher education by

business and industry in this country.
CBS Foundation will not confine itself to this one approach to giving to educational institutions, though it intends to follow its formula as its primary method of general aid to education.

The foundation's decision to limit its performance grants to privately endowed institutions was based in part on the support CBS already gives to publicly supported colleges and universities through taxes at its various locations throughout the country, and in part because of the special problem and privately endowed universities are recognized to have as a result of their almost complete dependence on private funds. If this plan were applicable to State, municipal or public institutions, three such institutions would also have been included in the first-year grants.

"In adopting this plan the CBS Foundation is attempting to do more than express CBS's appreciation to the institutions from which key executive personnel have been graduated," Dr. Frank Stanton, president of CBS, Inc., and a member of the board of CBS Foundation, said. "We believe it is a way of demonstrating our belief in, and support of, the American system of privately endowed higher education. These colleges and universities all across the land need support from private sources, from individuals, and companies and foundations, if they are to continue to produce the informed and trained citizens on which our political and industrial democracy depends.

"These institutions have a special financial problem which separates them from the taxsupported State and other public institutions, which likewise play a most significant and vital role in our educational system. But because of the different basis of support on which our privately endowed institutions depend, we are concentrating our contributions in this area to help assure the continued service of these institutions to our national life as well as to our business and professional needs."

Members of the board of CBS Foundation, Inc., are all directors of Columbia Broad-casting System, Inc. Besides Dr. Stanton, they are: J. A. W. Iglehart, a partner in W. E. Hutton & Co., and president of CBS Foundation, Inc.; Ralph F. Colin, member Rosenman, Goldmark, Colin & Kaye; Dr. Leon Levy, of Philadelphia; and Robert A. Lovett, general partner in Brown Bros., Harriman & Co., and former Secretary of Defense.

The 1954 contributions under the new plan go to five colleges and universities on behalf of executive employees who met the requirements during 1953. In addition, nine other institutions were included because of executive employees who met the standards in earlier years. The recipient colleges and universities and the CBS employees on whose behalf contributions are being made (with the year in which each joined the company)

Brown University: Hubbell Robinson, Jr., vice president in change of network pro-

grams, CBS Television (1947).

Columbia College: Louis Hausman, vice

Columbia College. 10413 president, CBS-Columbia (1940).

WCBS sales manager (1937).

Dartmouth College: Harry S. Ackerman, vice president in charge of network pro-grams—Hollywood, CBS Television 1948; and James B. Conkling, president, Columbia Records (1951).

Denison University: John Hundley, manager of CBS Television Program Service, (1938).

Duke University: George Klayer, Chicago sales manager, CBS Television (1946). College of the Holy Cross: Daniel T.

O'Shea, vice president, CBS, Inc. (1950).

University of Kansas City: Edward P. Shurick, director of station relations, CBS

Television (1950).

Knox College: J. Kelly Smith, administrative vice president, CBS Radio (1931).

New York University: Norman A. Adler, general attorney Columbia Records (1951). Ohio Wesleyan University: Dr. Frank Stanton, president, CBS, Inc. (1935).

University of Pennsylvania: William S. Paley, chairman of the board, CBS, Inc. (1928); and James M. Seward, administrative vice president, CBS Radio (1933).

Princeton University: Adrian Murphy, president, CBS Radio (1936).

Wesleyan University: Harry Ommerle, director of programs, CBS Television (1950).

The grants are unrestricted as to use that the recipient institutions can if they wish apply them to general fund operating needs they consider most important.

Dr. Stanton said the experimental plan could be modified or expanded in future years, on the basis of experience with its actual operation. A sum of \$32,000 is provided in the first-year grants representing a contribution of \$2,000 on behalf of each of the 16 individuals. The sum, Dr. Stanton pointed out, approximates the extra "cost of education" which the college or university bore from endowment or other funds and which was "over and above the tuition and other fixed charges the individual was asked to pay at the time he was a student." the amount of each contribution under the foundation's pilot-plant plan is not large, Dr. Stanton said it was hoped the pattern of widespread support on the principle adopted would assist the fund-raising efforts of accredited privately endowed institutions in all parts of the country.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of December 28, 1954]

REPAYING THE COLLEGES

Industry has found many ways to help the country's privately supported colleges and universities; but none could seem hap-pler than that which has been put into effect by the CBS Foundation, Inc. As a kind of repayment to the colleges from which CBS executives are drawn, the foundation is offering to the alma maters of 14 of its officers a sum roughly equal to the difference between the tuition fees and the actual costs of the education which these men received. This sum is figured at \$2,000 per man. Originally the difference was made up out of endowments and scholarships.

One can imagine the satisfaction of the individual colleges on receiving such grants; and the gift is made the more delightful in that the graduates who have come to be CBS executives can rightly feel a share of pride. It would perhaps be too much to suggest that industry is only paying a due debt when it returns to the colleges these sums which have made their top men what they Yet there is a symbolic fitness in the deed: industry does owe much to the liberal arts colleges of the land. Without them, the sources of their growth, their inspiration, and their progress would run dry.

The plan is to be continued in other years. Perhaps it will also be taken up by other companies. Here is an occasion where imitation would not only be flattery but a real boon.

Woodrow Wilson's Legacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EARLE C. CLEMENTS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Woodrow Wilson's Legacy, which was published in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch on December 29, 1954, as a reprint from the Manchester Guardian. together with an article by Bernard M. Baruch, which appeared in the January 2, 1955, edition of the New York Times.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

[From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch of December 29, 1954]

WOODROW WILSON'S LEGACY

World War I President was isolationist turned internationalist by history, Britton writes; not the best politican, he succeeded as prophet when Nation neglected him and League of Nations; it took America 20 years to catch up with Wilson's ideals.

MAX FREEDMAN IN THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, REPRINTED FROM THE BEDSIDE GUARDIAN, ANTHOLOGY OF WRITINGS AND CARTOONS PUB-LISHED IN LONDON AND EDITED BY IVOR BROWN

Today is the 98th anniversary of the birth of Woodrow Wilson, December 28, 1856. The following article was first printed in the Manchester Guardian on February 3, 1954:

"Thirty years ago today Woodrow Wilson died in Washington, It seemed as if his career had ended in tragedy.

"The country had turned against him in 1918 and chosen a Republican Congress; the Senate had refused to ratify the peace treaty; America had slumped into isolation, ignoble and indolent, symbolized by Warren Harding's election with a record majority. President Coolidge, in his first message to Congress, said that "The League of Nations is a closed incident."

"Yet the last word did not belong to the cynics and the scoffers. The second war came, as Wilson had foretold with tragio accuracy, and even before peace returned

the United States had taken the lead in trying to establish a new system of collective security, as he also had predicted with brave faith.

"From the grave his ideals ruled the future. Balfour, thinking of the mistakes of Versailles, said the League was born in sin and dedicated to sainthood. Perhaps so; but if Wilson failed as a politician he succeeded as a prophet.

There is one episode of his last phase on which Franklin Roosevelt liked to dwell. In 1920 Roosevelt was the Vice Presidential candidate on the Democratic ticket, with Governor Cox, of Ohio, as Presidential nominee.

"The party strategists warned them with cruel iteration they would be crushed if they continued to outrage the temper of the country by their vain defense of the [League] Covenant. Finally the two candidates went to the White House to consult with the President.

"Wilson, crippled by the stroke from which he never recovered, was wheeled in, and with unforgettable grace thanked his two friends for risking their careers by refusing to quit the standard of honor even under the pressure of vindictive prejudice. * * * So, with honor, they met inevitable defeat at the hands of Harding.

"Years passed, and Roosevelt, now President, took up Wilson's interrupted tasks. Both parties, amid public acclaim, supported the United Nations. Isolationism was dead

"When Mr. Truman in 1950 pondered the aggression in Korea his chief adviser was Mr. Acheson. Now Mr. Acheson had once been secretary to Mr. Justice Brandels, appointed to the Supreme Court by Wilson over unprecedented protests from the leaders of the American bar, who hated Brandeis' radical opinions. Mr. Acheson derived his faith in collective security not only from his knowledge of America's need but from his admiration for Wilson.

The members of the free world, amid the harsh quarrels of the Korean war, had reason to be thankful for his unshaken faith in

collective action.

"Mr. Stevenson proudly walks today in Wilson's tradition, and President Eisenhower is at his best in defending America's partnership in the great enterprise to save the peace of the world by united strength and wisdom. Was not Wilson correct in what he told a friend just before his death?

"'I am not sorry,' he said, 'that I broke down. As it is coming now, the American people are thinking their way through, and reaching their own decision, and that is the better way for it to come.'

"Could a more adroit politician have reduced the period of waiting? The short answer is that Wilson was not Roosevelt, and Lodge was not Vandenberg.

"A deeper answer-and the one which explains the true significance of Wilson's career-is that Wilson was a supreme isolationist with a genius for repentance. he resented the war as a savage interruption to his social reforms. He knew little, and cared less, about Europe's quarrels.

"Only slowly did he come to see the moral Issues at the heart of the struggle. Then he led America into battle and tried in vain to lead her into a partnership for peace.

"The lonely man in the White House forgot how much he had learned in those tragic and tremendous years of the war. He thought the same lessons were stamped with equal clarity on the American mind. Years later he complained that America had betrayed the League because of 'a slump in idealism."

"That was only a fragment of the truth. American thinking had to catch up with his convictions. It took something like 20

[From the New York Times Magazine of January 2, 1955]

WILSON'S WORDS-WORDS FOR TODAY (By Bernard M. Baruch)

Like a mighty mountain, the figure of Woodrow Wilson, seen from the distance of a generation, is more impressive, more impos ing than ever, towering over his time and casting his shadow down through the years.

Almost a century has passed since he was born-three decades since he was laid to rest. The world has changed greatly since his day and, in many ways, regrettably, not at all. Perhaps in the thought and spirit of that singular man we can find the key to the problems, old and new, which confront us-and at the same time replenish our minds and hearts.

Woodrow Wilson offers us the rare example of the practical dreamer. He as much as any man in our history, epitomized the idealism upon which, for all our pragmatism and materialism, the American heritage rests. At the same time, he was endowed with a stern sense of realism.

Although more than half of Wilson's life was spent in the realm of scholarship, it was not confined to an ivory tower. As a student of government and politics, he was concerned not with the "abstract and occult," as he wrote, but with the "practical and suggesnot alone with the theory of government but with its actual operation, too. 1 was interested in affairs, not doctrines.

Thus he was equipped, when he assumed public office, with a knowledge and an understanding of government which few Chief Executives have possessed. He knew the real workings, potentialities, limitations of government-and of men. He knew that human affairs do not lend themselves to theories.

anairs do not tend themselves to make an animal momentum of the momentum of the library.

"Life is a very complex thing," he said.
"No theory I have ever heard will match its varied pattern, and the men who are dangerous are the men who are not content with understanding, but go on to propound theories * * * which will make a new pattern for society and a new model for the universe. Those are the men not to be trusted. cause although you steer by the North Star, when you have lost the bearings on your compass, you must nevertheless steer a pathway on the sea—you are not bound for the North Star."

Wilson indeed steered by the North Star, but his goal was not so distant. It lay always within the grasp of men if they would but extend themselves. Of a well-known theorizer who sought to remake the world, Wilson once wrote, "I know of no man who has more perverted the thinking of the world than Karl Marx."

Wilson's goal was a better America, a better world, not a perfect one. He knew that men might achieve much, but not perfection. And he knew that progress comes by slow stages, that you cannot throw off the habits of society immediately any more than you can throw off the habits of an individual immediately, "You cannot in human experience rush into the light," he wrote. "You have to go through the twilight into the broadening light of day before the noon comes up and the full sun is upon the landscape."

He sought ever after the warm sun of peace, freedom, and justice, and sought a place be-neath its rays for all men.

As Governor of New Jersey and as President, Wilson helped to clear away the rank growth of political inequality and economic and social injustice which was stifling American life, at the same time he prepared the ground for a new growth of opportunity and freedom, whose fruits we enjoy today. The freedom, whose fruits we enjoy today. best of contemporary American liberalism derives from him.

Despite the clamor raised against Wilson's program of tax, tariff, and electoral reforms, of restraints against monopoly and irresponsible business practice, of concessions to labor and aid to agriculture, there was nothing radical in it. Wilson did not seek change for the sake of change or ride "booted and spurred * * * the wild horses of reto win the applause of the multitude.

Indeed, as with every true liberal, there was a deep conservative instinct in him. His reforms were not intended to remake the American political and economic system but to conserve its essence. They were designed to strengthen it, to preserve it, to protect it (from itself, in many respects) by correcting and eliminating abuses which had grown up about it. He sought new means to pre-serve old ends. "The new freedom," as he serve old ends. "The new freedom," as he said, "was only the old revived and clothed in the unconquerable strength of America."

Wilson devoted his life to preserving, strengthening, and extending democracy. Democracy, he said, was the most difficult form of government, yet he knew that it was the best ever devised by the minds of men. He knew that to survive, it must constantly adapt itself to changing circumstances. If it remained static it must wither and decay, and die under the impact of forces, destructive and disorganized, which would spring "Liberty is not something that can be laid away in a document, a completed work," he wrote. "Democratic institutions are never done—they are like the living tissue, always a-making." always a-making.

The torch of liberty that burned so bright in Wilson made him a beason to which men and nations turned their eyes. Passionately as he was devoted to it, he knew that liberty was not an end in itself. Rather it was the catalyst which released human energies, the key which unlocked the door of opportunity and thus permitted men to achieve their potentialities. He knew, too, that liberty, unrestrained by disciple and responsibility, is anarchy. "Liberty," he said, "is not itself government. In the wrong hands—in hands unpracticed, undisciplined—it is incompatible with government."

The First World War transformed Wilson from an American leader into a world leader and he responded nobly to the challenge and the opportunity. Under his direction America mobilized all her resources of men, material, and spirit and threw them into the conflict. He was an inspiring war leader, but fought for peace, not military victory. And it is as a champion of international peace and order that his reputation is most luminous.

The concept of an international organization to enforce peace was not original with Wilson. For centuries men had proposed it. He was the first to translate the idea into a "What we seek," he said, "is the reign of law based on the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."

He knew that without such a reign of law civilization itself might crash in ruins in another outburst of lawlessness. In the debate in the United States over the League of Nations, he said: "I can predict with absolute certainty that, within another generation, there will be another world war if the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it." How true that Drophe that prophecy was we well know.

Wilson's quest for a reign of law among nations failed. But the failure was not his.
As the late Jan Christiaan Smuts said, the failure was humanity's. In the United States, partisanship, seifishness, and blindness prevented our joining the League and doomed it to failure. Without the force of American example and leadership other nations gave only lip service to the principles American example and leadership other na-tions gave only lip service to the principles of the League and pursued their separate ways which met finally in catastrophe. As Ray Stannard Baker said, in the League Wilson gave the nations of the world an instrument for expressing good will, but he could not give them good will.

Critics of Wilson have charged him with responsibility for America's failure to join the League of Nations. They argue that had he been less stubborn he would have compromised with his opponents and accepted half a loaf.

This characterization of Wilson as dogmatic and uncompromising is wholly inac-curate. He compromised often and without embarrassment. Compromise is the essence of democracy. No man can lead a nation who cannot reconcile divergent views. list of compromises he accepted in the Treaty of Versailles is long. But while he would compromise readily on detail, on method, on pace, he would not compromise on principle. And he was right.

The controversy over the treaty, in the last analysis, centered around article X which contained the pledge to preserve the terri-torial and political independence of all members of the League. This was the heart of the question. To abandon this article, as his opponents demanded, would have been to create a cardboard structure that would topple at the first thrust of an aggressor. The League, said Wilson, was the "indispensable instrumentality of peace." It was necessary to guarantee that peace. Article

X was the guaranty.

The very same issue confronts us today in the question of the control of atomic energy, disarmament, and peace. There must be a guaranty. Declarations of intent and good will are not enough. Agreements which fail to provide for direct and effective control of the atom and close supervision of disarmament are meaningless and worse,

incalculably dangerous.

To enter such agreements while abandoning the principle of international inspection and control would mean the dismemberment of our strength, while other nations, without our moral compunction, could maintain, behind the cloak of duplicity, the strength to destroy us. We cannot gamble with our survival. As Wilson refused to compromise on the essence of the League, we must stand fast on the principle of effective atomic control. In that case and this, half a loaf is not better than none. Wilson left the White House broken in

body, but not in spirit, his faith in men and in his own ideals untarnished. He did not live to see his somber prophecy fulfilled. But his principles were at last adopted. It is his spirit which animates the United Nations, and if we can recapture his spirit we can make that as yet imperfect instru-

ment succeed.

Woodrow Wilson will be an example and an inspiration to men as long as we admire greatness. Greatness, he once observed, is a word which we Americans use loosely. who deserves that accolade more than he? Gifted as few men are, the true source of his greatness lay not so much in his intellect, his eloquence, his courage, or in all the other qualities with which he was endowed. It lay in the fact that he devoted these qualities not to his own interest but to the interests of humanity.

We need men such as he; men devoted to democracy, who seek the sure road of progress while avoiding extremes; men who are ambitious to serve in government without serving themselves. We need men of courage and integrity, men who love hu-manity but understand it. We need men with vision enough to see the mountaintop and ability enough to lead us there.

For that is our goal—the mountaintop where men may breathe the clear, pure air of freedom and peace and justice. We will not reach it unless we link our arms together and pull together up the long, hard slope. Even if we ourselves do not reach that summit, we will, at least, have marked the way for others.

"All through the centuries," wrote Wilson, "there has been this slow, painful struggle forward, forward, up, up, a little at a time, along the entire incline, the interminable way. What difference does it make if we do not reach the uplands? We have given our lives to the enterprise, and that is richer and the moral is greater."

The Dixon-Yates Contract Hearings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT GORE

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. GORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Dixon-Yates Hearings End; Court Fight Likely," written by the brilliant young reporter, Charles Bartlett, and published in a recent issue of the Chattanooga times.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DIXON-YATES HEARINGS END; COURT FIGHT LIKELY

(By Charles Bartlett)

Washington, December 25 .- The five members of the Securities and Exchange Commission closed their hearings on the Dixon-Yates contract this week without providing any concrete clue to their reaction to this political hot potato.

The 3 Republicans and 2 Democrats who sit on this quasi-judicial body made it clear only in the 13 days of hearings that they recognize their decision in this matter as a very important test of their abilities that cannot be handled lightly. Each of the five was in constant attendance through every minute of the long sessions and a staff of at least 8 other commission lawyers was maintained in the room for every word of the testimony.

Private lawyers in Washington who are accustomed to obtaining easy access and fast action from the SEC for their clients have been disturbed to find that very little is being done there these days that is not connected with Dixon-Yates. Companies anxious to make stock issues before the end of the year have been crying aloud with little prospect of relief.

SENSITIVE TO INTEREST

The Commission is clearly sensitive to the newspaper interest in their deliberations on these matters and to its own evolution from the financial to the front pages. A pressroom was created for the hearings and the 8 or 10 reporters who covered the sessions were accorded conveniences normally restricted to sportswriters.

A quasi-judicial commission is a curious arm of the Federal Government in that it cannot deal in the give-and-take area of politics and yet does not enjoy the lofty sanctity of the judiciary. The Commission is responsible to its own integrity and to possible review by the courts and members must face the necessity of reappointment by the politicians at 5-year inter-vals. Membership is not for most Commissioners and staff members an end in itself but in most cases a stepping stone either to higher political office or business preferment.

In the earlier chapters of the contract controversy, some of the less sophisticated of the public power group were shocked by evidences that the utility lawyers deal on a highly informal basis in all but the most formal aspects of the Commission's normal activities and there was much dark muttering that this was no body to make an honest decision on this matter. Some of these people would probably have been shocked if they had heard Edgar Dixon, president of Middle South Utilities, Inc., turn to SEC Chairman Ralph Demmier as they both walked out of the final session on Tuesday and say, "I've been very pleased, Ralph, by the way these hearings have been handled."

However this familiarity between the

However this familiarity between the judge and the judged is a natural outgrowth of the Commission system with its specialization and tremendous amount of detail that required long and informal deliberations between the Government and the applicant. Every specialist lawyer in Washington of any stature is familiar with the top individuals in the commissions with which he deals and these relationships are not only natural but generally beneficial if the men involved are decent. The fact that the SEC Commissioners are friendly with the utility people, with whom, after all, they have constant dealings, should not, in itself, prejudice their ability to make an impartial determination.

It is true, however, that three of the Commissioners, Chairman Demmler, J. S. Armstrong, and A. J. Goodwin, were selected by the Eisenhower administration from strong business backgrounds. Demmler and Armstrong were corporation lawyers in Pittsburgh and Chicago and Goodwin was a banker from Anniston, Ala. The two Truman appointees who remain on the Board, Paul Rowen and Clarence Adams, were in contrast appointed from the field of government.

It is further true that all three of the Eisenhower appointments were made on the initial recommendation of George Humphrey, the Secretary of the Treasury. This fact would seem to provide any assurance that might be needed that none of the three are blind to the interest of the business world.

There has been some talk of the fact that Goodwin's appointment had to be cleared through the Alabama Republican chairman, Claude Vardaman, who works for the Alabama Power Co. Research has disclosed, however, that Vardaman had no voice in the selection and that the two met only briefly just before the President sent the nomination up to the Senate. Goodwin is an Eisenhower Democrat.

Demmler spoke for the Commission in every instance during the hearings and while the body has not yet ruled on a number of the efforts by the contract's opponents to extend the consideration of the case, Demmler's motions showed a definite inclination to restrict that consideration to exclude some of the aspects of public interest that have been included in the political debate on the contract. While the Holding Company Act forbids utility acquisitions that may be detrimental to the interest of consumers, the hearings closed with no indication whether the interest of the TVA consumers is to be considered pertinent to the decision.

The SEC decision in the valley's interest in the contract will be an important one because the act specifically provides that the Commission must find that a utility acquisition serves the public by tending toward the economical and efficient development of an ingrated public-utility system. If the TVA system is not to be considered, the only hope for the contract's opponents will lie in the remote chance that the SEC may decide that the contract will tend toward interlocking relations or a concentration of control of private utility companies.

The circumstances of the Commission and of the hearings suggest strongly that the real hope for the opponents of the Dixon-Yates contract will lie in an ultimate court review of the matter rather than in the pending decision of the SEC.

The Farm Cooperative Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, in the current issue of Cooperative Digest, the national magazine of farm business, there appeared a splendid article portraying the tremendous extent to which the fine farm cooperative movement has taken hold in our country.

The co-ops have become an indispensable part of the American scene, particularly in serving the needs of United States agriculture. My own State, I am glad to say, is one of the strongest co-op States in the Union, particularly with respect to its great dairy industry.

Co-op organizations at Federal, State, and local level have become invaluable aids to farmer and consumer alike. I refer in particular at the national level to the National Council of Farmer Co-operatives, to the Cooperative League of the U. S. A., the American Institute of Cooperation, the National Milk Producers Federation, the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association, the National Livestock Producers Association, and other important groups.

I send to the desk the text of the article in the Cooperative Digest, preceded by a series of inspiring quotations from comments by the President of the United States in praise of the co-op movements. I ask unanimous consent that this material be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the comments and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EISENHOWER SPEAKS—PRESIDENT'S POSITION ON FARM COOPERATIVES

In statement and action, President Dwight D. Elsenhower has given his approval of farm cooperatives. He has indicated his support of the principle of bona fide farmerowned, farmer-operated cooperatives. The following statements indicate the President's and the administration's position on farm cooperatives.

"We must always be concerned with strengthening farmer cooperatives, which have done so much to build progressive farming areas, up-to-date farm-to-market roads, rural electrification, and phone service." (Kasson, Minn.)

"Cooperation is the means by which freemen solve problems or tackle jobs too big for the individual. Farmer cooperatives are an essential device for maintaining the independent family farm. We will not let them be endangered. We shall aid farmers to strengthen their own institutions.

"Another farm program in which we must increase farmer participation and control is that of the Farm Credit Administration.

* * * A Federal Farm Credit Board, elected by farmer-members, should be established to form credit policies, select executive officers, and to see that sound credit operations will not be endangered by partisan political influences.

"For the record I should like to emphasize certain facts. During the past year, the progress of the Rural Electric Administration has been exceptional. The administration considers these REA programs great advances for rural America; they have made our farms more productive; they have greatly enriched the lives of our country's economy."

Since the above statements have been made, the 83d Congress authorized the establishment of the Farm Cooperative Service as a separate and vital agency in the Department of Agriculture. And at the same time, this Congress gave independence to the Farm Credit Administration and provided for eventual control by the farmers themselves.

WHAT ARE TRUE FARM COOPERATIVES?

Since the establishment of man's society—community life—the need for and essence of cooperation has been readily understood. As man has progressed along the path of civilization his society living has become more complex and the subsequent need for coperation has increased proportionately to his progress. Consequently, today, there is no phase of modern living regardless of how simple or how complex that is not dependent on cooperation.

Thus it appears only natural and quite logical to refer to that organizing of the farmer society within a civilization for the purpose of doing together what cannot be done as individuals as the cooperative movement. And the divisions within the movement, which are determined by the various types of farming and farmers' needs as cooperatives.

FIRST CO-OP MET IN 1811

In the community—using the term loosely—referred to by foreigners and by one-hundred-and-sixty-million-odd natives as the United States of America, the cooperative movement got its earliest recorded start among America's farmers when a cooperative, generally referred to as co-op, was organized in Missouri in 1811.

Thus created on the heels of a revolution, which was fought to answer needs of a society in general, the first American farmers' cooperative was organized to meet the needs of a specific group within the general framework of American civilization.

More co-ops were formed as the need arose with the expanding new country and its ever-complicating society. In 1913 the United States Department of Agriculture estimated there were a little more than 3,000 farmer cooperatives with about 650,000 farm members.

Post-World War I era co-op boom

Despite their rapid growth in numbers, farm cooperatives did not begin to affect the Nation's farm economy to any appreciable degree until after World War I. Only after the cessation of hostilities did the agricultural cooperatives gain strength as one unit which could and did influence the agricultural economy specifically and the national economy generally.

The "why" of this sudden growth influencewise may be seen in the fact that following the war the Nation's farmers were suddenly faced with a drastically reduced market. They had produced to "the sky's the limit" during the war years, but now were confronted with surpluses, no markets and an ever-increasing cost of production. Thus they turned as individuals to each other and as groups developed cooperatively.

1922 hails co-op magna carta

Legislatively they, farm cooperatives, made their greatest gain in 1922 when the late Senator Arthur Capper guided the magnet carta of farmer cooperatives—the Capper Volstead Act—through Congress. This less islation gave the Nation's farmers the goahead to increase the scope and operation of their cooperatives—their off-the-farm tool—

for it meant co-ops were no longer subject to the antitrust laws.

However, the vertical growth-in numbers-of co-ops reached its peak in 1925-26 when 10,800 cooperatives were recorded. This peak era marked the close of a 50-year period which represented the greatest growth curve in co-op history.

More members than farmers

Although vertical growth was deterred, cooperative horizontal growth has continued with a little more than 10,000 farmer co-ops today boasting a membership of more members-some 7.4 million-than there are farmers in America.1 This statistical contradiction is explained by duplication of membership.

Horizontal growth of the farmer cooperatives is also seen in a comparison of business done on a dollar-volume basis. In 1913 this amounted to about \$310 million, whereas today's farmer cooperative business totals some \$12 billion annually.

Co-ops go specialized

As the role and influence of the Nation's agricultural economy has changed drastically since the 1920's, so have the farmer-financed cooperative associations changed in their scope of activities. These changes have re-sulted in agriculture and cooperatives becoming specialized businesses respectively.

Specialization within the co-op field has resulted in three distinct types of cooperatives with which farmers are associated. First there are the marketing co-ops which market the commodities produced by their farmer-members. Purchasing or farm supply cooperatives are the second type of associa-tion and they handle the supplies needed for members' farm production.

Thirdly, there are the service cooperatives such as the artificial cattle breeding associations, rural electrification, and telephone co-ops and insurance mutuals.

Work outside specialty

The following statistics will give a general breakdown of the number of cooperatives, membership, and approximate annual dollar volume business within each of the three categories in which cooperatives operate. However, it should be understood that some marketing cooperatives are also engaged in purchasing and the converse may be true of the purchasing and service associations. In other words a cooperative may be classified as one type but do business in more than one category.

Consequently total figures will not necessarily reflect exact amounts or numbers in some cases because of the duplication of operation factor. An example of this type of differentiation is found in the fact that there are some 3,300 purchasing cooperatives listed as such, but almost 7,500 associations are carrying on purchasing operations at the present time.

MARKETING COOPERATIVES

Today, there are more than 7,000 cooperatives engaged in marketing which do a volume business of \$9.25 billion annually. However, the readjustment figure, necessary because of duplication, indicates that some 6.500 specifically designated marketing cooperatives do a gross business volume of almost \$7.5 billion annually for more than a multiple \$7.5 billion annually for more than million farmer-members.

Some of the principal categories in which marketing cooperatives function are as

Cotton and cotton products co-ops

Approximately 550 cotton cooperatives, with a membership of some 380,000 members do an annual more than do an annual business volume of more than \$375 million. However, total cotton and cotton products operations carried on by nearly 570 cooperations. 570 cooperatives amount to more than \$435 Although their principal function is handling loan cotton, these associations have broadened their service to farmers by handling farm supplies, warehousing, compressing cotton, and processing cottonseed.

Dairy products cooperatives

Dairy marketing carried on by all cooperatives grossed nearly \$2.6 billion annually with 90 percent of this sum being netted by bona fide dairy associations-nearly 2,000for more than 825,000 members.

Dairy co-op functions are divided into three phases. Some handle fluid milk, some engage in manufacturing dairy products, and a third group merchandises the finished product.

Three-fourths of all the milk sold under Federal marketing orders-which is about one-fourth of United States market milkis handled by fluid milk cooperatives. Dairy associations handle about two-fifths of the butter, one-sixth of the cheese, more than one-half of the nonfat dry-milk solids and about one-tenth of the evaporated milk produced in this country.

Next to the grain co-ops, dairy cooperatives do the largest volume of marketing business for farmers.

Grain cooperatives

The largest single type cooperative is represented by the grain co-ops. Currently they number about 2,200 representing 900,000 members. Their total annual business volume grosses around \$2.3 billion with a \$2.5 billion volume being done by all cooperatives handling grain.

The dominant grain associations handle not only grain, but dry beans—including soybeans and soybean products—and rice. Their principal functions are to handle, merchandise, and provide storage space for all The latter function explains types of grains. the increase in the number of country elevators, new grain terminals and addition of more storage facilities at most grain handling points.

Livestock cooperatives

Today, nearly 550 cooperatives devoted basically to livestock and livestock marketing functions do an annual business of approximately \$1.75 billion for some 900,000 members which represents about 98 percent of the total livestock marketing done by all cooperatives.

The principal functions of these cooperatives are shipping, auctions, sales, meat packing, locker plants with slaughtering and processing facilities and research. primary objective is to provide producers with more satisfactory markets for their livestock and to carry such products closer to the customer.

Nut cooperatives

There are approximately 40 nut cooperatives serving a membership of more than 43,000 farmers which market gross \$126 million in nuts-including tree and peanutsyearly. This dollar volume figure represents about 98 percent of the total nut market transacted by about 75 associations.

Principal nuts handled are walnuts, almonds, pecans, and peanuts. Nut associa-tions are located in the South and on the west coast. Today's nut marketing finds the nut cooperative utilizing the latest merchandising techniques in carrying their members' product all the way to the consumer. A few are engaged in processing peanut butter and peanut oil.

Poultry and poultry-products co-ops

Only about 18 percent of the cooperatives marketing poultry products, according to latest tabulations, are classified poultryproducts marketing associations. A total gross sales of more than \$350 million is indicated annually for this market with the recognized associations—about 140—doing more than \$225 million worth of this volume.

Poultry cooperatives first specialized in eggs, which still make up the bulk of the business volume in this field, but they are now building volume in handling large quantities of chickens, turkeys, ducks, and other fowls, as well as providing chick-handling services.

Poultry co-ops are strongest in the West. but the broiler business has seen the advent of thriving cooperatives in the East.

Fruit and vegetable cooperatives

Slightly more than 800 fruit and vegetable cooperatives do a yearly gross business vol-ume of approximately \$900 million for some 138,000 members. This dollar figure represents better than 99 percent of the total fruit and vegetable business carried on by all cooperatives.

Fruit and vegetable associations are credited as being pioneers in their respective industries-in nationwide sales service, trade names, grading, processing, and merchandising.

They are continuing to pioneer in developing new food products, particularly in the juice-concentrate fields and in prepackaging.

Tobacco cooperatives

Twenty-nine tobacco cooperatives, handling the product of more than 700,000 members, do an annual gross business volume of approximately \$173 million. The business of these associations is reported as predominantly tobacco with no interassociation business-other co-ops in tobacco as a sidelinecontracted.

Tobacco cooperatives engage in sales-promotion programs, facility expansion, and in the development of new uses of tobacco.

Wool and mohair cooperatives

Latest reports indicate that there are more than 100 wool and mohair cooperatives in the Nation doing about \$40 million worth of business annually for almost 100,000

They have provided woolgrowers with substantial benefits from freight-rate reductions, expansion of existing storage-intransit privileges, changes in trap-car services, and absorption of switching charges.

Two hundred other marketing cooperatives

Marketing cooperatives falling into other categories which have not been discussed number about 200 and do an annual business of approximately \$340 million gross for some 77,000 members.

These categories include beans and peas co-ops, rice, sugar products (including sugar beets), forest products, and other miscellaneous associations.

Also included are those handling several types of commodities or furnishing special marketing or related services.

PURCHASING COOPERATIVES

Almost 7,500 cooperatives purchase supplies annually which gross some \$2.8 billion in sales. However, "legitimate" purchasing co-ops, of which there are about 3,300, gross \$2.2 billion of this amount in carrying out. their primary function for over 3 million farmer-members.

The \$2 billion plus gross sales is transacted by three types of purchasing cooperatives. They are the large regional associations or federated type, the local associations, and those which are called purchasing and marketing.

Feed \$1 billion item

These cooperatives supply their farmerpatrons with more than 5,000 different commodities. The largest single item is feed. of which a gross volume of over \$1 billion is realized yearly. This volume-in tons, 7 million-is attributed to some 4,000 co-ops which handle feed. However, over \$800 million is grossed on feed by approximately 1,800

purchasing co-ops alone.

Petroleum products, which have of late taken precedence over fertilizer, rank as second largest volume item handled by pur-

¹ The 1950 Census lists some 5.3 million farmers in the United States.

chasing co-ops-or some 20 percent of all the petroleum products used on American farms. Pertilizer annual gross volume sales now run close to \$300 million.

Other volume products

Other large volume items are seed, insecticides, dusts and spray materials, bags, machinery, automotive supplies, tools, electrical equipment, household appliances, livestock remedies, foodstuffs, coal, paints, roofing, barn equipment, farm implements, and machinery and building materials.

SERVICE COOPERATIVES

Although there are only a few more than 250 service cooperatives listed as such, latest tabulations indicate that over 4,000 associations are performing functions which may be classified in the services category.

Total receipts for all cooperatives perform ing service functions total more than \$114 million annually on the gross side of the Contributing the largest rate to this volume figure is ginning services performed by slightly more than 500 co-ops at a gross annual volume of about \$21 million. packing and picking, rice and rice drying, and livestock trucking services contributed substantially in the order listed to the total service gross volume figure.

Operations numerous

Other services performed by service co-ops and other associations performing operations in this category include drying grain, fruits, eggs, and milk; handling loan papers; repairmachinery; and other miscellaneous services.

The McCarran-Walter Immigration and Naturalization Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a very fine column on the McCarran-Walter Act and our immigration and naturalization policies, which was published in the Post-Star of Glens Falls, N. Y. The column was written by the Honorable Nathaniel P. Davis, who had a brilliant career as a Foreign Service officer and American diplomat, and who is now making his mark in upstate New York as a civic leader and as a commentator on affairs local, State, and national.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PEN SKETCHES

(By Nathaniel P. Davis)

One of the most important, most intricate, and at the same time most controversial acts of the 82d Congress was the McCarran-Walter immigration and naturalization law. ceived as a modernization and streamlining of a hodgepodge of laws dealing piecemeal with various aspects of immigration, it finally emerged from long and bitter debate, and surmounted a veto by President Truman, just about the time the 1952 campaign was getting under way. Both Mr. Eisenhower and Mr. Stevenson criticized some features of the act and promised remedial action if elected; and in at least one message President Eisenhower has recommended amendments, but so far nothing has been done.

Criticism of the law falls into two main categories: The first is that it continues the system of restricting immigration on the basis of national origins. That is a matter of policy and can be argued for or against with good conscience. The second is that it denies to foreigners, immigrants and temporary visitors alike, the equal protection of the laws and treats them as "some kind of second-class human beings not entitled to the normal amenities of a civilized social (The quotation is from a recently published statement by our own attorney general-elect, Mr. Javits.) That is a matter of morality and in my opinion is indefensible.

Section 242, for example, authorizes the Attorney General of the United States to arrange for appropriate places of detention" for aliens who for one reason or another have not been cleared for admission by the time their vessel docks. With the decrease in immigration to this country and the extension of pre-examination procedures by immigration inspectors stationed abroad and on board the larger liners, Ellis Island has been little used of late and recently it was

closed as an immigration station.

In carrying out his obligation to provide an appropriate place to house immigrants and visitors awaiting final clearance the best thing Mr. Brownell could think up was to lodge them in the Westchester County fail. What a greeting for foreign visitors to the land of the free and the home of the brave. It is one thing to jail a man who has been ordered deported upon conviction of some violation of the immigration laws, or who is being held for trial on legally filed charges of violation or attempted violation. It is quite another thing to imprison him while the complicated and sometimes time-consuming administrative procedures under our immigration laws pursue their normal course; and it is a matter of record that most of the immigrants and temporary visitors denied admission in recent years have been held up for technical and administrative reasons and that few of them have been excluded on final review of their cases. To lock such persons in jail on the mere say-so of an immigration inspector without the filing of criminal charges and without recourse to bail is scarcely in accord with our traditions.

This action by the Attorney General, which the McCarran-Walter Act authorizes, raised a storm of protest in letters to the New York Times, and in two editorials in that news-Whether or not in deference to those protests, the Department of Justice announced a few days ago that it had rescinded the order to hold detained aliens in jail, and that they will henceforth be housed in a hotel. That is all to the good, but it should not be forgotten that in issuing the order as well as in rescinding it the Attorney General was acting within the absolute discretion conferred on him by law. The incident is a heartening demonstration of the power of public opinion; but it also demonstrates the un-American quality of a law which permits human beings—any human beings—to be thrown into jail at the discretion of an administrative officer.

American Jews are now celebrating the 300th anniversary of the founding of the first Jewish community in this country. a short time in the long history of Jewry, but it goes back to the days before the United States was born. I am not aware that the arrival of those immigrants attracted any particular attention at the time or that there were any Dutch immigrration officials in New Amsterdam to go over their papers and with authority to put them in Jali while they did But the English colony of Massachusetts had a restrictive immigration law, forbidding the entry of Quakers on pain of death. Just about the time the first Jews were entering New York a group of Quakers entered Boston. They were imprisoned and four of them were hanged. It may be argued that they got no more than they asked for since they knowingly entered the colony in violation of law.

Be that as it may, the treatment accorded them was harsh, to say the least, by any modern standard of decency. We have progressed a little bit since then. We no longer hang illegal immigrants; we imprison and then deport them after conviction by due process of law. But in this supposedly enlightened day we are closer to our Massa-chusetts forebears than to the New Amsterdam Dutch when we pass laws empowering officials of the executive branch to imprison those who are applying for admission, who are not charged with any crime, with no right to ball and no recourse to habeas

Many people, even among those who favor the tightest kind of restriction on immigration, feel that there are other provisions of the McCarran-Walter Act which are widely at variance with American concepts of fairness and standards of decency. Since the President has already urged amendments to remove what he has called discriminations and injustices it is to be hoped that he will again bring the matter up in his state of the Union message next month. And the Congress could do a lot worse than demonstrate its bipartisan approach to questions of national importance by doing something about it.

Right To Work Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article entitled "Right to Work Laws," written by Arthur J. Goldberg, general counsel, Congress of Industrial Organizations, and published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of Tuesday, January 4, 1955.

The article is as follows:

RIGHT TO WORK LAWS

In a letter published on December 28, 1954. former Congressman Fred A. Hartley attacked the Washington Post and Times Herald for supporting Secretary of Labor Mitchell's views on the so-called State right to work He accuses you of either calculated cynicism or a failure to understand the issue. The accusation is more properly made with respect to Mr. Hartley's letter, although failure of understanding may seem unlikely in the titular coauthor of the Taft-Hartley

The fact is that under the Taft-Hartley Act a union which is freely selected by secret ballot by a majority of employees in any unit is obliged by law to bargain for all of the employees, whether or not they are members. The benefits secured by the union must, under the law, be given to all of the employees. When a union asks an employernot the Government—to agree voluntarily to a union shop it asks only that all of those who are legally entitled to the benefits secured by the union pay their share of the cost of securing those benefits.

This does not mean union monopoly. Only a union which has been selected by a majority of the employees is permitted by law to negotiate for a union shop provision. And the majority of the employees have the right, under the law, to select another union or no union by secret ballot at appropriate times, and, indeed, to revoke at any time the union's authority to negotiate for a union

showing equal lack of understanding is Mr. Hartley's comment that members can be expelled from unions "at the whim of union officials" and that, therefore, their livelihood is endangered if a union-shop agreement is in effect. Members cannot be so expelled, but, even if they could be, their livelihood would not be endangered because the law provides that under a union-shop agreement only failure to pay dues can be a ground for discharge or other discipline.

Mr. Hartley says that the repeal or nullification of the State laws would throw the weight of the Federal Government on the side of union compulsion. To the contrary, the present Taft-Hartley Act throws the weight of the Federal Government against unions. It permits the 17 or so States which forbid the union shop to enforce their laws but it prevents unions from negotiating for a closed or preferential stop in the 30 States which approve of such agreements. The present Federal law thus permits States to enforce laws which restrict union security more than the Federal law but prevents them from enforcing laws which are more liberal than the Federal law.

Finally, Mr. Hartley commends to the Post and Times Herald the comments of Mr. Justice Brandels against the closed shop. It is unfortunate that he did not quote all of what the late Justice said on the subject. Justice Brandels opposed the closed shop be-cause he favored the preferential shop, an arrangement much more advantageous unions than the union shop. In Brandeis' own words:

"The preferential shop is this: It is a shop in which union standards and conditions prevail, and in which the employer agrees, other things being equal, that he will employ union men-that he will give the union man a preference over a nonunion man.

"I should say to those employers who stand for the open shop that they ought to recognize that it is for their interest as well as that of the community that unions should be powerful and responsible; that it is to their interest to build up the unions, to aid as far as they can in making them stronger, and to create conditions under which the unions shall be led by the ablest and most experienced men. * * As nearly and most experienced men. . . as possible union existence should be assured so that the efforts of the leaders might be devoted to solving the fundamental and difficult problems of discipline and organization, and the working out of other problems of the trades."

It is unfortunate that the law which Mr. Hartley helped write forbids unions, irrespective of State laws, to negotiate for the preferential shop which Brandeis so strongly favored. But, at the very least, the words of the late Justice should not be quoted out of context to make it appear that he favored the open shop.

ARTHUR J. GOLDBERG, General Counsel, Congress of Industrial Organizations. WASHINGTON.

Christmas, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include

the following radio address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, December 18, 1954:

It may seem a long way from the manger Bethlehem to a New York penthouse high in the sky.

From a camel to a jet plane. Across the distance of 1,954 years.

And yet the stars above seem the same. While the life of a person who lives to be

80 is only a brief moment of awareness. The world today is in fearful worship of atomic energy, the primitive pagan deference to a terrifying force that we have not learned to control, just as our so-called uncivilized ancestors made sacrifices to the powerful but vengeful gods of the sun and the sea.

Man, with all his proud, material accomplishments, faces the future with greater uncertainty than ever before.

For now his finger rests lightly but nervously on the trigger of a mechanism, the two-edged weapon that could sear his whole world with fire and leave the few survivors in prehistoric darkness.

Ignoring at this Christmas of 1954 the miracle that took place at Bethlehem over 19 centuries ago, the miracle of love that is always available to save him from his weakness and his cruelty, if he will only try to live his life as God intended that he should.

Christmas, 1954, with its message of peace on earth to men of good will is an inspiring religious festival.

That brings faith and hope and purification to hundreds of millions of people.

To others it is but the commercial climax

of the year.
While heads of government search for answers to the unknown in the danger and the darkness beyond the neon-lighted streets, far off in the secret recesses of the brains that rule Moscow and Peiping, and plot to master the world by force and fraud and terror in place of God's redeeming love, we in the United States can be thankful for many blessings on this Christmas of 1954.

That we live in freedom under governments responsible to us, the sovereign peo-Without masters, or slaves.

With signs of progress all around us as America builds upward and outward. only servants are machines, tens of millions of them, that we control most of the time. Motor cars and planes, a loved one speaking to us across a continent, and pictures coming to us through the air as science gives us the magic eye and ear to be present at great events, no matter where they happen.

In laboratories, hospitals, and universities new miracles are unfolding to bring us health and happiness and greater understanding.

Everything quickens with life as express highways arch over our cities to expedite trade and travel, and people find the elbowroom for sunlit homes instead of dark tenements, in the countryside that is growing more ranch houses than crops.

And you think how wonderful it is to be 20 years of age and standing on the threshold of man's greatest progress.

Here in America, where all the machines and tools and techniques are banishing the poverty and the back-breaking toil, and the worry, that have stunted the growth of many.

are thankful for the schools and We churches of our land. For the good that people do, because they are free to develop the best within them without fear of Government reprisals. Freedom to think, and speak, and do, and pray.

With these liberating powers, we can eventually solve any problem-if we have enough time.

We Americans have weathered many storms—for independence, for unity, for progress, and survival.

We suffered hardship and despair, but our faith in what is right gave us the strength to surmount all difficulties.

Sometimes our leaders made tragic blunders. Sometimes we were late in waking up to the betrayers; to those who put money, power, and pride above all else; to the fanatics of the right and of the left.

In spite of these dangers, the good commonsense of the average American, his decency, and his regard for other people, managed to keep us on a steady course.

These are the gifts we have received from freedom under God, for which we are grateful at this Christmastide, as we commemorate the Birthday of our Saviour whose life on earth pointed the way to brotherhood and peace to men of good will.

Most of the world longs for peace and equality of opportunity, but a few evil men are not satisfied with this. In the name of the false god of communism, they would enslave mankind, stripping their fellow humans of mind and soul and dignity-to satisfy their consuming lust for power and to heal the sickness of their own insecurity.

We could be sorry for these tyrants because their desperate cruelty is a confession that they are lost and are trying to cut through the jungle of their own hates and

We could be forgiving but for their present brutality and their continuing aggres-

On December 10 Molotov declared before a rally of would-be conquerors-and I quote: "There is no force in the world strong enough to stop the march of communism.

Mr. Molotov is in error.

There are forces to crush the Communist assault upon humanity, if we had the determination to employ them effectively.

One is military: The use of our presently superior weapons to win a quick and decisive preventive war.

Another is economic: Aid to free nations that will enable them to develop a higher standard of living-and, by contrast, expose the failures of communism-similar to the progress of West Berlin as compared with the rundown condition of East Berlin, which is under Soviet control.

A third is moral: Reaching through to the captive peoples under the hammer and sickle, with the beliefs and the aspirations that we share in common, encouraging them to prepare for the day of their own libera-

As to military means, time is the diminishing factor.

The United States, which has a clear superiority in nuclear weapons and the means of bringing them on target, did not unleash this overwhelming power against communism. Instead, it asked Russia and other nations to join in a workable plan, guaranteed by inspection and supervision, to outlaw nuclear weapons as a step toward disarmament and genuine world peace.

The Communists rejected this generous

There can be only one answer.

Communist Russia is playing for time to assemble a sufficient supply of A-bombs and H-bombs, and long-range aircraft and guided missiles, that will force Europe and Asia to capitulate to its demands, thereby isolating the United States.

Our positions would be reversed.

The Nation would be at the mercy of the Communists, and no clear-thinking person could expect them to exercise the charity and forbearance that is guiding our foreign policy today as time, that is now on our side, is running out.

What should we do before it is too late? The power advantage may be ours for 2 or 3 or possibly a few more years.

How are we going to use it in order to establish a foolproof peace?

By helping other nations to become materially strong and confident as a bulwark against communism.

By carrying psychological warfare to the Russian people, so that they will rise up to overthrow their despotic rulers?

By preventive war now to destroy the Communist regimes in Russia and China and replace them with governments representative of the Russian and Chinese peoples, who will cooperate with the United Nations to outlaw aggression forever?

This last is a hard alternative.

It may be the only one if the other alternatives do not show results, and soon.

Even preventive war is a choice that is limited by time.

Once Communist Russia catches up with

us that chance is gone.

If anyone thinks that the Communists will change their design for world conquest if we will only be nice to them, or believes that we should just wait for a revolution by the oppressed peoples of Russia and China, then that person should consult a psychiatrist.

We will not survive without leadership and without a positive program to defeat communism.

Perhaps, as some suggest, we should serve an ultimatum upon the Communist tyrants through the United Nations while we still have the upper hand, establishing a deadline before which they must agree to a universal program of disarmament, made effective by U. N. inspection and control, or suffer atomic annihilation of their military and industrial centers.

Drastic? Yes.

But the need to establish and enforce an international system of law and order is imperative if the world is to escape enslavement or utter destruction, as time is running out for this as well as other alternatives.

How can we reach through to our fellow human beings behind the Iron Curtain now to build a common cause that will forever

outlaw aggression?

So many of these captive peoples treasure the meaning of Christmas, hoping for freedom as they pray before home altars, safe for the moment from the secret police.

Christmas, 1954, is but I week away.

When freedom and slaves ask for the greatest gift of all—the way to find peace with honor for all men of good will.

Research in Blinding Eye Diseases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, because those disease of the eyes which result in blindness have been brought close to home to me, my interest in the research programs being carried on has certainly increased.

Recently a group of doctors conducting research in retrolental fibroplasia, an eye disease which has affected 50 percent of those premature infants weighing 31/2 pounds or less at birth, discovered a practical prevention of almost all of this disease. There is no doubt that this discovery is far more important to the people of our country than any other medical discovery; as this might well pave the way for the eventual cure of the majority of our eye diseases.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a short statement with reference to this discovery.

Today, we are spending less than \$2 million for medical research in the blinding eye diseases—a group of conditions which more than any other group stakes a claim on the American taxpayer-for the education, training, and support of the blind. What we are spending for research today is just a little more than we have been spending for the past decadein spite of the overwhelming evidence that such research can either prevent or cure disorders of the eye.

Last year and, indeed, the year before, I asked that the appropriations of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness be increased with a view toward strengthening the weak national research programs in both the neurological and sensory disorders. As you know, those increases were given, so that now the budget of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness stands at \$7,600,000 and the number of investigations on blinding eye disorders conducted throughout the United States has burgeoned by 25 to 30 percent.

This research attack is still pitifully small, but to the citizens of this country, Congress' action on the Institute's appropriations may well be a source of deep gratitude. In the short span of 2 years, rapid progress has been made against eye disease; modes of prevention and treatment have been developed with the results that thousands now are escaping the helpless fate of darkened vision and the economic burden of their care, which is the country's responsibility, has been lightened.

Let me illustrate just one of the many achievements made under the eye research programs of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness. This achievement represents the virtual conquest of retrolental fibroplasia, a blinding eye disease which affected 50 percent of those premature infants weighing 3½ pounds or less at birth. Retrolental fibroplasia may be an unfamiliar disease to you, but for 5.000 mothers in this country whose children have completely lost their sight because of this condition its name spells constant despair. It is the leading cause of blindness in children; and each of the 5,000 children individually costs the community, State, and Federal governments more than does a single victim of any other disease-\$100,000 for education, training, and support from birth to death, or for all, a grand total of \$500

This past month, however, the practical prevention of almost all retrolental fibroplasia became a dramatic reality. On September 14, Dr. V. Everett Kinsey of the Kresge Eye Institute in Detroit, summed up the results of a 1-year study of retrolental fibroplasia before a large gathering of eye specialists from all over the United States and from all over the continent as well. What he had to say was simple—the major contributing cause of the disease was oxygen, the oxygen which was routinely adminis-

tered to premature children in hospital incubators. The way to stop retrolental fibroplasia was to stop using oxygen, except where urgently needed in crisis.

Dr. Kinsey, I should point out, was speaking on behalf of more than 75 pediatricians and ophthalmologists who during the past year have worked in close coordination in 18 hospitals throughout the United States to come up with the answer. The answer was made possible by the Government through support of the study by the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness. The answer-oxygen-perhaps sounds simple to you, yet it represented the end of what had been a long, hard 12-year hunt for the cause of the disease on the part of hundreds of scientists.

Their quest may prove as interesting to you as it is for me. Retrolental fibroplasia, I should tell you, was first de-scribed in the United States in 1942 by a Dr. T. L. Terry. Dr. Terry, himself, tried to explain why the blood-carrying tissues of the eyes were affected in retrolental fibroplasia. He thought the condition was due to factors affecting the mother during pregnancy-possibly toxemia or hemorrhage. Many others believed as Terry did, though they could not find sufficient evidence to support their beliefs.

Retrolental fibroplasia mysteriously continued to grow in incidence from 1942 on, and it began to appear as well in England, on the Continent and elsewhere. More and more it became evident that the disease was probably not related to the condition of the mother during pregnancy but to the changing care of infants in hospitals. Many causes for the disorder were suggestednutritional deficiencies in the infant or. again, nutritional excesses; irritation of light on the infants' eyes or possibly not sufficient light; mother's milk was first implicated, then cow's milk. As one set of facts were established to support a given theory, another set arose to contradict them. None of them were statistically sound.

By 1951, oxygen had also been suggested as the cause of retrolental fibroplasia-too little oxygen, however, not too much. At the same time, one hospital had noted that the incidence of retrolental fibroplasia seemed to parallel the increasing introduction and use of oxygen-bearing incubators in their maternity wards. But the real possibility that oxygen was the contributing cause could not be substantiated else-

In 1953 the first real breakthrough came. Dr. Arnall Patz, of Georgetown University, working with newborn rats, proved that constant oxygen administration, such as was routinely given to premature infants in our hospitals, could cause retrolental fibroplasia. Dr. Patz' work was supported by the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness.

Whether what was true for animals would prove true for humans remained to be proved. A clinical study of premature infants weighing 31/2 pounds or less at birth posed a major problem. Such a study, if conducted at a single hospital, might take 3, 4, or even 5 years

before enough premature infants were born so that results of the study would be statistically valid. If the vital answer were to be obtained as rapidly as possible-and with children blinded each day by retrolental fibroplasia, speed was essential—then a number of hospitals working on the same problem at the same time under the same strict scientific rules of evidence would be needed.

Such a study as this would require considerable funds. The National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness with its increased appropriations could now make most of the funds avail-Just as important, to muster the combined research strength of a large number of distinguished investigators would require organizational capacity of a high order. Through its grantees, however, the Institute had access to some of the leading scientists in the country who might participate in the investigation. With the creation of a subcommittee composed of some of those scientists who worked closely with the Institute, so was born one of the broadest research studies on a single medical problem ever conceived.

The results of this study you now know. That study, you should know, cost the Government just \$40,000. To this sum was added another \$11,000 by the National Foundation for Eye Research and the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness. It appears that the cause of blindness for 5,000 babies has been prevented at a cost of \$51,000—\$10.50 per baby blinded from this cause in this country. The cost of care for 5,000 blind babies will be, for our generation, 100,000 times the cost of the prevention for the future. It appears that we have also removed one more source of pain and misery from the world.

The scientific attack on disease is not always so productive so rapidly. Yet there can be no question that the more effort science can devote to medical problems, the more successful science can be. Let science, through us, in short, attack the dreadful problems of glaucoma, cataract, and diabetic retinopathy on the scale these problems deserve and we count on their answers too—sooner rather than later.

Higher Pay Scale Could Improve Congress Caliber

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to note a substantial amount of recent discussion of the oftmentioned but oft-postponed salary increases for Members of Congress. Every responsible group which has recently studied this question has recommended substantial pay increases. It is my personal feeling that Members of Congress should receive the same pay as Members of the President's Cabinet.

Because it demonstrates an intelligent understanding of this problem, I am inserting herewith an editorial written by Gib Koenig, which appeared in the Waukesha (Wis.) Freeman, my hometown newspaper:

HIGHER PAY SCALE COULD IMPROVE CONGRESS CALIBER

A much needed and long overdue pay increase for Congressmen and Federal judges may meet with favor in the new Congress. Representative Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania, announces he will introduce a bill raising congressional pay from \$15,000 to \$27,500 with larger expense allowances. The judges will profit by increases of \$12,500 to \$14,500. This would give some judges salaries as high as \$40,000; others would be close to \$30,000. These sums will raise an outcry from the unthinking who themselves have never been paid \$25,000 a year, and see no reason why anyone else should. They would be willing to serve in Congress for \$15,000. and think the present Representatives should not mind doing so. They overlook the fact that men of real competence could earn more than that in private practice of their businesses or professions. While public spirit causes many to hold office at a secrifice, public spirit does not move many to stay in politics when it means hardships for their families.

All congressional pay is not pure velvet. Many expenses go with the position; \$15,000 is not nearly so large a sum for Congressmen

Is Our Defense Policy Based on the Nation's Needs or on Questionable Campaign Promises?

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I wish to call attention to a column by Mr. Roscoe Drummond which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald on January 5, 1955. Mr. Drummond predicts that the administration's cut in military manpower will not go unchallenged and states that he has information that the proposed cut in military manpower was not approved by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Secretary of the Army, or the Secretary of the Navy, and that these cuts were originally opposed by the Secretary of Defense until he was ordered to approve them. Mr. Drummond states that the only reason given for making the cuts was the desire of the administration to bring the budget more nearly into balance.

The defense of our country must not be jeopardized for the purpose of attempting to place certain campaign promises of the administration in a more favorable light. The article to which I refer appears below:

WHY THE DEFENSE CUT?—REAL REASONS HELD NOT GIVEN

(By Roscoe Drummond)

The Eisenhower administration is not yet giving the American people either a candid

or a full explanation of why it is reducing by 400,000 the manpower strength of the Armed Forces by June 1956.

It will have to be franker and more persuasive than it has thus far if it is to convince the country and the Congress that its drastic reduction is wise at this time.

The administration will have to lay out its real reasons at its own initiative-or Congress will extract those reasons, painfully and piecemeal, from uncomfortable witnesses when the military committee goes to committee.

Senator RICHARD B. RUSSELL (Democrat. Georgia), who, with the convening of the new Congress, resumes his post this week as chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, is quite properly calling for an inquiry into why we are making such a large cut in the Army at a time of atomic stale-

"We are certainly going into this very thoroughly," says Senator Russell, himself one of the most responsible men in the Senate, "and get the views and the reasoning of those who are proposing the reduction.'

Senator Russell does not say he cannot be persuaded that this manpower reduction is sound, but it is plain that he is not satisfied with the reasons so far advanced.

And what are those reasons?

Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson cited as reason for the proposed cuts the assumption that the danger of war in the visible future has lessened.

Secretary of State John Foster Dulles cited reason for the reductions the view that the technological improvements in weapons makes it possible to achieve equal defense with fewer men.

It does seem odd that the two leading spokesmen of the administration should give such divergent reasons for cutting the Army, Navy, and Marines. Are they offering halftruths, which means that they are half untrue? Or are they incidental truths but not the controlling reasons? Why do the official explainers diverge so in their explanations?

The explanations are not, I believe, halftruths, but even when added together are more than two-tenths of the whole

The argument can be made that there is less danger of war than there was a year ago, but this is a very speculative judgment which could not possibly be a controlling basis for national policy.

There are technological improvements in

weapons, but at a time when we may not always find it in our national interest to atomic weapons to defend against possible aggressions; it is doubtful that these improvements constitute a controlling reason for sharply reducing the size of the Army.

If these reasons are not controlling, what then? Why does the administration propose to drop 400,000 men out of the Armed Forces during the next 18 months?

My information is:

That the proposed manpower reduction does not have the support of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

That it is opposed by the civilian Secretary of the Army, Robert T. Stevens, and the civilian Secretary of the Navy, Charles S. Thomas.

That the Pentagon decision against such cuts was originally indorsed by Secretary of Defense Charles E. Wilson, who held to it until ordered otherwise.

That the only reason given to the Pentagon for making the cuts was the desire of the administration to bring the budget more nearly into balance.

Perhaps a case can be made to hold up that it is more important to our economy to trim the size of the Army than it is to our security to maintain the size of the Army, but this case has certainly not been made. Perhaps President Eisenhower, viewing our defensive capacities from his long career as a military commander, can certify to the Nation that the manpower cuts are prudent. But there can be no doubt that Mr. Elsenhower as President and as Commander in Chief must soon begin to expound his decision frankly and explicitly.

Moro Province Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RUSSELL V. MACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, I reintroduced in the House today the bill which is commonly known as the Moro Province bill.

This bill is designed to provide longdelayed justice to a small group of less than 500 war veterans and to less than 300 of their dependent widows and children.

The 500 veterans who will benefit from this legislation fought valiantly and nobly 50 years ago in the Moro Provinces and in the islands of Samar and Leyte in the Philippines. They have been deprived of pensions all of these years due to a minor technicality. The injustice done them can be corrected only by an act of Congress. To correct that injustice is the purpose of my Moro Province bill.

That the members of the Veterans' Committee, who have studied this bill closest and know most about the case, believe an injustice has been done and should be corrected is indicated by the fact that the House Veterans' Affairs Committee four times has approved unanimously bills to provide pensions to the Moro Province veterans.

In the 78th and 79th Democratic Congresses, the Veterans' Committee unanimously reported a Moro Province bill similar to the one which I introduced today.

In the 80th and 83d Republican Congresses, the Veterans' Committee, like the ones in previous democratically controlled Congresses, unanimously reported favorably bills similar to the Moro Province bill I have introduced.

In the 78th Congress, the Moro Province bill was passed by both Houses of Congress, but was vetoed by President Roosevelt. In the 79th Congress, the House again passed this bill, but it died for lack of action in the Senate.

In the 80th and 83d Congresses, the Veterans' Committee again unanimously approved a Moro Province bill. The Rules Committee, however, held up these bills, and they never were reported for House action.

The cost of the Moro Province bill for its first year was estimated at about \$700,000. This figure will decrease rapidly after the first year since the Moro veterans are of an average age of 78 years.

The case for the Moro Province bill is this:

Technically and legally, the war with Spain and the Philippine Insurrection ended on July 4, 1902, when the President issued a proclamation of peace. Actually, however, the fighting did not stop. It continued for several years in the Moro Provinces and on Leyte and Samar. American soldiers fought there. A total of 1,548 casualties and deaths from disease occurred. Soldiers engaged in this fighting received 13 Congressional Medals of Honor.

Despite the severity of the fighting and the many casualties these veterans never have been recognized as wartime fighters and have been denied veteran pension rights. Half a century has elapsed since the hostilities. The Moro Province bill which I introduced today would merely provide delayed justice to the handful of Moro veterans who are still alive. The cost is very small.

These veterans have been denied war status and pensions because officially the war had, by proclamation, been terminated. Recently, soldiers in Korea have been granted war and pension rights even for services rendered after the fighting had stopped. Here in the Moro Province and on Samar and Leyte, where the fighting continued after the proclamation of peace, veterans are denied pensions.

Obviously, justice to these Moro Province war veterans has been overlooked. This injustice should be corrected even if Congress is 50 years late in doing so.

I hope that the House Veterans' Committee will report my Moro Province bill favorably and that the Rules Committee will permit it to come to a vote. I am sure that if it is permitted to come to a vote the Moro Province bill will, as it did in two previous sessions, be approved unanimously or almost unanimously.

Reciprocal Trade Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JERE COOPER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement:

CHAIRMAN JERE COOPER OF THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS INTRODUCES H. R. 1, PROVIDING FOR A 3-YEAR EXTENSION OF THE PRESIDENT'S AUTHORITY TO ENTER RECIPRO-CAL TRADE AGREEMENTS

Chairman Jere Cooper, Committee on Ways and Means, today introduced H. R. 1, which would extend for 3 years the President's authority to enter trade agreements. The bill is patterned along the lines of the President's recommendations to the last Congress on foreign economic policy of the United States, which were based on the findings and recommendations of the Randall Commission.

In addition to the 3-year extension, H. R. 1 would authorize the President to reduce duties in three alternative ways: (1) 15 percent below the July 1, 1955, rates by reductions of not more than 5 percent in each of the 3 years under the extension; or (2) to 50 percent of the rate existing on January 1, 1945, in the cases of items which are not

being imported or which are being imported only in negligible quantities; or (3) to 50 percent ad valorem, in the case of any rates now in excess of 50 percent ad valorem.

As under the first alternative, the reductions under the other alternatives would be gradual with no reduction becoming effective until the previous one had been in effect for a year. In the case of the first alternative authority, no decrease could be made effective after June 30, 1958.

The bill would also require the President to report annually on the trade-agreements program, and would authorize the President to reduce duties by 50 percent below the January 1, 1945, rate unilaterally in the case of products which are not being imported or which are being imported only in negligible quantities.

Mr. Cooper stated:

"Our trade-agreements program is now at the crossroads. Through such programs as economic aid, technical assistance, and our efforts to bolster production in the free nations of the world, we have helped reestablish their war-torn economies. These nations are now in a position where they can and are willing to stand on their own feet. We must try to, on our part, help lay the foundations on which a stable foreign trade can be built. If we do not permit the free nations to trade with us, they will be forced to trade elsewhere, and in many cases this can only mean Russia and her satellites.

Our reciprocal trade agreements program occupies a prominent place in our overall foreign policy, and it is essential that we reaffirm at this time our determination to continue and to liberalize this program in the interest of constructive and cooperative international effort and relations. The for-eign policy of the United States depends to a great extent upon the cooperation of strong and healthy free nations. Our tariff and trade policies are especially significant because of our outstanding position of leadership and economic importance. We must help the free nations in every way possible to find the means with which to earn dollars which to buy our exports. Otherwise their shortages of dollars will force them to restrict imports from us, and this will result in a further loss of our export markets which will mean less wages to labor, profits to businesses and farmers, and taxes to our Govern-

"The main way in which we can help provide dollars to the free nations with which to buy our goods is to buy imports from them. With world conditions being what they are today, none of the free nations can afford to become either economically, politically, or militarily isolated from the others. One of the best known tenets of communism is that the way to divide and conquer the free nations of the world is through trade wars. Russia and the countries which she dominates are making an all-out effort to encourage the free nations to trade with them.

"A realistic foreign trade policy on our part will contribute to an expanding world economy, establish and maintain in all the free countries rising levels of employment and real income and create economic conditions which are conducive to world peace. We must strive, in making our decisions on foreign-trade policy, to base them to the maximum extent possible on our national interests. Such a policy will benefit all segments of our economy—agricultural, labor, and industrial alike.

"In my opinion, H. R. 1 is a modest though realistic step in the direction of an expanded market for our exports, while at the same time permitting free nations to earn their own way by increasing their exports to us. I do not now, nor have I ever, advocated the surrendering of our markets to foreign goods; however, I do feel that we can—through enactment of H. R. 1—greatly strengthen the economies of the free world as well as our

own, while at the same time still providing realistic protection for our own industries

and agriculture.

'A realistic and constructive foreign-trade policy on the part of all the free nations of the world is more important today than it has ever been in the past. If we fail on our part to do our share to bring about such a foreign-trade policy, the other free nations of the world of the world will despair in their cooperative efforts with us to fight communistic aggression and subversion. Our position of lead-ership in the world today demands that we be a moving factor in expanding world trade."

Keep Your Guard Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ERRETT P. SCRIVNER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Speaker, on December 18, 1954, I had the pleasure and privilege of making the dedicatory address at the ceremony dedicating the Kansas National Guard Armory, at Ottawa, Kans., the future home of Headquarters Battery, 127th Field Artillery Battalion, Capt. Thomas E. Gleason, commanding.

As I began my remarks, which follow. jet planes, flown by Air National Guard men, roared over in salute:

If I were to give my remarks any titlewould call it "Keep Your Guard Up," for in this world of international conflict, just as in the fight ring, any relaxation in our defense might very well give any determined enemy the opening he has looked and waited for. Those jets which have just roared over-head are proof of the modernization of the National Guard.

To many, a small local unit of the National Guard may seem unimportant. If it were the only such unit it might be-but this battery is but one of thousands throughout the country—all of which put together makes up 27 divisions of ground troops, to which we can add 27 Air National Guard wings—a very vital and important part of our entire

national defense.

The National Guard is not new-it is the successor to the old militia—the Minute Men of the Revolutionary War—and the advance made in those long historic years is made evident in this very unit.

Once we heard the phrase that we can call a million men to arms overnight." If that ever was true, even in the day and age of the soldier armed with a musket, it certainly is far from true today.

For today, the National Guard man, as you have seen in the parade, is equipped with modern complex weapons, which require skill operate—and skill to maintain; motor vehicles by the thousands, instead of foot travel or animal traction; radio and other complex communications equipment, instead of the simple semaphore flags; complex electronic computers, instead of pencil and pad or paper; radar detection, instead of far-flung outposts, or clumsy observation ballons.

All of these new weapons, not to mention automatic hand weapons, not to many and so many other items including the Honest John Tooks and automatic Honest John rocket and NIKE antiaircraft installations require time to master their effective operation; they require adequate efficient classrooms, such as you'll find here.

Too much credit cannot be given these citizen soldiers of the National Guard, who give up their time from pleasures and families during the week, and their vacations in summer-all that this Nation may be secure. No one knows when again our Guard units will be called into Federal Service. Maybe tomorrow—maybe not till next year, 10 years from now; perhaps never. But whenever it is they will again perform their services as they have in the past.
In World War I, over one-quarter of the

troops in combat in Europe were National Guard troops—including the 35th Division from Kansas and Missouri, in which I served

as a private first class.

World War II saw 9 National Guard units in Europe, again the 35th was there, and 9 units in the Pacific. All of these turned in magnificent records of combat.

From the ranks of the National Guard

came officers and noncommissioned officers to

train new troops.

In fact, the contribution of the National Guard in both those wars was so great that one shudders to think what might have happened to our country without them ready to answer the call of their country. Again, Korea made the need of National

Guard units quite apparent.

With all of our Regular troops withdrawn from this country-National Guard troops were ready to defend the continental United States, if needed, just as they have always been, and now are ready to do.

Citizens of Ottawa can well be proud of their national guardsmen—and proud of themselves for the part they have played in making the new fine armory available-not only for training of this local unit, but available for community affairs of many kinds.

Looking at it from a selfish angle, you have made a good investment, not only in having well-trained military men in your but from a financial angle as Every 3 months new money in the form of pay comes into town-and it turns drill over 7 times, which here in Ottawa means new business. It means greater national security, upon which the security of each individual depends.

So, I join with you in the joy you have in dedicating this building to the services of our State and Nation, to be used for the training of the youth of your community for service in time of peace—or war. Young men, who I am sure, will—in the future, as their fathers in the past-serve with loyalty, courage, and skill—serving in such a fine manner that they, and you, will have great pride in them and their exploits.

Though they will be prepared, and better prepared, with these facilities, than they would have been otherwise, let us hope— yes—let us fervently pray—that they need never be called upon to serve in time of war.

In conclusion, as a part of this dedication ceremony, I wish to present to Captain Gleason, battery commander, a United States flag, which, at my request, was recently flown over the United States Capitol.

This flag, no different from any other, is more than mere threads of red, white, and blue. In its folds are contained all of the past and future of this great Nation.

And, as Francis Scott Key said, in those closing words of our national anthem-

"Long may it wave o'er the land of the free and the home of the brave."

And it will wave long, because this is the land of the free and the home of the brave. Free because our men are brave.

Brave because they have faith.

Faith in themselves.

Faith in their country. Faith in its future.

And above all because they have an abiding faith in God-the divine providence that has guided and guarded our beloved Republic.

Soil Conservation Service Should Not Be Crippled

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STUART SYMINGTON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. SYMINGTON. Mr. President, for myself and on behalf of my colleague. the distinguished senior Senator from Missouri [Mr. Hennings], I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "If Soil Conservation Service Is Crippled, Conservation Will Be Set Back by 20 Years," relating to the Soil Conservation Service. The article was written by one of the great farm leaders of Missouri and of the entire country, Mr. Fred V. Heinkel, president of the Missouri Farmers Association, and was published in the Missouri Farmer for January 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

IF SOIL CONSERVATION SERVICE IS CRIPPLED, CONSERVATION WILL BE SET BACK BY 20

(By Fred V. Heinkel, president, Missouri Farmers Association)

Unless Congress intervenes, it looks as though the Soil Conservation Service may soon be broken up into 48 pieces, and its constructive program of conserving and rebuilding our valuable land resources wrecked.

The wrecking of Soil Conservation Service has been recommended by a subcommittee of President Eisenhower's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. The recommendations of this subcommittee, which will be studied by the big committee, would discontinue Soil Conservation Service as a Federal program and pass it on to the 48 States, with funds to be on a matching basis. transition period of 5 years is recommended

for making the changes.

The subcommittee recommends that the transition to a grant-in-aid basis be effected along the following lines: (a) The transition period to be spread over a 5-year period; (b) during the first year Soil Conservation Service technicians to be transferred from Federal to State rolls, with the States receiving 100 percent Federal grants during this period; (c) the second year, an adjusted matching arrangement is to be provided for between the Federal Government and the States; (d) the third and fourth years, provision to be made for shifting over to an equalizing grant basis with Federal funds allocated on a formula giving weight to such factors as area and type of farmland, farm population, per capita income, etc., with a sliding scale for matching to run from onethird to two-thirds, depending upon State fiscal capacity as measured by State per capita income.

Membership of the subcommittee which made the recommendations includes R. L. Nowell, vice president of Equitable Life Associations Society; Edward J. Condon, vice president of Sears, Roebuck & Co.; Dr. Frederick Lawson Hovde, president of the Association of Land Grant Colleges; Phillip Aylesworth, USDA; Fred B. Glass, National Association of County Officials; W. C. Jacobsen, director of agriculture, State of Callfornia; John A. Logan, president of National Association of Food Chains; Herschel D. Newsom, master of the National Grange; Robert A. Rowan, chairman, R. A. Rowan & Co., Los Angeles; and Senator Andrew Schoeppel, of Kansas. Mr. Newsom was the only farmer on the committee, and he was the only member who voted against the recommendations.

The big committee, to whom the recommendations were made and which will in turn report to President Eisenhower, is chairmanned by Meyer Kestnbaum, president of Hart, Schaffner & Marx (clothiers). Nearly all the other 25 members are far removed from agriculture.

Briefly, the Soil Conservation Service, a branch of USDA, furnishes technical and other services in soll and water conservation to soil-conservation districts and individual farmers who are cooperators in such districts. Local soil-conservation districts are established as local units of government, and conduct their operations in accordance with State enabling legislation.

Soil-conservation practices which are undertaken by the farm operator are paid for by the operator. The Federal Government furnishes technical advice and assistance, such as laying out terraces, farm ponds, and making farm plans.

Approximately 2,500 of the Nation's 3,000 counties had soil-conservation districts at the end of 1953. Missouri has only 32 districts. As a result of our State not having districts in all its 114 counties, Missouri has been passing up approximately \$1 million each year in Federal funds that have been available to us. Soil Conservation Service funds do not require matching by States, counties, or individuals.

It will be a colossal mistake for Congress to allow Soil Conservation Service to be divided into 48 pieces, as now recommended by the subcommittee of the President's Commission on Intergovernmental Relations. Before Soil Conservation Service was established by the Federal Government the 48 States were doing very little about soil conservation; and I predict that if this recommendation is carried out, very little money for continuing the work will ever be appropriated by the States, including Missouri.

The initial responsibility for conserving the soil rests with the individual farmers; and they are doing their best to save their soil. But there are serious limitations to what individual farmers can do in soil-conservation operations. Because of limited financial means, equipment, and technical knowledge, they must have help from Government. The responsibility for that help does not belong on the States; it belongs squarely on the Federal Government.

The need for food is universal. Everybody has a stake in soil conservation, because everybody is interested in products of the soil. The areas of concentrated population and the areas where food products are raised very seldom lie within the same State. It is the responsibility of the Nation to see that the soil in the growing districts is saved from erosion and loss of fertility if the people in the thickly populated districts are not to go hungry.

This proposal to shunt soil-conservation responsibilities to the individual States is a typical example of the general trend among Federal Government officials these days. They are constantly advocating shifting burdens and responsibilities to the States, but never do you hear one of them recommend lowering the Federal taxes in order to give the States a chance to increase their revenue.

For instance, our State income tax here is relatively low. However, we canont increase it because the citizens of our State are paying such high income taxes to the Federal Government. The same is true of tobacco, liquor, and many other taxes. I am not advocating it, but I contend that if the State of Missouri were permitted to keep the income taxes that now go to the Federal Government, we in Missouri could get along fairly well on our own.

We have made a lot of progress with soil-conservation work since Soil Conservation Service was established by the Federal Government in 1935. But the point has not yet been reached where we have arrested the decline in soil fertility. In spite of the miles of terraces we have built, the ever increasing number of tons of plant foods we have used, and all the other good soil conserving practices we have employed, the loss in fertility still has not been overcome. We should now be accelerating our pace instead of taking a step backward, as proposed.

If Soil Conservation Service is crippled, as

If Soil Conservation Service is crippled, as recommended, it is my firm belief that soil conservation will be set back by 20 years. The Missouri Farmers Association will urge Missouri's delegation in Congress to resist any such reorganization of the Service.

Moreover, we shall support the soil districts association in Missouri in its efforts to amend our own State soil districts law so as to make it easier for farmers to establish soil districts in Missouri.

Farmers living in counties where soil districts exist report to us that they use, apprecite, and are highly pleased with the services they have been receiving from soil district technicians. It is unfortunate that farmers in other counties of our State have been unable to enjoy such services.

It is also most unfortunate for Missouri farmers that our State has been passing up \$1 million in Federal funds that would be available if every county had a soil district. These funds which we have not been using have been going to other States. If Missouri farmers had received the money, it would have made no difference in our tax bills. As of now we are simply paying taxes to help farmers in other States.

Our population is growing at the rate of 2 million per year. If these on-coming generations are to be well fed, the general public had better join forces with us farmers to do everything possible to conserve our soft and build up its fertility.

Wanted: A 49th State

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RUSSELL V. MACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, our forefathers who founded this Republic fought a costly and bloody war to free themselves from the tyranny of taxation without representation. Yet we, their descendants, today, impose taxation without representation upon the 523,000 inhabitants of Hawaii.

Hawaiian youths are drafted to serve in the Armed Forces of our country. The Hawaiian people must pay the same tax rates as those levied upon the citizens of our 48 States. The Hawaiians must abide by our laws. But Hawaiians have no vote in the making of draft laws, in the fixing of tax schedules or in enacting any law.

This obviously is unfair and not in keeping with America's historic traditions. The situation should be speedily remedied by the enactment early in this new session of Congress of a law that will make Hawaii the 49th State.

The people of Hawaii, during the past year, paid a greater amount of taxes into the Federal Treasury than did the citizens of 11 of our present States; these being Arizona, Idaho, Nevada, New Hampshire, Montana, New Mexico, North Dakota, Utah, Vermont, and Wyoming.

Hawaii, today, has a greater population than four of our States; these being Delaware, Nevada, Vermont, and Wyoming.

Some say Hawaii is too remote from the Capitol in Washington, but she is closer to it, in travel time, than was Nebraska or Kansas at the time of their admission to the Union.

Congress should act quickly to right an old injustice by voting statehood to Hawaii soon so that her people may exercise the American right of voting for citizens to represent them in the Congress and for others to be President and Vice President of the Republic.

His Holiness Pope Pius XII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include an address by His Holiness, Pope Pius XII, to the members of the governing body of the International Labor Organization.

I am particularly pleased because the ILO has been under attack at various times in this country, and in this Congress, on what was termed favoritism to communism. Having been a member on four different occasions as a delegate to the International Labor Organization, I am familiar with its activities and acquainted with its top personnel; and I can personally vouch, therefore, for their thorough patriotism and their intense dislike for communism, and I have expressly said so many times.

Pope Pius Tells Labor To Aim Higher (Address by His Holiness Pope Pius XII on the occasion of the audience granted to the

members of the governing body of ILO)
Although we have frequently had the opportunity in the course of this year to meet representatives of widely different occupational associations and to inform each of them of our interest and solicitude, it is particularly agreeable to us, gentlemen, to receive the delegates of the International Labor Organization, which truly represents the great masses of workers with their cares, their difficulties, and, above all, their desire

for a better and juster world.

For more than 30 years you have patiently, untiringly, built up a structure of which you may be justly proud, not only because you have contributed to the progress of social legislation in the various countries, but above all because you have united governments, employers, and workers in brave and fruitful cooperation.

You have brought them to master every passion, every feeling of bitter resentment, every obstinate refusal to face an inevitable development, and to listen to one another calmly to weigh the facts of an extremely complex problem and jointly to propose the necessary improvements. You have thus cre-

ated a kind of international forum, a place of exchange where all necessary information and useful suggestions are assembled, tested,

and published.

It is enough to compare the present state of labor legislation with what it was at the time of the First World War in order to appreciate the magnitude of the work accomplished. In the last century there was already a feeling that a coordinating body was needed to unify the efforts of the workers in their fight against the inhuman conditions in which they were struggling. There was indeed awareness that measures of social defense and protection would impose economic burdens and would thus place countries which decided to apply them in an inferior position.

Our predecessor, Leo XIII, had a clear perception of the great importance of international collaboration in labor questions. As early as 1890, I year before the publication of the encyclical rerum novarum, he wrote, in connection with the international conference about to meet in Berlin, to seek means of improving the conditions of the working classes, that it responded to "one of his dearest wishes," and he added: "Conformity of views and legislation, at least to the extent permitted by differing conditions in places and countries, will contribute greatly to the advance toward a just solution of the question."

In 1900 the International Association for the Legal Protection of Workers was created, but the war soon came to interrupt its work. However, this was only a private venture. More serious hopes could be based on an institution officially recognized by the various states. This unanimous wish was finally realized in 1919, and the International Labor Organization has since that time continued to respond ever more adequately to the expectations of workers and of all men sincerely devoted to justice.

While the International Labor charter aimed above all at the suppression of abuses and laid down your main objectives at the time of the feundation of the organization, the Declaration of Philadelphia of 1944 was designed to adapt these objectives to new

circumstances.

Among all the fields in which your efforts are deployed today, particular attention must be drawn to the relations between employers and workers, which is one of the most delicate points in the evolution of modern society. The International Labor Organization has already concerned itself with collective bargaining, conciliation and arbitration, and collaboration between employers and workers at the level of the lindertaking.

The efficiency of your institution and its authority result mainly from its respect for the profound ideal which moves the promoters of a civilization which is fully the lust aspiration of the workers. The International Labor Organization has not wished to represent only one social class nor to become the means of expression of one tendency exclusively. It welcomes everything that is constructive, everything that meets the real needs of a harmoniously constructed society, and that is why our predecessor, Piux XI, did not hesitate to draw attention to the remarkable resemblance between the Principles set forth in the labor code and those

and those of the encyclical rerum novarum. The Christian trade-union movements on their side have given their full support to the International Labor Organization and consider it an honor to take part in its work.

What is at stake is not only the interests of the working class and its accession to the full exercise of its responsibilities, but the future of human society as a whole. The labor movement cannot rest satisfied with material success, with a more perfect scheme

of guarantees and security, and with a greater measure of influence on the economic system.

It cannot visualize its future merely in terms of opposition to other social classes or to the excessive ascendancy of the state over the individual. The end it pursues must be sought on the very plane on which the organization has placed it, that is to say, on the plane of universality—as the Encyclical Quadragesimo Anno proposed—in a social order where material prosperity results from the sincere collaboration of all for the welfare of all and serves as a support for the higher values of culture, and, above all, serves the indissoluble union of minds and hearts.

We wish you all success in your work at the 127th session of your governing body. Continue tirelessly to consider the problems which face the world of labor so that you may add to the material aiready existing some additional parts which will complete and consolidate the whole structure. the Master of all things, who became a divine workman in order to bring to each His message of peace and brotherhood, continue to watch over your activities and to grant you the courageous perseverance which overcomes all obstacles. As a pledge of His good will and as a proof of our high consideration, we grant to you and to all the collaborators of the International Labor Organization our apostolic blessing.

Pray for Christians in Captivity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, may I bring to the attention of the Congress and the American public an editorial prayer by Irving E. Rogers, president of the Eagle-Tribune Publishing Co., of Lawrence, Mass., appearing in the Evening Tribune, Lawrence, Mass., Friday, December 24, 1954.

Publisher Rogers takes for his theme, the moving Christmas message of Richard J. Cushing, Catholic archbishop of the Boston diocese, whose tireless spirit and abundant good works have won the esteem and cooperation of all men of good will, irrespective of race or creed.

With the great charity of which he is the living symbol, the archbishop asks us to think of the unforunate in other lands, so that the bond of faith between us may overcome the tyranny of communism, and lead the world to peace, freedom, and happiness.

Publisher Rogers merits our thanks and appreciation for bringing our hearts and minds to dwell on the spirit of Christ as the essence of Christmas.

Under unanimous consent, I include his editorial in the Congressional Record.

The editorial follows:

URGES PRAYERFUL SYMPATHY AND CHRISTIAN LOVE

Peace be on earth to men of good will. Christmas Day, the anniversary of the birth of the Christ child in Bethlehem, will, on the morrow, be celebrated by millions of Christians the world over. It was 1954 years ago that Mary became mother of Jesus in a little manger in a stable adjoining an inn at Bethlehem. Increasing millions continue to celebrate the anniversary of the occasion that brought the shepherds, the Wise Men, and the faithful from near and far into the little town of Bethlehem.

Christ proclaimed that there would be peace on earth to men of good will. That peace was never more threatened than it is at the present time. There are too many men who are not of good will who are striving to destroy the peace of the world, godless men who would destroy the love of God and the decency of God's way of life.

Richard J. Cushing, Catholic archbishop of the Boston diocese, has issued his annual Christmas message. It is most timely and appeals to us all to "remember with prayerful sympathy and Christian love" persecuted families in other lands who are living under programs of hatred, persecution, and tyranny.

I recommend for brief Christmas Eve reading the Christmas message of the beloved

prelate. It follows:

"I pray that our families will remember with prayerful sympathy and Christian love those other families for whom persecution is a special title of kinship with the Holy Family of Bethlehem.

"Driven underground by the hatred of God that links them closely to Christ's own lot, they bear a special resemblance to the Holy Three who were no sooner united at the nativity than they were driven into flight and exile by Herod's persecution.

"On this Christmas Day, when our families here at home are free to commemorate Christ's birth and to surround with beauty their adoration of Him, we must be no less mindful of our Christian brethren in other parts of the world who suffer a new tyranny."

IRVING E. ROGERS, Publisher.

Four-Year Tenure for Members of the House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a joint resolution to amend the Constitution to provide for the election of Members of the House of Representatives for a 4-year tenure.

The 2-year term provided for Members of the House of Representatives written into the Constitution in 1787, in the days of limited communication, was designed to keep the Members in close touch with their constituents. The authors of the Constitution, who wanted the Government to be controlled by the people, also felt that such control would be more effective if all Members of the House of Representatives were compelled to stand for reelection every 2 years.

They feared that a long term in this important body of the Congress might cause the Members to disregard the will of the people to a greater degree, and become more dictatorial as a legislative body.

With the rapid development of travel by train, on paved highways, and by air, and with the rapid development of communications through the press, the mails, and the radio, the people are so well advised on legislative matters as to make biannual elections of the Members of the House of Representatives unnecessary in the future.

In fact, the authors of the Constitution when this subject was under discussion said that the frequency of elections of the Members of the House of Representatives must depend upon a variety of circumstances, and that experience should be the guide to follow.

Through experience we now know that the Senate with 6-year terms has worked well; that the Senators, due to rapid communications, are in close touch with their constituents, as are Members of the House. Modern communications now enable the Members of the House and Senate to preserve the close tie between legislator and constituents that the framers of our Constitution thought was necessary.

The 2-year term for Members of the House has become antiquated. Too frequent elections of Members of the House of Representatives with our increased population, business growth, and the complexity of problems coming to the Congress for solution has reached the point where the biannual election of Members of the House places an unnecessary burden upon such Members, and is a deterrent to better and more efficient governmental service in such capacity.

Mr. Speaker, if the Members of the House are given a 4-year tenure, a much greater amount of their time can be employed in the study of legislation and the investigation of governmental problems. If a 4-year term of office is provided, a Member of the House, when elected, will have at least 3 years in which he can give all of his attention to the problems of government before he has to give a part of his time to the consideration of his reelection.

If the Members of the House are provided a 4-year tenure, it will give them greater resistance against the powerful pressure groups that have developed in our politics, which seek to influence the voting of the Members of the House by their power of numbers rather than by the merit of the proposed legislation they are supporting. It will place the Members of the House in a position where they can courageously support and pass legislation which they know to be in the interest of the Nation, and in which they know such legislation will have time to demonstrate its value in the public interest, and become acceptable to the majority of the people before they have to stand for reelection again.

For instance, Members of the House who voted for the Taft-Hartley law were marked for defeat by the big labor leaders who falsely branded the legislation as a "slave-labor law," and many Members had great difficulty and some failed at election because the law had not had time to become sufficiently understood by the rank and file of labor. This is only one instance in many which points out the necessity of giving the Members of the House a 4-year tenure, and the benefits it will bring to the people in better government.

Mr. Speaker, this resolution provides that the 4-year tenure will become effective on the year we elect a President. The people elect a President for a 4-year term. If this resolution becomes law, they will elect all of the Members of the House at the time they elect the President. Generally, under our two-party system of government, if the people lose faith in an administration, they put the other party in power, seeking to hold it responsible for the ensuing 4 years.

If a Republican President is elected, he has a right, and the people generally want him, to have a majority of his own party, so that they may hold that party responsible. If a Democrat President is elected, they want him to have a majority so that they can hold that party responsible. This is one of the great advantages of the two-party system, and if this resolution is adopted, it will strengthen the two-party system for the future, which will be of untold benefit in the future to our processes of government, as it has been in the past.

We cannot hold a party responsible, we cannot achieve the best in government for the people with the President of one party, and the legislative branch controlled by the opposite party.

In closing, may I say that there is utterly no sense, rhyme or reason for the continuance of the election of the Members of the House for a 2-year term. The time and expense of election is a burden that prevents more able men from being willing to enter public service. It is a deterrent to good progressive government, is antiquated, and I sincerely hope that this Congress will take the great and progressive step toward better government that a 4-year tenure for Members of the House of Representatives would assure.

The Hatch Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following resolution furnished me my Mr. Anthony J. Novicki, secretarytreasurer, New England Conference, International Association of Machinists:

HATCH ACT

Whereas the right to fully participate in the election of representatives at Federal, State, and community levels is the inherent right of every American citizen; and

Whereas this basic right is denied to the Government employees under the provisions of the Hatch Act: Therefore, be it

Resolved. That the International Association of Machinists support or cause to be introduced legislation to modify the Hatch Act in order that Government, State, and municipal employees may enjoy the same rights and privileges of other citizens of this country to fully participate in the election of representatives at Federal, State, and community levels; and be it further

Resolved, That the New England Conference of Machinists, assembled in Boston, October 16 and 17, 1954, adopt this resolution and the secretary-treasurer send copies to the grand lodge, district 44. Government lodges in the New England area, and to the New England congressional delegation.

Submitted by:

ARSENAL LODGE No. 150, IAM.

A Lady Named Lieu Beats Miss Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include an editorial which appeared in the Tupelo (Miss.) Journal on December 7, 1954. The editorial follows:

A LADY NAMED LIEU BEATS MISS TAXES

One of the loudest—and most successful cries of the private utilities in their campaign against TVA and other public-power projects is that public power pays no taxes.

"Low cost electricity sounds all rights," the critics of TVA tell citizens of towns interested in rate cuts, "but think what your town would lose in taxes if you were served by public power."

Well, the Journal got to wondering just what was being saved in these towns which keep getting this kind of propaganda in the battle against TVA.

And so the city tax collector at McComb, which is nearer to Tupelo's size than any other town in the State, was contacted.

McComb in the last census showed a population of 10,400 compared with 11,527 in Tupelo. The potential market for electricity, therefore, is practically the same in both cities.

In the matter of tax payments, received from their power distributors, however, they are so far apart that one would never realize they were anywhere near the same population bracket.

The Tupelo electric department, being municipally owned, pays no actual taxes, but each year it makes a payment to the city treasury in lieu of taxes.

And during the past year that payment was \$41,181.

The Mississippi Power & Light Co., which serves McComb, paid that city, however, a total of only \$10,884 in taxes.

This difference in city income from taxes paid by power distributors is one reason McComb has a higher tax rate on property than Tupelo does. For if Tupelo's electric department paid no more taxes than the Mississppi Power Co. pays McComb, our tax rate in Tupelo would have to be almost 2 mills higher than it is.

When a difference of \$30,000 for the municipal treasury is involved, we might ask the people of McComb or other cities swallowing the usual power-company propaganda about lack of taxation in the TVA area, "Do you prefer Miss Taxes or a lady named Lieu?"

The truth about Tupelo's electric department is that it pays almost twice as much in taxes as all the public utilities serving the city.

In 1952, the telephone company, gas company, Frisco Railroad, and G., M. & O. Railroad combined paid the city of Tupelo \$20,273.

In the same year the city's electric department paid into the municipal treasury \$35,513 in tax-equivalent payments.

Not only does our local electric department pay approximately 10 cents out of every dollar it receives in tax payments to the city, but it performs various services to the city that would cost thousands of dollars a year if the city had to pay to get the work done.

The electric department has just completed putting up the most beautiful set of Christmas decorations Tupelo has ever had. And its cooperation with the merchants' committee of the Community Foundation in this work saved local businessmen a large sum of money.

In spite of its high tax payments and its beyond-the-call-of-duty services performed for the city and civic groups, Tupelo's effi-ciently operated city light department showed a net profit during the past year of \$82,000 after allowing for depreciation, tax

payments, and all operating expenses.

People fortunate enough to live in a city which has such a good electrical program just don't pay much attention to the private utilities' propaganda about no taxes. And others would be less critical of our TVA area if they knew the full story of the benefits provided by our system.

Liberation of European Countries Under Communist Dominance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF_

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following constructive editorial from the Boston Sunday Herald, January 2, 1955:

NEM MEANS NO

The Iron Curtain is rusty. There is dissatisfaction among subjected peoples. There is opposition to the Soviet-backed regimes. That opposition is aided and abetted by the free world.

Radio Free Europe and the Free Europe Press, both American sponsored, have joined ranks with Hungarian patriots to oppose the Red regime in Hungary. The patriots call their organization the National Opposition Movement. In Hungarian the initials come out NEM which, appropriately enough, spells "no" in that language.

The movement is not an open one in Hungary, of course. But, according to NEM's manifesto, it is not a conspiracy or an underground organization either. NEM believes that liberty can be won and the Communist darkness dispelled by legal means.

At first this sounds compromising or naive. How can you play fair with a bunch of Communists and be sincere, or, if sincere, get anywhere? But NEM's goals are unmistakably democratic—they demand the things which are guaranteed in our Bill of Rights.

And they have drawn blood.

Operation Focus, as the NEM campaign is called, began October 1. By November, according to news from behind the Iron Curtain, it had been denounced by the Hungarian Foreign Ministry; by the Soviet Union; by every other satellite country, and by almost every Communist radio, newspaper and important public official. Teachers were ordered to instruct their pupils not to touch the leaflets which were wafted into the country by balloon (they were "germladen"). Soviet military planes were reportedly engaged in destroying the leaflet balloons in the air. And the leaflets were being bought and sold for high prices in regions where the balloons had not landed.

The really significant part about the NEM technique is that it has had little of the cloak and dagger about it—it is all quite aboveboard. No kidnapings. No little guns with poison bullets. No violence at NEM's line is truth and passive resistance, the weapons which Gandhi and his followers used so successfully in India.

Perhaps this is the means to bring about the liberation of European countries under Communist dominance. We have neither the weapons nor the will to embark upon a war to accomplish this objective. The Communists are as well-schooled in military techniques as we are. Passive resistance, however, is a difficult thing to put your finger on. And communism has no defenses against truth.

Havm Salomon Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a resolution which would authorize and direct the President to proclaim January 6 of each year as Haym Salomon Day.

Haym Salomon is possibly the least known patriot of the American Revolution. Today is the anniversary of the death of this great Jewish-American who helped to bring this country into being.

He came to this country from Poland, settled in New York, and there engaged in business. He became active in the Sons of Liberty which was organized in the colonies for the purpose of breaking away from Britain and setting up an independent country, which subsequently was set up as the United States of America. In 1776 he was arrested by the British and confined to jail. He was released a year later and immediately reengaged actively in the effort to set up this country as a free and independent nation.

He was arrested again in 1778, courtmartialed for spying and sentenced to be hanged. With the aid of his fellow patriots, he escaped to Philadelphia, where he continued his activities on behalf of the cause of liberty and freedom.

When the efforts of the Founding Fathers were at their lowest ebb, when their leaders did not know where to turn, Haym Salomon came to the front and contributed his entire fortune to finance the continuance of the Revolutionary War

He gave to the cause \$640,000, his entire wealth. While it is a small sum, as we look at money today, it was a tremendous sum in those days. In addition to that, he went out and pledged his personal credit and borrowed additional sums.

General Washington and others of that day have given him credit for having financed the successful continuation of that war, as a result of which our fine Nation came into being and has since grown into a great and prosperous country. Neither his estate nor his descendants were repaid the loans he made to our Government nor those guaranteed by him. Haym Salomon died penniless.

I think that we could do little less than honor his memory by asking or authorizing the President of the United States to proclaim each year January 6 as Haym Salomon Day in commemoration of that great American patriot, not by making it a national holiday but by proclaiming it as a day of commemoration and directing that the United States flag be flown on all Government buildings on that day.

The Program of the United States Information Service in Italy, Spain, Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, With Specific Information Concerning Rome, Naples, Palermo, Madrid, Barcelona, Algiers, Casablanca, and Tunis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, the following is an outline of the program of the United States Information Service in Italy, Spain, Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, with specific information concerning Rome, Naples, Palermo, Madrid, Barcelona, Algiers, Casablanca, and Tunis:

TTALY.

In Italy the job of the United States Information Service-USIS-is to win Italian support for the development of free world strength and to help expose and defeat the Communist conspiracy. We are trying to show the Italian people that the policies of the United States are based on interests compatible with Italy's own legitimate aspirations, and wherever possible we are trying to stimulate the Italians to a more vigorous defense of their own democracy. In Italy all the media of the agency are employed in accomplishing our objectives, namely, radio, press, motion pictures, libraries, and exhibits.

USIS Rome, where Ned Nordness is public affairs officer and John Mac-Knight his deputy, has, with the Italy branch offices, been concentrating in recent months on a special cultural program to counter the still widely held concept among Italians of United States immaturity and cultural barrenness, USIS officers, through cultivation of key personalities in Italian education, have been instrumental in the establishment of, or in initiating procedures for establishing, chairs in American studies at 4 major Italian universities-1 in Venice, 2 in Florence, 1 in Rome—thus placing American studies for the first time on an equal footing with other academic subjects in the Italian university curriculum. The Atoms for Peace Exhibit, which opened in Rome last June and by now has toured some 20 other Italian cities, has been a tremendous success in stimulating Italian awareness of the President's atoms for peace program and of the United States commitment to the development of atomic energy for peaceful purposes.

Walter Wien is public affairs officer in Naples, a post that is especially important not only as the center of NATO naval effort but as one of the principal cities, along with Palermo, of a vast economically backward and previously isolated area which offers the greatest danger today for Communist growth. Here an economic development and reform program, set in motion by democratic Italian governments since the war, is producing a slow awakening which the Communist Party is attempting to exploit to its own advantage.

Paul Wheeler is acting public affairs officer in Palermo, a post that is faced with special problems in serving an isolated, in many ways still backward, island community.

SPAIN

In Spain, Morrill Cody is public affairs officer in Madrid, and William Hart is public affairs officer in Barcelona. Our USIS program there has made increasingly active and effective use of all media-radio, press, films, exhibits, and our library centers. We are concentrating in Spain on helping to insure the success of the United States aid agreements with that country by bringing about a clear understanding of their purposes. We are trying also to convince the Spaniards of the importance of the Western European Community and the value of international cooperation and collective military strength. The Madrid office is increasing its efforts in areas of defense activity and is giving special support to the United States military program for establishing good troop-community relations.

In Barcelona, which is the center of the rapidly developing industrial area of Catalonia, a special effort is being made, under the educational exchange program, to increase the number of leader and specialist grants to Catalonian industrialists in order to give those who will have a hand in developing the area a broader point of view.

ALGERIA

The strategic importance of Algeria, together with Tunisia and Morocco, in western defense and its vital contribution to the economic health of France are among the reasons for a USIS program in this country. Communist propaganda strives constantly to deepen the differences between the French and the Arab population on the "colonial issue" and to create suspicion and hatred of the United States.

Mr. John Rhodes is public affairs officer in Algiers. The United States Information Service works through an information center, press and publications, and radio to expose Communist motives and strengthen confidence in the United States. The past year has featured a successful effort to extend the influence of the program into a growing number

of population centers throughout Algeria.

TUNIS

Although the political situation in Tunisia is restrictive, as in Morocco, the atmosphere of conciliation permits association with many Arab groups. The fact that the public affairs officer is fluent in Arabic, and well as French, and had established association with the Arab population prior to the period of violence, further increases the program opportunities.

Mr. Leslie Lewis is public affairs officer at Tunis. Through the use of the four media—press, radio, films, and the library—the USIS operation in Tunis explains and exploits American foreign policy with regard to Tunisia in particular, founded on the Byroade statement regarding American foreign policy in colonial areas. This is directed at the mixed middle-group audience of politically conscious French-Tunisians, Arab-Tunisians, and minority groups-Italians, Jews, Corsicans, Maltese, and so forth. The program is not directed to the political extremists, which are an unlikely audience because of the exclusiveness of their interests.

MOROCCO

The USIS American staff in Morocco consists of a country public affairs officer, Mr. James Carter, and two subordinate public affairs officers, Mr. Donald R. Norland, at Rabat, and Miss Annadele Riley, stationed at Casablanca. The activities at Casablanca are conducted by Miss Riley, under the supervision of Mr. Carter, who visits Casablanca frequently.

In addition to this American complement, which is assigned to carry forward the aims of the United States Information Agency among the Moroccan population, the International Broadcasting Service—IBS—of the Agency, known as the Voice of America, maintains a relay station at Tangier which transmits short-wave programs to Europe and Iron Curtain countries. No programs are broadcast to Morocco, this being technically impossible because the short-wave radio beam rides over the area adjacent to the transmitters.

The present political situation in Morocco, and resulting restrictions imposed on the Information Service by the local French administration, severely limits the scope of the USIS activities There is virtually no possibility of personal association with the Moroccan population. The realities of the local situation permit factual news reporting by press, radio, and films and the publicizing of American cultural activities through the Information Center. These programs contribute to United States objectives by displaying the United States in a favorable light, and through its subject matter tends to enlist the cooperation of the French and Moroccans.

My experience with the United States Information Agency is that insufficient appropriations have been allotted to this Agency. This is an agency which is involved in the battle of men's minds, and ideas are more important than bullets. We appropriated \$77,114,000 for propaganda purposes, which included funds

for the Voice of America and the United States Information Agency. Against this figure, it is interesting to note that the Soviet Union spends about one and one-third billion dollars on propaganda. In comparison, our expenditure is minuscular.

In my contact with the United States Information Service, I wish to state that I have found the staff both here and abroad to be made up of hardworking, painstaking, and patriotic public servants.

The President, significantly, in today's state of the Union message urged enhancement of our USIA information facilities.

The Fight Against Illegal Narcotics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, there is one battle in the cold war of today which is in critical need of attention by this House. I am speaking of our country's continuing fight against the vicious and deadly traffic in illegal narcotics, a traffic which has apparently become one of the major weapons of the international Communist conspiracy throughout the world.

Although our small Government forces in this specialized field are fighting valiantly and tirelessly, the battle is not being won. On the contrary, as recently as June 1 of 1954, the United Nations Bulletin reported:

The Commission on Narcotic Drugs noted that there was a high level of illicit traffic in narcotic drugs which seemed to be increasing.

The Honorable Harry J. Anslinger, United States representative on this Commission, has issued several reports in recent months which paint an alarming picture of the extent and danger of this illicit traffic, which is worldwide in its scope and devastating in its effects upon the health and morale of its victims.

Yet, in the face of abundant evidence that the danger is mounting throughout the world, the 83d Congress was responsible for further cuts in the already slender manpower of the United States customs inspection force, the Border Patrol, and other agencies having some responsibility in this vital field of law enforcement and protection of our Nation.

The same Congress, I regret to say, failed to take any action on the numerous bills before it which called for a strengthening of existing penalties for narcotics violations, especially in the field of second and third offenses.

If this new Congress does nothing else in the field of law enforcement, we owe it to our children to restore at the earliest possible date a fully effective customs inspection and border patrol force, as our coastal line of defense against illegal importation of nar-

cotics. We should also act immediately to strengthen the penal provisions of our narcotics laws, particularly for criminal repeaters who destroy the very souls of American manhood and womanhood through their evil traffic.

I believe we also have an obligation to our Armed Forces and civil servants in occupied areas, as well as to humanity in general, to investigate to the fullest extent the organized and depraved conspiracy of international communism in its effort to subvert free people through promotion of narcotics addiction.

Continuing and complete exposure of this evil practice, with the documentation and human evidence available to us, will not only serve as a true and effective answer to the false propaganda of germ warfare still being circulated by Moscow and Peiping, but will also point the way to more efficient countermeasures by the free world.

To these ends, I have offered a House resolution authorizing a full and complete investigation of illegal narcotic traffic as an instrument and weapon of the international Communist conspiracy, and have also reintroduced the bill which I sponsored as H. R. 4453 in the 83d Congress, which would increase the penalty provisions of certain acts dealing with narcotics.

At the proper time, I trust that many Members will join with me in sponsorship of whatever amendments are necessary to restore our first-line fighting strength in the battle to stop illegal narcotic traffic in our ports and along our borders.

The cost of these measures will be small. The cost of our failure to take them-in terms of increased crime and broken lives-could be too great to reckon.

Dolph Camp, Educator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker. under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following article which has reference to a close personal friend of mine, the Honorable Dolph Camp, president of Southern State College, Magnolia, Ark. I commend it to the Members of this body with particular reference to Mr. Camp's use of funds appropriated by the Congress under the George-Barden Act:

DOLPH CAMP IS A FIGHTER IN BEHALF OF GOOD EDUCATION FOR STATE

(By Dick Ratliff)

Dolph Camp bears scant resemblance to a gladiator, but he's been fighting a battle for the people of Arkansas all his adult life. He has won more campaigns than he has lost, but the crucial battlefield has always been the same-in the field of education, where he thinks Arkansans deserve more than they're getting.

A native of Columbia County, Dr. Camp's first battle for education was a very personal

one—to get a high school education. He got it on the campus of what is now South-He ern State College at Magnolia, the institution where he now works as president.

Dolph Camp was 22 years old when he finished high school. He worked his way through in the college farm at the wage of

10 cents an hour.

Since that time, he has climbed to a position of national and international prominence as a leader in the field of school guidance and counseling. As Arkansas State di-rector of guidance services, he established what has come to be recognized as the Nation's model program of school guidance.

After he received his high school diploma on the Magnolia campus in 1920, Dolph Camp took his bachelor's degree at Hendrix College, his master's degree at Peabody Teachers College, Nashville, Tenn., and his doctorate at Syracuse University. With all these alma maters, Southern State continued as his first love. When he had time to get away from his work at Little Rock for a football game, it was the Southern State Muleriders he preferred to see in action. He had played center for the Muleriders back in the days when the college was a high school. So he remained an enthusiastic visitor to the campus.

In 1950, when Southern State was preparing to launch its senior college program and Dr. Charlie S. Wilkins, then president, decided to take over the vice presidency of an oil company, Dolph Camp was the natural choice to become third president of South-ern State College. He liked the idea, be-cause it would give him a chance to fight against what he considered the shame of Arkansas-a poorly supported system of higher education.

"Many Arkansas didn't know then and still don't know how inadequate has been the State's contribution toward supporting the colleges," he declares. "With a little in cooperation with other presitime and dents of State colleges, I hope I may them learn how a dollar invested in higher education is returned manyfold to the taxpayer. If this should be my only achievement in this world, I think my time will have been well spent."

This is spoken with the enthusiasm of a man who has fought the cause of better schools even in the National Capital. When schools even in the National Capital. Camp was struggling against fiscal obstacles in setting up Arkansas' school guidance program, and serving as president of the National Association of Guidance Supervisors, he outlined a plan of action which took him to the Halls of Congress.

He was one of a small group of educators who sat in a continuous lobby pushing for equal benefits for educational guidance programs. Congress was balky but if Dolph Camp and his friends hadn't won that fight, Arkansas youngsters today wouldn't reaping the benefits of the State's excellent program for school guidance.

Camp had taken with him to Washington a clear idea of what all the school children in the United States needed at the high school level-trained counselors, to help them achieve peace of mind concerning postschool plans. He and his group of schoolmen busied themselves with throwing key blocks before bluff legislation sponsored by opponents of the George-Barden Act.

The George-Barden Act was passed. The law provided for an increase in Federal funds for vocational education and made it possible for those funds to be used to pay part of the salaries of high-school counselors. Incidentally, the 83d Congress has increased appropriations under this act approximately \$5 million. Arkansas youngsters will benefit from this increase.

After he had established the Arkansas program of public-school guidance, Dr. Camp was summoned to England to interpret American practices, including tools and techniques, to British educators. That was

about the time, he was called to Magnolia to take over as head of Southern State Col-"It didn't take me long to make a decision to stay home, since I feel the job I have taken at home and Magnolia will be all I can handle for a time," he said.

At Southern State, he busied himself among other things, with a goal to establish an outstanding college-guidance program. That program is well underway but

still incomplete, he admits.

Dolph Camp this year got a second chance to work with the educators of the British With all expenses paid for him and his wife and a modest stipend to boot, he spent 8 weeks this past summer lecturing school people at Reading University. He also visited the schools and worked with the teachers and headmasters, leaving with them the best American guidance practices and bringing home with him the best ideas he found in practice there.

C. H. Dobinson, dean of the College of Education at Reading University, followed up Dr. Camp's work there with a letter

using these words:

"The task I had in mind for you was one requiring infinite tact, patience, and good will, and in all these respects you achieved more than I could have expected. You have left behind you, wherever you were, good friends, and appreciative listeners. You have also left behind you stimulating thoughts which will go on growing in the minds of the people who heard you for years and which finally, I am sure, will bring forth good fruit.

Your own great modesty and wide understanding of human beings has been one of the principal factors in the success of your work for us, for without these the knowledge at your disposal could not have been made available acceptably to the audiences you

have had."

As one of the Nation's leading authorities in his field, Dr. Camp is in great demand as a teacher at leading universities. In recent years, he has taught at the University of Arkansas, Bradley University, and Peabody Teachers College, University of Illinois, and the University of Syracuse.

As a student at Southern State, Dolph Camp met and later married Florence Crain. They have 2 children, and 1 granddaughter. Their blond daughter, Mrs. Pamela Warren, was named "Miss Arkansas of 1947."

If, over the long haul, Dolph Camp should be remembered at Southern State for a single trait, that trait will be sincerity. No gladhander, he might be mistaken in a crowd for a Methodist preacher. His sincerity is based on a burning desire to do the right thing for the youth of Arkansas, tempered by a shadow of concern over the realization that he, too, makes mistakes in day-to-day deci-

But he has a zealous respect for the value But he has a Zealous respect for the value of education, and a smoldering contempt for those who pay it only lipservice, or exploit it selfishly, and pay it nothing in re-turn. "It is they who are killing the goods," he pleads.

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH OF

HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, the Congress of the United States can ill afford to lose men like DWIGHT ROGERS. There was little difference in our ages and he started his service in the Congress only a short time after I did. From the beginning it was abundantly evident that he was a fine American and a worthy Member of the House of Representatives.

His was a gentle character, with a keen sense of humor, a devotion to duty which was outstanding, and a facility for making friends which won many to him. His love for his country and his abiding faith were equaled by few men, and his was a distinct contribution to the preservation of good government and the American principles of liberty and freedom. A large part of his life was devoted to public service, and being recognized as a leader among men, he held many positions of trust. He performed his duties with zeal and fidelity and would not compromise with evil. I glory in the fact that we were friends, and it is nothing less than the truth to say that the world is richer for his life.

My warm sympathy goes out to his family at this time, and I trust that the tender mercies of Almighty God may assuage their grief.

Milk Pricing—Housewives Pay for Outmoded Controls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, one of the things that has deeply concerned those of us who are keenly interested in the dairy industry—and surely all of us from Wisconsin are in that category—is the increase in the spread between the return to the milk producer and the price to the consumer.

It is true that while prices paid to farmers for producing milk steadily declined during the 2-year period preceding this autumn, the price per quart to the housewife declined little if at all. There can be little doubt that a major cause has been the existence of monopolistic and discriminatory practices, regulations, and laws.

It is my hope that the 84th Congress will continue the work which the Senate Agriculture Committee, under the distinguished Senator from Vermont [Mr. AIKEN], has begun. That committee has made preliminary findings relating to the margin between prices paid to farmers and retail prices of milk. The problem merits further inquiry. Only through the removal of artificial restrictions to permit maximum consumption of milk at reasonable prices will the problem of surplus dairy products be solved.

So long as the desirable use of dairy products is hampered, there will be a serious problem of low prices for milk at the farm level—a problem that cannot be solved permanently by the equally artificial measure of high price supports.

Mr. Speaker, I insert a thought-provoking article on this subject which appeared in a recent issue of Time magazine:

MILK PRICING—HOUSEWIVES PAY FOR OUTMODED CONTROLS

At the White House last week, President Eisenhower held a special luncheon for dairymen and heads of civic organizations. purpose of the luncheon, featuring dishes prepared with milk, was to help the crusade of Agriculture Secretary Benson to increase milk consumption. Even though the United States expects a 5.5 billion pound milk surplus this year, Americans, by and large, do not drink all the milk they need. But the Eisenhower-Benson campaign alone is not enough to increase milk-drinking. The big reason United States milk consumpno higher is that milk markets all over the Nation have been saddled with monopolistic controls that create artificially high prices, thus cut consumption.

As milk prices keep going up, United States housewives are beginning to rebel against these restrictive State controls. In-Oregon, voters repealed the State law setting arbitrary prices at the doorstep and grocery counter, thereby sent prices down 2 cents a quart. Yet farmers are still collecting as much, or almost as much (10.9 to 10.2 cents a quart) as before, and consumption is headed up. In Florida, after voters failed to abolish their milk-control board, they brought pressure on the legislature for more consumer representatives on the board. In California, Safeway Stores, which preach firm prices for farmers and farmers and free competition among bottlers, are leading a campaign to throw out a State law that sets retail prices, thereby guarantee a profit to all bottlers, efficient or Even in dairy-rich Pennsylvania, bigcity legislators have set out to abolish the State's milk-control commission.

Last week the Senate Agriculture Committee took out after the processors. It found in a study of 10 representative processing plants around the United States, that the margin between prices paid the farmer and retail prices had increased as much as 27.9 percent in 3½ years, and a "very substantial portion of the increased spread went into greater profit taking."

Milk controls were born during the depression, when farmers were forced to sell milk for as little as 1 cent a quart. In all, 26 States passed laws to protect farmers and bottlers. Some later junked the laws, but 16 States still maintain strict controls. In addition, Federal controls can be applied if

addition, Federal controls can be applied if a majority of the milk producers in an area petition for them. As a result, 3 of every 4 United States citizens drink price-controlled

The State controls, which are far more restrictive than the Federal system, are a patchwork of politics and protection for local milk producers. Alabama, for example, prohibits distributors from increasing outof-State milk purchases except during a severe shortage, fixes the grocery milk 1 cent higher than the home delivered price, even though it usually costs nearly 3 cents a quart less to sell through a grocery. Thus milk is 26 cents a quart in Birmingham, but in Chattanooga, a freely competitive market about 4 hours away by truck, milk is only 16 cents a quart. Wisconsin, because of highly efficient mass production and distribution methods, claims it could deliver fresh milk in Manhattan for 11.2 cents a quart wholesale (almost 1 cent less than the New York price). But a New York State control law keeps all Wisconsin milk out.

University of Illinois Agricultural Economist R. W. Bartlett surveyed milk pricing in 50 United States cities last year found that prices were invariably higher where State controls existed. In 17 cities with free milk markets, grocery stores charged an average of 20.1 cents a quart, 3.1 cents less

than the average home delivered price. In 18 State-controlled markets, the grocery price averaged 23.6 cents a quart, only 2 cents less than the home delivered price. Says Economist Bartlett: "Modified Pederal regulation is absolutely essential to prevent chaos in milk markets. But State control of consumer prices constitutes a legalized monopoly which is definitely against the public interest."

For health's sake, United States families are forced to buy milk, whatever the price. But consumers have demonstrated that they buy more milk when the price goes down. For example, when the price dropped as much as 3 cents a quart in Kansas City, Mo., last year, sales of milk promptly rose 7.4 percent.

Washington State's Agriculture Director Sverre Omdahl has successfully fought off all attempts for a State-control law because he believes "fixing farm and retail prices favors the inefficient producer and makes for a basically false and unhealthy milk market." What Agriculturist Omdahl advocates, along with other milk experts, is more use of the Federal Marketing law which protects the dairy farmer, but allows the efficient distributors to pass their savings on to housewives. There is little doubt that freer, more flexible milk markets would bring lower prices and increase milk drinking. This would not only help dairy farmers, but it would also do much to improve the health of the entire Nation.

Impact on Veterans' Benefits of Presidential Proclamation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the proclamation of the President terminating certain benefits now available to veterans of the Korean conflict was issued last Saturday-January 1, 1955. Its effective date is January 31. One of the results of this proclamation is to bar accumulation of eligibility for education or training under Public Law 550, after this cutoff date. I have introduced legislation which will permit all those members of the armed services on January 31, 1955, to gain the full education benefits if they serve for as much as 2 years after that date. Many recruiting offices have promised the full benefits of the GI bill of rights to those men now serving and unless legislation such as my bill is enacted, the Government will not make good on its promises. I am sure that the Committee on Veterans' Affairs will give this subject early action.

I am indicating below some of the results flowing from the proclamation:

Basic service period: Korean service, by the terms of the proclamation, has been officially set as on or after June 27, 1950, and through January 31, 1955.

Education and training: Public Law 550 of the 82d Congress authorizes 1½ days of education or training for each day of service performed during this basic service period with a maximum of 36 calendar months of entitlement. The proclamation means that no additional

eligibility may be accumulated under this law after January 31, 1955, and persons first entering service after such date acquire no eligibility for the benefits. The proclamation also ends eligibility for training under the vocational

rehabilitation laws.

Compensation: Today disabled veterans of the Korean conflict are entitled to service-connected disability compensation ranging from \$17 per month for a 10-percent disability to \$181 per month for total disability. In certain severely disabled cases special rates may go as high as \$420 per month. Any veteran who has a service-connected disability as a result of service after January 31, 1955, will be entitled, as a peacetime veteran, to 80 percent of the rates mentioned previously. Certain presumptions of service connection in chronic disease cases will not be available to veterans separated from servilce after January 31, 1955. After that date eligibility for service-connected death compensation will also be on a peacetime basis, with rates based on 80 percent of the wartime rate.

Pensions: Veterans of World War I, II, and Korea today are entitled under certain conditions to non-service-connected disability pension at rates of \$66.16, \$78.75, or \$135.45, depending upon age, condition, and other factors. Service after the date of January 31. 1955, will be considered peacetime, but any veterans serving, for example, as little as 1 day prior to the delimiting date and 89 additional days continuously thereafter will be eligible for nonservice-connected disability pension un-

der the existing laws. Widows and children of veterans of the Korean conflict period—June 27, 1950, through January 31, 1955—are eligible for pension based upon the nonservice-connected death of such veterans. The basic rate for a widow is \$50.40 per month. This program will not be available to dependents of persons first entering the service on or after

February 1, 1955.

Automobiles: Veterans of exclusive service after January 31, 1955, will not be eligible for the benefits of Public Law 187, 82d Congress, which provides \$1,600 toward the purchase of a specially equipped automobile for service-connected veterans who have suffered the loss or loss of the use of one or both hands, or feet, or who are blind as defined.

Hospitalization: No entitlement to VA hospitalization for non-service-connected disabilities where the service of the veteran is solely after January 31, 1955.

Insurance: The proclamation does not affect in any way provisions of Public Law 23 which automatically insures any serviceman in the amount of \$10,000 while in active service. It is payable over a 10-year period to beneficiaries defined in the law.

Housing: The issuance of the proclamation means that in order for a veteran to obtain a loan guaranty-maximum \$7,500—the loan must be made prior to February 1, 1965. So long as there is service prior to January 31, 1955, additional service to complete the required 90 days may be had after that date, if continuous.

Mustering-out payments: Musteringout payments in the amount of \$100, \$200, or \$300, depending upon the length and place of service will no longer be available to veterans who serve exclusively after January 31, 1955.

Public housing preference: Those serving exclusively after January 31, 1955, will no longer enjoy preference in the occupancy of low-rent public housing. They also will not have the benefits of certain provisions of the National Housing Act and certain assistance in the acquisition of family-size farm under the Bankhead-Jones Farm Tenant Act.

Unemployment compensation: Public Law 550, 82d Congress, makes veterans serving on or after June 27, 1950, eligible for unemployment compensation of \$26 per week not to exceed 26 weeks. This program is administered by the States. The proclamation ends this right as of January 31, 1955, for those serving exclusively after that date.

Income tax: Enlisted men serving in combat zone defined in Executive Order 10195, December 20, 1950, did not have to pay taxes on their pay. Executive order issued in conjunction with proclamation terminates this tax exemption.

Legislation To Make Tax Free the Gain on the Sale of a Home

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I dropped a bill in the hopper to amend section 112 (n) of the Internal Revenue Code to provide that gain from the sale or exchange of the taxpaver's home will not be taxed whether or not he replaces it with another residence.

The purpose of this bill is to rectify a longstanding situation which now places an unfair financial burden on the parents of our Nation, when they find it necessary to dispose of a large home after the children have grown and married and have families of their own.

Most young married couples rent an apartment at first. Then, when they have children, they buy a modest home. As more children come along and grow up, it is necessary to purchase a larger home which becomes the scene of many happy hours which include birthday parties and holiday festivities as well as courtships and weddings. When the father and mother have completed the lifelong task of rearing their children and the days of the past are fond memories, they desire to move to a smaller home or an apartment to enjoy the peace and rest that is due them.

This is when the Government steps in to levy a huge tax bill on the total profit realized by the sale of the former homes, This is penalizing the parents who brought into this world our future citizens who will play an important part in the progress and growth of our Nation.

This situation should be changed and it is my hope that the Congress will enact proper legislation to alleviate the hardship resulting from the present law.

Peaceful Coexistence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address made by me at the banquet of the New England Regional Tax Conference of Public Accountants, December 10, 1954, Hotel Bradford, Boston, Mass.:

PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

Uppermost in the minds of our people, and of countless millions of others throughout the world, is the desire for permanent peacefor a world of peace. It is only a small group of evil-minded men, through their domination of countries and of peoples, who prevent world peace of a lasting nature being established.

The world of today is confronted with a condition and not a theory.

You and I know that the evil forces of

atheistic communism are bent on conquering the world and subjecting all peoples to communistic enslavement, persecution, and even. death.

We must face the fact that we are dealing with a cold, ruthless, destructive force, the leaders of which are possessed of the minds of what might well be termed "world killers."

If we permit ourselves to be deceived, or to become complacent, or disunited, or frustrated, it might prove dangerous to us. It is therefore imperative that we think calmly. rationally, and soundly, and in order to do so, the American people should be given all information possible.

The American people, when told the facts, are willing to make any sacrifice necessary for the best interests of our country. And our people should be given as much information as possible so that they may understand. and may be able to evaluate the situation, and form a sound, healthy, public opinion. For in a democracy, public opinion is the most necessary, pertinent, and powerful factor.

Under dictatorships, public opinion is suppressed and unable to assert itself because of fear.

And our people should be informed so that a sound, rational public opinion might be developed.

The withholding from our people of information that could and should be released tends to create uncertainty, confusion, frustration, fear, and disunity—and that is an unhealthy condition to have existing, and should be avoided.

For example, we read a great deal about peaceful coexistence. We all subscribe to that in principle. We would like to see it accomplished in fact—not only peaceful co-existence but peace of a lasting nature.

But what do you and I know, even to the slightest extent, about this new policy which could easily lead to appeasement, and how it can be brought about?

What does peaceful coexistence mean to the Kremlin?

Can peaceful coexistence, whatever it means in fact and in results, be accomplished unless the Communist leaders change their minds and their intent to ultimately conquer the world? Does peaceful coexistence to the Kremlin mean submission to them and their ideology, which would result in slavery, persecution, and death? Does peaceful coexistence mean that the hopes of the people of Poland, of Lithuania, and other Communist-dominated countries to regain their independence and liberty are to be destroyed and these countries permanently frozen into the Soviet Union?

These, and many other questions, are involved and should be discussed publicly, and should be considered seriously by the Congress of the United States in order that the facts and the truth can be ascertained so that a sound public opinion can be developed in favor or against this policy before our country becomes committed to it.

I am talking about facts and information that can and should be made known to our

For unnecessary secrecy could be a dangerous road for a country like ours to travel.

And let me ask you what I consider to be a pertinent and proper question. Can peaceful coexistence be accomplished if the Communist leaders are still bent on world aggression? The answer to that question seems to me to be emphatically "No."

The evidence clearly shows that aggression is still the Communist policy; that while their strategy might temporarily change, their intent of world domination has not that the Communists are using the slogan of peaceful coexistence as another deceptive move in their efforts to divide and conquer.

It was only a few days ago on November 23, that the President in a press conference said that while "The Russians have lately been talking a different tone than they had for sometime past" and that "there was one underlying, unchanging motive, world revolution and the dominance of a Communist centrally controlled world state."

And on November 11, while appearing before the Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, Secretary Dulles said, in relation to the aggressive intent of Red China, and I quote, "That Communist China is showing aggressive intent in Asia which belies its protestations of peace."

On the same day that the President, talking in Boston, said in substance that "Peace was nearer now than it has been for many years." And at the same gathering, Ambassador Lodge said that the "U. N. is succeeding despite unending Soviet attempts to sabotage it."

It is difficult for me to reconcile these statements. It is difficult for me to believe that peaceful coexistence can be brought about with the Kremlin still determined to conquer the world; with its ally and present junior partner, Red China, persecuting and imprisoning American airmen; shouting defiance to the dignity and honor of our country and making preparations for another shooting conflict.

For once committed to a policy, we must follow it through.

It therefore seems to me that before our country is committed to this policy, we should view it and all of its implications with extreme caution having in mind always the national interests of the United States of America.

One of the main purposes of diplomacy, where differences exist between countries, is to try and reduce as much as possible the area of differences. That is a wise policy for diplomats to follow.

However, this involves good faith on the part of both sides to try to solve or reduce the area of differences.

It is most difficult for me to believe that any real progress can be made where bad faith exists on the part of one of the negotiating countries.

And mark you, I am discussing a major matter—not a minor one—of concern to our people.

We have traveled from the policy of liberation and of massive and instant retaliation to that of impending peaceful coexistence.

We had better stop, look, and listen and thoroughly inquire and deliberate before we become committed to this policy, where the results of a mistake or a wrong guess is a picture that I would not want to paint.

I think that the old saying, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty" would be a better one for us to follow. Whether we like it or not, whether we want to or not, we must face the fact that the only thing the Communists respect is what they fear, and that is military force and power greater than they possess.

The Communists do not fear God, because they do not love Him. In fact, they hate Him and are fighting God and His natural law on earth. Their god is materialism and power, carrying with it the imposition of their victous ideology, and in its wake, imperialism,

slavery, persecution, and death.

But even Communists, despite the fact that they attempt to deny it, are subject to the law of self-preservation, just the same as is any other person. And in the hidden resources of their minds, the Communist leaders know that the law of self-preservation applies to a nation just as well as it does to an individual.

And the one thing that they will respect, because of fear—fear of defeat and destruction—is military power and strength greater than they possess.

And in relation to our diplomats dealing with the diplomats of such a force and movement, the Soviet Union, the weapon that will enable us to carry out our national objectives in the field of foreign affairs is the strength and power of our military force. And the strength and power of our military force must be in relation to the strength and power of the Soviet Union and its satellites and dominated nations.

For if we are stronger, respect through fear will exist, with favorable results.

If we are weaker, arrogance and contempt will exist with other results.

There is no question but that we possess strong military strength and power—in our Army, our Navy, and our Air Force. There is no question of the genius of our scientists, our engineers, our businessmen, our workers, our members of our Armed Forces, particularly in their specialized training, of our people as a whole, and of our will and determination to remain a free people.

But the principal question is not whether we are militarily strong—but is our overall military strength and power greater than that of the potential enemy? Is it such as to command respect through fear so as to deter attack and prevent another general conflict and to make a contribution toward ultimate world peace?

There are many among us, military men, Members of Congress, and among our people who feel that we should be stronger, having in mind the military strength possessed by the forces of world revolution and aggression.

In order to determine if our military strength and power in relation to that possessed by the Soviet Union is powerful enough to instill respect through fear, there must be not only an understanding of our own strength but of the strength of the Soviet bloc.

While it is difficult to obtain definite information, there is enough reliable information available to give us a current appraisal of the Soviet strength. It is known that from 1947 to the present time the numerical strength of the Soviet ground forces of 175 divisions has remained fairly constant. Nevertheless, significant changes have been made in favor of increased mechanization with sturdy and efficient modern equipment. It is reliably understood that 65 divisions of their present establishment are tank and

mechanized divisions, that rifle divisions have been provided motorized equipment, and that they also have organic tanks and additional artillery. This means that the mobile and fire power have been increased through the introduction of improved weapons and equipment.

The Soviet Union, Eastern Germany, and

The Soviet Union, Eastern Germany, and Eastern European satellites today have over 6 million men under arms. Approximately 4,500,000 of these are in ground forces, with a high state of preparedness maintained as a result of a rigorous training program. It is known that the number of satellite divisions have almost doubled since 1947, bringing their total to at least 80 divisions.

The Soviet Union has a readymade spearhead for a rapid advance into Western Europe, if that decision is ever made. This spearhead is composed of at least 22 Soviet divisions in Eastern Germany. The bulk of these are armored divisions with nearly a complete complement of tanks and self-propelled guns—and behind this spearhead, there are additional 60 Soviet divisions located in the Eastern European satellite countries and in western Russia. This does not take into account satellite country divisions.

It is also known that their mobilization system is exercised periodically to insure its effectiveness by the ability of the Soviet and satellite ground forces to quickly increase to 400 divisions.

The numerical strength of the Soviet air force in recent years has been constant, having been stabilized at about 20,000 aircraft, but the rapid increase in Soviet air potential is shown by the rate of changeover to jet aircraft. For example, in 1951, about 20 percent of their fighters were jet types. By the year 1954, almost all of their fighters were jet types.

In connection with the light bombers, a similar development has occurred.

For example, in early 1951, jet bombers had not been introduced by the Soviet into operational units. By 1954, well over two-thirds of their light bomber force were jets.

In the medium bomber category, the TU-4's, which are similar to the United States B-20, the Soviets have doubled the number of this type in operational units since 1951, and still newer types of medium bombers, including jet models also have been observed.

The development of a comprehensive aviation training program, according to information received, has been one of the most significant contributions in Soviet postwar program to improve the capability of its air power.

The program for airfield construction has been and still is in progress with attention in recent years being directed to the construction of fields with very long runways. In the past 4 years, the Soviets have almost tripled the number of major airfields in eastern Europe that will accommodate jet fighters.

It is known that the combat value of the satellite air forces has increased significantly since 1951. In 1951, their aircraft was obsolete. By 1954, the numerical strength of satellite air forces had been doubled with one-half by jet fighters, with their facilities improved and the training, from a military angle, having reached a farly satisfactory standard.

The Soviets have attached great importance to providing an effective air defense belt along the western perimeter of Russia through the construction of airfields throughout eastern Europe, and of aircraft control, warning systems, and antiaircraft artillery.

They have also since the end of World War II, improved their potential for the use of airborne troops and weapons.

From a naval angle, the information available is most striking. Their principal naval threat is the submarine capability. They

are building other types of naval vessels at the same time. It is known that the Soviet Navy has over 300 submarines in service, and that about one-half of them are large or medium oceangoing types, and that the current large-scale naval construction program lays emphasis on the continued production of large oceangoing submarines

of large oceangoing submarines.

It is known that the Soviet bloc has developed a strong capability in the special fields of atomic, chemical, and biological warfare, as well as in the field of guided missiles. The stockpile of the Soviets is of such a tremendous size, that they have more than enough tanks, mortars, and antitank guns for some three-hundred-odd Soviet divisions, with a stockpile of sea mines, field artillery, and antiaircraft artillery that is amazingly large, with the annual production of these items continuing at a sizable rate.

These facts have been made public at one time or another, but I am giving them to you in collected form because I feel that it is information that should be given to our people. It is information clearly showing the military strength and power of the Soviet and its satellites. And I might add that this does not include Red China.

If our people are made aware and awakened, I know that a sound public opinion will be developed as a result of which steps in connection with the increasing of our military strength and power will be taken.

You will remember, that our policy of a few years ago was the building of an Air Force to 143 air-wing groups by latter 1955. That policy was scrapped in 1953 by reducing our objective to 120 air wing groups. This reduction was fought in Congress, and I was one of the Members who opposed it. But the reduction took place. Many outstanding military leaders opposed it as unwise, as a sign of weakness, and as too great a calculated risk to take for budgetary reasons.

Fortunately, a year later, the present administration changed its policy in this respect, and recommended appropriations to increase our Air Force to 137 air-wing groups by the middle of 1957. In doing this, however, for budgetary reasons, our Army has taken a sharp reduction during this fiscal year from 20 divisions to 17 divisions. A second year reduction had been ordered, but has, fortunately, been canceled.

There were a number of Members of Congress who expressed deep concern in this reduction, having in mind the known military strength and power of the Soviet bloc and their sinister purposes. We felt it was too great a calculated risk to take. Able military leaders also expressed their concern.

There was also a reduction in our Navy during this fiscal year. That is now taking place.

There is no question but that we have the advantage today in the possession of destructive bombs and other weapons of destruction-and in our ability to produce them, as well as an advantage in the means of delivering them, if necessary, to determined targets. But the information available shows that the Soviet Union is narrowing down the advantage we possess in this field of offensive military action.

I am sure that you were amazed not so long ago to read in the newspapers that 90 to 95 percent of attacking planes from abroad could get through to their targets in the United States. In other words, the defense of our cities and our people from air attack was so weak that only from 5 to 10 percent of attacking planes, carrying their terrible instruments of destruction, would probably be intercepted and shot down.

This was information that not only amazed me but stunned me.

I am glad to advise you that as a result of speeches made in Congress, and I have made several of them, appropriations have been made to improve this situation. But we have a long way yet to go, and we should move faster.

While it is known that no defense can be built that will prevent any plane from getting to a target, it is known too that we can build defenses against air attack that would be reasonably certain of destroying anywhere from 40 to 50 percent of attacking planes. If such defenses were built, it is felt by competent authority that the "kill" to attacking forces would be so great that they would think and hesitate long before attacking.

think and hesitate long before attacking. It would seem to me to be of imperative importance that the most effective continental defense should be constructed as rapidly as possible. However, I repeat, that decided improvements have been made in this respect during the past year.

If we err, it is better that we err on the side of strength than on the side of weak-ness.

It is better for us to have too much military strength and power and not need it than to have too little and need it.

As long as the Kremlin adheres to its policy of world revolution and enslavement, the most effective way, as I see it, to stop Communist aggresison, to deter war, and to ultimately bring about peace is through strength.

And I close my remarks with the statement that I have already made, and which I have made in and out of the Congress on a number of occasions, and which, as an American, I shall continue to make because I consider it my duty to do so, that the only thing the Communists respect is what they fear, and that is military power and strength greater than they possess.

And with such a force, with the spiritual values of America, with public opinion when aroused, and a united America, we can approach the trying days that lie ahead with confidence and success.

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH

HON. BENJAMIN F. JAMES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, notice of the untimely passing of our late colleague, the Honorable Dwight L. Rocers, came to us, I know, and to all of his many friends, with grievous and stunning impact.

I join with all those whose lives have been brightened by his friendship and whose days have been saddened by his death, in sorrow.

It has been my great privilege to be DWIGHT ROGERS' closest neighbor in the House Office Building since the day I came into this body 6 years ago, and the memory of his helpful attentions and courtesies to me as a freshman will stay with me forever.

A friendly man by nature and a kindly man, he made friends easily and held friendships securely. Pleasant memories of Mr. Rogers, we may be sure, will long remain in the minds and in the hearts of all those whose great privilege it has been to know him.

I extend to his devoted wife and his splendid sons my most profound sympathy in this time of their bereavement. The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH

HON. PRINCE H. PRESTON, JR.

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. PRESTON. Mr. Speaker, I was in Montevideo, Uruguay, when our colleague, the gentleman from Pennsylvania, [Mr. Scott] informed me of the passing of my beloved friend, Dwight Rogers. Being 6,000 miles away, unable to reach his family, unable to attend the funeral, I somehow felt the shock to a greater degree than I would have had I been able to go to the family and present my feelings to them.

Mr. Speaker, I did feel a keen shock in the passing of DWIGHT ROCERS. I had a reason to. Dwight was born in my district. The majority of his family live there yet. He came from good stock; honest, God-fearing people. When I came to Washington, Dwight took on interest in me because, representing his old home county, we became very fast friends. I think Dwight's greatest attribute was his capacity to love people. One cannot be loved unless he has himself the capacity to love others. DWIGHT had a heart big enough to permit him to love many people, and he did not fail to let people know that he loved them. I suppose he was about as popular an individual as we had in the House of Representatives. He perhaps had more warm friends than anybody in the House. had many friends on the Republican side. He associated just as much with the Republicans as he did with the people in his own party. So, he was loved by many people.

Mr. Speaker, little can be said to add anything to what has already been said about him. I think this eulogy here today has perhaps been as warm as any I have ever heard since I came to Congress 9 years ago. But he deserves everything that has been said. I know that the House will be glad to know that his son, Paul, who is very much like his father, is likely to succeed him. That district historically has been a Democratic distract. He has no opposition from the Democratic Party, and on next Tuesday it is most likely that he will be elected to succeed his father, and we will come to love him, I am sure, as we all did Dwight ROGERS. We hope he will be up here by next Wednesday to assume his office.

I certainly want to express my deepest sympathy to all of Dwight's family and those in my district as well as his immediate family in Florida. I talked to his son, Paul, when I came through returning from Montevideo. He is a resident of the city of West Palm Beach and is one of the outstanding young men in that community.

So, in conclusion I would like to express the hope that the House can be blessed with more men like Dwight Rogers, because he shed a lot of sunshine among his colleagues here in this body. He converted some dark hours into happiness for us by his good humor and his wit.

Free World Neglects Fight Against Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial by Editor H. B. Snyder, of Gary (Ind.) Post Tribune, reveals that we overlook one of our greatest weapons in winning the minds of millions against Communist tyranny:

MAKE HOPE A REALITY FOR REFUGEE

One of the Western World's greatest weapons in its contest with communism is the hope we can offer to the peoples behind the Iron Curtain, or the Bamboo Curtain of the East—hope of freedom, of independence in thought, freedom to work, and to worship.

But in many ways we are failing to make the most effective use of this weapon. We have not carried through on our promises to many of those who have escaped from the totalitarian world. They have risked life, they have sacrificed their possessions. They have not found hope a reality in the free world.

Every day the press of te world—and the Communist radio, too—carries reports of disillusioned and discouraged refugees whose freedom turned out to be the freedom to rot in refugee camps surrounded by barbed wire, to go without work, to be treated with hostility or indifference. In desperation, many have gone back behind the Iron Curtain.

West Germany has virtually closed the door to refugees from Soviet control. The average refugees now are destined for a German concentration camp, with little hope of release. There is no place for them in the Bonn Republic; there is all mopportunity for them to go on to new homes in the Western World.

A serious problem is present on the other side of the globe. A haif million Vietnamese have fled south of the 17th parallel into free Vietnam. Their exodus was encouraged by the United States. Our warships were converted into transports to carry them from the area the Reds were occupying. They represented a major psychological victory for the western nations in Asia.

There are thousands of potential leaders among this throng of Vietnamese refugees—3,000 university and high-school students, 200 university professors, hundreds of secondary-school teachers, former civil servants, small-business men. They can be of great value in rebuilding community life, strengthening the Government.

They need housing, furnishings, clothing; they need medicines, classroom and technical supplies. They are short of food. For them, the needs are great. For us, pitifully small amounts of money and supplies will make them independent and self-supporting once more. We have the obligation to do something, and quickly.

One organization that is doing something about it, that is equipped to do something because of 21 years in the field—activity dating back to the early years of the Nazis in Germany—is the International Rescue Committee, of 62 West 45th Street, New York 36.

Its freedom fund has been established to help anti-Communist refugees throughout the world. The IRC is competing with communism. When it has enough resources, it is winning. Support of its freedom fund is an effective way of strengthening the free world.

Canton Student Strolls in Red Berlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, there is a constituent of mine from the 16th District of Ohio, who is making a fine record as a Fulbright scholar studying at the Free University in Berlin, Germany. She is Miss Sue R. Barthelmeh, of Canton, Ohio, the daughter of Mrs. Wilda Barthelmeh and the late Common Pleas Court Judge A. C. L. Barthelmeh. I am quite proud of this young lady. She is a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of DePauw University and is preparing for a career in Government service.

She has written an excellent article for the Canton Repository, one of the newspapers in my district, about a trip into the Soviet sector of Berlin. It is well written and shows some of the wonderful opportunities given to Fulbright students to study and learn at first hand of the ways others in this world must live without the magnificent freedoms we enjoy in this Nation.

It is pleasing to see that American students can objectively view these other ways of life for only through understand-

ing can we break down the barriers to world peace.

I should like to call this fine article to the attention of my colleagues in the House of Representatives. Under unanimous consent, I ask that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

The article follows:

CANTON STUDENT STROLLS IN RED BERLIN (By Sue Barthelmeh)

BERLIN.—Several weeks ago, Gretchen Putnam of the Repository staff described her trip by bus into the Soviet sector of Berlin.

I can add to her descriptions from a student's point of view because I have made several trips into the Red sector since my arrival here in October as a Fulbright student.

If my fellow Cantonians came to visit me here, I would be glad to take them on a typical student excursion to the East. Our program for the day would be similar to this:

We would make a quick stop at a money exchange house in the West sector to buy some eastmarks. For 4.40 westmarks you can obtain 20 eastmarks, even though the Communists claim the official rate is two east to one west.

We would wear drab clothes and take the subway to the stop before the border. From the Kockstrasse subway station, we would walk the short block to the border and then casually walk across as if we did it every day. Guided tours are fine, but you are spotted as a foreigner immediately.

East Berlin is the biggest hole in the Russian Iron Curtain. Our American passports are our entry cards and 9 times out of 10, you will not be stopped at the control points.

If you are, it is never by the Russian soldiers, but by the hated People's Police, or Volpos, as the Berliners call them. As soon as you pass the sign welcoming you into the "People's Republic" you enter an entirely different world.

On the eastern side of the street are the gray bombed-out hulks, splattered with bright red propaganda signs, and Berlin's former railroad center, now a graveyard of

rusting, unused equipment. Behind you, not 500 yards away, stand the new modern apartment houses of West Berlin.

Except for Saturday afternoons or at the end of the working day, we would not meet many people on the street. We could spend our time strolling and reading the posters claiming what a wonderful place it is and what warmongering capitalists the Americans are.

We could even walk in the streets if we wanted to because there is no traffic to dodge. There just aren't that many automobiles on the streets.

We would probably go into some of the stores although without a special passport from the Red authorities we are not supposed to purchase anything other than food that can be consumed on the premises, or cultural materials.

Some of my American student friends have purchased gifts and clothing simply by showing the Russian translation of their travel orders through the Soviet Zone. It is amazing what the sight of any document with Russian printing upon it will do for you in the East sector.

At the newsstands, we would be sure to purchase the magazine "U. S. in Words and Pictures." From this we could read the latest "authentic" reports of how the United States is abusing its pepole, with doctored photographs to substantiate the twisted

words.

After a while the drab streets would lose their appeal so we would journey to Alexanderplatz and the Red's showplace, Stalin Allee.

Stalin Allee is the only section the Communists have rebuilt and here you find Moscow architecture, along green boulevard and many people and cars.

On one of the corners stands a strange plece of machinery. It is billed as the latest thing for harvesting grain, a present from the Soviets to the DR to celebrate Russian-German friendship. It looks like some of the pictures I have seen of McCormick's original reaper.

When it was time for dinner, we would dine at the Warsaw or the Budapest—Government-owned restaurants that only East Berlin's 400 could afford. The high prices wouldn't bother us, however, because of the favorable rate of exchange for our West money.

Both restaurants are nicely furnished and the food is fair. But you have to remember there are few East Berliners who can afford to eat in them. After dinner, we would still have some time before the opera began.

We could buy some books or records of that popular song Ami Go Home, or wander past the grocery stores where the people are lined up to buy baked goods, butter, or sugar on sale that day for a high price and no precious ration stamps.

Going to the opera is an experience. East Berlin becomes a true ghost town at night. A scattered light here and there dimly outline the wide, deserted streets. I could not guarantee that the production I would take you to would be just as the author wrote it although La Boheme, which I saw recently, was in its original form.

You can be sure the artists will be exceptionally good. They are lured over to the East by very high salaries.

But you won't escape the propaganda signs even inside the opera house. The audience would seem less gay and relaxed than in the West, yet receptive. If we had a car, there would be plenty of space in the parking place.

The last stop of the evening would probably be the Hotel Adlon, formerly Berlin's most prominent hotel used by all visiting dignitaries. Today it's third rate. We would have to climb stairs to get to the restaurant.

Inside, a radio plays quietly, waiters in tails and dress shirts scurry around, a few potted palms vainly try to add color, and most of the tables are occupied by men in dark uniforms that can mean anything from people's police to streetcar conductor.

This feeble attempt to appear as an exclusive night club is sad and ridiculous at the same time. I once ordered an omelet. After much bowing and scraping, the waiter began a long apology that he had no fresh eggs, only powdered ones. No fresh eggs in the Hotel Adion of all places when East newspapers were proclaiming abundance in the worker's paradise was a calamity difficult to explain.

My natural student curiosity sends me to Berlin every 2 weeks or so to see if anything new has developed and better to understand the problems of the East Germans. I find life much more free and pleasant on the western side.

Many of my German friends cannot accompany me to the East in fear that their names may be included in the black ledgers

of the Communists as politically dangerous.

Yet, the risks that many of them have taken to help relatives in the sector and zone and to continue the fight for freedom deserve credit and all the praise that has been given to West Berlin, the isle of freedom in the Red sea.

Fireman of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, it is always a privilege to do honor to those who devote their lives to the service of others. Men and women who find happiness in doing what they can to make life a bit easier for others and to bring encouragement and faith to the stricken are great people, the kind of people who make our country great. Such spirit of service is common among the members of our police and fire departments which are made up of brave men, always prepared to risk their lives in the protection of ours. These thoughts are prompted by a member of the District of Columbia Fire Department who has recently been selected as Fireman of the Year, and I consider it a privilege to do honor to this man.

Charles M. Chamberlin, Jr., assigned to No. 1 platoon of engine company 16, and presently detailed to the deputy fire chief, has received this honor and he richly deserves it. Mr. Chamberlin has been a member of the District Fire Department for more than 17 years, during which he served in different engine and truck companies, and 5 years with rescue squad No. 1. He also acted as aide to various battalion fire chiefs, and for the past 3 years he has been aide to Deputy Fire Chief Handback. Let me quote from a statement made about him by one of his superior officers:

Private Chamberlin has always demonstrated a keen interest in the Fire Department and is always ready to give his time to help others, from the lowest private to the highest ranking officer. When any member is sick or wounded he can always count on a visit from Charlie or "Doc" as he is called by all members who know him. this respect he is largely responsible for the starting and smooth operating of the firemen's blood bank. His interest in this respect is not confined to the Fire Department alone since his record shows he has donated 52 pints of blood through the American Red Cross for the use of the Armed Forces or for other purposes for which they need it.

Private Chamberlin is a family man with a wife and one son. He is an active member of his church, a Mason, and has served as den father to a Cub Scout pack and on the executive committee of the Boy Scouts of America. He is popular with his comrades and is recognized as one who is always ready to help in a good cause.

I am proud to be able to speak of Charlie Chamberlin as my friend, and it is indeed a privilege to know him. The inspiration received from a character with such high and unselfish standards makes us very proud and eager to do our own tasks better and in a more cheerful

Persons Serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955, Should Be Entitled To Continue To Accrue Educational Benefits

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker. the President of the United States has acted under the provisions of the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 and issued a proclamation declaring the emergency period at an end on January 31, 1955. The effect of this declaration will be that persons in the Armed Forces will cease accruing eligibility as war veterans on January 31, 1955.

Entitlement to education and training is on an accrual basis. Entitlement is accrued at the rate of 1½ days of education or training for each day of service during the emergency period; therefore, the President's proclamation has the effect of discontinuing accrual of educational entitlement on January 31, 1955, for all persons in service on that date. This will mean that those individuals who have entered the armed services during the past few months will not have the opportunity to accrue sufficient educational entitlement to be of any practical value. A great many persons entered the armed forces during the past few months with the belief that they would have the opportunity of accruing the maximum entitlement to education. Some of these persons maintain that they were urged by armed services recruiters to enter the service and discharge their military service obligation as soon as possible and at the same time gain entitlement to a free college education. I have received letters from service personnel contending that armed services recruiters appeared in high schools last June and urged high school graduates to join the service and stated that they would be entitled to maximum educational entitlement if they entered the service promptly.

In order that those individuals who have entered the service during a recent period will be dealt with fairly, I am introducing a bill which will permit an individual in the armed services on January 31, 1955, to continue to accrue entitlement to education and training on the basis of 11/2 days educational entitlement for each day of service up to the date of his discharge or until he accrues maximum entitlement. Enactment of this bill will permit individuals who have been in service less than 24 months on January 31, 1955, to continue to count their service for the purpose of accruing educational entitlement up to a maximum of 24 months service.

I believe that enactment of this legislation will eliminate the possibility that any individual has been mislead or has been dealt with unfairly and at the same time will serve the basic intent of the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952. I hope that the Veterans' Affairs Committee can give prompt consideration to this question as soon as it

is organized.

Modernized Canal Put Off

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, the adjournment of the 83d Congress without acting on the interoceanic canal question has become a topic of considerable public discussion as illustrated by a news story in the September 3, 1954, issue-Atlantic two-star edition-of the Christian Science Monitor by Capt. Frederick L. Oliver, United States Navy, retired, the distinguished naval correspondent of that paper.

Attention is invited to previous articles of Captain Oliver in the Christian Science Monitor on the canal question, which were republished in the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, 82d Congress, 2d session, volume 98, part 10, May 1, 1952, page A2659, and 83d Congress, 1st session, volume 99, part 9, February 12, 1953, page A605.

As an experienced seaman and a respected student of national policies, Captain Oliver's writings always reflect views derived from his broad background of study and observation.

The text of the news story follows: MODERNIZED CANAL PUT OFF

(By Capt. Frederick L. Oliver, United States Navy, retired)

Congress has again adjourned without giving more than passing attention to the need for making the Panama Canal adequate for present-day requirements.

Meanwhile, nature has taken a hand in the past few months by opening wide the long-neglected fissure on Contractors Hill. This sizable rift could result in a tremendous slide toppling into Gaillard Cut, closing the canal to shipping for an indefinite period.

For almost 15 years a group of prominent engineers has been advocating alterations to the canal to correct present deficiencies. Several years ago, interested Congressmen introduced legislation designed to initiate the necessary changes. But thus far Congress has failed to even take action on a bill authorizing the appointment of a commission composed of men with wide engineering, operating, and business experience, to investigate present conditions and recommend the best solution.

The average Congressman apparently does not realize the seriousness of existing conditions, and believes the canal is adequate to carry out its designed purposes.

DREAMS OUTSTRIPPED

When plans for the canal were drawn nearly 50 years ago, it was thought the locks would be large enough to handle any ship the future would produce.

But ship design outstripped the wildest dreams of prognosticators of those days, and today there are a number of ships afloat too large to use the canal locks, with other "toolarge" ships under construction and projected.

In addition, the United States Navy has many ships whose design was severely limited by the lock dimensions. Built as large as possible, these vessels are so tight a squeeze in the locks that, in order to minimize the danger of damaging lock structures and ship hulls, undue time is required for their transits.

During World War II, the inability of vessels of the Queen Mary class to pass through the canal interfered with planned operations

ALTERNATE PLANS

Although the need for increasing the capacity of the canal is recognized by those acquainted with existing conditions, there is a difference of opinion among them concerning the manner in which changes should be accomplished. These differences seem to have crystallized into two alternatives, (a) altering the present canal into a sea-level type or (b) increasing the capacity of the present canal by installing new and larger locks together with certain other changes. The consensus appears to favor the retaining lock-type canal.

After making a detailed study of geophysical conditions along the route of the canal, geologists agree almost unanimously that any large-scale underground disturbance can cause slides or bottom bulges in the cut through the Continental Divide, and the deeper the cut, the greater the danger that disturbances of this character will result.

A sea-level canal would require an enormous amount of excavation to attain a designed depth of 135 feet below the water level of the present canal. There is no possible way to determine accurately how new stresses and strains set up thereby would affect the physical formation of the area around the deep cut, but many experts believe that 2 or 3 times the estimated 1,069,-000,000 cubic yards of excavation would be required to attain a condition of stability.

Proponents of the sea-level canal have largely based their contention on the vulnerability of lock structures to severe damage by bombing. There is no question but that bomb damage, regardless of how the bombs arrive at their objectives, would put the entire canal out of commission for a considerable length of time if a pair of locks were seriously damaged.

However, this argument has been greatly discounted by results now attainable with H-bombs. Regardless of which type of canal is adopted, a properly placed H-bomb can put it completely out of service for an extended period, if not permanently.

This development has strengthened arguments for the enlarged lock-type plan. It is

also far cheaper to construct and much quicker to complete than the sea-level type.

Estimate of cost for the enlarged locktype canal run from \$600 million to \$750 million, the work to be done in from 5 to 10 years, depending upon the urgency attached to the project. It is anticipated that the changeover could be effected with little or no interference with normal operations of the canal.

SEA-LEVEL CANAL

The sea-level type will be vastly more expensive, estimates of cost ranging from \$2½\$ to \$10 billion. While work is in progress, the use of the canal would be disrupted. Estimates of the time needed for conversion vary, but there is no question but that it would be much longer than the time for completing the lock-type changeover.

Buy American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include the following letter and brief I have received from Banjamin G. Hull, vice president to the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, A. F. of L., which constitute an interesting and illuminating view on the subject of the large influx of foreign goods upon our shores.

The letter and brief follow:
COMMONWEALTH OF MASSACHUSETTS,
DEPARTMENT OF LABOR AND INDUSTRIES,
BOARD OF CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION,
Boston, January 4, 1955.

Hon. THOMAS J. LANE,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR Tom: I was deeply interested and certainly appreciative of the remarks you made in reference to foreign-made bicycles at our recent luncheon of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor. Everyone who has had the pleasure of meeting and knowing you, knows your deep, sincere interest in those who toil for a living, for you know the hard knocks of life, as you have been through the

I am enclosing a copy of a brief I filed before the United States Tariff Commission, as
you probably know that I appeared before
that Commission last September. You also
know that a resolution was unanimously
passed condemning the large quotas of foreign imports at the Massachusetts Federation of Labor convention last August in
Worcester. I am going to quote some figures
for you, which I'm sure will be of interest.
These figures were compiled by the American
Tariff League from data supplied by the
United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, as
of October 1953.

Country	Hourly earnings	Per hour wage differ- ences
United States	\$1.78 .48 .46 .44 .37 .19 .57 .47	\$1, 30 1, 32 1, 34 1, 41 1, 50 1, 21 1, 31

You readily can see from these figures that the American industry certainly cannot compete. It is because of these figures that the foreign-made bicycle is seiling at \$15 to \$18 below our retail price. Five years ago, 17,000 came into this country. Now, I am going to call your attention to the latest figures which I received yesterday by telephone, which surely are shocking. Last November 1954—get this Tom—120,000 bicycles were shipped to our shores. Just look at this staggering amount. Over 900,000 were shipped here last year, 1954. As a result, the Westfield Manufacturing Co., makers of bicycles for over 75 years have closed their doors completely, throwing approximately 500 employees cut of work. Now, these 500 employees cannot buy products that are made by other workers, which in turn retards other businesses. It is my firm opinion that if the quotas on foreign imports are not drastically reduced immediately, that we are going to face a depression that will make the last one look like a piker.

I don't have to remind you what happened to the watch industry, nor the shoe industry, and is now happening to the fish industry, and is now happening to the fish industry. Here, hundreds of boats are tied up at the wharves and thousands of workers in the fish industry are idle. I could go on and on naming industries that are being affected by foreign countries who are reaping a harvest from this country, at the expense of our industries and workers.

I believe in reciprocal agreements, but these agreements should not be allowed to throw our country into a horrible depression such as we recently went through.

sion such as we recently went through. Our industries have to prosper in order to pay the taxes to keep this Government on the high standard that our boys have fought on the battlefields to preserve from the days of 1776.

With kindest regards, I remain,

Most sincerely yours,

BENJAMIN G. Hull,

Associate Commissioner.

BRIEF BY BENJAMIN G. HULL, VICE PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS FEDERATION OF LA-BOR, A. F. OF L., ON INVESTIGATION NO. 37 IN RESPECT TO BICYCLES

To the Honorable Board of the United States Tariff Commission:

Mr. Chairman and members of the Commission, I am indeed grateful that you, as Commissioners, accorded me the privilege to appear at the recent hearing, and voice my views on the bicycle situation. I also appreciate the privilege of filing this brief.

I have personally been interested in the importation of foreign-made goods for a number of years, going back as far as the time when Japan was at war with China some 15 years ago. At that time Japan was shipping bicycles to the Pacific coast at \$6 apiece, and to the Atlantic coast at \$7 apiece. I contacted the late Senator David I. Walsh and Congressman Allen T. Treadway. Each of them informed me that there wasn't much that could be done. I immediately filed a resolution with both the Massachusetts and American Federation of Labor conventions, which in both instances, were passed unanimously, condemning the importation of Japanese-made goods. Incidentally, this resolution on foreign imports was the first one passed at the A. F. of L. convention held in Denver, Colo., at that time.

At the present time we are being swamped with hundreds of thousands of foreign-made bicycles, which are seriously affecting the jobs of thousands of American workers, and when our workers are unemployed it means our Government is losing Federal income taxes. These unemployed workers losing their earning power seriously jeopardize many thousands of workers' jobs, because the unemployed worker cannot buy what his fellow-American is producing, which finally injures industry, which in turn lessens the revenue for State and Federal taxes.

Thousands of displaced persons have arrived in this country to join with our Amer-

ican workers, and their jobs are also being jeopardized. History has proven to us the results of such action; for instance, the tragic situation that our watch industry has suffered by low tariff and large quotas. Thanks to your Commission and the President of the United States, relief has been given to this industry. Now, the workers of the bicycle industry are facing the same situation, and before it becomes too late I urgently request that your Commission take such action as will protect this industry of long standing.

As far as I am concerned, this question is not a political or a party issue; it boils right down to the fact, are we going to protect the workers of our country who enjoy the standards that this country has worked so hard and for so many years to obtain? Are we going to protect our industries, the workers in which furnish a large part of the revenue to keep America on the high level it

now enjoys?

The Massachusetts Federation of Labor. A. F. of L., believes we should protect these standards and therefore over 600 delegates assembled at its recept convention in Worcester, Mass., unanimously passed a resolu-tion condemning the large influx of foreign goods upon our shores, causing undue hardship on the workers and our industries. Over 6,000 citizens in the western part of Massachusetts signed a petition asking for action to be taken to protect their jobs. The Honorable Governor Christian A. Herter, the members of the House of Massachusetts, the Honorable Senators Leverett Saltonstall and John F. Kennedy, and many Congressmen of this State have signified their stand on this question of foreign imports. All of these believe in a fair reciprocal trade agreement, but they do protest such a huge amount of products that causes many of our industries to close their doors, thus throwing their employees out of employment.

I, as associate commissioner of labor and industries of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, vice president of the Massachusetts Federation of Labor, and finally president of the Westfield Central Labor Union, plead with your most honorable Commission to grant the request of the bicycle industry in order to help this industry take part in keeping this Government on the continual road

of prosperity, peace, and contentment. Respectfully submitted.

BENJAMIN G. HULL, Associate Commissioner Labor and Industries, Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

Pray for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, yesterday I reintroduced a bill to authorize the Postmaster General to provide for the use in first- and second-class post offices of a special canceling stamp, or postmarking die bearing the words "Pray for

An identical measure which I introduced in the 83d Congress was passed in the House on August 18, 1954, but Congress adjourned before the Senate took action. It is my hope that the bill which I introduced yesterday will be enacted into law during this Congress. This leg-

islation would send the message of "Pray for Peace" on United States mail throughout the land, and to the far corners of the world. It would remind the world of our dependence upon God.

Residual Oil Imports: The Achilles Heel in Our Defense Structure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, inasmuch as the residual oil imports issue affects both the domestic economy and the national security, I believe it important that new Members of Congress be advised promptly of the necessity for action on this vital matter. Those of us who served in the 83d Congress had an opportunity to learn of the great harm that excessive imports inflicted upon the coal industry and affiliated businesses—hard-ships that were steadily intensified from the time the deluge began several years ago through the first half of 1954.

Here we are, 6 months and more than 60 million barrels later, and we find that for the second straight year the equivalent of more than 30 million tons of bituminous coal has been imported into the United States in the form of residual oil. The result is that more coal miners are out of work, more railroaders whose jobs depend upon coal freight tonnage are also unemployed, and more families in West Virginia and throughout other coal-producing States are impoverished. Furthermore, as a consequence of foreign residual oil's illicit trespass upon coal's markets, the coal industry is not now in position to meet the enormous demands that would be made upon it if an emergency were to develop.

National policies which tend to bring hardship to large groups of American citizens, and which are in disregard of the security of our country, must be revised at the earliest possible moment. The responsibility for bringing about the necessary changes in prevailing policies lies with Members of the 84th Congress. Foreign trade policy is one of the first such issues that needs be corrected. By enacting proper limitations on the amount of residual oil that may be imported into this country from refineries in foreign lands, the Congress will be placing a protective covering for what could very well be the Achilles heel in our defense structure, for such a move would help immeasurably in bringing coal's productive capacity to a level in conformity with the Nation's mobilization base requirements.

There are a number of other matters affecting coal which will be discussed from time to time before the new House of Representatives. As representative of the largest coal-producing district in the entire country, I shall apprise my colleagues of conditions in this great industry and, when it is desirable, I shall

relay to this legislative body the suggestions of the miner and his union officials as well as the operator and his appointed spokesmen.

Today I ask unanimous consent to insert in the Congressional Record a recent statement by L. C. Campbell, president of the National Coal Association, and vice president of Eastern Gas & Fuel Associates, whose operations include mines in Boone and Raleigh Counties, which are in the Sixth Congressional District of West Virginia. Later I shall request permission to place in the Record the actual resolutions passed by the National Coal Association's board of directors at a special meeting last month.

Mr. Campbell's statement follows: Competitive Fuels Policy Statement by L. C. Campbell, President, National Coal Association

L. C. Campbell, president of the National Coal Association, announced today the appointment of a special committee on competitive fuels and other matters relating to the meeting of the board of directors of the association held in Washington on December 9 and 10.

Mr. Campbell stated that, "acting under authority of the members in convention at Pittsburgh, November 17 and 18, 1954, I have appointed a special committee on competitive fuels." Those named on that committee are: Raymond E. Salvati, president, Island Creek Coal Co., Huntington, W. Va.; Kenneth A. Spencer, president, Ptitsburgh & Midway Coal Mining Co., Kansas City, Mo.; D. W. Buchanan, Jr., president, Old Ben Coal Corp., Chicago, Ill.; L. Russell Kelce, president, Sinclair Coal Co., Kansas City, Mo.; George H. Love, president, Pittsburgh Consolidation Coal Co., Ptitsburgh, Pa.; A. R. Matthews, president, Pocahontas Fuel Co., Inc., Pocahontas, Va.; C. J. Potter, president, Rochester & Pittsburgh Coal Co., Indiana, Pa.; I. C. Campbell, vice president, coal division, Eastern Gas & Fuel Asociates, Pittsburgh, Pa.; and Harry LaViers, president, South-East Coal Co., Paintsville, Ky.

Mr. Campbell further announced that "pursuant to the authority granted by the members, plus appropriate resolutions adopted by the board of directors in Washington on December 9, the committee held its first meeting on the ninth at Washington and reviewed some of the problems confronting the industry. After careful deliberation, it announced the following objectives, to be viewed in the nature of principles to govern the committee's action:

"1. The coal industry is unnecessarily and severely injured by the importation of residual oil. Therefore, we favor a quantitative restriction on such imports and an equalization of tariffs on residual oil with other petroleum products.

'2. The coal industry is against and will fight the dumping of natural gas at a price less than the average cost at the point of consumption, plus a reasonable profit.

"3. The coal industry is for the control of importation of natural gas to prevent it from supplanting domestic fuels."

Mr. Campbell also stated that "the committee gave consideration to the so-called Phillips decision, dealing with the regulation of the producers and gatherers of natural gas, but the committee at this time has taken no position on the question of whether or not that decision should be retained or reversed."

Mr. Campbell said that "the committee named Tom Pickett, of the NCA staff to act as executive secretary of the committee and he was designated by the committee as its spokesman and the individual through whom all matters pertaining to the ques-tions under consideration must be cleared." Mr. Campbell also stated that, "as a result

of the action taken by the coal executives. the members of the National Coal Association in convention, as well as its board of directors, and in order to avoid any confusion among any elements interested in coal, this special committee is the only group now designated to speak authoritatively for the coal producers of this country on the problems heretofore enumerated."

Mr. Campbell said that "a brief preliminary conference was held by the members of the committee and spokesmen from the oil and gas industry in order that those representatives might understand the objectives of the coal producers as heretofore out-

Mr. Campbell further said, "We expect our committee will receive the active support and assistance of all segments of the coal econ-We will enlist their aid in pushing a legislative program that is to be developed within the framework of the policy decision of NCA's board of directors, adopted on December 9, and the three principles out-lined herein."

Mr. Campbell stated that any person or interested parties who feel that they have anything to contribute to the problems under consideration by this committee should communicate with Tom Pickett, executive vice president of the National Coal Association, Southern Building, Washington, D. C. Washington, D. C., December 17, 1954.

Westerners Support the TVA

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the recent controversy over the TVA has made very clear the mutual interest that the far West and the TVA area have in a sound water and power development program. The McClatchy newspapers, the outstanding newspaper chain in the Central Valley of California, have long been among the most vigorous advocates and defenders of the TVA. I include for the special interest of those in the TVA area and for the other Members of the House generally, a recent editorial in the Modesto Bee, one of the McClatchy newspapers, of December 30, 1954, entitled "Does TVA Pay?":

DOES TVA PAY?

The Tennessee Valley Public Power Association has prepared an interesting report which answers effectively the question of whether TVA contributes its fair share of revenues to local and State governments in the area in which it operates.

The association made a minute study of all the taxes paid on land utilized for reservoirs and on power properties purchased from

private operators.

These amounted to \$3,226,132 in the last

year of private operation.

For the fiscal year ended June 30, 1954, in lieu payments and taxes to the various governments by the TVA and the distributors of TVA power totaled \$9,074,356.

In other words, under the publicly owned operation the payments to local and State governments were almost three times as much as under private operation.

Moreover, industries attracted to the area by low-cost power, the thousands of new homes, the improved farms and the higher

level of income all contributed enormously to local, State and Federal tax collections.

The New York Times pointed out recently that the financing of TVA power facilities costs the Federal Government nothing, since the money is reimbursable with interest

Of the Federal investment of \$803,500,000 in TVA, said the Times, \$81,000,000 already has been repaid to the United States Treas-

The Federal Government in fact contributes nothing to TVA. Rather TVA contributes to the Federal Government. Somebody ought to show these figures to President Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Prayers of the Reverend Dr. Edward L. R.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CECIL M. HARDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mrs. HARDEN. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I wish to call the attention of the membership of this House to a series of prayers offered by the Reverend Dr. Edward L. R. Elson, pastor of the National Presbyterian Church, on the occasion of the reconvening of the Congress, Wednesday, January 5.

It was my privilege to attend this fine service, along with many other Members of this body and the President of the United States. We gained much from the service, and I ask that the prayers offered by Dr. Elson be printed in the RECORD. They follow:

PRAYERS OF THE REVEREND DR. EDWARD L. R. ELSON AT SERVICE OF INTERCESSION AND HOLY COMMUNION, JANUARY 5, 1955, THE NATIONAL PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH, WASH-INGTON, ON THE OCCASION OF THE RECON-VENING OF CONGRESS

PRAYER FOR THE NATION

Almighty God, our Creater, Redeemer and Judge, bless this Nation with righteousness and truth. Confirm what is right, correct what is wrong, and prosper all such efforts as shall promote Thy Kingdom. Visit our cities, towns, and countryside with a new and lofty patriotism and with pure religion. Abide in our hearts and in our homes. dow the people of this land with nobility and virtue. Strengthen our institutions; deepen the root of our national life in everlasting righteousness. Protect us from enemies without, and weakness and unworthiness within. Enable us to trust one another and to fear only Thee. Make us equal to our high trust, reverent in the use of freedom, just in the exercise of power, and generous in the protection of the weak. In all the decisions of the coming fateful days, grant that we may ever remain a Nation whose God is the Lord; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

PRAYER FOR THE PRESIDENT

Almighty God, in whose sovereign will is the destiny of men and nations, guide by Thy holy spirit and uphold by Thy might the President of these United States. unto him health of body, serenity of soul, soundness of judgment, sanctified stewardship of office, and a constant and confident faith in Thee. Make him a channel of Thy grace and an instrument of Thy power upon the earth, that righteousness and truth. justice and honor may be promoted and upheld among men and the nations of this world. Let goodness and mercy follow him

all his days; through Jesus Christ our Lord.

PRAYER FOR ALL IN AUTHORITY

Lord God Almighty, guide we pray Thee, all those to whom Thou has committed the Government of this Nation-the Vice President, the Members of the Cabinet, all in positions of executive responsibility, and the judiciary. Grant to them at this time special gifts of wisdom and understanding, of counsel and strength, that they may obey Thy will and fulfill Thy divine purpose; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

PRAYER FOR THE CONGRESS.

Most gracious God, we humbly beseech Thee, as for the people of this Nation in general, so especially for the Senators and Representatives in Congress assembled; that Thou wouldst be pleased to direct and prosper all their consultations to the advancement of Thy glory, the good of Thy Church. the safety, honor, and welfare of the people; that all things may be so ordered and settled by their endeavors, upon the best and surest foundations, that peace and happiness, truth and justice, virtue and plety, may be established among us; through our most blessed Lord and Saviour. Amen.

PRAYER FOR THE EMISSARY OF THE UNITED NATIONS

We remember before Thee, O Lord, the emissary of the United Nations on special mission to negotiate for the deliverance of men from captivity, remembering that our Lord Jesus Christ came to preach the deliverance of captives and, recovering the sight of the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised. We beseech Thee to grant unto him and to all whom he consults, high and holy insights, that relations between nations may be lifted into the spirit of Thy Kingdom and a higher way be found for the life of the nations of this earth; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

PRAYER FOR WORLD PEACE

Almighty God, from whom all thoughts of truth and peace proceed: Kindle, we pray Thee, in the hearts of all men the true love of peace, and guide with Thy pure and peaceable wisdom those who take counsel for the nations of the earth, through Thy Church, through the United Nations, and all other agencies; that Thy Kingdom may go for-ward, till the earth be filled with the knowledge of Thy love; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

PRAYER FOR COURAGE AND STRENGTH OF CHARACTER

We ask Thee, O Lord, not to take from us our burdens, but to give us strength to carry them; not to deliver us from our problems, but to give us wisdom to solve them, and power to execute the solution; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

THE LORD'S PRAYER

Our Father, who art in Heaven: hallowed be Thy Name. Thy Kingdom come. Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven. Give us this day our daily bread. And forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors. And lead us not into temptation; but deliver us from evil; for Thine is the Kingdom, and the Power, and the Glory, for ever.

Judicial and Legislative Pay Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker. by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include editorial comment from the two morning newspapers of Chicago on the legislation to increase judicial and legislative salaries proposed by the Citizens' Committee.

The Chicago Sun-Times of December 31, 1954, said:

Pay raises for the legislators, and especially for the judges, are long overdue. Congress should have the courage to do something about it in 1955.

The Chicago Tribune of December 31, 1954, said:

In our opinion, it is a good idea. * * * The incomes of a body of men and women who can vote themselves a raise any time they feel like it have rather lagged behind the average increase in a period of rising salaries and wages. * * It proves that they (men in public office) are timid. In this matter, we suspect, they were needlessly alarmed, because the great majority of the voters will approve the proposed increase.

Unjust Discrimination Against Members of the Armed Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, Yesterday I introduced a bill to correct an inequity of our tax laws which results in an unjust discrimination against members of our Armed Forces.

Last year, in our work on the mammoth new tax law, the House included a provision, section 37, which provided a tax credit equal to 20 percent of retirement incomes up to \$1,200 for individuals aged 65 and over. When the bill reached the other body, this section was amended to provide similar treatment for individuals under 65 with respect to pensions received from a public-retirement system. However, the amendment made by the other body specifically defined the term "public-retirement system" so as to exclude a retirement system operated for the benefit of the Armed Forces. That amendment with the exception I have just described finally prevailed in conference.

As a result, under the law as it now stands, a retired schoolteacher, policeman, fireman, or other civil servant is entitled to the retirement income-tax credit even if he retires before age 65. On the other hand, a member of our Armed Forces who similarly retires before age 65 is not entitled to equivalent treatment. I can find no justification whatsoever for continuing this type of discrimination against individuals who have served in their country's uniform. The bill which I have introduced today simply removes the exclusion the Armed Forces from the definition of public-retirement system. The amendment would be effective for taxable years beginning after December 31, 1953, the effective date of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

Communist Aggression Against Ukraine and Other Non-Russian Nations in U. S. S. R.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, during the hearings conducted by the Select Committee on Communist Aggression, a number of Americans who are expert on the subject of the nations enslaved by communism appeared before the committee. One of those experts was Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of political economy, Georgetown University, and president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. Dr. Dobriansky appeared before the committee on October 18, 1954, at the Chicago hearings, and presented a most informative analysis on the enslavement of Ukraine by the Communists. In his statement Dr. Dobriansky points out that the current threat of aggression from Moscow can be traced back in its roots to Russian imperialism which has plagued civilized mankind for well over 300 years. A warning is also raised on the grave dangers that confront us if we fall for the Moscow trap of peaceful coexistence.

Because of the importance the statement of Dr. Dobriansky bears to bringing about a better understanding of the real nature of international communism, I insert his statement in the Record.

COMMUNIST AGGRESSION AGAINST UKRAINE AND OTHER NON-RUSSIAN NATIONS IN U. S. S. R.

(Testimony by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of political economy, Georgetown University; president, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, at hearings of House Select Committee on Communist Aggression, United States Courthouse, Chicago, Ill., Monday, October 18, 1954)

It is a veritable privilege and honor for me to appear before this singularly outstanding and unique committee of the United States House of Representatives which now is investigating Communist aggression against Ukraine and the other non-Russian nations held captive in the Soviet Union. The distinction of this opportunity to testify on this crucially important subject is sharpened by the fact that these hearings are being conducted here, in Chicago, a great midwestern metropolis which, significantly, is also a mid-way point for the widely distributed communities and branches with affiliations and membership in the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, of which I am the president. As a thoroughly American organization, representing one and a half million citizens of Ukrainian ancestry, this national body has for over a decade dedicated itself to the prime tasks of informing the American public about Moscow-centered communism in practice, and of broadening its warm understanding concerning the vital and strategic importance of the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union to the fundamental interests and security of our Nation.

In all sincerity, and solely with objective thought, we join with countless others, in this country and abroad, in complimenting this select House committee and its staff on its extraordinary endeavors and superlatively constructive work in factually unmasking the expansion of Red totalitarianism and its colonial empire and in establishing a solid and secure groundwork for sound foreign policy formulation. It is a simple rule of balanced political behavior that before we can act with intelligent purpose and clear vision and courage we must first come to know, understand, and judge the data and elements with which we are dealing. The sterling contribution of your committee and its investigative work over the past year lies in the full maintenance and enforcement of this rule. It is doubly magnified by the fact that the revealing disclosures of your investigations of Communist aggressions in Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and elsewhere come at an anxious moment when an increasing number of people, sucked in by Moscow's new peace offensive under the tattered Soviet banner of peaceful coexistence are being being lulled into a false sense of security and world peace. The total significance and import of your monumental work will doubtlessly be felt with keener impression and appreciation once the constant, mortal threat of Communist aggression commences to assert itself again in bold, overt strokes of conquest and domination.

Every impartial observer and student of the activities of this committee agrees that its recent second interim report consists of one of the finest and most authoritative summaries of the nature and content of aggressive communuism.1 It is based upon a wealth of concrete, empirical evidence obtained from the direct, horrible experiences of people representing all strata of the slave society and all nations reduced by force under the tyrannical yoke of Moscow. It reflects an investigative approach satisfying every critical test and criterion of comprehensive factfinding, and the salient facts and generalizations presented in this official document are worthy of careful study in all of our educational institutions. The able and distinguished chairman of this committee, the Honorable Charles J. Kersten, of Wisconsin, whose name is honored throughout the free world and consistently reviled in the Red empire, deserves every measure of commendation and praise for his untiring efforts in the cause of freedom; and the people of Milwaukee, whom he so brilliantly represents, have every right to take pride in his preeminent achievements and international reputation.

GROUNDED PERSPECTIVES ON NON-RUSSIAN NA-TIONS IN U. S. S. R.

Contrary to popular impression, facts do not speak for themselves. For their meaning and true proportions they require intellectual insight and evaluation, the exercise of rational measurement, and a coherent arrangement in an intelligible pattern of thought. This committee is in its remarkable way accumulating valuable information and documentary material relating to Communist aggression against the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Such data begin to assume meaningful significance for our knowledge and our political action in the field of foreign policy only when, according to their self-evident factual determinations, they are rationally ordered in terms of the life-process of a nation, in terms of its vicissitudes, indicated aspirations and goals of development. Testimonies on national genocide, mass deportations, terrorism, manmade famines, religious persecution, thought control, underground resistance and general political tyranny refer not to isolated historical phenomena but broader political contexts of national struggle for self-preservation, freedom, self-government and independ-ence—the only contexts in which these basically related experiences can attain to intelligible meaning.

Being intimately familiar with a good deal

Being intimately familiar with a good deal of such data, it is my sole purpose here to present certain grounded perspectives with

Footnotes at end of speech.

regard to Communist aggression against the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, chiefly from the overall viewpoint of its crucial relationship to the national interests of our country. These perspectives are amply supported by the types of evidence being furnished this committee, and represent generalized working conclusions of innumerable objective studies on the many non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union, Indeed, the investigations of this committee into Communist aggression against these particular non-Russian nations cannot but reinforce these perspectives and thus constitute a salutary contribution to American public understanding of the nature and complex of the Soviet Union and also to our military and political capacity to capitalize on its patent vulnerabilities and weaknesses.

first major perspective is that the Soviet Union is not Russia, but, in a real sense, an empire within an empire. It consists of Russia, which itself is a federated Republic made of of different peoples and known as the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic (R. S. F. S. R.), and a large number of non-Russian nations which, in the forced context of this primary empire, have been established as individual republics. According to current estimates, in addition to some 100 million Russians, there are about 115 million non-Russians, of which the Baltic nations, White Ruthenia, Ukraine, Georgia, Armenia. Azerbaijan, Cossackia, and Turkestan roughly account for over 90 percent. Inhabiting in their individual countries the broad, strategic periphery of the Soviet Union, these non-Russian nationals not only compose in toto the majority of the total population of the U.S.S.R. but also make up overwhelming majorities in their respective native lands. It is, therefore, a current fallacy, born either of habitual error or purposeful misinformation, to view these non-Russian nations as national minorities. If Poland, for example, were nominally annexed to the Soviet Union, would it be logically sensible to regard this nation as another minority? Obviously not, when we are dealing with nations, peoples, conscious and rightfully proud of their national individualities.

The average American is familiar with the Baltic nations largely because they were fortunate to enjoy a longer period of national independence than these other non-Russian nations with whom, as yet, he is not so familiar. But, in fact, except for this relative release from foreign domination and annexation for scarcely two decades, the experiences of the Baltic nations have been, both prior to the collapse of the Czarist Russian Empire and since 1940, substantially those Ukraine, White Ruthenia, Georgia, and the other non-Russian nations. All possess their individual national histories, distinctive cultures, separate languages, and an unbreakable bent toward national freedom and independence. Each has had glorious periods of such freedom and independence prior to its forcible absorption into the Czarist Russian Empire. Each strives for it today in a wave of enlightened nationalism that is global in character and not restricted merely to Asia.

On the basis of the evidence provided this committee it is utterly essential to under-stand that the year 1917 was the historical moment not only of the Russian Revolution but also of the non-Russian Revolution that led to the creation of the free and independent national republics of Ukraine, Lithuania, White Ruthenia, Georgia, Armenia, and others. The collapse of the Russian Empire was erystallized by this sweeping non-Russian revolution, and it seemed on the basis of typical Communist avowals and pacts that this dark empire was at last finished. For instance, never tiring in his early advocacy of the principle of national self-determination, Lenin wrote "that Russian Socialists who fail to demand freedom of secession for Finland, Poland, the Ukraine, etc.,

etc., are behaving like chauvinists, like lackeys of the blood-and-mud-stained imperialist monarchies and the imperialist bourgeoisie." 2 As a further example, concerning Ukraine, both Lenin and Trotsky addressed themselves through the Council of Commissars of the Russian people on December 4, 1917, as follows: "So far as the international rights and the national independence of the Ukrainian people are concerned, we the Council of People's Commissars, recognize them without reservations and unconditionally." It was not long after that Trotsky's Red army invaded Ukraine and the other non-Russian republics to commit the first act of Russian Communist aggression against foreign states and nations. Long before the West learned to distrust Communist words and contracts Ukraine, Georgia, and others painfully experienced the infamy of Moscow's chicanery.

In historical perspective, then, which is as essential and determining to nations as trained backgrounds are to the understanding of persons, except for the more fortunate Baltic States, the non-Russian nations now in the Soviet Union were the first true victims of imperialist Communist aggression staged in the period of 1919-22. slaught upon the Baltic States 20 years hence and, soon thereafter, the aggressions against Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Hungary, and others in what we unrealistically call "the satellite area" represented additional in the extended imperialist chain of Muscovite expansionism. The pattern of Russian Communist aggression did not originate, as many erroneously believe, at the start of World War II but actually soon after the close of World War I. The Red empire was not founded with the forcible annexation of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia but actually established its foundations with the conquest and involuntary incorporation of Ukraine, Georgia, White Ruthenia, and others in the Soviet Union in 1922-23.

It should also be observed that Russian Communist involvement in the wars of independence with Ukraine and the other independent non-Russian republics indirectly contributed heavily to the formation and maintenance of the independent Baltic States and Poland after World War I. Trotsky's Red armies advanced sufficiently to knock at the gates of Warsaw, only to be repulsed by combined Ukrainian and Polish We need only contemplate what the forces. course and alternative conditions of history would have been since 1918 had the West supported these new, democratic non-Russian republics; had it understood that this is in reality a century of the demise of empires, as the forces of freedom surge forth among all nations. Indeed, much human life, tragedy, treasure, and blood would surely have been spared as communism would have been forced to face the prospect of asphyxiation in the realm of its origin and genesis; only had we the knowledge, vision, and courage which even today we in great degree need.

Without these guiding perspectives, the tragedies, genocide, national purges, manmade famine, underground resistance, deportations, etc., that have occurred in the non-Russian areas of the Soviet Union since the twenties have in the largest measure no meaning. They are not, as simple and misinformed conceptions would have them, mere internal problems of a state. For within the framework of an empire, whereas in the dark past, nations are uneasily bound together by force, coercion, and terror, such problems and evidences are always of an international character. On all counts, for anyone who carefully reviews the evidence brought before this committee, Moscowcentered communism is in essence a destroyer of nations, including the potentialities

for democratic existence and growth of the Russian nation itself.

Viewing the overwhelming evidence presented on Ukraine alone, one cannot but be constanly impressed by these ruling perspectives. After displaying with courageous strength and passion its undying aspirations for national freedom and independence, Ukraine was given nominal significance as a republic in the Soviet Union, and in the period of the 1920's numerous concessions were made, contributing to a freer cultural activity than ever existed before in the Russian For example, the rewriting and of-Empire. ficial censoring of Ukrainian history, which was an old institution of the Tsarist Russian Empire, lapsed as the leading Communist historical school under the famous Russian historian, Mikhaylo Pokrovsky, acknowledged the true facts of the history of Ukraine since the 9th century. By 1930 this institution was in full swing again as Pokrovsky was sharply censured, his works abolished, and old-styled Russification was renewed by the Communists. The phase of the 1930's highlighted by the famous Kharkov trials, the man-made famine of 1932-33, the purges of 1937 and the Vinnitsia massacres, was, by contrast, one of terror and oppression.

It is no wonder that a full, national reaction to these inflicted experiences burst out upon the German invasion of Ukraine and the Caucasus in the early 1940's. The invasion was largely into these areas rather than Russia itself, and the story is nowhere better summarized than in the work of the German correspondent who witnessed it all. The steady flow of Ukrainian volunteers for the German forces we ignored. * * * The millions of Ukrainians who by themselves could have turned the scales in the east, were not only being left unused, but were actually being repulsed and disillusioned. * methods were replacing the great and splendid idea of the liberation of the east. In place of national independence and freedom, the bit was being drawn tighter." 2 The consequences of this colossal German blunder were many, not least of which was the price paid by countless Ukrainians for their devotion to country and freedom. "There are many Ukrainians in the Uzbek desert towns." writes a New York Times correspondent from a recent visit there, "some of them settled forcibly there as far back as the time of the collectivization program nearly 25 years ago. Others were sent east on charges of failure to resist the Germans or Rumanians when their lands were occupied. As in the case of the Caucasian mountaineers many of the Ukrainians must have had little or no enthusiasm for what they regarded as primarily a Russian cause." *

The formation of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army in 1942 and its heroic exploits to the present day are unparalleled in Eastern Europe. Its fight was against both Nazi German and Russian Communist totalitarianism, and by 1945, Moscow concessions were in order again, paramount among which was Stalin's support of the admission of Ukraine and Byelorussia into the United Nations. As Stalin revealed to Stettinius and others, it was done to appease the intense nationalism raging in these areas; and when some, as Senator Willey last month, seek to reduce the votes of the U.S.S.R. on the spurious notion that these two countries are like the States of Texas and Arizona, they simply do not know what they are talking about and, worse still, are playing into the present hands of Moscow. For, after another phase of purges on the score of "bourgeois nationalism" and the non-Russian significance of the Beria case, Moscow launched at the beginning of this year upon a 6-month celebration of the Pereyaslav Treaty in 1654; significantly, rewriting the history of the relations between Ukraine and

Russia these past 300 years in terms of the former's historic struggle for national freedom and independence.

FROM ASSEMBLED EVIDENCE TO INTELLIGENT

The story depicted above is in substance the story of Georgia, Armenia, Turkestan, Lithuania and others. It is the brutal story of Communist aggression against nations, the Stark details of which form the massive evidence of this committee. "We have the story, what now?", is the proper and appropriate question that every thinking American should raise. The assembled evidence is surely not for academic purposes alone, but rather it should serve as a working basis for intelligent political action, for a sound foundation of policy. With this picture of successive and planned Communist aggression in mind any thinking person could begin to comprehend the explosive centrifuge that exists in the Russian Communist Empire. It provides weapons of political warfare and psychological success that lay at our disposal while we still have time to exploit them.

One would think that at this stage of the cold war, our Government has formulated and carefully worked out a policy toward the Soviet Union and the many nations imprisoned there. Except for our tenuous position concerning the Baltic States, there is no evidence of any such policy, no guide of action to strike at the empire within an empire. The tremendous evidence as-sembled by this committee stands to pro-vide us with a policy that, as always, must be in accord with the moral and political principles of our Nation, as best expressed in our Declaration of Independence and Constitution. It stands to save us from merely drifting along, waiting to see what happens next, always passively adapting ourselves to changed circumstances contrived by a menace that is admittedly planning our de-

Second, this ammassed evidence serves as a bulwark of knowledge thwarting the desperate attempts of Moscow and even some professed anti-Communists with undemocratic totalitarian preconceptions to becloud. tarnish, and mutilate this true picture to the detriment of our own national interests. Some intellectuals, like Corliss Lamont and Owen Lattimore, have presented the Moscow line on the non-Russian nations in the U. S. S. R. in its false entirety. To quote from one of Lattimore's works, "The success of the Russian policy toward minority peo-ples has made the Soviet Union as a whole not only a standard, but the standard of progress from the Ussuri and Amur Rivers to the Pamirs." Other disinformers, even anti-Communists and usually of Russian origin, make a practice of hoodwinking officials unacquainted with the facts through deceptive semantics on the peoples of Russia, dismemberment of country (meaning, With false intent, U. S. S. R. is Russia and all therein are Russians), and other terminological twists that also appear in the Moscow line. Another occupies an important post in the Voice of America, testifies regularly in this disinforming vein, and has painted the German episode in Ukraine with semantic distortion.* Some prepare official documents with similar misleading semantics as national minorities, etc.* Still others in this county, writers, advertised as experts on Russia and communism contribute disinformingly to a distorted picture of the known story; one even unreservedly accepting and employing the official Communist concept of Homo Sovieticus.19

These examples of methodical disinformation, which the direct, experiential evidence gathered by your committee counters, may be easily extended, and if one were to survey at length the futile activities of the American Committee for Liberation From Bolshevism—ostensibly a private organization on which, significantly, two of the quoted experts serve—the American public would be amazed to know as to what is going on. There is good reason to believe that these activities fall in part within the jurisdiction of the assignment given Gen. Mark Clark. Moreover, if one were to inquire into the real, ultimate sources—the why— of these disinforming tactics, it would necessarily involve one in a study of institutional pathology which, fortunately, is being undertaken by students in many quarters in this country."

However, to gather an essential idea of the major source of this detrimental phenomenon, no one, perhaps, portrays it more vividly and cogently than one who suffered much in treasure and kin at the hands of the Communists, namely, Alexander, Grand Duke of Russia:

"It was clear to me then, in the eventful summer of 1920, as it is now in the quieter days of 1933, that in scoring a decisive victory over the Poles the Soviet Government had done what any truly national government would have been obliged to do. However ironical it might appear that the unity of the Russian state had to be defended by the members of the Third Internationale the fact remains that from that day on the Soviets were forced to pursue a purely national policy which happens to be the ageold policy introduced by Ivan the Terrible, crystallized by Peter the Great and brought to a climax by Nicholas I: To defend the borders of the State at all costs and step by step to fight toward the neutral frontier the west. I feel certain that my sons will live to see the day when not only the nonsense of the independent Baltic Republics will be brought to an end, but Bessarabia and Poland will be reconquered by Russia and a considerable remapping of the frontier will take place in the Far East," is

This totalitarian, empire complex, that has wrought so much harm and misery not only upon the conquered non-Russian peoples but also the long enslaved masses of the Russian nation, that functions as a common denominator in the political behavior of both the Russian Communists and some anti-Communists, is, on evidence, not the sole property of a monarchist like Alexander. For example, identifying Russia and the U. S. S. R., and perhaps more, Mr. Kerensky writes: "Russia, a geographical backbone of history should exist in all her strength and power no matter who or how he is ruling her. From this comes his (Miliukov's) testament for us: to be on watchful guard of Russia-no matter what her name is-absolutely, unconditionally and to the last breath." Another, in much of the evidence that can be cited, writes: "They (the Bol-sheviks) are despots and tyrants, they are dictators and fire-spreaders; they are guilty of many crimes against the people save one: they did not dismember Russia," 16 which in the imperialist Russian jargon means em-

The practical importance of this assembled evidence and its effective use becomes even more clear when we think in terms of necessary political warfare and psychological advantage. Its significance is summed up in the conclusion of one of our leading political analysts who took pains to familiarize himself with much of this evidence: "Our proposal must be for the freedom of all nations; a Ukrainian has the same right to freedom as a Pole or a Russian. Only this universal interpretation, which is recommended alike by expedience and justice, will release the centrifugal energy of all the peoples of the Soviet empire, a power which if given a chance to express itself can shatter the imperial structure. It would be ludicrous to in-

terpret the struggle against communism as a fight to preserve the Russian empire. If Russians who claim to be anti-Communists refuse to extend the goal of freedom to non-Russians, then we must wonder whose side such Russians will be on when the show-down comes." ¹⁵ With this conclusion no American can disagree: with this conclusion the full significance of the assembled evidence comes into bloom.

Finally, this assembled evidence is the factual groundwork for a sane and sound American policy of liberation toward all nations, including the non-Russian nations in the Soviet Union. Anyone scanning this evidence cannot but leave with the disturbing thought that behind their neatly staged facade of peaceful coexistence," a colossal bluff now being perpetrated upon the free world, the Communists are busily engaged consolidating their empire, chiefly through the medium of systematic national genocide. In their calculus of world conquest, this genocidal consolidation is primary and basic. With millions of human robots at its disposal, Moscow will have achieved its psychological basis of a reasonable expectation of success in this calculus. Given the initial advantage of attack, it does not even have to regard the second essential variable in the calculus, namely, quantitative superiority in arms, as an indispensable requisite for such expectation; although, with concentrated specialization, it may easily obtain it, both absolutely and relatively, as we are forced to dissipate our resources in sideshows. The third basic variable, its fear of retaliation, will then be inversely related to its estimated ability to create regionalized Pearl Harbors. By allowing the first and dangerously gambling through unprincipled containment on the second variable, we are contributing heavily to their lessened fear of the third variable and to the prospect of a third world war.

Time, to achieve this consolidation, favors Moscow, not the free world. In 1952 both political parties in this country repudiated and disclaimed the policy of containment. Yet this policy is in effect today, allowing the time for Moscow to consolidate and form its springboard for world conquest. Only through a policy of liberation—the real and practical alternative to preventive war, the Soviet-inspired myth of peaceful coexistence and myopic containment-can we obstruct this consolidation for war, sustain the sources of enlightened nationalism and patriotic resistance throughout the Soviet Empire, enhance the insecurity of Moscow within its own imperial realm, and thereby maximize the chance against a global conflict. Once the ultimate Communist calculus of world conquest is understood, little comfort can be taken in the knowledge that we are equipped to retaliate with material power. Moscow possesses such power, too, and may substantially reduce our sources of retaliation. To follow the present policy means to lose the strength and power of our natural allies behind the Iron Curtain and to dangerously expose ourselves to the prospect of defeat in the event of a showdown, no matter how closely bound we may be to our allies in the free world.

The American public has every right to know why, in view of the stand taken in 1952, our Government still pursues the self-defeating policy of containment. It should be given every opportunity to read and study the evidence accumulated by this committee. It should also have the opportunity to ponder and act upon the preliminary recommendations of the committee. Although there is a tactical question concerning its recommendation on the withdrawal of American diplomatic representatives from behind the Iron Curtain, these proposals are girded to fact and evidence as concerns communism in practice rather than hollow theory and

are thoroughly in the tradition of our moral and political principles. The basic question is: Are we as a nation prepared to trade for a few illusory moments of "peace" under the bluff of peaceful coexistence at the longrange risk of grave disadvantage in possible war, even at the risk of our defeat as a nation? This investigating committee, on the basis of its accumulated evidence, can render only one rationally possible verdict.

¹ Second Interim Report, Select Committee on Communist Aggression, August 9, 1954.

2 V. I. Lenin, The Right of Nations to Self-Determination, International Publishers. New York, p. 83.

Erich Kern, The Dance of Death.

Harrison E. Salisbury, New York Times,

September 28, 1954.

⁶ Theses on the Tercentenary of the Re-union of Ukraine with Russia, 1654-1954, Tass, U. S. S. R. Home Service, January 13, 1954.

 Compass of the World, 1944, p. 391.
 Strategy and Tactics of World Communism, hearings, Senate Subcommittee on Internal Security, May 18, 1954 (p. 6); June 10-17, 1954 (pp. 121-157).

Overseas Information Program of the United States, hearings, Senate Foreign Re-

lations Committee, p. 1455.

* Tensions Within the Soviet Union, Sen-

ate Document 69, pp. 42-50.

* Eugene Lyons, e. g., Acheson's Gift to Stalin, the Freeman, August 27, 1951: I. Levine, e. g., A Weapon for the West, Life, March 23, 1953.

n E. g., Dinko Tomasic, the Impact of Russian Culture and Soviet Communism, 1954.

²³ Always a Grand Duke, 1933, pp. 129–130, ²³ Miliukov, Novy Zhurnal, No. V, 1943.

26 R. Abramovich, Socialisticheski Vestnik, New York, Nos. 1-2, 1950.

35 James Burnham, Containment or Liberation? New York, 1953, p. 236.

Our Ambassador to Italy Proves an Effective Force Against Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALBERT P. MORANO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert in the Appendix of the RECORD a news article by the Associated Presa which appeared in the Bridgeport (Conn.) Post, an article which underscores graphically the splendid, realistic job that the United States Ambassador to Italy is doing to help swing the balance against Communist inroads in that traditionally friendly and historically strategic country.

We are all familiar with, and grateful for, the statesmanlike role Mrs. Clare Boothe Luce played in helping effect a solution to the difficult Trieste situation, which was, until its settlement, recognized as a powder-keg of tension and potential disaster to the Free World.

This Associated Press article reflects another facet of her determined and sagacious conduct in the interests of United States and Free World welfare. It show how she has insisted on measures that will militate against the inroads of communism in the life of Italy. It demonstrates astute understanding of the complex problems facing our envoys overseas-the perpetuation of help to our friends but the firm insistence that no crumbs of benefit fall to the enemy of all free peoples everywhere-international communism.

Mr. Speaker, I am proud to insert in the RECORD this eloquent testimony to the dynamic, sensitive work of our Ambassador to Italy, and I am especially proud to call attention to this exemplary statesmanship because she is a resident of the district I have the honor to represent and is a former Member of this great assembly.

The article follows:

MRS. LUCE'S POLICY HURTS REDS IN ITALIAN FACTORIES

ROME, December 26.—A United States policy of no aid contracts for factories dominated by Red workers is hitting Italian communism where it hurts.

More and more the men at the benches are voting for non-Communist representain shop elections. They want workand Uncle Sam is handing out no offshore procurement contracts where the Communist-controlled Italian Federation of Labor is in the saddle.

United States Ambassador Clare Boothe Luce pioneered this get-tough policy months ago. She ordered an \$18-million ammunition contract canceled after Communists gained strength among workers of the Officina Vittorio Meccanica, near Milan.

Two months later, to prove that the United States meant business, a second contract was withdrawn at Palermo, Sicily. For \$7,528,-000, this order would have provided Italy with a new 1,500-ton destroyer escort at American expense. Cancellation came after factory workers increased the Communist majority on the factory committee even after the United States order.

LEADER WORRIED

Prime Minister Mario Scelba is a Sicilian, and his Christian Democratic government is worried about Communist gains on the Neither wanted unemployment. island. a result, Italy blunted the moral impact of the American cancellation by letting a big contract to the Palermo shipyard.

Nevertheless, word got around among

Italian workers fast.

Ever since World War II the Communists have controlled the Italian Federation of (CGIL), which claims 31/2 million members. This is nearly double the membership in anti-Communist labor groups.

The Communists have been able to wield their strength by electing Communist-controlled workers' commissions in the factories. Shop stewards and union officials chosen for office were handpicked from the Italian Communist Party, which has 2 million members and is the largest outside the Iron Curtain.

Now the workers know there will be no offshore procurement orders for factories whose workers vote these Communist commissions and union officials into office.

United States officials report that since Mrs. Luce's crackdown factory elections have running strongly anti-Communist. Anti-Communists have won even in many former Communist strongholds, they say.

Only last week there was a dramatic example. Fiat's big "Avio" aviation parts plant Turin had a Communist-controlled worker's commission in the past. Last week the workers voted again-1,920 against the Communists and only 77 for them. The Reds failed to win a single seat on the 20member commission.

TO PROTECT CONTRACTS

Experts concede that a man might vote for non-Communist factory council in selfinterest, to protect the contracts which keep him employed, while still voting Communist in national elections.

But they say once Communist discipline is broken, the tendency is for workers to swing away from the Communists in more and more ways. Many voted for the Communists because they believed Red-led unions were the most militant defenders of their economic interests. Now that the workers see their economic self-interest lies elsewhere, according to this line of reasoning, there should be a growing trend away from communism among them.

Behind the scenes, the United States is quietly trying to assist this shift by persuading Italian employers that improved treatment of workers, as well as more workers' benefits, will bring increased production and

cut Communist strength.

Italian industry is notorious in Europe for backward labor practices, although there are such bright spots as the Olivetti company. In the last 2 years, under quiet American pressure, such firms as Fiat have stepped up workers' benefits and improved labor rela-

Mrs. Luce also authored this affirmative Firms with good labor relations and practices are more likely to get United States aid contracts than others. Knowing this, the smart industrialists are getting their labor practices into line.

The results in employee goodwill is beginning to show gradually-and that, too, means fewer Communist workers in Italy.

A Bill To Have the Members of the House of Representatives Recite the Pledge of Allegiance on Flag Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LOUIS C. RABAUT

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, during the 83d Congress, you will recall that my bill, House Joint Resolution 243, to include the words "under God" in the pledge of allegiance to the flag of the United States of America, received unanimous approval and it is now Public Law 396, signed by the President on Flag Day, June 14, 1954. Yesterday, I introduced a House resolution to amend the Rules of the House of Representatives by inserting after "First. Prayer by the Chaplain" the following: ", pledge of allegiance to the flag by the Members," led by the Speaker, to be recited annually, when the House is in session on Flag Day, June 14.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

Appendix

Congress Charts a New Course for Agriculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. SPESSARD L. HOLLAND

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. HOLLAND. Mr. President, on December 15 I had the honor of delivering an address at the annual convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation in New York City. I ask unanimous consent that my address be incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CONGRESS CHARTS A NEW COURSE FOR AGRICULTURE

(Address by Hon. Spessard L. Holland, of Florida)

I am happy, indeed, to be the guest of the American Farm Bureau Federation and to appear on your program today. I was sorry that I was forced, by a very bad throat, to cancel my visit with you at Chicago last year. I count it a very special courtesy that you have invited me a second time.

My association with your splendid organization has been, to me, a succession of pleasant and helpful experiences. At the national level I have found my own thinking on agricultural legislation, in most instances, in quite close accord with your official positions, and I have frequently sought and obtained valuable assistance from the members of your exceedingly capable Washington staff. When you have not agreed with me you have always been courteous and tolerant.

On the State level there is no other organization besides the Florida Farm Bureau which contains strong representation from all branches of our highly diversified Florida agriculture, and which can therefore speak with such authority for the agricultural groups in our State as a whole. In my opinion your approach to all questions, both National and State, has been both constructive and well informed, and I look forward to a permanent continuance of my friendly

I am glad, too, that my appearance today happens to be at the same time as your visit from the Secretary of Agriculture. Mr. Benson. I feel that Mr. Benson has rendered very great service to American agriculture and that his leadership has been fundamentally in the right direction. The sooner we all realize that agricultural problems are economic problems of great national importance and that they may never be dealt with upon any narrow partisan basis, the better it will be for American agriculture and for the American people. In my judgment, Secretary Banson's approach has been courageous and essentially nonpartisan, and I think that Congress has been similarly broad in its reaction. Both Houses of Congress have given Mr. Bonson bipartisan support, which is as it should be.

A noted speaker once said that no greater misfortune could befall any speaker than to be on a program where everybody present knows more about his subject than he does, yet that is precisely the situation in which I find myself. I shall hope, however, that my point of view, as a legislator, may contribute some small new light upon the problems of American agriculture—my subject being "Congress Charts a New Course for Agriculture."

The 83d Congress, during its 2 years, 1953 and 1954, has probably passed more legislation than any earlier Congress which vitally affects agriculture. It is timely to analyze this mass of new legislation to determine what has been the general philosophy of this Congress in enacting laws for agriculture. I shall leave for later discussion the price-support programs, which are included in the Agriculture Act of 1954, the most important single law passed by us. At this time I shall mention three general fields of legislation which the 83d Congress evidently regarded as of great importance to agriculture.

1. EMPHASIS ON INDIVIDUAL RESPONSIBILITY

It is quite clear that the Congress placed much emphasis on the responsibility of the individual farmer and made available additional tools which farmers can use, either individually or collectively, in solving their own problems relating to the production of their crops or to the distribution of their crops in the American market.

The Water Facilities Act, for instance, was expanded and enlarged so as to apply to all areas of the Nation, rather than simply to the arid and semiarid States of the West as heretofore. This legislation will enable and encourage the expansion of conservation practices and improved use of soil and water throughout the Nation by allowing substantial loans to any individual farmer or rancher for water facilities and general conservation development, and much larger loans to associations of farmers. The extended Water Facilities Act also sets up a new program under which, in addition to direct Government loans, many loans for these same purposes may be insured by the Government, thus making commercial loans much easier to obtain. This act should be of great importance everywhere, but particuuarly in drought areas or where reclamation or drainage is under way.

A second act which creates new tools for the use of farm producers is the Watershed Protection and Flood Prevention Act. Its purpose is to recognize the fact that the Federal Government has an interest, in the upper watersheds of streams, in doing those things that go beyond ordinary soil-con-servation practices which already receive some repayment out of Federal funds. As to those things which require collective action, such as the building of dams over the upper steams, where the question is not one of direct flood control, navigation, or waterpower, this act makes it possible to bring about better practices above the dams and improved conditions downstream. This act requires an integrated community approach to the development of small watersheds. The Federal Government participates in the planning and the cost, but the work is done and the project administered by the local soil conservation district or some similar public body, which must also have State approval.

A third new measure, which gives added encouragement to the adoption of conservation practices by farmers, is a section of the general tax revision law under which, for the first time, an income-tax deduction is permitted to the farmer for his reasonable cost of conservation practices up to 25 percent of his gross income.

Additional tools are also given to various groups of producers by two interesting amendments of the law relating to marketing agreements and orders. In the case of grapefruit producers, the law was changed so as to permit the bringing of grapefruit for canning within the terms of a marketing agreement which formerly could only control grapefruit consumed as fresh fruit. If used, this provision will afford an interesting test of whether or not two-thirds of the producers of the fruit, who are equally interested in the sales price of their raw product, regardless of whether it is to reach the consumer in fresh form or in cans, may, with half of the canners joining them, bring to an end a situation under which their processed fruit has sometimes brought them only salvage prices.

Another interesting change in the Marketing Agreement Act, which is applicable in the case of tomatoes, Irish potatoes, avocados, grapefruit and other fruits and vegetables which meet with direct competition from fresh foreign imports, should make the marketing agreements and orders much more useful by applying to imported competitive products the same standards of grade, size, quality and maturity which the marketing agreements impose on the domestic products.

Still another change in the law which makes the farmers much more the masters of their own destiny than heretofore is that by which the Farm Credit Administration is taken out of the Department of Agriculture and made an independent agency governed by a board of 13 members, of whom 12 are named from lists nominated by the farmers who make up the various regional farm credit organizations.

To close on this point, it seems clear to me that the changes in law which I have mentioned, and others which were enacted by the 83d Congress, greatly accentuate both the responsibility and the opportunity of farmers to handle their own problems and also greatly increase the effectiveness of the various helpful tools and devices which are given to them by Federal law.

2. EXPANSION OF RESEARCH

I am sure that every American farmer knows that not only the 83d Congress, but also the present national administration, has placed great emphasis on the expansion of agricultural research and education. This step is in complete accord with the recogni-tion of greater individual responsibility for the farmers, as already mentioned, and is the best method of developing new information which, when passed on to individual farmers, should enable them to produce more economically, more abundantly, and in higher quality, thus giving them increased opportunity to solve their own problems. The plan of reorganization for the Department of Agriculture which was developed by the present administration and approved by Congress combines into one major division—called the Agricultural Research Service—the many agricultural research activities which had been scattered through various divisions under the earlier hodgepodge organization. The fixing of responsibility in one place, as well as the assignment of major importance to the Research Service, properly reflect added emphasis upon the benefits of research as well as upon the educational process by which the new information is communicated to the farmers.

To keep in step with the increased emphasis given to research activities, the Congress appropriated for the current fiscal year 1955 increased funds for research in the amount of \$12,311,000 above fiscal year 1954, much of which is for expanded work in the State experiment stations, and also increased funds for education in the amount of \$3,248,000, most of which goes to the Federal-State Agricultural Extension Service, making a total Federal increase of more than \$20½ million for research and education above the amounts appropriated for last year.

In a further effort to assist the Department of Agriculture in the field of research, a bill was passed in the second session of the 83d Congress which authorized the Department of Agriculture to contract with private persons and agencies for production research, which relates to growing crops in the fields, plant diseases, etc. The Department had already been authorized in the Research and Marketing Act of 1946 to contract for utilization and marketing research and presently is contracting approximately \$1,700,000 in this research, and now that the contract authority is extended to include production research, the amount of contracted research should increase substantially to the benefit of all agriculture.

It is my feeling that the important new emphasis which has been placed on research activities by the 83d Congress will be further expanded in the future, since the beneof research have been so pronounced in the past, and since there can be no possible question as to the propriety of organizing, operating, and financing increased re-search activities by Government. Individual farmers and even groups of farmers are rarely in position to handle research programs adequately, and it is inconceivable to me that there should be any difference of opinion on the fact that we are on sound ground in enlarging the research program for the Federal Government, as well as in its cooperation with the several black in expanding the educational machinery by its cooperation with the several States, and benefits of research may promptly communicated to individual farmers so that they may make effective use of new and valuable information. This, then, is but another important method by which farmers are enabled to help themselves.

3. EXPANSION OF FOREIGN MARKETS FOR FARM PRODUCTS

One of the most important fields of new legislation enacted by the 83d Congress is that of expanding the use of our agricultural products in foreign markets. Agriculture has been acutely conscious of the fact that the major part of the loss in the export trade of our Nation in recent years has fallen on agriculture, despite the fact that many friendly peoples have actual need of our products.

One important accomplishment was the transfer of agricultural attachés in our foreign Embassies from the State Department to the Department of Agriculture. had many disappointing experiences in re-cent years growing out of the fact that the agricultural attachés have been completely controlled by the Department of State. It is, of course, true that the State Department is unfamiliar with agricultural problems and that it has the heavy burden of handling many problems which relate directly to its primary field of foreign diplomatic relations. Nevertheless, our agricultural people have been keenly disappointed that they have been unable to take advantage of promising openings in foreign markets, particularly for the greater export of perishable commodities. Now it will be possible, I hope, for such matters to receive prompt and sympathetic handling by persons experienced in agricultural trade, and I am confident that our for-eign markets will be enlarged thereby. There are now 59 agricultural attachés assigned to 44 posts in 42 countries. They will continue to be stationed at our Embassies, but their activities will be reported directly to the Department of Agriculture, and they will devote their full time to representing United States agriculture. I am sorry to hear that already there is some indication that State Department redtape is reappearing, and I think we should be most diligent to prevent the thwarting of the completely clear intent of Congress in this matter.

The extension of the International Wheat Agreement and the inclusion in the new Mutual Security Act of 1954 of a provision earmarking \$350 million to finance the export and sale of surplus agricultural products both constitute important machinery for the disposal abroad of substantial additional amounts of American wheat and other American farm products.

Perhaps the major effort of the 83d Congress, however, in the field of expansion of foreign markets was the enactment of the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, which makes available for a 3-year period the sum of \$1 billion for the expansion of foreign use of our agricultural products. Of this, \$700 million is provided to expedite the acceptance of foreign currency for our products by allowing the Federal Government to absorb the difference in exchange, a factor which has heretofore discouraged the sale of our farm products to foreign nations whose currencies were softer than ours. A major difficulty we have ex-perienced heretofore has been not to find markets, but to absorb the loss required by unfavorable exchange rates.

To a certain degree, this large sum will represent a new subsidy of our foreign agri-cultural exports, but much of the investment will not be lost in view of the fact that we have need for foreign exchange in connection with the maintenance of our military forces, our embassies, and other activiin many friendly foreign nations and also in the purchase of needed strategic materials. And so we have strong hope that this Federal financing of \$700 million to increase the use of agricultural commodities for export will enable our Nation to sell more of its surpluses and our private traders to trade more effectively with foreign nations by allowing the Federal Government to absorb the loss resulting from unfavorable exchange rates.

I am happy to report that the Department of Agriculture is pushing this program and, with the cooperation of the State Department, is now negotiating with various nations under the authority of this law. In November it was announced that Turkey was the first to sign a surplus disposal commodity agreement, which provided for Turkey to take \$35½ million of our surplus wheat and feed grains. At about the same time the Department announced the details of a \$85 million surplus commodity program for Japan. I hear that similar negotiations are nearing completion with Pakistan and Yugoslavia.

The remaining \$300 million under the Agricultural Trade Development Act, available, also, for the next 3 years, will permit the President to use our own surplus commodities in said amount in doing errands of mercy, or of strategic national importance, such as those which we have done in East Germany, Pakistan, and India. The President may donate commodities from our overabundance if he determines that such will alleviate human suffering, or will serve our cause in our worldwide conflict with communism.

Still another program coming out of the 83d Congress may not have been noticed by you. We made an appropriation of \$5 million at the request of the President, which is to be used to give our agricultural and other industries the opportunity to exhibit in trade fairs all over the world in an effort to show foreign purchasers what great things are being accomplished through American genius. In his message, the President stated that he hoped to go into not less than 30 of the 75 great trade fairs which are to be held this year. Our Florida delegation has asked for processed citrus to be represented in these fairs because we are proud of the progress which we have made in citrus processing and want our achievements to be better understood by the rest of the world. I am sure that there are similar values in various other industries represented by this great group of producers which would justify exhibits in other lands so that the people there may be more impressed by the fact that free men know how to get things done.

Then, too, our program is expanding for the export of agricultural products through the payment of subsidies from section 32 funds. I shall not enlarge upon this subject, but will say that large sums of money are still available for such use and that they are being helpfully utilized in greater measure than heretofore.

I am sure that all of you recognize that the very large program for the expansion of our exports of agricultural products, which is covered by the measures which I have mentioned and by other acts of the Congress, represents an aggressive and extremely worthwhile effort through which the Nation should enlarge its disposal of surplus com-modities acquired under its price-support programs, and at the same time private initiative will be encouraged, through the use of these new tools, to vastly enlarge its activities in foreign markets. It seems selfevident that much further expansion in this field must be accomplished in the future. The furnishing of more food and other farm products to the people of other nations not only serves a good domestic purpose, but it also enhances our standing abroad, since there is no doubt whatever that millions of people within our sphere of influence badly need the food and other values which flow from our agricultural abundance.

OUR PRICE-SUPPORT PROGRAMS

The principal agricultural measure enacted during the 83d Congress is, of course, the new general price-support law, known as the Agriculture Act of 1954, which, in my opinion, could not have been passed without the vigorous support of your fine organization. I strongly commend your leaders and particularly your president, Mr. Kline, and your legislative counsel, Mr. Woolley, for the strong and effective support which you gave this legislation.

Except for the production of sugar, by producers of both beets and sugarcane, this act, taken in conjunction with the Anderson Act of 1949, which it amends and supplements, covers all agricultural production throughout the Nation, and is therefore of twery great importance to agriculture as a whole, to those industries which supply agriculture, or handle or process agricultural products, and to the general public. This act is the most exhaustive effort to accomplish stabilization of agriculture in time of peace that has ever been enacted by any Congress.

So many different devices and formulas for different branches of agriculture are set up by the act that I can make only brief reference to those programs which apply to the principal agricultural groups. I mention first the program for wool, under which production payments are authorized at a rate not to exceed 110 percent of parity. Since wool is a storable product, of high strategic importance, and since we produce only a fraction of what we need for our own use, this wool program must be strongly differentiated from the other programs which deal with major crops which are already in surplus production or could quickly become in surplus. As to wool alone, we are endeavoring to substantially increase our domestic production.

In the case of only one of the so-called basic crops, tobacco, was the high rigid price support of 90 percent continued as embraced in earlier law. There are compelling reasons for this distinction between tobacco and the other basic crops, chief of which is that tobacco has become such an important crop from the standpoint of the vast public revenue from excise taxes which it makes available to the Federal Government, the States, and the municipalities. It is now a matter of important national concern that a fairly constant level of tobacco production shall continue without heavy surplus or deficit, and that the producers of tobacco shall have a stable economy so that there will be minimum fluctuation of the volume of tobacco production. You know, I am sure, that the annual tax revenue derived from tobacco is about \$21/4 billion, which is about equal to the farm price for a bumper crop of wheat. The 83d Congress increased the penalty for the overplanting of tobacco, but otherwise left the 90 percent rigid price sup-port structure undisturbed, with all of its regulations and controls.

In the case of the other five basic commodities, wheat, cotton, corn, rice, and peanuts, the rigid 90 percent price support program was replaced by a flexible support base, which is at the rate of 82½ to 90 percent of parity for 1955 and 75 to 90 percent in sub-

sequent years.

Of course this return to a flexible price support base was the issue which produced the heaviest controversy, and which also proved to be most highly emotional. I cannot at this time discuss in-detail this grave issue, with which I am sure most of you are completely familiar. Suffice it to say that until World War II flexible price supports had been regarded as the proper and most helpful approach. The 1938 law, which was the most generous peacetime law on the books, prescribed a support program at from 52 to 75 percent of parity. The 90 percent rigid price support program was a war device which was designed to greatly increase production to meet war needs, and which accomplished that end.

When extended into peacetime, the high rigid price support program continued this greatly increased production, which rapidly created large surpluses in the hands of the Government. The losses sustained by the Government in connection with these surpluses became heavy and even greater losses were impending. The warehouse expense to the Government for storing surpluses reached about three-quarters of a million dollars a day. The confidence of the general public and of large segments of agriculture which produce nonbasic supported crops or unsupported crops was also greatly impaired, and dangerous divisions appeared among agricultural leaders and groups.

It seemed clear to me and apparently to the majority of Congress that restoration of a peacetime flexible price support program had become of primary importance, from the points of view of protecting agriculture itself and of being fair to the general public. A flexible price support program had been voted by Congress in 1948 and again in 1949, but its effect had been postponed in recent years. Furthermore, the measure which we enacted this year has for its minimum or floor rate 75 percent of parity, which was the ceiling or highest rate under the 1938 law. It seems to me that this fact alone increases the inducement to farmers to reasonably centrol their production rather than to continue excessive production in order to sell their products to Uncle Sam.

Three other features in the new law were of maximum effect in their application to these five basic commodities, though they also apply to other crops. These three features are, first, the gradual transfer to modernized parity so as to bring the computation to the immediate past rather than to

leave it in the unrealistic, remote past, under which it had generally been based on prices obtaining from 1910 to 1914; second, the provision for so-called set-asides which operate to remove substantial quantities of the surpluses from consideration in figuring the current carryover of supplies for price support purposes; and third, the provision for control of acreage which will be diverted from the excessive amounts of land which were being used in the production of the surplus crops, particularly wheat, corn, and cotton. It is obvious. I think, that these three major provisions in the new law were designed to make the law more reasonable. to cushion the impact of the application of the flexible price support structure to the five basic crops which were affected, and to give greater protection to that vast number of agricultural producers who do not produce either the basic crops or any other price-supported commodity. In passing, I think it is necessary that we shall always remember that the value of the five basic crops now affected by the flexible program is less than 20 percent—less than one-fifth of the total value of our national agricultural production.

It is obvious that the flexible program will allow, at least in part, for essential differences among the several basic crops which were not being recognized under the rigid price support program, and this is highly important. Each basic commodity has peculiar characteristics or unique competition which sets it apart from other basics and from other crops in general, and require for it a distinctive support program. To some extent flexible price supports should allow for these differences. Flexible supports should also greatly increase the responsibility of farm groups which produce basic crops to better adjust their production to the needs of the market and to bring to an end the recent excessive production and dumping on the Federal Government which has given the whole price-support program a black eye and has threatened its very existence.

Many hours could be spent in discussing details of price support for milk and milk products, which presented one of our most perplexing problems. These commodities were not price-supported until wartime, but thereafter the 90-percent support rate was allowed them for some years even though they did not come within the basics, nor within any group on which a rigid 90-percent support was ever contemplated. Milk products are, in some respects, much like Irish potatoes and eggs, on both of which price-support programs proved to be so expensive, so wasteful and so indefensible that those programs were abolished.

Dairy products present a spotty problem, existing on a large scale in relatively few areas where generally local production greatly exceeds the demands of nearby milksheds. This problem pertains to an industry which has not done, for itself, anything like what it should do in decreasing costs, in research, in better distribution and marketing, in diversification, in advertising and in increasing good will and average consumption. Too frequently dairying has played second fiddle to its processors.

And yet the dairy industry presents a very large public problem, vitally affecting many thousands of good people and numerous splendid communities. It received much attention from this last Congress and certainly will receive much attention in the future. The reactions of prices in the industry to the 75 percent price figure which I think was correctly applied by Secretary Benson under the law will be awaited with anxiety. The Congress did not, in this field, change the support setup under the old law because of our feeling that the old provision fairly gives to dairying its full recognition as compared with other price-supported agricultural industries.

As you know we did enact several helpful additions to the dairy products program, apart from direct supports. And we like-wise required an intensive study of dairy problems by the Secretary of Agriculture and his report and recommendation of the best available support program, or alternative programs, by January 3, 1955, which is next month.

Frankness compels me to say that many in Congress favor the entire abolition of price support for dairying—just as was true earlier in the case of Irish potatoes and eggs. There is certainly much public sentiment to that effect. I personally feel that more than any other industry covered by the 1954 law, dairying must show greater alertness, as well as greater willingness and ability to help solve its own problems than it has yet manifested. I shall hope strongly to see indications of such an attitude in the near future, and I congratulate the dairy industry on the good beginning which it is now making.

I regret that time is lacking to discuss the various other programs for price support which are embraced in the new law. Suffice it to say that this new law, together with the Sugar Act, will afford many oportunities for comparison and contrast of differing types of price-support programs, some directly fixed by law and some growing out of the administration of the law by the Department of Agriculture. I am sure that additional progress is possible, which will be reflected in subsequent legislation or changed administrative handling or both, In summary there are certain observations which I wish to make on this vastly important field.

Pirst, products under the flexible program for both basics and nonbasics are not barred by the new law from having 90 percent price support, but to the contrary such support is within reach, if the producers use such cooperation and restraint in production as to prevent the accumulation of disturbing surpluses. I hope that we may never lose sight of this open invitation to agriculture to cooperate more fully with Government as a good partner.

Second, though there are very great differences of opinion in this controversial field of price support, I hope that they may not bring about any further postponement of the use of the flexible price support provisions. It is manifestly in the Nation's interest that a full and fair trial be given to the flexible program, as well as to all the other programs, so that we may have a clear comparison of results upon which to base future decisions. I shall strongly insist upon such a full and fair trial. No one contends for a moment that we have yet attained perfection.

Third, every emphasis must be placed on confining Government controls and regimentation to a minimum and leaving the producer the maximum amount of freedom of action, always assigning greatest importance to his willingness to use restraint and selfdiscipline. In every program and for the overall effort, no unnecessary curbs must be placed on private initiative and on the opportunities for practical and scientific advancement by the development of more economical production methods, improved products, wider consumer demand, new uses of products, better distribution and seiling and every other improvement which can be attained in the American way by keen and ambitious producers. A frozen or static agricultural industry cannot long remain prosperous. We must not forget that for many farm commodities high prosperity already prevails, despite the absence of price support or regimentation. It is my hope that as a result of the great and varied effort which will be under way, and the numerous contrasts and comparisons which will be available, agriculture will be assisted to make tremendous and permanent advances, but always by leaving to the individual farmers a high degree of private initiative. At this point, I want to say that regard-

less of strong differences of opinion which led our Senate Committee on Agriculture to divide, for instance, on an 8 to 7 basis on the flexible price-support program, I recognize that all members of our committee are sincerely devoted to the cause of agricultural producers and are equally anxious to work out the best possible program for a stabilized and prosperous agriculture. I am sure that this same observation applies generally to Congress as a whole, to the personnel of the Department of Agriculture, and to all of the interested producing groups throughout the Nation.

Surely by the combined efforts of all of us, and by taking full advantage of all of the new facts which will be developed in the many and varied programs which will be under way, we shall be able to come up with answers which will bring sound permanent conditions for agriculture, which will be wholly compatible with American traditions.

Historically, American agriculture has always been one of the strongest bulwarks and one of the proudest illustrations of what the American system of private enterprise can accomplish. I strongly hope, and I deeply feel, that it must always remain such a bul-wark and such an illustration. It is my un-yielding conviction that only in this way can agriculture continue to make its maximum contribution to our great American experiment in self-government.

The Heritage of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. President, the Pennsylvania Society of New York, which is the oldest and largest State society in America, held its 55th annual dinner in the Waldorf-Astoria, New York City, on December 11, 1954.

Each year the society awards its Distinguished Service Medal to an outstanding American in recognition of notable achievement. This year it was conferred upon Maj. Gen. Richard K. Mellon, of Pittsburgh, Pa., for his brilliant leadership in civic, business, and military affairs.

The presentation was ably and eloquently made by the Secretary of the Treasury, the Honorable George M. Humphrey. It was accepted by the distinguished recipient in a manner which truly exemplified his humility and sincerity as a real American, serving in the ranks, regardless of his great attain-

The address of the evening was delivered by Robert T. McCracken, Esq., of Philadelphia, chairman of the board of trustees of the University of Pennsylvania, and a distinguished lawyer. His eloquent address was received with exceptional enthusiasm. I ask unanimous consent that Mr. McCracken's remarks on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Mr. President, distinguished guests, ladies, and gentlemen, when your president asked me to speak to you this evening I inquired from him what I should talk about, replied "about 15 minutes." That is al That is all the help I got from him. So in thinking the matter over it occurred to me that it might not be amiss to talk to the members of the Pennsylvania Society a little about the State of Pennsylvania. For if there is any gathering in the United States before which a native son of that great Commonwealth might do a little justifiable boasting it is this magnificent assembly.

This, by the way, is a practice rarely adopted by the citizens of Pennsylvania. Indeed, I approach it with considerable timidity in the presence of the distinguished gentleman from our sister State of Ohio, a State well known as the mother of Presidents and of outstanding Cabinet officers. Yet it is a practice not unknown to the proud denizens of some other parts of the country. For many years it has been quietly self-assertive in New England; delightfully superior in New York; stubbornly tenacious in Virginia and South Carolina; trumpeted to the sky in Illinois and points west. There is still no lack of it in California, and it is to be encountered without difficulty in what is still called by the loyal citizens thereof the Republic of Texas. But somehow it is rarely exhibited by Pennsylvanians. Rather we are prone to belittle our heritage, or at least not to dwell upon it, and to deprecate whenever we refer to our present situation.

That this is unjust, unfair, and stupid in the extreme, any student of American history and of American economy will instantly proclaim. To begin with, the found-Pennsylvania, or rather the delay in its discovery, was almost a miracle. It was the next to the last of the Thirteen Colonies to be settled. New England, New York, New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, were all more or less thriving communities when, in 1681, William Penn persuaded the King to grant him the province of Penn's Woods in payment of a debt owed by the King to his father. And what a province it was. The mystery is that it had been so long overlooked. Bounded by two great rivers and bisected by a third, affording a port on the Atlantic and one leading to the Gulf of Mexico, and with a direct port on the Great Lakes, its commercial potentialities were apparent from the beginning. Of a temperate climate and with a soil so rich that some of its counties are still, after 250 years of cultivation, the most productive agricultural districts of the Nation. Crossed by two mountain ranges which shelter much of it from the destructive winds and devastating storms coming down from the northwest, it presents, among those forest-covered uplands, some of the finest natural scenery in the East, And how could even this far-sighted Quaker have guessed that, hidden in those mountains, were almost unlimited deposits of coal, of iron, and of oil, the three dominating elements of a future economy, which placed the State in the forefront of American production from the moment their use was discovered, and which caused the settlement and growth of populous cities and thriving communities throughout its length and breadth. No wonder that the First and Second Continental Congresses met in Philadelphia, to forge the Declaration of Independence; that the Convention assembled there to draft the Constitution; that Philadelphia became the first Capital of the young Republic; that it was at the time second in population only to London among the English-speaking cities of the world.

Moreover, our State is possessed of anheritage-a thing more subtle, more delicate, yet in its own way quite as influen-tial as those factors which I have just referred. Pennsylvania was founded by a great

gentleman. In mentioning this I do not mean to detract for an instant from the rugged virtues, the dauntless courage, or the indomitable energy of the settlers of other colonies. They built staunchly and well, and their spirit did much to make America. Nor were those qualities wanting in the settlers of Pennsylvania. They were present in full measure in the English and Welsh Quakers, the Germans from the Palatinate, the Scotch-Irish from Ulster. But the province of Pennsylvania was almost unique in that its proprietor was a cultivated English gentleman, with all that term implied in the seventeenth century—a friend of two kings and of many of the noblemen of the realm; endowed with an appreciation of the art of gracious living, of a liberal education, a tolerant spirit, a broad vision. These qualities were immediately apparent in the establishment of the way of life in his "greene country town" of Philadelphia. In point of fact, it is said to have been the first town in the world to be consciously and systematically planned, with its long straight streets running north and south, east and west, its generous gardens, its open squares, its sedate brick houses.

Not satisfied with this, Penn went up the Delaware, chose a favorite site, and built for his own residence the stately mansion of Pennsbury, which became the prototype for the countless dignified and comfortable country houses now to be found in every section of the Commonwealth. Here he lived in state, like an English squire in the midland counties, entertaining lavishly, yet without estentation; enjoying his life in his own domain. The house still stands, re-cently reconstructed and refurbished, and a journey to it is well worth the time and the

very slight effort involved.

Of course, the primary and most significant characteristic of the young colony was the civil and religious freedom which Penn's charter proclaimed and which was from the first consistently observed. Hither came settlers from all parts, worshiping God in many diverse fashions, yet all welcome and free to obey the dictates of their own conscience. Small wonder, then, that Pennsylvania attracted men of unusual attainments-that it became the cultural center of the Colonies and the new Nation. Foremost among them was a young Bostonian, Benjamin Frank-lin by name, who arrived in Philadelphia scarcely more than 20 years after Penn's departure. He came as a runaway apprentice, and he remained to become the first citizen of the province and one of the most remarkable and influential men of all time. And there were many others, men whose influence in the early years of the Nation was profound.

Such was the beginning of this remarkable colony. It was the brightest jewel of the crown. It still is. What other State possesses so great a wealth of natural resources? In what other State are to be found so many productive communities? Or so extensive a system of forest parks, teeming with game of every species? Or so many institutions of higher learning, extending their influence throughout the land?

As I said a few moments ago, we are a modest people, we citizens of the Keystone State; we rarely boast, but instinctively we value our heritage. At least, we desire to retain and enjoy it. Few of us migrate. True, some of the bolder spirits have found their way over here to Manhattan in search of high adventure. They were among the founders of this society, and they preserve it in its full vigor today. But, by and large, we are content with what we have, for, deed, we have so much. We have neither the golden canyons of lower Manhattan nor the Golden Gate of San Francisco, but we do have the Golden Triangle of Pittsburgh, and we have the rolling hills of Montgomery and Chester Counties; the pleasant watered

valleys of the Brandywine country, where fox hunting still flourishes in all its glory; the rich soil and the bursting barns of Lancaster County and the Cumberland Valley: the wild grandeur of the Alleghenies and the counties of the northern tier; the stately Old World aspect of the countryside of the Delaware and Schuylkill Valleys. Once again the many streams, long the carriers of waste and pollution, are pure, sparkling, transparent, and the natural habitat of trout and bass. Still there is more game for the hunter than in any other State in the Union. Now, more than ever before, a network of perfect highways beckons to the traveler, and does not becken in vain. In few other communities are the joys of healthy outdoor life so emphasized. Still the amenities of gracious living are observed, hospitality is generous, the arts appreciated and cultivated, culture encouraged and honored. We have a priceless heritage, a heritage to be cherished and preserved.

Perhaps the most generous acclaim which this great State has ever received from a foreign man of letters is to be found in the closing stanza of a poem by the late Rudyard Kipling. It is included in the collection of stories entitled "Rewards and Fairies." Many of you doubtless know it, but I will close with it nevertheless:

"If you're off to Philadelphia this morning And wish to prove the truth of what I say, I pledge my word you'll find the pleasant land behind

Unaltered since Red Jacket rode that way. Still the pine woods scent the noon

Still the catbird sings his tune,

Still autumn sets the maple forests blazing. Still the grapevine through the dusk

Flings her soul-compelling musk, Still the fireflies in the corn make night amazing.

They are there, there, there with earth im-

mortal (Citizens I give you friendly warning)

The things that truly last, when men and times have passed.

They are all in Pennsylvania this morning."

The President's State of the Union Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record a brief statement which I released on January 10, 1955, regarding the President's state of the Union address, and the comments contained therein on the role of the Federal Government in developing hydroelectric power.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, OF OREGON

In his state of the Union message on January 6, 1955, President Eisenhower abandoned the pretense of an impending Federal power monopoly, which has so long served as a political scarecrow for the opponents of continued public power development in the Columbia River Basin.

Inasmuch as the likelihood of a Federal power monopoly has been cited by Secretary McKay as a main reason for abandoning the magnificent Hells Canyon power site to the Idaho Power Co., I call upon the Secretary to reverse his stand.

At McNary Dam in Oregon, on September 23, 1954, the President warned against Federal operation of a gigantic, overwhelming nationwide power monopoly.

On November 4, 1954, Budget Director Hughes warned against committing the Nation to a policy of establishing a nationwide Federal power monopoly.

In campaign speeches in Oregon, the Secretary of the Interior likewise warned frequently against this so-called Federal power monopoly.

But in his 1955 state of the Union message to the Congress, the President flatly declared that "Federal hydroelectric development supply but a small fraction of the Nation's power needs."

I think this is symbolic of the administration's confusion in the field of power. It emphasizes why our great public-power program in the Pacific Northwest has come to a standstill under this administration. For many months the President and his leading subordinates warned us of the imminence of a Federal power monopoly. Now the President himself tells the Nation that the Federal Government generates only a tiny portion of the country's waterpower.

This, of course, is the true situation, rather than the misleading talk of Federal monopoly used to swing votes last fall. The Federal Government today generates only about 13 percent of our electricity, as contrasted with 81 percent by private utility corporations.

With the President recognizing that Fed-

With the President recognizing that Federal kilowatts are but a small segment of the national total, Hells Canyon cannot be considered as in any way contributing toward a possible Federal power monopoly.

Thus the state of the Union address effectively repudiates one of the principal arguments used to oppose and block a high multipurpose dam in Hells Canyon—the kind of dam advocated in the famous 308 report of the Army engineers.

I urge authorization of such a project by the 84th Congress.

States Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HOWARD W. SMITH

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, I today introduced a very brief and comprehensive bill (H. R. 3) on the subject of States rights, with particular reference to the present rule of the United States Supreme Court that where Congress has enacted legislation on any subject, the States are deprived of all power to enact or enforce similar laws on the same subject even though not in conflict with the Federal act.

What the bill seeks to do is to modify this doctrine so as to permit concurrent jurisdiction in order that the State act, where not in conflict with the Federal act, can be also enforced in the State courts for the protection of the State and its citizens.

The bill reads as follows:

That no act of Congress shall be construed as indicating an intent on the part of Congress to occupy the field in which such act operates, to the exclusion of all State laws on the same subject matter, unless such act contains an express provision to that effect. No act of Congress shall be construed as invalidating a provision of State law which would be valid in the absence of such act, unless there is a direct and positive conflict between an express provision of such act and such provision of the State law so that the two cannot be reconciled or consistently stand together.

For a long time the Supreme Court has held that whenever the Congress enacted legislation on any subject, its jurisdiction becomes exclusive and no State law can be enforced. In late years, as you know, Congress has legislated pretty well all over the waterfront. Congress has stretched the Interstate Commerce laws and the general welfare laws to the point where they cover all the ills of mankind. while the Supreme Court has consistently held to its original decision that when Congress acts all State laws are nullified, whether in conflict with the Federal law or not.

I do not quarrel with the Supreme Court about its consistency in its decisions. As a matter of fact, I devoutly wish that that Court would stand by its own decisions so that we lawyers could know not only what the law is today, but what it will be tomorrow.

Understand, please, that this doctrine that the Federal jurisdiction is exclusive in all cases is not due to any constitu-

tional provision.

On the contrary, the 10th amendment to the Constitution especially reserves to the States all powers not granted, and the Constitution itself only gives to the Federal courts jurisdiction in a very limited number of subjects. You will all re-call from your study of history that a great stumbling block in the adoption of the Constitution lay in the stubborn reluctance of all the Colonies to relinquish any of their sovereign powers, and during the debates preceding the adoption of the Constitution in the various States there developed a general understanding that in order to further protect the sovereignty of the States and the rights of individuals there would immediately be proposed the first 10 amendments to the Constitution, known as the Bill of Rights. The 10th, and final, amendment was the one that specifically reserved to the States and to the people all of the powers not granted to the Federal Government. The principle which I am now discussing and seek to modify is a rule of law enacted by the Supreme Court and has come to have as much force and effect as if it had been adopted as a part of the Constitution. The principle was debated and discussed in numerous early decisions of the Supreme Court, but the final decision which so drastically changed the intent of the framers of the Constitution was decided in 1842 in the famous case of Gibbons against Ogden, and was even then regarded as of such doubtful validity that it was adopted by a divided Court of 5 to 4, and that decision established the flat theory that when Congress passed a law Congress intended that all State laws should be superseded. I seek by this bill to have Congress say it had no such foolish intention in any case unless it said so.

Let me illustrate the iniquitous results of such a doctrine. I will use the decision of the Supreme Court of Pennsylvania that caused me to introduce this bill. I am the author of the Smith Act that, among other things, makes it a crime to teach or advocate the overthrow of the Government by force. Fortyseven of the 48 States have some kind of laws against sedition and subversion. Pennsylvania undertook to prosecute a notorious Communist who was a citizen of that State under the State Sedition The Supreme Court of that State. following the decisions above referred to. decided that as Congress had enacted the Smith Act it had withdrawn from all of the States the power to protect themselves from treasonable acts, and nullified all State laws on the subject whether the Congress intended to do so or not.

I was asked to introduce an amendment to the Smith Act to say that Congress in enacting the law intended no such harmful construction of it.

Obviously that case was merely a symptom of a dangerous disease that threatened to destroy completely the sovereignty of the States and was not the disease itself, and I decided to offer a separate bill to seek a cure of the whole malady.

The bill I have read is the result. To illustrate further, in a similar case of Cloverleaf Co. against Patterson the State of Alabama for the protection of the health of its citizens sought to inspect the product of the Cloverleaf Co., which was engaged in the renovation of butter, some of which was shipped in interstate commerce and subject to inspection under the Federal Pure Food and Drug Act. The Supreme Court held that as Congress had enacted the pure food laws it has assumed entire jurisdiction over the subject and the States were powerless to enforce their laws for the protection of the health of their citizens. I mention that case because the best argument I can think of for my bill is contained in the dissenting opinion of Justice Frankfurter who can. by no stretch of the imagination, be called a reactionary. He said:

The Department of Agriculture not only urged the enactment (of the Federal statute involved in the case), it drafted its provisions. If the Department wanted Congress to withdraw from the States their power to condemn unsanitary packing stock and to confide such power in the Federal Government, it could easily have made appropriate provision in the draft submitted by it to Congress. However, the Department did not It did ask Congress to make some do so. restrictions upon the authority which had been exercised by the States in regulating the manufacture and sale of butter for the protection of their citizens. But the restrictions did not include withdrawal from the States of the power to condemn unhealthful packing stock butter. The sponsors of this legislation, the experts of the Department of Agriculture, could have submitted to Congress appropriate language for the accomplishment of that result. They did not do so. The Court now does it for them even though the Department has no such desire.

To require the various agencies of the Government who are the effective authors of legislation like that now before us to express clearly and explicitly their purpose in dislodging constitutional powers of States—if such is their purpose—makes for care in

draftsmanship and for responsibility in legislation. To hold, as do the majority, that paralysis of State power is somehow to be found in the vague implications of the Federal renovated butter enactments is to encourage slipshodness in draftsmanship and irresponsibility in legislation.

It must be obvious to you that with the multitude of subjects which the Congress is now dealing, that it is inevitably merely a question of time before the States will be deprived of practically all power and sovereignty in enactment and enforcement of laws for the protection of the health and welfare of their local citizens. In many Federal laws action to remedy wrongs must be initiated by some Federal bureau. Under present law, if the Federal bureau fails to act or refuses to act, the citizen is without remedy. In many instances adequate remedy requires immediate injunctive relief. Delay incident to bureaucratic redtape or indifference can mean financial ruin. Such instances have occurred and are occurring with more frequency.

Under present conditions, if the Federal authorities fail or refuse to act, the citizen is utterly without remedy.

The overall objective of the bill was well stated by the President when speaking on the subject of States rights. He made the following statement:

I want to see maintained the constitutional relationships between the Federal and State Governments. * * * For, if the States lose their meaning, our entire system of government loses its meaning. And the next step is the rise of the centralized, national state in which the seeds of autocracy can take root and grow. * * We will see that the legitimate rights of the States and local communities are respected. * * We will not reach into the States and take from them their powers and responsibilities to serve their citizens.

I hope the measure may have the support and active aid of all those who believe in the sovereignty of their States, who believe that local self-government is the best government, and who believe, as expressed by the President, that the rise of the centralized national state creates the atmosphere in which "the seeds of autocracy can take root and grow," to help me to help the President to put life and meaning into his inspired words.

Fair and Reasonable Farm Assistance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. DEMPSEY

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. DEMPSEY. Mr. Speaker, in view of the fact that I have introduced legislation which will authorize the Farm Credit Administration to make what were formerly known as Land Bank Commission type of loans—H. R. 35—and to authorize extension of the period for making emergency livestock loans by the Farmers Home Administration—H. R. 90—I believe the following editorial from the Roy Record of December 31, 1954. published at Roy, N. Mex., carries

valuable information for the Members of the House of Representatives. This editorial is written by an editor, Mr. Karl Guthmann, who has firsthand, accurate knowledge of the needs of the farmers and stockmen, particularly in those areas which have been plagued by drought conditions for several years. The serious drought condition which has extended into its sixth year in many parts of the great Southwest is reported by agriculture experts as being even worse now than a year ago. Manifestly it is the obligation of this Congress to take cognizance of this grave situation and legislate fair and reasonable assistance for this important segment of the Nation's economy which is confronted with serious damage, even ruin, because of conditions beyond its control.

The editorial from the Roy Record follows:

Taking the lead at the recent national convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation, attended by more than 8,000 farmers from across the Nation, was the New Mexico delegation which secured the approval and adoption of a resolution which would be of immeasurable benefit to farmers and stockmen over a wide area. In this it is note-worthy to realize that because of unprecedented drought no less than 914 counties in 17 States of the Nation have been designated as being within the disaster area. Realizing the plight of the smaller operator within this hard-hit realm, the Farm Bureau resolution recommends that in areas designated by the Secretary of Agriculture moves will be taken by the Government to preserve the family enterprise.

First, the resolution proposes that the time limit for making emergency loans should be extended beyond the present 2-year period which expires next July. Who is there who can say that the emergency will have passed within a few months and the rolls will be cleared of those in need of a Government loan in order to forestall disaster and bankruptcy? As a provision of the loan facility, the Bureau recommends a policy which would permit the orderly liquidation of emergency loans over a 10-year period, where time is needed. Present plight of many of the farmers and stockmen in the disaster area gives ample proof that rejuvenation is something not just around the corner, but an obstacle which will require many months, and even years, for adjust-ment and salvation. Not an lota out of line is the Farm Bureau's resolution in recommending that emergency loans be made at the lowest possible rate of interest. When it is considered that billions in international loans made by our Government years ago have drawn no interest, along with a forgotten principle, it is reasonable that the loan made to preserve those of distressed agriculture be made as easy as possible. An interest rate covering the actual carrying charge—say 3 percent—would be a gesture which would make it possible for many of the hard-pressed ones to survive. Too, meritorious is the Farm Bureau resolution provision that a loan program should be set up through FHA which would enable farmers and ranchers to consolidate into one item all their financial obligations, excluding real estate mortgages, but including interest on real estate loans and taxes. It is recommended that provision should be made in the emergency loans to permit the borrower, where necessary, to make reasonable land payments from the sale of farm products. Taking up the provision which has been sought locally for many months, to aid the smaller operator on farm and range, the Bureau resolution asks Congress to provide additional farm mortgage credit comparable to the former Land Bank Commissioner loans in drought and disaster areas. It is noted that a bill which would reestablish the Land Bank Commissioner loan passed the Senate in the last session of Congress, but died in House committee.

An important point of the Bureau's resolution is that which would revamp the method of distribution of emergency feed, this being of particular concern to the stockraising area where livestock feed brought in from distant fields is no little item of expense. The program laid down for distribution has been found unworkable and burdensome in certain areas, and for this reason the Bureau advocates a broad and more equitable method. It is certain that this objective will be accomplished if our lawmakers in the Nation's Capital will provide laws with the provisions set forth in the resolutions adopted by the national convention of the American Farm Bureau Federation.

Right To Work Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER, Mr. President, because of the right to work laws which are in effect in various States of the Union, and because the subject is now receiving a great deal of attention from labor unions and management, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a very excellent editorial published in the Wall Street Journal of January 5, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK ONLY ONE QUESTION

Our Mr. Galpin reports from Washington that what may be the biggest labor issue of 1955 is now building up a full head of steamy debate. The fight is over the right-to-work laws now in force in 17 States and to be introduced this year in many more State legislatures.

The State laws ban compulsory union membership under powers granted in the Taft-Hartley Act. Thus the unions face a battle on three fronts: They will try to have the Congress repeal that State authority and so legalize compulsory membership; they will try to have these State laws repealed where they have been already enacted, and they will try to prevent enactment in other States.

Other groups which support the right of the States to ban forced membership in unions are on the other side in the fight; their purpose is to retain these State powers and to promote enactment in those of the 44 State legislatures which will meet this

year.

The unions, Mr. Galpin reports, say that those who advocate such right-to-work laws have but one objective: To weaken the unions so that labor costs may be kept down. The union leaders say that the laws do weaken their powers. They say that if a man doesn't have to belong to a union, it will cut down dues collections and also hamper new organizing. Because of the laws, local union leaders must devote more time to educating workers to join unions and to stay in them. This, they say, is lost time; union organizers ought to be occupied in organizing new plants, promoting the growth of the labor movement, and thus making for stability.

Since these are the tasks of labor unions, it is unfair to make them more difficult by passage of right-to-work laws.

Let us, for the moment, suppose that everything the unions say about those who support legislation banning forced union

membership is correct.

Let us suppose that their true purpose is to keep down labor costs; the purpose of unions is to get more wages, more fringe benefits, and shorter hours for their members, all of which successfully pursued bring labor costs higher. These controversies are a natural outgrowth of the protective instincts of both unions and management. So it is neither unusual nor wrong for businessmen to seek to keep their labor costs within reason.

Let us also suppose that the right-to-work measures will hamper organization, collection of dues, and make more troublesome the running of a union. It would be extremely pleasant for union leaders if union affairs were so well organized that they had little or nothing to do, and so we don't blame them for trying to make their task easier. But the purpose of a union is not to make easier the tasks of the leaders; the purpose should be to serve the best interests of the members. And the union's task is to convince men that the union serves their interests.

The difficulty here, however, is that none of this argument has anything to do with the basic issue at hand. The reasons the unions give for opposing the right-to-work laws and the reasons they ascribe to those who support such laws are far off the mark.

The issue is not whether the laws banning compulsory union membership make it easier for management and troublesome for unions. Plainly, it is a moral issue, and plainly stated we do not think it a difficult one to decide.

Only one question need be answered: Should a man be forced unwillingly to join a union in order to earn his keep?

REA Co-ops Pay Their Share of Taxes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER R. JOHNSON

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, it was with keen interest that I read an article in the January 1955, issue of the Wisconsin REA News entitled "Electric Co-op Members Pay Whopping Tax Bill." Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert this news article in the RECORD.

Before I insert this article in the Record I should like to comment briefly on the REA cooperatives of Wisconsin and other States. The REA cooperatives have done an outstanding job of bringing power to rural America, electric power which means that farmers can enjoy some of the conveniences previously reserved for the people in urban areas. In addition to the power factor, REA cooperatives have also brought billions of dollars worth of business to the main streets of hundreds of small towns.

On top of this, REA cooperatives also pay taxes—something which is never given too much publicity. As the article from Wisconsin REA News indicates, the 32 electric co-ops in the State paid a

total of \$386,541.29 to the State of Wisconsin in 1953 on power purchases.

The congressional district which I have the privilege of representing is one of the strongest REA areas in the Nation. I note that the 10 electric cooperatives in the 9th District of Wisconsin—which serve 11 counties—paid a total of \$114,-000.97. This figures out to 29.8 percent of the total payments.

The Wisconsin REA News article, which I commend to my colleagues for their study, is as follows:

ELECTRIC CO-OP MEMBERS PAY WHOPPING TAX

The 85,000 members of Wisconsin's 32 rural electric cooperatives made the largest State tax payments in their history when their organizations remitted a whopping \$386,541.29 to the Wisconsin Department of Taxation on 1953 power purchases.

The payments are made on a license fee assessed at 3 percent by the cooperatives on both wholesale and retail gross dollar sales.

The payments were almost 11 percent higher than a year ago when payments totaled \$348,862.37. These taxes are actually paid by the rural people receiving co-op service in the State—inasmuch as the tax represents an expense of providing the service.

The money will be shared by 53 counties and their tax units—cities, villages, and town governments. Again largest payments will go to Grant County, where \$33,206.57 will be shared by the tax units. Other substantial payments include Buffalo, \$27,069.16; Vernon, \$22,475.21; Rusk, \$16,258.10; Clark, \$18.876.09; Barron, \$14,935.19; and Chippewa, \$14,621.72,

Cooperative members served by organizations purchasing wholesale power from Dairyland Power Cooperative actually pay the tax twice inasmuch as it applies to both wholesale and retail sales. Dairyland's total license fee payment was \$117,051.12.

Largest distribution cooperative payment was made by Vernon, for \$17,313.59; closely followed by Barron, \$17,253.30.

Below is the list of payments and gross receipts:

	Gross receipts 1953	License fees, at 3 percent
		parceus
Adams-Marquette Electric	100	
Cooperative	\$274, 946, 07	\$8, 248, 38
Barron County Electric	ATT 100 00	15 000 00
Cooperative Bayfield Electric Coopera-	575, 109. 93	17, 253, 30
time Inc	228, 014. 00	6, 840, 42
Buffalo Electric Coopera-	001 410 40	
Central Wisconsin Electric	291, 452, 49	8, 743, 57
Cooperative	205, 382, 06	6, 161, 46
Chippewa Valley Electric	- 2000	
Cooperative	296, 998, 90	8, 909, 97
Clark Electric Cooperative. Columbus Rural Electric	539, 849, 50	16, 195, 49
Cooperative	257, 335, 61	7, 720, 07
Crawford Electric Coopera-		
tive	176, 092, 49	5, 282, 77
Dairyland Power Coopera-	3, 901, 703, 86	117 011 10
Dunn County Electric Co-	0, 901, 100, 80	117, 051. 12
operative	401, 723, 10	12, 051, 69
East Rutland Electric Co-		-
operative	6,819.30	204.58
Eau Claire Electric Coop- erative	311, 286, 90	9, 339, 61
Grant Electric Cooperative.		14, 100, 15
Head of Lakes Co-op Elec-	2710, 0000, 20	23, 200, 40
trie Association	129, 201, 08	3, 876, 63
Jackson Electric Coopera-		
tive	286, 083, 63	8, 582, 51
Jump River Electric Co- operative, Inc.	266, 088, 26	7, 982, 65
Lafayette Electric Coop-	200, 000, 20	1, 352, 113
erative	259 156 32 1	7,774.69
Oakdale Cooperative Elec-		
tric Association	458, 415, 70	13, 752, 47
Oconto Electric Cooperative. Pierce-Pepin Electric Coop-	270, 057. 27	8, 101, 72
erative	383, 299, 09	11, 498, 97
Polk-Burnett Electric Co-	Jon, 200, 00	44.00
operative	424, 114, 71	12, 723, 44
Price Electric Cooperative,		
Inc	223, 933, 88	6,718,02

	Gross meelpts 1953	License fees, at 3 percent
Richland Cooperative Elec- tric Association	\$240, 646. 76	\$7, 219, 40
Rock County Electric Co-op Association	296, 965, 92	8, 908. 98
St. Croix County Electric Cooperative	314, 983, 12	9, 449, 49
Taylor County Electric Co- operative	193, 849, 93	5, 815. 50
Trempealeau Electric Coop- erative Vernon Electric Coopera-	398, 418, 96	111, 977. 57
tive	577, 119, 67	17, 313, 59
Washington Island Electric Cooperative, Inc.	37, 239, 22	1, 117, 18
Waushara County Electric Cooperative, Inc.	187, 283. 49	5, 618, 50
Total	12, 883, 876, 35	386, 541, 29

*Includes \$25.00 late-filing fee.

Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HERMAN WELKER

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, in my opinion, Judge Jim Gossett, who publishes his articles in the Gooding (Idaho) Leader, is one of the greatest columnists whose writings it has ever been my privilege to read.

He has written four excellent columns on the subject of our foreign policy.

I ask unanimous consent that the first of these articles, published on December 9, 1954, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Appendix of the Record, as follows:

(By Judge Jim Gossett)

The deadliest threat to these United States in the cold war is not the menace of armed aggression to ourselves or to other free peoples of the earth: it is the increasing evidence of willful blind ignorance being the basic factor upon which our attitude towards the Communists is being shaped. It is the persistence in the top levels of the executive branch of our Government in giving wishful thinking priority over reality in forming our foreign policies, and in allowing the influences of other countries to take precedence over considerations for the best interests and security of this country.

This danger is being compounded and gravely worsened by the calculated propaganda being broadcast throughout the land raising high hopes for peaceful coexistence, for it is raising in the breasts of our people a great hope that is based upon nothing except an illusion. It was this same illusion that led to the dreadful betrayals of Tehran and Yalta; it was this same illusion that led to the American diplomatic rape in Korea; and it is an indication of the absolute determination of our leaders to impute to the character of the Communists something that just is not there.

Your correspondent is a Republican, but under no circumstances would we present to our readers the idea—or even the suggestion of the idea—that we consider the present American foreign policy to be any better, or stronger or less wavering than it has been for the past 20 years. In fact we think that It is a continuation and a sort of deteriorated continuation of exactly what we suffered under Truman and Roosevelt. This peaceful coexistence idea has received the attention of many writers in every part of the country—usually the unfavorable sort of attention.

No one wants war, it is true. But from the attitude of our State Department one would think that the Communists are the exception to this; that they want war and will seize the first opportunity to begin one. However, nothing could be further from the truth. The Communists desire a world war even less than do we, for at least three vital reasons. They are: First the Communists are getting what they want without a war; secondly, the Communists do not think that they can win a war with us at this time; and thirdly, it is never the policy of the Communists to resort to open warfare when there is hope of achieving their aims by any other means.

The apologists for our milk-sop reactions insist that we will alienate our allies by any warlike acts that we commit. And while it is admittedly true that there is some fear in parts of Europe and in Southeast Asia that we might start a preventative war against the Reds, this uneasiness is far outweighed by the loss of face we have suffered in Asia from being duped, outbargained and just plain being abused by the Reds. As we wointed out in another article our defeat in Korea and the humiliation of our French allies in Indochina are but two of a series of prestige-shattering incidents of which we have been the victim.

Our presitge in the Orient, if any such we have left, is at a new all time low. American citizenship and a United States passport offer less protection than a paper parasol. Worse, the uniform of our Armed Forces seems now to be an invitation to violence rather than an emblem of respect and protection in Asia. Mao, the Red boss of China, is reportedly using the Peping radio to scornfully broadcast that America is not even capable of protecting her own citizens and men in uniform. And current events in East Asia are lending credibility to his words.

Asia are lending credibility to his words. The State Department is attempting to show that we must act as we do because we are the leaders of the free world; that we must set an example of patience and tolerance to those who are counting heavily upon us. May we point out here that any leader, to be effective, must command the respect of those he is seeking to lead. And no people create respect for themselves by allowing others to shove them around and make fools of them. There is one hell of a lot of difference between forbearance and timidity.

Now, on top of the thousands of lives lost in Korea, on top of the unspeakable brutalities inflicted on American servicemen taken prisoner in that military tragedy; and on top of the treachery and violations of the terms of that peace that the Reds have perpertated, we have an American warplane shot down by Russian fighters and 11 American alrmen (prisoners of war who should have been returned to us long ago) imprisoned as "spies" by the Chinese Communists.

Secretary Dulies says that this country will "react vigorously" but "without allowing ourselves to be provoked into action which would be in violation of our international obligations and which would impair the alliance of free nations." What will we do? Protest as we have done a thousand times before to no avail? In the name of the Almighty, what sort of "international obligations" and "alliances of free nations" are these that would force us to submit "protesting" to these outrageous acts?

Dulles has said further that we are bound by the United Nations charter to settle "international disputes" by exhausting every "peaceful means." Is the shooting down of an American plane and the killing of an American soldier an "international dispute"? Or is it murder? Is the imprisonment of 11 American servicemen who should have been sent home long ago an "international dispute"? Or is it kidnaping and a deliberate violation of one of Dulles' high-sounding "international obligations" duly entered into by and between this country and the Reds?

Is the primary duty of the United States Government to the people of this country, by whose leave and for whose purposes it solely exists? Or is its supreme loyalty to the United Nations, of which our deadliest enemy is a member? What do you think the answer would be if the question were asked of the "next of kin" of those slaughtered in Korea, killed (murdered is better) in "incidents," and either missing or imprisoned behind the iron and bamboo curtain?

Next week I'm going to tell you the truth about this pipe dream of "peaceful existence"; I'm going to use the words of the Reds themselves, and of our British allies who want us to "quiet down."

Right-To-Work Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, BARRY M. GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an excellent article entitled "Labor Trains Guns on Right To Work," written by Joseph A. Loftus, and published in the New York Times of this morning.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

LABOR TRAINS GUNS ON RIGHT TO WORK— REPEAL OF STATE LAWS CURBING UNIONS IS NOW NO. 1 TARGET, REPLACING TAFT-HARTLEY

(By Joseph A. Loftus)

Washington, January 9.—Organized labor's No. 1 target today is not what it used to be.

Instead of the Taft-Hartley law, the most emotionally loaded issue for union leaders is the so-called State right-to-work laws.

Campaigns to repeal these laws, and to resist the threat of others, are going forward with an intensity that rivals the conflicts over the Taft-Hartley measure.

The campaigns have eluded the national notice that the fight over Federal legislation commanded because they are diffused among the 17 States that have such laws and a few others where advocates propose to enact them. Maryland is one of the major battlegrounds between the unions and those who would put a right-to-work law on the statute books.

PROPAGANDA LABEL SEEN

A right-to-work law forbids the closed shop, the union shop and any other form of compulsory union membership. The name given to these laws has been chosen by its advocates. The unions regard the name as a propaganda label, since few persons care to be in the position of saying flatly that an individual does not have the right to work.

All that such laws purport to guarantee is a right to work where a job vacancy exists and the employer wishes to hire or retain an individual employee, union membership requirements to the contrary notwithstanding. The unions contend the laws are designed for only one purpose-"to weaken labor unions and to lower standards of wages and working conditions."

Clergymen of all faiths have been brought into the controversy, so intense are the campaigns. The Machinist, weekly publication palgns. The Machinist, weekly publication of the International Association of Machinists, AFL, is devoting lead articles on three successive weeks to Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish clergymen who find that these laws are immoral.

MUCH MATERIAL PUBLISHED

The American Federation of Labor published an illustrated booklet and other material to combat the State laws, and the Congress of Industrial Organizations published a 172-page book analyzing them.

Some impetus for this drive comes from a high officer of the Eisenhower administration, James P. Mitchell, Secretary of Labor, contends that the laws do not aid industry in the States that have them, contrary to

opposite beliefs.

It is noted that only a few of the States with right-to-work laws are Republican-controlled. In general, the laws are more apt to be repealed in the Republican rather than the Democratic States. The latter are chiefly southern States in which antiunion sentiment is stronger.

With the right-to-work States predominantly Democratic, Secretary Mitchell asks in effect: Which political party is the bet-ter friend of organized labor? Labor leadter friend of organized labor? ers reply that Mr. Mitchell and the administration could demonstrate their good faith by pushing a Taft-Hartley amendment that would make the State laws inoperative.

Nevada and Arizona are exceptions. Nevada's average hourly earnings in manufacturing in 1953 were \$2.08, Arizona's \$1.88, These compare with \$1.97 in California, \$1.77 in Connecticut, \$1.79 in New York, \$1.82 in New Jersey, \$1.65 in Massachusetts, \$1.79 in Pennsylvania, and \$1.77 for the country as a whole.

In the right-to-work States, corresponding figures included \$1.69 in Iowa, \$1.31 in Florida, \$1.23 and \$1.24 in North and South Carolina, \$1.40 in Virginia, \$1.14 in Missis-

sippi, and \$1.21 in Arkansas.

The States now having the law are: (Republican-controlled) Iowa, Nebraska, North Dakota, South Dakota, and Nevada; (Democratic-controlled) Florida, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Arkansas, Louisiana, Texas, and Arizona.

The best chances for repeal, it is believed, are in Iowa, a Republican State; Alabama and Arkansas. Fights also are brewing, or are in full swing, in Missouri, Oklahoma, Wisconsin, Kentucky, California, Colorado, and Maryland.

PER CAPITA INCOMES RISE

The States with these laws have been industrializing in recent years and their per capita incomes have been rising. But data available at the Labor Department show that in average hourly earnings, they run far behind such States as California, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, and others, where the union control laws do not exist.

The unions have not abandoned their fight to make substantial changes in the Taft-Hartley law, but they do not expect much success before next year's election.

The narrow margin of Democratic gains in the House and Senate, although providing control, is not believed enough to help adopt such revisions.

In the meantime, the unions are concentrating on another threat, which they pre-sumably regard as greater and where pros-pects of success look better.

The Hudson Division of the American Motors Corp.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, January 10, 1955

WILEY. Mr. President, last Wednesday, January 5, was an important landmark in the history of the American automotive industry and in the history of industry in the State of Wisconsin.

The first automobiles of the Hudson division of American Motors Corp. were at that time produced in my State. American Motors is, as everyone knows, the new enterprise formed from the merger of two great-name companies-Nash-Kelvinator and Hudson, Important civic ceremonies marked the landmark event in the cities of Milwaukee and Kenosha.

The great American auto-traveling public wishes well for the American Motors Corp., and we, of Wisconsin, proudly welcome Hudson to our State. We wish American Motors prosperity in serving America's ever-expanding transportation needs. Vigorous, healthy competition, as furnished by strong, vital companies, is the key to an ever higher standard of iving for America.

I send to the desk a writeup of the January 5 event, as carried in the Thursday, January 6, issue of the Milwaukee Journal, along with an editorial from the

same issue.

I ask unanimous consent that they be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. There being no objection, the article

and editorial were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal of January 6, 1955]

HUDSON WELCOMED BY TWO STATE CITIES-NEWCOMER'S FIRST PRODUCTION IN MILWAU-KEE, KENOSHA MARKED BY CIVIC AFFAIRS

The impressive record of firsts for Hudson automobiles was joined by a rookie Wednes-day and Thursday, as the Hudson division of American Motors Corp. officially produced its first cars in Wisconsin.

In Milwaukee and Kenosha, where the American Motors automotive plants are major factories, evidence of the occasion was exhibited by civic affairs in which com-munity leaders welcomed the newcomer to Wisconsin manufacturing activity, and company officials pledged their efforts to be good citizens of Wisconsin.

In its 45-year history under the Hudson Motor Car Co. name, the Hudson organization pioneered many mechanical improve-ments in the automobile and built more than 4 million Hudsons.

Transplanted from its native Detroit as a result of the Hudson and Nash-Kelvinator Corp. merger last May, Hudson has raised its sales goal for 1955 to a substantial 125,000 units.

OUT FOR MORE SALES

Offering a restyled line of 1955 models bearing various engineering advances, in-cluding a V-8 engine for the first time, Hudson is determined to capture a bigger share of the auto market, according to N. K. Van-

Derzee, vice president in charge of the division's sales. He made that promise in two talks Wednesday in Milwaukee and was expected to repeat it at the ceremonies to be held in Kenosha Thursday.

For the two Wisconsin cities, the 2 days foretold increasing importance in automotive manufacture. Competition in the industry admittedly is rugged, but American Motors officials—from president George Romney down—are convinced that the corporation's products can win public acceptance.

Employment in the AMC factories here and in Kenosha now is approaching 9,000, and workers are being taken on steadily as production schedules of 1955 cars are stepped up. Before the new Hudsons and Nashes are shown in dealers' showrooms in early February, several thousands must come off the assembly lines to stock the dealers.

FIRST BY DESIGNATION

In the brief ceremonies at the Milwaukee body plant Wednesday morning, bodies representing the "first" made here were rolled down conveyor lines and "dropped" onto the big trailer trucks that shuttle them-six at a time—to the Kenosha assembly plant.

Actually production started about mid-December, with the "first" designation being reserved for Milwaukee and Kenosha output Wednesday and Thursday, respectively, for the sake of having a starting point.

Thus, in Kenosha Thursday, a sparkling light-blue Hudson Hornet Hollywood hardtop sedan was to be recognized as the first production car. This vehicle, fully equipped with all optional equipment, was to be presented by Hudson to Alan Ameche, the all-American football player from Kenosha who has starred for the University of Wisconsin for the last four seasons.

SEAMANS ARE PRESENT

E. W. Bernitt, vice president in charge of manufacturing and procurement of American Motors; VanDerzee; Joseph Mueller and John Weiland, works managers of the Kenosha and Milwaukee plants, respectively; Mayor Frank Zeidler, William A. Mann, president of the Milwaukee Association of Commerce; William H. Wagner, chairman of the association's industries committee; and Milton J. McGuire, president of the Milwaukee Common Council, appeared Wednesday as the speakers at the body plant program and at a civic luncheon sponsored by the association of commerce at the Schroeder Hotel.

Among the guests were Harold and Irving Seaman, Milwaukee brothers whose family founded the former Seaman Body Co., a company which subsequently became the body plant for Nash Motors. That plant today is the body plant wherein both Nash and Hudson bodies are fabricated.

CAR TO BE SHOWN

By resolution of the Milwaukee Common Council, Wednesday was Welcome to Hudson Day in Milwaukee.

Kenosha city officials likewise have issued proclamation welcoming Hudson to that city, where the observance was to get under-

way Thursday afternoon.

A tour of the assembly plant was to be followed by a brief program in which Ameche was to participate. His presence for the event involved a bit of hasty traveling, as he has been practicing with the North team of gridiron stars which will play the South team Saturday in the Senior Bowl game at Mobile, Ala.

BERNITT THE SPEAKER

The so-called first Hudson then was to be put on display before the Kenosha Eagles hall, where a civic dinner Thursday night was expected to attract about 750 persons.

Expected to be among the Thursday night guests was Governor Kohler. Bernitt, who was works manager of the Kenosha plant until his advancement last fall to vice president of manufacturing and procurement for AMC, was to give the principal address. Winding up the evening and the program

was to be a stage show of top talent.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of January 6, 1955]

STATE'S PLACE IN AUTO INDUSTRY

The start of production of Hudson automobiles in Wisconsin has been officially recognized with ceremonies in Milwaukee, where the auto bodies are being manufactured, and at Kenosha, where the sleek new automobiles are being assembled.

The start of production is just that—a beginning. It offers promise, but not yet fulfillment, of a bigger and broader role for Wisconsin in the automotive field. But the potential now exists for more jobs, expanded payrolls and a stimulation for all business.

Under the new name of American Motors Corp., the fortunes of Wisconsin's 50-year-old Nash organization and the 45-year-old Hudson company are joined. The new company has vigorous leadership. It has received piedges of support from the business community and government and assurances of cooperation from highly skilled labor.

But success of the expanded venture lies in public acceptance of the product. For in the highly competitive auto world, only sales count.

As a hopeful partner, all Wisconsin wishes the new company success and prosperous years in which their constantly improved products will continue to be manufactured and sold in increasing numbers.

American-Flag Vessels Under Foreign Registry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an excellent editorial from a recent issue of the New York Times on the subject of our merchant marine and its importance to our country.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

THE NEW SHIPS

During the past year 163 new oceangoing ships showed their pennants in the port of New York and received the harbor's traditional warm welcome. The world's merchant marine long ago passed the prewar mark in tonnage, and in most of the maritime nations the shipwrights and joiners are still busy, with more orders waiting.

There is significance in the fact that only a few of last year's roster of new vessels flew the flag of this country. Our own shippards are hungry, with labor forces diminished and few private orders in prospect. Moreover, the merchant marine is being whittled down by the transfer of many United States-flag ships to the so-called refugee flags of other nations, notably Liberia, Panama, and Honduras. These are ships that are of no commercial value under our flag because high operating costs make it impossible for them to compete with tonage of other nations.

With these discouraging facts before us it is heartening to read the recently announced joint project of American President Lines and the Federal Maritime Board to expand this world-girdling company's fleet over a 10-year period at a minimum cost of \$175 million. In time, some of these 19 ships will complete their global maiden voyages and show up at the roadstead off Ambrose Channel entrance, and come in for their whistled greetings. We all respond to the sight of a new ship standing in from the sea, and especially so if it is our own.

Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HERMAN WELKER

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the third of a series of four articles on our foreign policy, written by Judge Jim Gossett and published in the Gooding (Idaho) Leader of December 23, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By Judge Jim Gossett)

One cannot but wonder what catastrophe will eventually halt the headlong rush of this country and her allies into a permanent policy of all-out appeasement toward our implacable enemies, the Communists; towards certain disaster. One must wonder, too, how much more of the free world must be sacrificed to prove to our policymakers that moral pressure alone cannot influence the actions of people to whom there is no such thing ar moral pressure—for the simple reason that they have no morals.

Why, we cannot but ask, if we are complete internationalists whose every action and attitude must be governed by the dictates of the United Nations Charter, must we look only to the prohibitions imposed upon us by that charter and ignore the few positive courses of action permitted us under its terms? Why shall its influence upon us always be negative in that it always tells us what we cannot do instead of positive in telling us what we can or should do?

To a large extent, it is the fault of our leaders—certain of our leaders, that is. Even the fantastic idealism that inspired and imbues the U. N. Charter occasionally touched its feet to the ground in making some practical provisions for situations which must inevitably occur that cannot be solved by a sweet smile, a few million dollars, or a self-righteous "turning of the other cheek." We are in one of those situations now with Red China and, unbelievable but true, we have available to us under the terms of our sacrosanct U. N. Charter a forceful, effective measure.

I refer, of course, to the naval blockade of Red China that has been proposed by Senator Knowland of California. (And for which suggestion, I may add, he has had his ears figuratively boxed by the White House et al.) The naval blockade has been endorsed by all four members of the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff, which, significantly, includes Gen. Matthew Ridgway. The idea was vetoed by President Elsenhower on foreign-policy grounds. Doubtless this yeto is intended to fit into the Eisenhower-

Dulles statements of "vigorous" actions within the framework of the U. N. Charter; the White House had said that the President feels that a naval blockade would be "war action."

But a naval blockade is within the provisions of the U. N. Charter. Article 42 of the charter sets forth that the Security Council "may take such action by air, sea, or land forces as may be necessary to maintain or restore international peace and security. Such action may include demonstrations, blockade, and other operations by air, sea, or land forces of members of the United Nations." And the United States is a member of the United Nations. We are never for one instant permitted to forget it.

And, of course, it is well known by our military that a naval blockade against Red China would be very effective—and President Eisenhower is the top military man in the land. Our civil authorities denied us the fruits of just such an action in the Korean war; the reason being given was that we did not want to get into a "war" with China. For some reason, the fact that around a million Chink Commies were in North Korea killing American soldiers did not seem sufficient provocation for us to "risk" a war with China.

Now once again comes this ignoble representation that we cannot risk a war with Red China; that we cannot defend our citizens and servicemen by militant action. Are we deemed so utterly stupid as to not know that in actuality, we are at war with Red China right now? What we signed in Korea to stop the shooting was not a peace treaty; it was an armistice—an agreed cessation of active hostilities to allow for the arrangement of the terms of a final peace,

The Chinese Communists have deliberately and openly violated the written pledges of that armistice in at least six different ways and on numberless occasions, any single one of these violations would justify the U. N., before the world and under international law, in resuming a shooting war against the Reds at any time. Our cautious, almost timid, policies would indicate that we alone are afraid of war; that our adversaries will eagerly seize on any pretext to start a war. Why is this?

The evidence right in Washington is all to the contrary. Ambassador Chip Bohlen, just back from Russia, has stated clearly that the Kremlin is in actual terror of an atomic war, that they are in mortal dread of the hydrogen bomb, and they admit it. And Admiral Strauss, Chairman of our Atomic Energy Commission, has lately released an interview in which he states that we are appreciably ahead of Russia in the H-bomb.

Secretary of Defense Wilson has just made a most significant public release to the effect that the United States is stronger than the Soviets. He said further: "Too much has been said about the rising power of the Soviets and too little about our own strength." He said also, that Americans should speak out more about their own strength, and political ideals and less about the power and beliefs of Soviet Russia. Could not these statements of his be much more appropriately directed at the White House and the State Department than at us?

Are we lacking allies in the Far East if we become embroiled with Red China? What about Syngman Rhee's magnificent ROK army that is straining at the bit? What about Chiang Kai-shek's 600,000 Nationalist Chinese soldiers on Formosa that are crying for the chance to hit at the commies? Are we afraid we will not be supported by the British and French—our so-called principal allies—over there? To get down to earth, with the exception of their ridiculously small token forces, how much help have they ever given us in the Far East?

The Senate majority leader, the very able Senator KNOWLAND, of California, is doing the American people an incalculably great service by speaking out in the Senate in protest against our policies of futility. He at least has not forgotten that we are the most powerful nation on earth, perhaps the most powerful nation in recorded history.

Drawing a Line on Federal Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, BARRY M. GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a fine editorial which was printed in the Phoenix Gazette of Wednesday, January 5, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD, as follows:

DRAWING A LINE ON FEDERAL CONTROL

What could be a major crossroads in the struggle to preserve free enterprise from too much Federal regulation faces the new Congress. It will consider legislation amending the Natural Gas Act of 1938.

The key point of this legislation will be to exempt from the Federal Power Commission's control the gas sold by independent producers to pipeline companies which transport it across State lines. It is not a new point. The Kerr bill in 1950 did the same thing but was vetoed by President Truman.

But the need for such legislation now has new urgency. Last June the Supreme Court ruled that the 1938 act does apply to independent producers as well as to the pipeline companies. Unless the act is changed, the FPC will have the unwanted and virtually unworkable function of trying to set prices of gas produced under widely differing conditions. For every well brought in, many dry holes may have been put down by a producer at high cost. Some wells produce both oil and gas, others only one or the other. Different lease and royalty prices complicate the pricing base, and there is also the conflict between State and Federal regulation.

Yet these practical considerations, baffling as they are, come second in importance to the danger of another long step on the road to socialism. If independent gas sales can be regulated, oil sales almost have to be, too, since the two resources exist side by side. The philosophy of such regulation could logically be extended to coal, or to almost any commodity.

At the heart of the situation is the basic reason for any Government regulation of industry in a democracy during peacetime. This regulation is consistent with democracy when a monopoly or semimonopoly exists. A utility company marketing gas or electricity at retail comes in that category. So does a pipeline company transmitting gas. But the gas-producing industry, with many separate units large and small, is one of the most competitive and nonmonopolistic enterprises.

Moreover, as in the production of oil, its initial stage is exploration. Millions of dollars can be sunk in failures before a paying well is struck. Obviously the threat of price fixing at the wellhead puts a straitjacket on this highly speculative venturing.

If the Federal act is not amended, price fixing with respect to sales of gas transmitted interstate could lead to production for sale only within the producing State. Five States—Texas, Kansas, Louisiana, Oklahoma, and New Mexico—have 88 percent of the proved gas reserves and 84 percent of the Nation's current production. States like Arizona, which produce no natural gas but share in the growing nationwide use of this fuel, would be starved out of the picture.

The Court ruling has shown up a weakness in the law which must be corrected. Competition will keep natural gas prices down. Price fixing will only endanger the growth of a vital industry, with the longrange threat of unlimited Federal control.

Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERMAN WELKER

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the fourth and last of a series of articles on our foreign policy written by Judge Jim Gossett and published in the Gooding (Idaho) Leader of December 30, 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By Judge Jim Gossett)

Five days ago we celebrated the greatest of the Christian holidays with the warmest of all sentiments, Christmas at home. We enjoyed at the festive board and in the gifts under the tree all of the material blessings of free people. In the bright, gay comfort of our homes we experienced, perhaps somewhat subconsciously, the spiritual exultation and harmony of feeling that is inherent in any great religious festival. We savored deeply of the rapt, eager faces of our children, transported in the enchantment of the occasion.

Two days hence we celebrate again a joyous event—the new year. The new year at ime for sweeping aside the disappointments and unhappiness of the past with the new broom of brave resolutions and new hope for the future. A new year in which the failure of yesterday shall be but the lessons which will teach us how to improve tomorrow. A time for looking ahead with renewed hope.

Except for their families and a few friends, how many of us have had the beauty of the season darkened by thoughts of those 13 boys in the uniform that have made and kept us free, who are spending this Christmas and New Year's in the bleak wretchedness of a foul Chinese prison thousands upon thousands of miles from those they love and all that they hold dear? What sort of bright hopes and brave resolutions are surging through their breasts. How light and gay are their hearts as they, mayhap, close their eyes and seek in their imagination to escape the dank filth of prison?

What hymns of love and faith are ringing in their ears? What star of Bethlehem is shining before their eyes and gladening their hearts? Can they now have a burning belief in the goodness of man and the greatness of God to see them through? Or do they feel the hopeless melancholy of those who have been forsaken—forgotten? How hollowly must ring in their memories these words from the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all

men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

And even more emptily must echo these words with which the Declaration ends: "And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor."

Now my friends and fellow Americans, are we acting like people who have pledged our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor? We, the greatest power among nations, permitting 13 Christian boys in the uniform of the United States of America to rot in a heathen jail—to lie in degradation, the power of life and death for them clutched in the blasphemous fists of the godless Chinese Communists?

What are these boys doing? They were not foolish businessmen whose greed kept them over long in a place against which they had been warned. They were not irresponsible tourists who heedlessly and needlessly placed themselves in jeopardy. They were soldiers in the honored uniform of their country carrying out their duty in the defense of you, and of me and of their fatherland and all for which it stands. They are illegally held, against all the laws of God and man and in defiance of international

agreement and the solemn pledges of armistice.

They are in all verity kidnaped from our bosom by brigands—international pirates—who have demonstrated their disregard for honor and law and justice by this their very act. Does the law negotiate with criminals? Do honorable men contract with thieves and cutthroats? Do the courts accept the word of convicted perjurers? Does a brave man submit to the dictates of a pickpocket?

Shall we negotiate until most of these boys are dead or mad? Shall we continue to permit these boys to be used as instruments to force diplomatic dignification of these international highwaymen? Shall we negotiate away still further the slim margin of honor and security our people still have—and end up once more in a disgraceful ransom deal? Shall these boys be allowed to believe that they have been abandoned by their God and their people to the brutality of barbarians?

The Communists in China have denied God, law, honor, morals, ethics, and truth. How can we negotiate, in any conscience and to any effect, with the beasts of field and forest? Their regimes are founded on force and violence, they exist by force and violence, they govern by force and violence, and they believe in and respect only force and violence. Shall we deny them their chosen dish by refusing to tell them: "Our boys now or the iron fist of American might in your teeth."

As that warm feeling comes over you when you notice the resemblances, the mannerisms—the vague little grin—in your child that remind you of dad, turn your thoughts to the families of those 13 boys across the Pacific Ocean. Each of these resemblances and mannerisms—these little smiles—that are filling you up with love and pride are inflicting burning wounds on those families, a desperate rush to hide from the children the bitter, scalding tears of utter unhappiness. They are reminders of the loved one who isn't there—who may never be there.

I believe in the words in our Declaration of Independence, "we pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor," were intended to mean just what they say; I believe in the Constitution which implements them; and I believe in the God which has graced us with the power to carry out our mandates. And I do not believe that the obligations of our Government to the British, the French, or to anyone else supersede its obligations to our own pecpie.

Resolutions of East Atlanta Post, No. 159, American Legion, Department of Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on September 28, 1954, the members of East Atlanta Post, No. 159, of the American Legion, Department of Georgia, adopted two resolutions, dealing respectively with the usurpation of legislative functions by the executive and judicial branches of the Federal Government, and with the length of the terms of office of Members of the United States House of Representatives.

On December 7, 1954, that post of the American Legion, Department of Georgia, adopted a resolution protesting the trial of members of United States military forces by the courts of foreign countries under provisions of certain treaties.

Under unanimous consent granted, I insert these resolutions herewith:

Whereas article 1, section 1, of the Constitution of the United States reads as follows: "All legislative powers herein granted, shall be vested in a Congress of the United States which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives"; and Whereas in recent years the powers of the

Congress of the United States is being usurped by the executive and judicial branches of our Government to the detriment of our people and to the Government itself; and

Whereas George Washington in his Fare-well Address said: "If in the opinion of the people the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amend-ment in the way which the Constitution designates, but let there be no change by usurpations for though this in one instance may be the instrument of good it is the customary weapon by which free govern-ments are destroyed": Therefore

Resolved, That members of East Atlanta Post, No. 159, the American Legion, Department of Georgia, memorialize the national executive department to petition the United States Congress to rededicate its Members to the duties of legislative powers vested in it by the Constitution, before usurpation by the executive and judicial branches of our Government causes the Congress to be abolished, since the Senate and House of Representatives are elected by the people to serve

in this capacity; further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be
furnished our representatives in Washington,

Unanimously adopted this September 28, 1954.

J. H. DRUMM. Commander. W. B. JONES, Adjutant.

Whereas the Constitution of the United States provides that Members of the House of Representatives shall be elected by vote of the people in their respective district every 2 years; and

Whereas at the time of the adoption of the Constitution traveling and communications were remote, and the 1800 census shows United States population at 5,308,483; and

Whereas in this new age of wireless radio and television communication being in-

stantaneous, travel by airplane makes ready connection with a population of 150,697,361 shown in the 1950 census: Therefore

Resolved, That members of East Atlanta Post, No. 159, the American Legion, memorialize the national executive committee to petition the United States Congress to adopt necessary legislation to provide that the Constitution be amended to elect Representatives to Congress every 4 years, which will give a Member elected to Congress a more reasonable chance and more time to devote to constructive legislation rather than spend so much time each 2 years campaigning for election. Effective with the 84th Congress; further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be furnished our Representatives in Washington, D. C., and to the Atlanta Journal and Constitution.

Unanimously adopted this September 28,

J. H. DRUMM. Commander. W. B. JONES, Adjutant.

Whereas the ratification of the interna-Whereas the ratheation of the interna-tional treaty law of July 15, 1953, by the United States Senate which places the United States military in foreign lands un-der the jurisdiction of foreign courts; and

Whereas this law if permitted to continue in effect can be detrimental to all troops in foreign lands by being arrested on trumpedup charges simultaneous with an attack, which would dwarf the Pearl Harbor attack beyond comprehension: Therefore

That members of East Atlanta Resolved. Post, No. 159, memorialize the department executive committee to petition the national executive committee to investigate the effect of the July 15, 1953; ratification by Congress of the NATO status of forces treaty law, which we are advised supersedes the Constitution for men drafted by the United States Government and placed in foreign lands, to be governed by the courts of said lands without the protection of the United States Constitution, while in uniform defending our Constitution; further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be furnished our Representatives in Washington.

Unanimously adopted December 7, 1954. J. H. DRUMM, Commander. W. B. JONES, Adjutant.

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOSEPH L. CARRIGG

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. SIKES. Mr. Speaker, I yield to my friend and colleague the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. CARRIGG].

Mr. CARRIGG. Mr. Speaker, in expressing my sympathy to the widow of DWIGHT ROGERS on the passing of her husband and in expressing my sympathy to the delegation from the great State of Florida, I can only say that DWIGHT ROGERS and I were geographically and politically as far apart probably as the poles, he being a Democrat and I being a Republican, and he being from the great State of Florida and I being from the great Commonwealth of Pennsylvania. But during the last year, I have the privflege of living with him very closely for a week or 10 days on one of the committee trips throughout the West, and I came to know DWIGHT ROGERS as one of my fondest friends. I know there is a saying that it is holy and wholesome to pray for the dead. My prayer today is that Almighty God in his charity and mercy will grant to the soul of DWIGHT Rogers eternal peace and also grant strength to Mrs. Rogers that she may carry the heavy cross which has been bestowed upon her.

Commonsense About Alaska

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, Alaska was honored to have as a visitor in November Mr. Ralph D. Paine, Jr., publisher of Fortune magazine. Mr. Paine traveled widely in the Territory, and I still am receiving letters from different communities expressing the pleasure of the writers at having had the opportunity to meet and talk with Mr. Paine. During the course of his stay with us he addressed the Alaska Chamber of Com-Mr. Paine's analysis of the merce. Alaska situation was factual and practical. It was most interesting to me and to many others that he came to the conclusion that statehood is essential if Alaska is to make the progress to which its resources entitle it.

I take pleasure in offering here the text of Mr. Paine's talk before the Alaska Chamber of Commerce:

[From the Anchorage Daily Times of November 15, 1954]

FORTUNE PUBLISHER CITES NEED FOR STATEHOOD

(An address delivered to the Alaska Chamber of Commerce by Ralph D. Paine, Jr. publisher of Fortune magazine)

It is a very real pleasure for me to be here tonight. To see Alaska for the first time is an experience too few Americans have en-joyed. I expect to see more of this great frontier in the next few days, as much as I possibly can. And I do not expect it to disappoint me.

In preparing for the honor or addressing you tonight it didn't take long to see that I would look pretty silly if I did not say something about Alaska statehood. And finally I was forced to put it up to my associates in this fashion; "If Time, Life, and Fortune do not have a position on statehood, I don't have a speech."

One fact grew on us as we studied the questions that we felt had never been given proper weight. It is a simple fact and an easy one to remember. If it were properly publicized in the United States, I believe you would gain immense support in no less than 47 States. And that is the fact that the instant Alaska achieves statchood the Lone Star State of Texas ceases to be the biggest State in the Union.

This was obviously not a determining fac-But after further study and much discussion we came to a conclusion. This conclusion can be stated quite simply. tonight, Time, Life, and Fortune are in favor of statehood for the great frontier Territory of Alaska.

Now I know the question of statehood is not a simple one. Able and honest men differ on it. The differing arguments are powerful and persuasive. Certainly the conditions in the two Territories seeking admission to the Union, Hawaii and Alaska, cannot be compared.

I share the general American respect for President Eisenhower's military judgment, but I cannot believe that he has been adequately informed on Alaska. If there are any real military advantages to Territorial status, I have never seen a convincing case. If Hawaii presents no military problems, it is hard to see how Alaska would.

It may be of small comfort to you but the admission of new States has always been bitterly opposed. At the Constitution Convention in 1787, Gouverneur Morris, an eminently sound Philadelphian, foreseeing the creation of many new States west of the Alleghenies, argued for a rule of representation which would secure to the Atlantic States a prevalence in the national councils.

A little later, in the debate over the admission of Louisiana which led to further debate about the next tier of Western States seeking statehood, an impassioned Congressman from Massachusetts cried: "You have no authority to throw the rights and property of this people into a 'hotch-pot' with the wild men on the Missouri."

But the wild men of the frontler would not be downed. One of the early petitions for statehood is also reminiscent. With the wit and wisdom of the true frontiersman the unknown author of this petition addressed Congress thus: "Some of our fellow citizens may think we are not able to conduct our affairs and consult our interests; but if our society is rude, much wisdom is not necessary to supply our wants, and a fool can sometimes put on his clothes better than a wise man can do it for him."

The frontier shaped and determined American political philosophy, American society and the American economy. Our democratic ideals, our individualism, our extraordinary ingenuity and adaptability and our energy are the product of 3½ centuries of ever changing frontier experience. We need the frontier. We need Alaska in our national life.

These values which have so enriched our national life derived from the experience of aucceeding generations of men and women—not necessarily ladies and gentlemen—in their assault upon the wilds and the wilderness. No other word is appropriate. The assault upon the frontier of North America was conducted with the zeal and determination of a great and victorious army.

It is fashionable today to bemoan and regret the excesses of the pioneers; to talk of the spoilation of the continent, the rape of its resources. How else could this job have been done; the settlement and development of most of the continent in a short 100 years?

What is so often forgotten today is that the incessant, driving energy of American frontier society was lightened and animated by enduring ideals. They were ideals which We, their descendants, take for granted and call by such trite names as "the American way of life" or, that sorry commonplace, "the free-enterprise system." It was a freeenterprise system all right, but the frontiersinen saw it in perspective in terms of means to ends, and the ends were not just the good society but the ever better society. Each generation of sacrifice in this neverending effort to improve the common lot, Contributed to the most revolutionary force in the world, then and now, the American achievement. What stirs the masses of Asia, the so-called working classes of Europe, or the peons of Latin America, even the natives of Africa? Communism? No. Communism

promises, falsely and wickedly, a shortcut to the American achievement, and with all our faults, those ideas are more closely approximated in the United States of America today than at anytime in history.

When the rough, tough job of populating the continent was finished, it was time to take stock, and only then. And the beginnings of the conservation movement date back to the closing of the continental frontier. Perhaps policies suitable to the continental United States today are not wise for this new frontier of Alaska. Perhaps Alaska, the 49th or 50th State, should restudy the creative forces loosed upon the continental frontier between 1790 and 1890.

It would be wasting your time to catalog for you the known and suspected resources of Alaska. At this convention you have heard many experts who know far more about them than I will ever know. This territory, one-fifth the size of the continental United States, is one of the true frontiers remaining on the face of the earth. There are parts of Africa which offer Europe its last best chance to regain economic and social vitality. There is the vast interior of South America. There is Siberia which the Russians like to think is their Great West. And there is Alaska, and the friendly territory of Canada. History tells us that the development of Canada and the development of the United States generally run parallel courses, and we should study our neighbor closely; Canada is in an extraordinary period of development.

However rich these last great frontiers

However rich these last great frontiers are, they all share in the same deficiencies, people, and capital.

If you look to the east—here I mean to the west to Siberia—you can see some spectacular development going on. The methods may be effective but they will never be our methods. If we arrested millions of citizens and shipped them to Alaska; if there had been a total disregard of the relative economic value of investment, Alaska, too, might boast of its Yakutsk and its Magadan or its Kola Peninsula, all based on forced labor. Perhaps Russia's Arctic scientists may have something to offer us, but for the rest I suggest that we will have to look elsewhere.

More particularly, I suggest that the best place to look for guidance in developing a new frontier is to look to our own unique American experience. After all, we are history's greatest experts on continental development, socially and politically as well as economically. The advance of the American pioneers from the original tidewater colonies to the shores of the Pacific is the epic of settlement and development.

And in the next few minutes I would like to recall for you a few of the things that contributed to successful settlement and development of the continental United States. These first principles, evolved in the trial and error of American frontier history, may still be valid for an Alaska which is the present American frontier. I suggest that, as citizens of a future State, you consider these two things; first the importance of land policy and second the question as to whether conservation policies which are valid in the continental United States are applicable to a frontier like Alaska.

Let us consider first the importance of land policy.

For nearly 200 years land policy was a burning issue in American politics and had the attention of 6 or 7 generations of leading statesmen. As early as 1650 the frontier towns of Massachusetts, towns that are now the suburbs of Boston, were complaining bitterly about absentee ownership. The marks of different land policies can be seen to this day by simply driving from New York State across the border into Connecticut. Massachusetts and Vermont. Eastern New York developed under a system of landed

proprietors and tenant farmers; New Englanders were freeholders, and the pride and industry developed by the New Englander can still be seen in the contrast between eastern New York and New England in the villages and countryside on either side of the State lines.

Squatting was always a thoroughly respectable method of land disposal. Grants and sales of large tracts for development were highly successful. Federal policy went through various phases in various places, culminating in Lincoln's Homestead Act. The phrase "land office business" became a permanent part of the American language. But whatever the particular policy at any particular time, whether it was by sales, by grants, by preemption or by homesteading, the objective of the policy was always the same; get the land into private ownership.

I am not competent to specify land policies for Alaska. I do, however, believe that the objective should be to get land into private hands, as speedily as possible. And I suspect that no one policy will suffice. Alaska is almost a subcontinent, so large and so varied that many methods will be necessary to get a substantial amount of land into private hands.

A cursory reading of the Interior's Bulletin on Information Relative to the Disposal and Leasing of Public Lands in Alaska, suggests that the present laws might be improved. The idea of the 160-acre homestead seems to me to be totally obsolete. The economics of modern agriculture require tremendous investments in machinery and equipment and large acreage to use them on. The capital requirements of an ordinary independent farmer in Iowa or Illinois today are around \$200,000. In the milksheds of the East it is not considered economic to operate a dairy farm with less than 100 milking cows. There are cattle areas in the Mountain States where one is foolish to operate less than 10,000 acres and 50,000 is safer.

To talk of homesteading 160 acres is like talking about 40 acres and a mule. It would be more realistic to start talking about 1,000 acres and a bulldozer. I am under no illusion that Alaska's destiny is to be a great agricultural state. But agriculture is always important.

Another aspect of land policy that should be reconsidered is land speculation. Land speculation is as old as America, an honored tradition. George Washington died the richest man of his time and most of his fortune was made in land speculation.

Land speculation should carry no opprobrium in a frontier country. Nine-tenths of the towns and cities of the continental United States owe their origins to bold, courageous, and farsighted men engaged in land speculation.

Thus the first guide from American history to successful settlement and development is sound land policy. The objective is to get land out of the public domain and into private hands. Make it easy but above all make it profitable.

And frontier land policies at this late date are better handled by a State than by the Federal Government. When you get state-hood get as much land as you can. The Department of the Interior is the law in 35 percent of the land in the 11 Western States; in Nevada it runs to more than two-thirds of the total. Texas, which is not only big but also smart, made local ownership of all land a condition of entry into the Union.

The second guide to frontier development is to be found in the 19th century attitude toward natural resources. This attitude runs directly contrary to most contemporary thought on the subject. The phrase of the day is: "It belongs to the people." I'm not sure I know what that phrase means—if it means anything. It is clear that the monu-

Excerpt From Report of AFL Executive Council on Taft-Hartley Act Changes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, BARRY M. GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, during the 2d session of the 83d Congress certain amendments proposed to the Taft-Hartley Act were recommitted to the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare. I have often wondered why that was done and what the facts behind the action were.

This morning my question was answered when I read the AFL executive council's own words, reprinted from pages 67 and 68 of its report to the convention of the AFL held at Los Angeles on September 20, 1954. The excerpt explains how the AFL blocked the Taft-Hartley Act changes.

I ask unanimous consent that the excerpt from the report be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

As reported, a few minor, favorable proposals were contained in the bill, but the major proposals were so objectionable it was recessary for us to oppose it in its entirety.

Many amendments, most of them very objectionable, were pending when the Senate began consideration of the bill on May 3, and as the Senate then had 36 Senators who voted against labor previously for Taft-Hartley and only 13 who voted favorably with the remaining Members divided 17 favorable, 17 unfavorable with 13 doubtful, it was realized the bill could not be defeated as the Senate stood 30 favorable, 53 unfavorable, and 13 doubtful, so it was decided to endeavor to recommit the bill.

Not having the votes to do this we realized, before the Senate began debating the bill, that we would be obliged to resort to parliamentary maneuvers to accomplish our purpose.

When debate began in the Senate on the bill, after Chairman SMITH had made his speech in behalf of it, Senator Goldwater presented his very objectionable amendment. This amendment turned all labor matters back to the States. This was most objectionable to practically all Democratic and Republican Senators from Northern States as there are now 17 States, mostly in the South. who have right-to-work, non-union-shop laws, and the amendment would have given further impetus to the migration of industry to these Southern States, and we were advised that if the Goldwater amendment was adopted that all southern Senators would be obliged to vote for the bill. We, therefore, permitted the debate to continue for a couple days and then Senators Ives and LEHMAN presented fair labor practice amendments. This, of course, put the southerners on the spot because they were obliged to oppose this and it also did the same for the Republicans who, as a party, are supposed to favor the proposal. The A. F. of L. was opposed to a FEPC proposal being added to a labor bill.

We then made arrangements with Senator Hill to offer the motion to recommit before any amendments were voted on and as all factions were fearful and more or less confused, they voted to recommit the bill, 50 to 42.

Senator Hall did a magnificent job in presenting his recommittal motion and every Democratic Senator voted for recommittal with Republican Senators Langer, Malone, and Young joining them, as did Independent Senator Wayne Mosse.

Prior to all this, President Meany presented a statement to the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare in regard to the bill. He also sent an analysis of the bill, with a letter, to all national and international unions, State federations of labor, central labor unions, and Federal labor unions, requesting them to contact their Senators in opposition to it. Also he sent a letter to all Members of the Senate just prior to the time the vote came on recommittal, asking them to vote for recommittal.

The leading newspapers of the country have stated that the recommittal of this bill was the greatest legislative defeat President Eisenhower has received in either session of the 83d Congress.

The bill is dead for this session.

Imports of Foreign Residual Fuel Oil

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced in the House of Representatives a bill to establish quota limitations on imports of foreign residual fuel oil. This bill is designed to check the present unfair competition now facing the coal industry of the United States. The continued unrestricted flow of cheap, foreign residual fuel oil created this unfair competition.

The depression now existing in the coal producing areas of the United States is unprecedented in the history of the entire industry. It is heartbreaking to see the mass unemployment; workers denied the right to employment through no fault of their own in one of America's major and most important industries. This unemployment, with its resultant unrest, has also spread to the railroads and other major industries dependent upon the production of coal.

On a recent trip to Europe I had an opportunity to see at first hand a number of communities where industrial recovery has been slow and real prosperity is still not in sight. Let me point out, however, that nowhere did I find the economic stagnation that has enveloped the coal producing communities of West Virginia since foreign residual oil began its relentless surge into the fuel markets of the east coast.

To my way of thinking, our first obligation is here at home, and for that reason I would say that the time for action is long since past due. From experience we know that the executive branch of government will not correct this grossly unjust situation. In fact, it has yet to take the first effective step to limit this importation of foreign residual fuel oil. Therefore, this limitation of imports must come through Congressional action and we must act now.

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In conclusion, let me point out that this same foreign product has washed out coal production capacity that is vital to a defense program. If an emergency should come, none of the platitudinous statements about high levels of trade will be of any value in meeting the demands of a stepped-up industrial effort in a fuel-hungry mobilization economy. We will need coal and more coal, but we will not get it unless we act now to keep our coal mines open in the interim period.

Our Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERMAN WELKER

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the second of a series of four article dealing with our foreign policy, written by Judge Jim Gossett and published in the Gooding (Idaho) Leader of December 16, 1954, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

(By Judge Jim Gossett)

Now how about this peaceful coexistence idea that has been spouted out of Washington all over the country? Is there now or has there ever been any possibility of Russia honestly giving any thought to that concept, except strictly on a temporary basis as fitted their needs and as worked into their master plan as a necessary tactle? Our State Department seems won over by the idea that they are acting nasty but they are talking softer, on the side, than they have been doing.

Is that something new? Is this the first time the Kremlin has talked nice and offered to play along with the boys? Is it possible that the Russian Government really means what it is saying in spite of what it is doing? Their actions speak for themselves; they give reason to believe that the Soviets are determined to keep on killing Americans and stirring up every conceivable trouble for the United States as long as they can get away with it. They say they are going to be good boys from here in through. I repeat, can we believe them?

Flatly, positively, and absolutely no. The Communists themselves have been telling us that ever since they existed as a recognizable "ism." To use the words of their original and greatest dupe in this country, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, they have told us "again, and again, and again." In 1847 Karl Marx, the father of communism, wrote into his Communist manifesto: "The Communists disdain to conceal their alms and views. They openly declare that their ends can be obtained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions."

In the collected works of Lenin we find the following: "International imperialism disposing of the might of capital cannot coexist with the Soviet Republic. Conflict is unavoilable, and here is the greatest difficulty of the Russian revolution, its greatest historical task, that of provoking the international revolution."

There is one high-flying phrase in that quotation that needs explaining. Just what does Lenin mean by "international imperialism disposing of the might of capitalism"?

Any nation that is non-Communist is one that is "disposing of the might of capital"; any nation that has become the object of Communist subversion, aggression, or de-

struction is imperialist.

The best example of all is our own United States. We are certainly a big nation "disposing of the might of capital," and we are called imperialist a thousand times each day by the Commies, in spite of the fact that we wish no territorial gains, political aggrandizement, or have no selfish world motives at all. And in spite of the fact that that we annually give away billions of dollars in money and goods to promote the weifare of other nations.

Now what has the late Joe Stalin had to say in this regard? For just one example (and there are thousands) let us take the often quoted passage from his letter to young comrade Ivanov of February 12, 1938, which is: "The existence of the Soviet Republic next to a number of imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. In the end either the one or the other will have the better of it." (Never forget that any and all nations become automatically imperialist according to Communist doctrine simply by virtue of being capitalistic and, therefore, non-Communist.)

All right, you say, that was Marx, Stalin, and Lenin. Couldn't they have changed? How's about right now? Here is what Mr. Sam Watson had to say on October 21 last about a conversation he had just had with Nikita S. Khrushchev, the number two man in the Soviet Union. (Mr. Watson is a British Labor Party executive and a Mine Workers Union representative just returned from Soviet Russia and Red China.)

Mr. Watson says: "You can rest assured that the following paragraph sums up correctly the outcome of my conversation with Nikita S. Khrushchev." And here's what Khruschev said: "Coexistence in the field of trade—immediately; coexistence militarily and diplomatically—on terms; coexistence ideologically—never." (Ideologically means beliefs, aims, basic philosophy, reason for existing.") In this connection you must remember that the Communists do not believe in the Almighty—they are strict atheists. Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Malenkov, Khrushchev, and Molotov are their gods.

You must also always remember that the only reason for the existence of the Reds is world communism, accomplished by violent world revolution. The words of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, etc., are their supreme law, their religion, and the only thing in which they believe.

Referring to Khrushchev's words: "Coexistence in the field of trade—immediately"; the Soviets are not able to produce such things as consumer goods, locomotives and machine tools in the quantities they need. It is temporarily to their advantage to trade with us: as to "coexistence militarily and diplomatically—on terms," it means on their terms they have everything to gain and nothing to lose because they are winning in the diplomatic field now.

You may ask: "But do the Communists deliberately talk one way and act another, never meaning what they say; saying and doing things purely for a temporary advantage?" Read this from the 27th volume of Lenin's collected work, pages 84 and 85: "that history usually moves in zigzags, and that Marxists (Communists) must make allowances for the most complex and whimsical zigzags of history is indisputable. * * Every zigzag of history is a compromise, a compromise between the old, which is no longer strong enough completely to reject the new, and the new, which is not yet strong enough completely to overthrow the old. Marxism deems it necessary to resort to compromises."

In other words, saying or doing anything that is, or seems, inconsistent with their

avowed aims is absolutely O. K. for the time being, so long as it serves their purposes. Hence their "peace offensives," their talk of coexistence—or their nonaggression pact with Hitler. Lies and deceit are, admittedly, one of the basic tools of the Commiss—used to throw the other guy off balance. We will close with a splendid example—that of Yalta.

When the puppet government in Poland got worried about Stalin's promise at Yaita of "free" elections in Poland to replace them, Stalin sent this word to them by Bulganin, while the Yaita Conference was still in progress: "The Yaita declaration is a scrap of paper. It was necessary to satisfy Roosevelt and Churchill—but we will not abide by it." And, of course, that didn't.

What in heck do they mean by peaceful coexistence?

Reliable Allies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Recorp a very thoughtful column by Walter Lippmann, which appeared in the Washington Post of last Thursday.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TODAY AND TOMORROW
(By Walter Lippmann)
RELIABLE ALLIES

At the end of last week when M. Mendes-France had just managed to push the Paris accords through the Assembly, official Washington let it be known that they were sick at heart about the instability of France and full of doubts about her reliability as an ally. Now it may be interesting to know how these officials feel. But it would be even more interesting if they showed that they had given the problem more serious thought. For the problem is not new, it is very serious, and it is highly complicated. To make it known to the world that you do not trust your ally is a remarkably poor way of promoting an alliance. For your ally will repay your distrust with his distrust.

The best way, it seems to me, to begin thinking about French instability and reliability is to realize that the French, and not by any means the French only, have been sick at heart about the instability of the United States and full of doubts about our reliability as an ally. The decline of American prestige has been very great in the past 3 years. The decline is directly related to the instability of the Executive in relation to Congress during Truman's last year and Eisenhower's first 2 years. We are shocked, and rightly so, at the irresponsible destructiveness of the French Assembly. But we must realize that our friends throughout the world have been no less shocked by our own version of this same kind of irresponsible destructiveness.

Our own instability is not so obvious as the French because the President does not resign as does the French Premier. But our own instability, which is having enormous consequences, comes from the same malady. It comes from the enfeeblement of the executive power in relation to an aggressive and aggrandized Assembly. This produces an instability which has caused doubt about the reliability of the alliance. The instability in France has raised the doubt whether the French would resist a Soviet aggression. The instability in Washington has raised the doubt whether we might let ourselves be unilaterally pushed or provoked or seduced into taking the steps that would bring on a world war.

It is much easier to cure the instability under the American than under the French Constitution. For our Constitution was carefully designed by the Founding Fathers to avoid this particular instability. The Constitution was designed to produce a government in which the initiative and the leadership are in the President, in which the Congress advises, refuses, consents, inquires, but does not itself govern and administer. The system is weighted in such a way that normally a President can take the initiative and hold the leadership, and in doing so win general national support. The Government works well when it is operated as a Presidential Government. It works very badly when the President is weak, and when he appeases a Congress which is in a mood to usurp the executive power. The Government worked very badly for these very reasons in reconstruction after the Civil War, under Harding after the First World War, and under Truman and Eisenhower since 1951.

The French Constitution, on the other hand, is designed to produce a weak executive who is no match for an all-powerful Assembly of Deputies. The drama of M. Mendes-France has been his attempt to make work an unworkable constitution, to wring decisions out of an Assembly which is so set up that its whole intent and energy are against the taking of national decisions. M. Mendes-France has performed a remarkable personal feat. But a country cannot be made stable and be governed well by personal feats. It is hard for the observer to see how France can achieve stability without a reform of the constitution.

As for the reliability of alliances, the best insurance is not to forget that no alliance is ever absolute, that all alliances are relative to historic circumstances and subject to the vital interests of the country. There is no such thing as an alliance which will work automatically at all times under all conditions. Even in the very closest alliances there will always be in time of crisis a moment of decision, when in fact it has to be decided whether the people will support the war in the form in which it is proposed to them. We are, for example, closely and intimately allied with Great Britain. But the alliance would not be automatic for a war which began in the Far East and took the form of an American intervention.

When we think about the reliability of an alliance, we are really asking ourselves how far and under what circumstances it would work automatically. The answer to that question is of the greatest consequence in military planning, and we can be quite sure that it is a question that the Russians never forget to think about. We can be sure, too, that if they are planning a military aggression, they will plan it in such a way as to prevent the NATO alliance from working automatically. They will produce a confused situation which divides the allies, not a simple and obvious situation—such as a march toward Paris—which unites them automatically.

automatically. Thinking about the reliability of our allies we shall, therefore, do well to shun moral judgments and to translate our doubts into a cool appraisal of how far, in which of the possible situations, the alliance will work automatically. For when an alliance is not automatic, which is almost all the time, good diplomacy consists in taking nothing for granted, in taking no one, no matter how fashionable and popular he may be at the moment, as definitely lined up, and in recognizing that an alliance is a tie that has to be renewed continually.

ments, perks, and any other elements of the national historical heritage should be preserved, not as wealth or assets with a dollar value but as a service to the American people.

Largely by accident the Federal Government is the owner of certain remnants of the total stock of resources which for the most part has long since passed into private hands. In certain cases, notably the national forests, this came about by deliberate choice. And, again, I am not talking about the preservation of national monuments or the maintenance of national parks.

But that is far different from treating straight economic assets as a trust for the economic benefit of the general populace. If private individuals can see ways of exploiting resources, the Government should dispose of them in an equitable fashion. Everyone will gain; what makes this subject a political issue, of course, is that some will gain more than others. Throughout the history of the continental frontier sheer envy of this kind was rare. As long as everyone gained, the fact that some gained more than others was not regarded as particularly wrong or wicked. Indeed it was rather applauded.

The revenues from Federal operation in the economic field at best are peanuts in the budget. Far better the Government enjoy the added taxes from successful exploitation by private individuals or corporations.

Another concept which runs along with the "belongs-to-the-people" thesis is orderly development. The development of the United States was a very disorderly affair. Our system allows for a great many mistakes but it does have the supreme advantage of preventing total mistakes. There is continuous self-correction; there are always alternatives.

It is my impression that there is a tendency on the part of the Great White Father in Washington to believe that Alaska should be developed in an orderly fashion—that is, planned from the top down. I say let the Alaskans plan for themselves.

In the opening and exploitation of the frontier, many hard choices have to be made. After the Civil War when the American frontier was moving across the Great Plains, the choice had to be made between the settlers and the buffalo. As the slaughter of the buffalo mounted, cries of outrage arose from the East. Gen. Phil Sheridan, then in command of the Southwest, said bluntly: "Either these plains are to be opened to the settlers or they are to be left to the buffalo. They cannot accommodate both."

cannot accommodate both."

Again, let me emphasize that I'm in complete sympathy with sound conservation policies. I'm even in sympathy with deliberate preservation of great tracts of wilderness, just for the sake of wilderness. But I'm inclined to think that people can get overly worried about these matters. Northern New Hampshire and Maine are still wilderness after 300 years, actually increasingly so as the old farms are abandoned and revert to forest land.

I am also for reasonable regulation of private exploitation. But this again is not a matter for worry. This is not the 19th century when the great corporation and large-scale enterprise was wholly new. Today the potential control of private enterprise is almost complete. Federal power over corporate enterprise is assured and absolute.

Moreover, the great modern corporations have changed and developed a sense of their social obligations and a broadened concept of their own longtime interests. No modern pulp or lumber company wants to strip the Tongass Forest. If nothing else deterred them, their own sense of self-preservation would dictate the practices of sound forestry.

Alaska should make every effort to attract the great corporation. For the corporation of today is prepared to make the tremendous investments that Alaska needs. Look what is going on in Kitimat in British Columbia. There the Canadian Aluminum Co. is pioneering on a scale never before witnessed on this continent—and all with private capital. And British Columbia will never regret it.

If the United States people wish to keep Alaska as a sort of jet-age supercolossal national park, then the Department of the Interior is the logical keeper of the park. But the American people have never expressed that desire, and never will. The American people want to see Alaska developed as all our other frontiers have been developed. If Alaska needs help from the Federal Government for its development, there is plenty of precedent. There is plenty of precedent right at home in the western States today.

So I say, if Alaska wants statehood Alaska should have statehood. Moreover, when it gets statehood I predict that things will start to happen here. Americans have always shown bursts of creative energy when they were released from political and social conditions to which they were opposed.

Alaska's present dependence on Washington is not healthy; it is certainly not healthy for Alaska and it's not healthy for the Union. Every effort which can be made to cut down, dispense and diffuse the fantastic empire of the Department of the Interior is sound and constructive statesmanship. This is said with no personal feeling whatever. Interior is full of devoted and intelligent public servants. But the history of the Department as a whole has been one of relentless aggrandizement of Federal power. The purpose set forth over the years by the Congress was for Interior to service not rule.

The kind of people that Alaska needs are people who find the pervasiveness of the Federal Government in domestic affairs irksome and discouraging. The kind of people Alaska needs are people who want fresh opportunities. The publications of the Department of the Interior would persuade me to go to Canada, not Alaska. There is too much Federal Government in Alaska to tempt anyone with the pioneering spirit.

And I would like to see Alaska a pioneering land, feeding back to the older States something they have lost and which they need—a fresh infusion of frontier experience. The continental United States of America is growing crowded; there are too many people crowding in upon the great metropolitan areas. The traffic problem, now to be found in every town and hamlet, will not be cured by superhighways and slum clearance, America needs space. The necessities of a highly complex society, the terrible pressure of urbanization, have made deep inroads into the independent spirit of our country. And the independent spirit, as we have known it in America, is a product of frontier traditions.

Let Alaska's contribution to our national life be not only gold and salmon and forests and minerals. Let Alaska's contribution be the revitalizing of the independent spirit in America.

So far this evening I have talked of Alaska only in terms of its relations to the other 48 States. I would be remiss if I did not at least mention the larger role of Alaska, the role of Alaska and the world. I was billed on this very broad subject, and if I have neglected it, it is only because I believe it is imperative that Alaska's relations to the Union be settled first. This is of paramount importance.

But in conclusion I would like to open the focus upon Alaska and the world. And I wish to do it not in my own words but in those of the great historian of the American frontier, the late Frederick Jackson Turner. This magnificent Harvard historian gave the commencement address at the University of Washington in June 1914, just a few weeks before the world of our fathers disappeared into the nightmare of World War I, the true opening of what Sir Winston Churchill has called this terrible century.

Standing before his audience in the Northwest on the eve of Europe's disintegration, this historian, this eastern historian, who understood America as few Americans ever have, Frederick Jackson Turner uttered some rare and prophetic words.

Remember, please, that this is 1914, before the incident at Sarajevo at a time when America was still preoccupied by its internal development. Remember, too, that the speaker was the man who wrenched the teaching of American history away from the stale chronicles of foreign and domestic dates, and channeled it into a true understanding of the frontier as the dominant force in the creation of the United States of America.

The words I will leave with you in conclusion are the words of Frederick Jackson Turner on a June morning in 1914 to the graduating class at the University of Washington. These were his prophetic words:

"In the Facific Northwest the era of construction has not ended, but it is so rapidly in progress that we can already see the closing of the age of the pioneers. Already Alaska beckons on the north, and pointing to her wealth of natural resources asks the Nation on what terms the new age will deal with her, Across the Pacific looms Asia, no longer a remote vision and a symbol of the unchanging, but borne as by mirage close to our shores and raising grave questions of the common destiny of the people of the ocean.

"The dreams of Benton and of Seward of a regenerated Orient, when the long march of westward civilization should complete its circle, seem almost to be in process of realization. The age of the Pacific Ocean begins, mysterious and unfathomable in its meaning for our own future."

God bless the State of Alaska. Thank you very much.

Pius Is Ranked Among Greatest Popes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a column by Drew Pearson, paying his respects to the life and work of Pope Pius XII.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WASHINGTON MERRY-GO-ROUND (By Drew Pearson)

PIUS IS RANKED AMONG GREATEST POPES

I shall never forget my audience with Pope Pius XII. It is difficult to describe one's impression upon meeting him—great gentleness, great depth of understanding, deep insight. But most of all I came away thinking that if our governmental leaders could have his understanding, peace would not be the clusive thing it is today.

I have been thinking about that audience during the Christmas season—obviously not a very happy Christmas for those in the Vatican worried about His Holiness' health.

The Vatican is a matchless setting for this entirely different and equally compelling man. You pass by the Swiss guards with their striped uniforms, holding their efficient-looking halberds, then up a broad flight of stairs, across a courtyard and up more stairs to a reception room filled with soldiers, whose uniforms, designed by Michel-

angelo, become progressively more magnificent as you move from one room to another.

after a wait in the final antercom, His Holiness entered. You could not help contrast the magnificence of the room with his simplicity, his ascetic face, his magnetic personality.

It was easy to understand why students of the Vatican agree that Pius XII will go down in history as one of the greatest pontiffs in the 2,000-year tradition of his religion, as well as one of the most brilliant men of his time.

The Pope's Humor

It was also easy to understand the truth of a story told about his audience with a group of Genovese pilgrims, when a small boy, kneeling for his blessing, suddenly looked up at the kindly pontiff and blurted

"Holy Father, when I grow up I'm going to be like you. I'm going to be pope."

There was a shocked silence. But Pius

smiled.

"Ah, my son, you do not know what you wish for yourself," he said.

The Pope's sprightly sense of humor also manifested itself when, at Castel Gandolfo, the Vatican summer residence, a great throng

of pilgrims had gathered for his blessing. Pius spoke so many languages that he seldom had need of an interpreter. So he began addressing each bloc of pilgrims in their own language. He spoke to one group in French, another in German, another in Spanish, until the meeting became like a game, with various foreign contingents humorously challenging the pope to say something in their tongue.

Plus joined in good-naturedly, continuing the linguistic welcomes until he had spoken in English, Polish, Hungarian, Dutch, and Portuguese. Finally a pilgrim with a River Liffey accent standing in a group the pontiff had overlooked spoke up:

"Your Holiness, we from Ireland."

With a laugh, the pope promptly said, "Cead mille failthe," Gaelic for "A hundred thousand welcomes."

His economic views

Pius XII is frequently compared with his Predecessors, Pius XI and Leo XIII, both of Whom were known for their social consciousness. All three thought along the same eco-nomic and political lines and did not hesitate to speak with great frankness.

Leo XIII and Pius XI were noted for their

"de rerum novarum" and "quadragesimo anno" encyclicals, which spoke out against economic exploitation of the workingman and the unfair distribution of wealth. Plus XI was quite blunt on the subject, declaring:

"The discrepancy between wealth and misery cannot be tolerated by the Christian conscience."

Decrying a system that recognized the rights of property at the expense of the individual and the family, Pius XI called for a fairer distribution of income and wider participation by labor in economic life. It is the duty of the state, he said, to stimulate increased productive enterprise and a more equitable distribution of the national income.

Plus XII, his successor, expressed himself in the same or related vein, but he branched out as well on other economic problems affecting underprivileged working classes.

He is a strong advocate of a just law for healthy housing," and even favored socialized medicine, provided it didn't conflict With the moral principles of respect for man and family.

Plus XII kept up the battle against Hitlerism and fascism begun by his predecessor, Plus XI, and won the gratitude of Jewish peoples by aiding in their escape and opening the doors of the Vatican to Nazi refugees. Pius and communism

Pius XII had his first, personal brush with the Communists back in 1919 when, as Archbishop Pacelli, he was papal nuncio to Ba-varia, where the Reds had seized power in Munich and set up a Soviet republic. When Communist bullets crashed through a window of his residence, the man who was to become pope calmly faced his attackers and refused to leave, even when a loaded pistol was shoved against his chest.

"Here I am and here I will remain," de-clared the future pope. "There is no power

on earth which can move me."

Faced down by the archbishop's unflinching glare, the Red leader lowered his gun and departed.

Though he entered the priesthood relatively late in life, Pius' roots had been in the Vatican for generations. His father was a Vatican lawyer, while his grandfather, Marcantonio Pacelli, founded the Vatican newspaper, L'Osservatore Romano, about 95 years ago

His visit to the United States in 1936 as the Vatican Secretary of State will long be remembered, as will his admiration for

"I have seen the sources of America's in-exhaustible strength," he declared after his visit here. "I have seen the industrial centers and the limitless natural wealth, the development of which are eloquent of the genius of America, a country great in the high destiny God has assigned to it.

"And I pray to Almighty God that the influence of the United States may always be exerted for the promotion of peace among all peoples,

Rivers and Harbors and Flood Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, in the month of December I headed a group committee representing the National Rivers and Harbors Congress which had an audience with the Bureau of the Budget, in Washington, regarding the civil functions at the coming session of Congress. This group included representatives from the States of California, Florida, Louisiana, Maryland, Iowa, and the District of Columbia, and they undertook to state the case for flood control and rivers and harbors work to the Bureau of Budget for every section of the Nation. Following this, the National Rivers and Harbors Congress sent out to its members a newsletter, a copy of which is presented for inclusion in my remarks. I think this matter is an extremely important one and will be of interest to every Member of the Congress. The newsletter is as follows: NATIONAL RIVERS

AND HARBORS CONGRESS, Washington, D. C., December 27, 1954. To the Members of the National Rivers and Harbors Congress:

During the course of the current month, the National Rivers and Harbors Congress took strong action to help build up the budget recommendations for civil functions in the coming session of Congress. President OVERTON BROOKS led a strong committee

from the National Rivers and Harbors Congress which called up the Budget Bureau and talked to its officials for over an hour. On this committee were representatives from the States of California, Florida, Maryland, Louisiana, Idaho, and the District of Columbia; and the committee therefore spoke for the entire country.

We pointed out to the Bureau of Budget

that for the last 4 years budget recommendaations for rivers, harbors, and flood control work had been steadily falling in the face of further inflation which constantly lessened the purchasing power of the dollar. We further pointed out that the needs of the country have been steadily increasing with our growing population and that the pressure due to long delay in starting projects had been steadily increasing. We showed that this was the case although our national policy had been to pour billions of dollars into foreign aid, neglecting or postponing the development of internal improvement in our own Nation.

Your committee recommended to the Bureau of Budget three important policies, namely:

1. A larger yearly budget for civil functions until this recommended budget shall reach the figure of \$650 million per year.

2. A policy of recommending new starts in order that many projects approved for years

may be given the green light.
3. The build-up of a backlog of new projects badly needed by this country in the rapid development of our internal resources. In other words, waterway development should keep pace with road, highway, and airway development.

Officials of the Bureau of Budget to whom we talked made no comment regarding the backlog. In reference to the first suggestion, namely, an increased overall budget, these officials indicated that some relief could be expected in recommendations made year after next to the Congress. During that year, some of the very large multiple-purpose dams will be completed and funds will then be available.

Mr. Carl H. Schwartz, Chief, Resources and Civil Works Division, made the statement in reference to the second suggestion that consideration was being given to "new starts" to be recommended to Congress for approval for the coming fiscal year; and that informa-tion regarding this matter would be released to the public during the early part of 1955. While we did not get all that we wanted, I feel that our committee accomplished a very useful mission on behalf of our membership and as your president, I am passing this information on to you.

Yours for a happy and prosperous New Year,

Cordially yours.

OVERTON BROOKS, President.

New Orleans Housing Improvement and Slum Prevention Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, New Orleans is blazing a trail in housing rehabilitation.

Our program is being conducted with complete cooperation at all levels of government. It is headed by a publicspirited citizens committee. I believe that the Members will be interested in reading a summary of the program and its operation, which is included herewith:

GENERAL STATEMENT OF THE OPERATION AND HISTORY OF THE NEW ORLEANS HOUSING IM-PROVEMENT AND SLUM PREVENTION (REHA-BILITATION) PROGRAM

Here in New Orleans, where we are operating a rehabilitation program on an area basis, it became evident soon after we launched mass inspections in our designated areas that securing good contractors, and honest ones, was going to be a real problem. A cursory examination of the situation showed that there were no more than a round dozen firms contracting 90-percent, or thereabouts, of all

of the work in these areas.

The problem, therefore, was to reach contractors who might be interested, tell them our story, get them to agree to do the work we were requiring them to do, to do it satisfactorily, and at fair prices. An added problem too was that as this program is functioning under the guidance of the city of New Orleans, none of its staff personnel could be permitted to single out individual contractors in making recommendations to property owners. After a series of conferences and small meetings between staff members of the city's division of housing improvement and slum prevention, small contractors, large organizations engaged in the building trades and the rehabilitation committee of the New Orleans Chapter of the National Association of Home Builders, it was decided to call an open meeting of all interested contractors, or individual tradesmen, to discuss the situation. Approximately 200 men attended the meeting held in July 1954 to listen to speeches by members of the city housing division of the Citizens' Advisory Committee on Housing Improvement and Slum Prevention. They were submitted copies of a fair practices code and were asked to sign it, in return for the privilege of being listed as eligible for work in rehabilitation areas. The code, attached, gave the necessary license to the list, which numbered some 65 names originally. The list is used to satisfy requests of property owners for recommendation as to contractors. The owners must choose their own, and they are free to ignore the list. Within 30 days over 100 contractors had been placed on the list, and within the same period one was dismissed from the list for doing defective work. The list is being policed by the property owners and by the contractors themselves. It is helping to bring about a greater awareness of the need for good work done at a fair price. Competitive bids are, and always have been, urged for all property owners in rehabilitated areas in New Orleans.

FINANCING ORGANIZATION

It became evident early in the program also that while the city fathers and the small group of citizens who had pledged their zeal in rehabilitation were thoroughly convinced of our program's merits, someone would have to tell other important facets of community life how the program affected them. Financing, to the rehabilitation-minded workers, could be managed, for the bulk of the properties to be rehabilitated. The problem, however, was to convince sufficient lending agencies of the economic value of rehabilitation area loans. In June 1954, the citizens' committee invited every lending agency in the city to send repre sentatives to a meeting for the specific purpose of telling this story to the lending agencies. As a result, 17 New Orleans banks and savings and loan associations today are making a steady practice of catering to rehabilitation area property owners. These lending agencies have been provided with maps indicating where the rehabilitation areas are located. And, as a regular service, the agencies are kept informed of any changes or additions made to these areas in opera-

The homesteads soon thereafter appeared before the citizens' committee executive group and presented this problem:

What is to be done in the case in which a regular client goes to the homestead and expresses an interest in a piece of property but states he is not interested in buying that property if, later on, the property would become encumbered should the city's minimum housing requirement be enforced in the property's area?

After much deliberation, the executive committee decided and urged the housing improvement division to extend an inspection service to take care of such individual problems, but to waive requirements for enforcement of the minimum housing laws, until such time when the area in which the property is located comes under rehabilita-

Today, because of this service, the lending agencies naturally feel that the threat of new requirements being placed on much of the city's old property in the foreseeable future is no longer a danger to their busi-

SUBSIDIARY COMMITTEES

Established as working subsidiaries of the citizens' advisory committee are the follow-ing committees: Relocation, technical, financing, public relations and education, legal.

Individual members of the executive committee have been assigned as liaison for one the specific committees listed above, as follows: Walter M. Barnett, legal; Ivan M. Foley, financing; Edgar B. Stern, Jr., and Adm. W. F. Riggs, Jr., public relations and education; Clifford F. Favrot, technical; F. Poche Waguespack, Sr., relocation.

Relocation: The relocation committee has arranged for 100 units in public housing and works through other organizations and with owners of large quantities of rental property in providing units for temporary and permanent relocation of persons displaced as a direct or indirect result of the program's operation.

Technical: Members of the technical committee have revised the fence ordinance in cooperation with the staff personnel.

They have given advice to owners on specific structural and repair problems; advice on contracts, zoning violations, and solution through the informal hearings scheduled for homeowners.

They serve as technical counsel to the legal committee in the framing of new ordinances.

Financing: The financing committee is, of necessity, composed of a larger number of members than any of the other working committees. Its members serve regularly (dividing the workload among themselves) as advisors to the division and property owners at hearings held for property owners.

The committee has framed proposals for a "fight blight fund" method of financing hardship cases which, in time, will form the operational procedure when the need for such a fund becomes necessary.

The committee members, individually, as-sist property owners in the work of financing by advising them on procedures of financing. The interests of the property owners are represented by this committee, primarily.

The committee also serves as liaison between the program and the city's lending (At present, there are 11 memagencies. bers on this body. All are officials of lend-ing agencies or related organizations.)

Public relations and education: The public relations and education committee has accomplished the almost herculean task of selling every group of community life, important in the work of rehabilitating the city's blighted housing, on the idea that the program is necessary and vital to them.

This has been done through package programs in neighborhoods where rehabilitation about to begin. A similar procedure is scheduled for the postrehabilitation period in each area. The prerehabilitation program

works in this manner:
Approximately 2 weeks before inspections begin in an area designated by the city planning commission for rehabilitation, meetings are called for all of the property owners in the area. A package program, consisting of addresses by citizens' advisory committee and staff members, literature, and project slides, is presented. Following this is a question-and-answer period. This package is designed to inform completely the property owners who attend on everything that is to be done in their neighborhood under the program, and everything they are expected to do. Following these meetings, which are held as often as is necessary to reach all of the property owners, the same procedure is used for all of the tenants, except that a "package for tenants," which is tailored to suit the interests of tenants only, is pre-sented. In these tenants' sessions the audiences are told that in return for all of the conveniences and advantages of modern living they are to receive, they should expect to pay more. What is a fair rate? The program spokesman, in effect, states that the tenant should expect to pay 20 percent, or \$1 out of every \$5, he earns on his living quarters. If he is paying more than that rate he is living too well and should find more economical quarters. If he is paying less than 20 percent, he and his family are entitled to better quarters. The tenants are urged to follow the 20-percent rule of thumb. It is gratifying to reveal that proponents of the program have found that prevailing rents in rehabilitation areas before repairs are approximately only 5 to 10 percent of the occuants' incomes. Therefore, sizeable increases do not cause the hardship which many critics are inclined to claim. There are exceptions, of course. There always are. We would say that in 85 to 95 percent of the cases in any particular area that is what we find. instances where the rents are high before repairs, it is usually easy to convince the owner that he will find himself out of the market if he increases his rents.

Subsequent meetings are held during rehabilitation for purposes of (1) encouraging owners who are delaying repairs; (2) bring owners of adjacent property together to solve their mutual fence problems; (3) to conduct hearings in the areas for the convenience of owners who cannot appear at the downtown office during regular office hours.

Sequence of all presentations, except hear-

ings, is as follows:

A citizens' committee member gives the principal address, followed by a projected slide talk and address by staff members. slide talk is done by the assistant chief, in charge of education, who also MC's the program. A question and answer period follows all meetings.

Legal: The legal committee overseas and assists in the preparation of all laws pertaining to the proper functioning of the rehabilitation effort. It does this with the cooperation of the division staff and of the city attorney's office. In addition, this committee is responsible for much of the investigative work necessary in the interpretation of existing laws which pertain to housing, Federal financing, and so forth.

Executive: The executive committee, which meets once a week, is composed of six members, elected by and from among the members of the citizens' advisory committee. The chairman and two vice chairmen serve for both the mother group and the executive committee.

Members of the executive committee pass on all matters pertaining to the entire program. They interest themselves in matters of operation as well as of broad policy. Where investigative, or technical knowledge and work is required, this committee often delegates matters to one or more of the subsidiary committees. In general, it is the responsibility of the division staff, therefore, to concern itself principally with operational matters. The three top officials participate in all weekly executive committee meetings as well as most of the subsidiary committee meetings.

Members of the executive committee serve as principal spokesmen for the program in all matters involving other city government organizations or agencies.

OTHER ADVISORY ORGANIZATIONS

The city officials' advisory committee: Members of this group, who, like members of the citizens' advisory committee, are appointed by the mayor and approved by the city council, meet once a month with the mother organization—the citizens' advisory committee. This group functions as one composed of representatives of specific agencies which are, by nature, related to the rehabilitation program. Unlike the membership of the mother committee, which is on an individual basis, the city officials' committee members may send proxy representatives to the regular monthly meetings.

Miscellaneous: From time to time, other civic organizations of the city render certain minor services to the program. Among these groups are the Council of Social Agencies, the League of Women Voters, the Young

Men's Business Club.

Enforcement activities: A total of 55 squares are being surveyed preliminary to application through HHFA for the renewal assistance offered under the Housing Act of 1954. This will be the first concrete application of Federal assistance to the renewal area, as defined by President Eisenhower's study committee and the HHFA staff.

Prevention of new slums; coordination of other department activities: Members of staff and citizens' committee are well aware of the threat of evergrowing new slums which, in most cities, come into existence faster than existing blight can be stamped out. Many tours of suburban areas of the city where such conditions were underway 6 months ago have been made by rehabilitation program workers. It was decided by the citizens' committee that this problem could be solved through strict enforcement of existing laws. The departments of the city government charged with enforcing these laws were informed, and their officials taken on these tours.

Training new personnel: One month of training with veteran personnel serving as instructors in classroom fashion was given to 14 young general inspectors. Veteran field inspectors, who were to serve as their supervisors, acted as instructors in the fields of plumbing, electrical work, building construction, fire prevention, health and sanitation. Following this month indoors they spent the next 60 days in the field performing supervised inspection routines by the veteran. The workload for the enforcement supervisor is such that detailed analysis of inspection has been impossible.

The inspectional staff with the rental combinations by so many of the homeowners have already outstripped the capacity of the supervisory staff.

The president of the New Orleans chapter of the National Association of Cost Accountants has appointed a committee of 3, composed of 1 partner in a public accounting firm, the assistant treasurer of public utilities, and a staff member of another accounting firm, to assist the department in the development of statistical methods and reporting. It is estimated that the cost of rehabilitating the housing that is inspected in the New Orleans area will run between \$9 million and \$18 million per year, or a total for the 45,000 units of \$90 million to \$180 million. This does not take into consideration the amount of every construction work,

such as streets, drainage, sewerage, sidewalks, public building and playgrounds that will be developed as a corollary to the rehabilitation of the houses. Retall buying of home merchandise and similarly "educated" expenditures can only be guessed at, but should approximate the same levels found in many of the better areas.

HISTORY OF THE NEW ORLEANS REHABILITATION PROGRAM

The present operation of a rehabilitation program designed to eliminate through conservation and reconstruction all housing blight in New Orleans, as well as to prevent the growth and spread of future slums, was no spontaneous achievement.

Months of research and planning by a citizens' study committee on housing, a group appointed by the mayor and approved by the city council, led to the creation of the necessary legislation and the new division of city government to cope with the big problem. The chamber of commerce, in the spring of 1953, instigated the initial move by petitioning the city for action through a citizens' group. The study committee was appointed as a result.

This committee enlisted the aid of the Tulane University Urban Life Research Institute, which group made a detailed study and report on the city's housing needs. Members of the committee went on junkets to other cities, principally Charlotte, N. C., and Baltimore, Md., to study rehabilitation programs firsthand.

On the basis of all findings, the committee recommended the following to the mayor: (1) Pass the necessary laws for establishing a separate department of city government to enforce all laws pertaining to good housing and to educate the public on the need for good housing in order to obtain the greatest amount of voluntary rehabilitation possible; (2) budget for and establish the necessary departments; (3) create a permanent citizens advisory committee to replace the study committee.

All of this was done. The city employed G. Yates Cook, author of the Baltimore plan for housing rehabilitation, to help the city and the citizens' advisory committee organize the program.

A permanent staff, composed entirely of workers protected under State and city civil service laws, was recruited and trained.

Heading the citizens' advisory committee is Mr. Clifford F. Favrot, a New Orleans capitalist with a flare for directing large operations. Heading the staff is Col. Shelton P. Hubbard, a retired Army colonel whose last assignment was director of operations for the port of Pusan during the Korean conflict. Hubbard formerly had served the city as director of the department of street sanitation.

Birthday Anniversary of the Honorable Sam Rayburn

SPEECH

OF

HON, ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, from the North Star State to the Lone Star State I want to extend to the Speaker not only my own personal congratulations, and wishes for many more happy years to come, but speaking for the Minnesota delegation, we all join in sending our congratulations to that great leader from the Lone Star State.

4-H Clubs Have Origin in Newton County Corn Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, on October 30 an important milestone was reached in Georgia in the activities of 4-H Club work. A magnificent 4-H Club center was dedicated at Rock Eagle Park in Putnam County.

It was my pleasure and privilege to attend this dedication in company with Sid Truitt, of Fulton County, who has been one of the greatest friends to 4-H Club members in the State of Georgia. It was a beautiful day, and many thousands of people from Georgia, and some from other States, were present to witness and participate in the ceremony.

A splendid article concerning this 4-H Club center and concerning the origination of 4-H Club work was written by Mr. J. O. Martin, of Atlanta, and published in the Covington News on October 28, 1954. This is a very interesting article, and I include it herewith as a part of my remarks:

4-H CLUBS HAVE ORIGIN IN NEWTON COUNTY CORN CLUB—HISTORY OF CLUB RECALLED ON CENTER DEDICATION EVE

(By J. O. Martin)

On October 30, Georgia will dedicate her 4-H Club center at Rock Eagle Park in Putnam County. This project has been under construction for several months and has cost \$2½ million. It will accommodate 1,200 club members at any one time. The 4-H Clubs in the United States have a membership of approximately 3 million, the largest youth membership in the world. It succeeded the Boys Corn Club, which had its origin in the Newton County Boys Corn Club organized in 1904. The history of this club, written in 1911, although never published, is printed below.

THE ORIGINAL BOYS CORN CLUB OF THE SOUTH

Practically every county in the Southern States has had a Boys Corn Club and now have a 4-H Club, and the question is often asked, How did it all come about?

It happened in this way: In the issue of the Covington Enterprise, published December 23. 1804, there appeared the following notice, headed, "A Corn Contest." "It gives me pleasure to announce that during the coming spring there will be a contest among the school boys of Newton County as to who can make the best showing in corn culture. This will be a contest to interest the farmer boys and have them show their fathers how we can succeed on the farm, even when cotton is 7 cents per pound. Several handsome prizes will be offered." Signed: G. C. Adams, County School Commissioner, Newton County.

RULES

On February 3, 1905, there appeared in the Covington Enterprise this item, under the caption "Rules of the Corn Club."

caption "Rules of the Corn Club."

1. The contest is open to all Newton County boys between the ages of 6 and 18 who shall have been enrolled in one of the county's public schools during the present term.

2. Notice of entering the contest must be given to G. C. Adams, county school commissioner, by March 15.

3. All work of raising the corn, such as preparing the soil, fertilizing, planting, and

cultivating must be done by the contestant himself.

4. There are no limitations as to the variety of corn planted, kind of land, or extent of field. It may be grown on upland or bottom, on 1 row or 10 acres.

5. The corn must be pulled and weighed by disinterested committees, when thoroughly dry.

COMMENT BY COMMISSIONER MERRITT

When the above plans were discussed with W. B. Merritt, State school commissioner, he said: "I think it an excellent plan. I had hoped to introduce more of an agricultural feature in many of the schools in the State, and this is a good way to begin. We will see how it succeeds in Newton, and if it succeeds there it will be introduced all over the State.

INTEREST CREATED ELSEWHERE

On March 31, the Enterprise said: "No contest ever inaugurated in the county has aroused the interest and enthusiasm the corn contest has among the boys of the public schools of Newton County. There are 101 boys enrolled at the office of Commissioner Adams. Beyond the borders of Newton a live interest is being taken in the contest and every mail brings letters asking for particulars and details of the contest. These The two letters come from many States. The two great agricultural papers of the North, the Country Gentleman and the American Agriculturist, have-requested details for publication.

The Houston (Tex.) Daily Post of April 5, said: "Many good things come from Georgia and not the least meritorious is that of the corngrowing contest in Newton County, inaugurated by the county school commissioner, G. C. Adams. The plan is to give a suitable prize to the farmer boy who raises the best crop of corn. The southern farmers have devoted so much time, area, and attention to cotton that corn production has been very much neglected. Even Texas with annual production of 150 million bushels is frequently compelled to import corn from the North. A yield of 200 million bushels in Texas would not be too much. The Post would like a number of contests similar to this one in Georgia. They would tend to stimulate interest in corn production and eventually in the upbuilding of our stock industry.'

Among the State papers that commented editorially was the Atlanta Journal which said: "This is an excellent idea. As a means for stimulating the activity of the farmers As a means in raising other things besides cotton the Newton County scheme appears to be an excellent one. It should be tried in every county in the cotton States and not only corn contests should be inaugurated but several farm product contests as well." Atlanta Constitution gave a long editorial under the heading: "The Germ of a Great Idea.

PLANS FOR CONTEST OUTLINED

In September, Mr. Adams sent the following notice to the boys who were contesting: "You will please gather your 20 ears of corn in the presence of a disinterested person by October 1. It must be shucked, sacked, and nailed in a ratproof box and brought to Covington not later than October 7th. It will be weighed on very sensitive scales and the exact weight marked on each box. exhibit will be held in the county courthouse, October 16. Congressman L. F. Livingston will speak, and others.

You will please write out as much information as you can about the time of planting, kind of soil, distance, kind of corn planted, kind of fertilizers used, how cultivated, number of ears that grew to the stalk, and any other information of interest.

Thirty-two boys exhibited corn and the following were awarded prizes:

1. George Plunkett; weight of corn. 29.9. pounds; prize, Oliver Chilled plow, donated by J. R. Stephenson.

2. Tom Greer; 27.8 pounds; prize, Farmers' Encyclopedia, donor American Agriculturist.
3. Paul and Walter Cowan; 25.4 pounds;

prize, Country Life in America, donated by Prof. W. L. Weber.

4. Oscar Owens; 24 pounds: prize, Farmers'

Book, donated by American Agriculturist. 5. Phonso Rogers; 23.9 pounds; prize, sack of fertilizer, donated by Virginia-Carolina Chemical Co.

6. Marvin Payne; 23.9 pounds; prize, one sack Newton County High Grade Fertilizer,

donated by A. H. Hays.
7. Abbie Ogletree; 22.13 pounds; prize, subscription to American Agriculturist, donated by same.

2. Henry Edward; 22.13 pounds, prize, book

The judges were: Clerk of court, Maj. John B. Davis; ordinary, Capt. J. D. Heard; and Tax Collector W. S. Ramsey.

The speakers of the occasion were: Congressman F. L. Livingston, J. C. McAuliff, I. S. Payne, Prof. H. H. Stone, and P. D. Coffee.

CONTESTANTS

The following boys who are in the picture below had exhibits at the show, October 16, 1905

Tom Greer, Ethridge Hay, Carl Adams, Fay Peek, Frauk Elliott, Phonso Rogers, J. D. Boyd, Jr., Willie Savage, George Plunkett, Alva Adams, Walter Wingate, John Crew Sullivan, Laudy B. Harwell, Forest H. Treadwell, Henry Adams, Abbie Ogletree, Robert Beam, Joe Stone, Perlis Blackstock, Charles Ogletree, Wilbur L. Davidson, Oscar Owen, Joe Lasseter, T. S. Eason, Henry Edwards, Paul and Walter Cowan, Marion R. Payne, Henry Elliott, William Middlebrooks, Roy

OTHER EXHIBITS

In addition to the corn exhibits, there were

the following private exhibits:

M. R. Paine, a stalk of Brazilian silk cotton, said at that time to be worth 20 cents per pound.

T. H. Hardman, stalk of cotton with more than 300 bolls on it; also a beet, weighing 61/2 pounds.

A. M. Owen, a bushel of Long Tom and Owen's Choice Corn, grown on upland,

weighing 60 pounds.

John M. Dearing, Japanese cane.

D. T. Stone, Stone's Corn, showing from 3 to 5 ears to the stalk.

R. E. Everett, garden products, tomatoes,

peppers, etc.
Capt. J. M. Pace, stalk of celestial pepper,

2 feet high and 2 feet wide.

A. A. Crutchfield, Georgia gourd whose handle was 4 feet 9 inches long, with bowl with one-half gallon capacity.

John P. Thomson, hickory nuts, said to be largest in the country.

E. H. Plunkett, bunch yams.

REPORTS READ BY PRIZE WINNERS

George Plunkett: "I selected a piece of second-year bottom land, then took a 2-horse plow and broke it thoroughly. One month later I broke same with a 1-horse plow, then laid off rows with a 2-horse middle burster, making rows 5 feet apart. Used 1 load of barnyard manure, putting it in very thick in bottom of lay off furrow, and then took a 4-inch scooter and subsoiled the land, mixing the manure with soil. Then put in a mixture of acid phosphate and cottonseed meal at the rate of 200 pounds per acre, dropping corn 3 feet in drill, which was covered with a 2-inch scooter. I first ploughed it with a 3-inch scooter, 2 furrows to the row, using a left hand wing; I then gave it a

second ploughing, listing the middles with a turner and siding with 18-inch scrape. Did not replant or hoe the corn at all." This won first prize.

Tom Greer: "On May 29 I broke my land and harrowed it until thoroughly pulverized. On May 31, it was laid off in rows 4 feet apart, and manured with stable manure and commercial fertilizer. The corn was dropped in hills 3 feet apart in the drill and covered with a small plow. June 15 it was hoed and thinned to 1 and 2 stalks to the hill. On June 26, it was plowed again as before; the third ploughing was given on July 8, when a turn plow with scrape attached was used. The wing was turned toward the corn so that the dirt would be thrown toward the row. The variety was large, with cob and grown on bottom land." This won second

Paul and Walter Cowan: "Our corn was grown on chocolate loam soil and it was medium poor. We turned and subsoiled the land April 25, and the next day we laid off rows 5 feet apart. A liberal amount of stable manure was used with 300 pounds of com-mercial fertilizer per acre. The hills were mercial fertilizer per acre. The hills were planted 3 feet apart, and cultivation by hoeing and harrowing was done as rapidly as possible. No ploughing was done at all. quit working it June 4. Just before a rain we scattered potash and nitrate of soda on the ground at the rate of 50 pounds, to the The variety planted was Kelly's Choice. From 2 to 3 shoots grew to the stalk, but we pulled off all but one." This method won third prize.

Oscar Owen: "I broke my land close and deep and made my rows 31/2 feet wide; put 35 pounds of guano on one-fourth of an acre and planted the corn 3 feet in the drill. This was done April 18. At the first plowing I put six furrows to the row, with a small scooter plow and then hoed and re-planted the corn. When I plowed it the sec-ond time, I put 2 furrows to the row, with a sweep, and the third plowing 4 furrows to the row. It was then hoed thoroughly. There were 1 and 2 ears to the stalk." method won fourth prize.

In editorial comment, following the contest, the American Agriculturist said in part: "We take pride in sending the news abroad and the accomplishments of these schoolboys are known wherever English farm lit-erature is read." During 1906 the State During 1906 the State University of Georgia organized a Statewide club. In this connection it is a fact, worthy of note, that through the leadership of Mr. Adams two other innovations made their imprint in 1902, in the new era of education in the South—namely, the construction of the Mixon Consolidated School, the first in the South where children were transported. and the organization of the Newton County oratorical contest, the first county school meet anywhere.

Mr. Adams was 1 of 13 children whose father was a farmer and local minister. His schooling was academic and he married and became the head of a family while in his teens. However, he yearned for an education, so sent a younger brother. Homer, to Peabody College who, after graduating lived with him and taught him every lesson that he had learned. Thus Mr. Adams became known as a Peabody graduate by proxy. was then elected principal of Classical Palmer Institute at Oxford where he taught higher math and foreign languages to the children of the professors of Emory College at Oxford. From then on his record of achievement stands as follows: Superintend ent of Newton County schools; principal Fifth District Agricultural and Mechanical School, Monroe, Ga.; member Newton Board of Education; again superintendent Newton County schools; member Georgia State Left islature; and one term as commissioner agriculture.

Who Promoted Peress?-Light at Last

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under the leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Philadelphia Inquirer of January 9, 1955:

WHO PROMOTED PERESS?-LIGHT AT LAST

Who promoted Peress?

Who was responsible for advancing this fifth amendment captain to a fifth amendment major in the United States Army? Who decided to give this New York dentist an honorable discharge even after his record of Red affiliations was specifically brought to the Army's attention?

At long last, in a 10,000-word Army report, e have an answer which says something. Not everything. But something. And for the first time responsibility in the Peress case is fixed, as follows:

Responsibility for the promotion falls on Army routine, in which many of the 61

officers noted were involved.

Responsibility for giving Peress an hon-orable discharge rests on Counselor of the Army John G. Adams and Lt. Gen. Walter L. Weible.

Responsibility for the hush-hush secrecy falls upon Secretary of the Army Stevens, who says he now makes the names public because his previous action "was misinter-

preted in some places."

In evaluating this Army report on the Peress case, it may be useful to recall briefly, some of its history. Peress was commissioned as a captain on October 15, 1952. He went on active duty on January 7, 1953. Meantime, he had invoked the fitth amendment in refusing to answer loyalty questions in an Army questionnaire. This led to an Army probe which started February 5, 1953.

The following October Peress was pro-oted to major. That is now explained as moted to major. routine. Not explained is why the Army Probe of Peress did not interrupt the routine.

It was in January 1954 that Peress ap-beared before the McCarthy investigating committee and invoked the fifth amendment 33 times. He refused to say whether he had tried to recruit soldiers into the Comnunist Party, or whether Red meetings had been held at his home.

On February 1, in the light of the above, Senator McCarrhy notified the Army of the altuation and urged a court-martial. and Weible conferred, decided to give Peress

an honorable discharge anyway.

Why wasn't Peress court-martialed? Army Wyers doubted there was sufficient evidence. But there seems to have been no real effort to get any. Why wasn't Peress given a dishonorable discharge? It is argued that the procedure would have delayed his departure from the Army.

But certainly an honorable discharge from the United States Army ought to mean more than a piece of "Boxholder" mail to be handed out willy-nilly, far and wide. It is

supposed to be a badge of honor.

What happened after that was equally stupid. One effort after another was made to cover up. On February 23, 1954, Stevens anounced a new regulations which would prevent a repetition of the Peress case. But hot until October 30, 1954, did Stevens give CCARTHY a list of 30 officers involved in the case, and that was "confidential."

Now we find the list of 30 has grown to 61. Now we find the list of 50 has given official inquiry on Peress got the facts, but that no real at-

tention was paid to them.

Despite the 10,000 words, this is not the end of this case. It should be borne clearly in mind that the issue here has nothing to do with the Army-McCarthy hearings, which ignored the Peress matter. The issue here has nothing to do with the methods of the McCarry committee, his abuse of witnesses, or his condemnation by vote of the Senate.

The issue here is not only Peress but one of elementary good faith. Had the Army laid the facts on the line at the outset, had it been frank instead of evasive, all those long Senate hearings and the subsequent bitter controversy never would have occurred.

Among the several lessons of the case none is more important than its demonstration of the right of the American people to the truth about public affairs.

Unemployment in Pennsylvania Coal Fields

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following press release:

Congressman DANIEL J. FLOOD, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, expressed concern, in a statement made today in Washington, with the failure of the President's state of the Union message to deal with the chronic unemployment problem in the coal fields in Pennsylvania. Congressman FLOOD, who represents Luzerne County in the anthracite coal fields in northeastern Pennsylvania, made the following statement:

"I was terribly disappointed that the President, in his state of the Union speech, failed to mention, in any way whatsoever, the desperate economic problems which are well known by the Government to exist as a chronic unemployment condition, in the anthracite and bituminous coal fields in Pennsylvania, and in particular am I concerned with this situation in the anthracite coal fields in northeastern Pennsylvania centered

in Luzerne County.
"In his message to the joint session of the Congress, I quote, '1954 was the most prosper-ous year in our country.' Yet in the 1954 year end, total nonfarm employment is about 1 million below the level of the previous year. The average unemployment in 1954 was nearly 2 million higher than in 1953.

"In Luzerne County we have over 25,000 unemployed men between the ages of 18 and 60, who are employable and eager and anxious for jobs. Seventy-five percent of these men veterans of our Armed Forces. hoped that the administration would recommend a public-works program, on a standby basis for the Nation at large, but for immediate application to any distressed area if and when the percenteage of unemployed to the employable population reaches a danger mark to be determined by the United States Department of Labor in conjunction with all other United States Government agencies and State agencies which would be concerned also with this specific problem. It is said that the world cannot be free as long as any of its people anywhere are slaves. I say that this Nation cannot be considered as prosperous as long as the Government ignores and refuses to help the Nation's basic fuel industry and fuel potential, which is coal; and at the same time being indisputably aware of all the facts, fails at this time to propose and use all its influence, the great prestige of the President himself, to pass legislation in the form of a public-works program to give immediate employment to all who seek employment in these distressed areas.

Without going into detail, I would like to make it clear that by public-works program I mean an intelligent, constructive and desirable plan of necessary and essential and worthwhile projects which will contribute to the permanent general welfare such as schools, hospitals, sanitariums, and so forth.

'I have given much thought to this matter and I am preparing now the necessary legislation which I will introduce in the House within the next 30 days."

Coexistence Calls for Strength

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, last week the committee investigating Communist aggression filed its final report. If every Member of Congress would read the findings of the great work done by this special committee and if its recommendations are followed, Communist aggression would be greatly curtailed and the people behind the Iron Curtain would be given much-needed encouragement in their fight against Soviet slavery.

The following editorial by Mr. H. B. Snyder, of the Gary Post-Tribune adds some more helpful suggestions to this

problem:

COEXISTENCE CALLS FOR STRENGTH

There has been a lessening of Russian talk about peaceful coexistence. As has been the Reds' habit, when one propaganda campaign falls to score, they turn to another one.

The coexistence story had some takers for a while. But recently it has been losing them, and the West has put coexistence on a basis the Russ don't like so well. For the western nations are recognizing that there can be peaceful living alongside Russia only so long as the West is sufficiently strong to defend itself and its friends.

This week brought two interesting comments on the coexistence talk, from far different sources.

In a delayed Christmas address, Pope Pius XII in Rome warned that it can become real peace only when the West stands up for its beliefs and the East allows truth to cross inside the Iron Curtain.

In Washington a special House committee, which Gary's Representative RAY MADDEN has served, cautioned that accepting the Soviets' offer of peaceful coexistence will only give them time to destroy the world. And the committee urged increased funds to take the message of the free world to the peoples of Red-dominated lands.

Russia's aim, the committee said, was to gain time, delude the free world as to its real intentions and destroy the alliance of non-Communist nations. Red actions since rati-fication of the Paris agreements became probable have confirmed the committee's view.

Of course there can be coexistence, but it can be a safe coexistence for the West only when we maintain both the military and economic strength to hold back the Reds in both fields of action. If we weaken in either area, we give them the opportunity to move in. They have demonstrated they will seize either opportunity whenever it is presented, and in this hemisphere as well as the other.

As for the captive peoples, we owe them a sincere effort to tell them the facts about what the free world is accomplishing, to keep up their hopes and keep alive the spirit of resistance to tyranny. Our concern is not that of trouble making for the Russians, but of keeping faith with peoples who lost first in a fight for freedom against the Nazls and now have fallen victim to another totalitarian regime. If the unrest in the satellite lands is a worry to Moscow, the worry is of the Kremlin's own making.

We can give no hope to the satellite peoples and can gain no security for ourselves, how-ever, in any coexistence that is not based on the free world's ability to stand strong and

Is UNESCO Subversive?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert an article by the distinguished writer, Mr. Roscoe Drummond, entitled "Is UNESCO Subversive?" Mr. Drummond's article follows:

WASHINGTON

(By Roscoe Drummond) IS UNESCO SUBVERSIVE?

Isolationist groups in the United States are continuing to try to whip up hostility to the United Nations. One of their principal targets is UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organiza-tion), and in their book it ought to be put on the Attorney General's list as subversive.

Is UNESCO subversive? Is it really engaged in some conspiracy to poison the minds of free peoples or undermine the govern-ments of the free nations? Is it wittingly or unwittingly a tool of the Iron Curtain countries?

For the answer to these questions it seems to me useful to turn to some one whom we should have reason to trust and who is close to its operations. Such a person is 1 of the 2 United States congressional advisers to the 8th Conference of UNESCO which has just concluded its meetings at Montevideo. Uruguay. He is Representative Hugh Scorr, Republican, of Pennsylvania, himself a former chairman of the Republican National Committee.

Mr. Scorr has just been spending a month at the UNESCO sessions, familiarizing him-self with its work and becoming well acquainted with its personnel. I have received extensive correspondence from Mr. Scorr while he was on the spot in Montevideo, and his answer to these questions is a considered and unequivocal no.

No: UNESCO is not subversive in any way; quite the opposite. It is engaged primarily in countries where education and science are relatively undeveloped, and where the experience and skills of other nations can be helpful. It has neither the wish nor the power to impose its activities upon any country, and is not presently carrying out any program at all in the United States.

UNESCO is an organization of 72 independent, sovereign states-except so far as the Soviet satellites are neither independent nor sovereign-connected with the U. N. as one of its specialized agencies. It sends technical advisers to member countries on request, but it does not give material aid except in small amounts for demonstration purposes.

Representative Scorr reports the following as among its most valuable activities:

UNESCO has helped 40 countries increase their educational opportunities for children and adults, train teachers and improve their educational system. It has been especially active in the education of adult illiterates so that, as he says, "They can take a more responsible part in community development."

It has given some financial aid and con-ducted fund-raising campaigns to help rebuild schools, colleges, and libraries in war-

ravaged lands.

UNESCO has helped train scientists in less developed countries, aided scientific research for improvement of economic conditions, and set up international research centers,

UNESCO assists in the exchange of knowledge in such fields as history, philosophy, and languages, and stimulates development of li-braries and museums. It has arranged exhibitions of famous paintings, and aided in the translation of great works of literature. More than 300 artists and writers took part in a UNESCO meeting in 1952 in the interest of the "freedom of artists."

UNESCO awards fellowships and study grants to educators, scholars, writers, youth leaders, trade unionists and other specialists. These fellowships are used particularly to help specialists in less-developed countries prepare themselves better to take the lead in programs of educational and scientific development.

Not very subversive.

Representative Scorr reports that at the Montevideo conference, the Soviet Union led its usual drive to force the admission of Red China, and that the UNESCO nations defeated the move by 41 to 6.

Not very subversive. Representative Scorr reports that at Montevideo, the UNESCO countries amended by a vote of 49 to 9 the UNESCO constitution to make sure that its executive board can take no initiative to go beyond the policy directives passed by the general conference.

Representative Scorr emphasizes that UNESCO not only has no intention but has no authority to impose its will on member states, that member states "are free to carry out its suggestions and programs as they see fit."

Sorry, but UNESCO just doesn't seem to be subversive.

Don't Bankrupt the American Crabbing Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RUSSELL V. MACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, Japan, last year, supplied about 60 percent of all the canned crab that was sold in the United States. American producers supplied only about 40 percent.

Despite the fact that there is, under existing law, a 221/2 percent ad valorem-on value-tariff on imported canned crab and a 15 percent ad valorem duty on fresh and frozen crab, Japan dominates the American crab market. Japan is able to do this because wages in canned food industries are 8

cents an hour for women and not more than 191/2 cents for men. American wages in the crabbing industry are many times those paid workers in Japan. In fact, most workers in the American crabbing industry are paid more for an hour's labor than the corresponding Japanese worker is paid for an entire day's work.

Despite the fact that Japan already sells 60 percent of all the canned crab marketed in the United States, the Committee on Reciprocity Information has announced that it will consider at an international conference at Geneva in February granting reductions in the existing 221/2 percent tariff on canned crab and 15 percent on fresh and frozen crab. If these crab tariffs are reduced, I am convinced American crab producers will lose most of the 40 percent of the domestic sales they still enjoy. If this happens the American crabbing industry will face ruination and bankruptey.

American canners have invested millions of dollars in building fine, modern, and sanitary canneries that are a model of cleanliness for the packing of crab. Fishermen have invested other millions in fishing boats and gear. A lowering at Geneva of the existing tariffs on crab will wipe out most of these investments. The fishermen and the cannery workers are not the only ones, however, who will suffer if the American crabbing industry is wrecked, as it surely will be, if existing crab tariffs are lowered.

Boatbuilders, the manufacturers of crabbing gear and those who supply goods and services to fishermen and cannery workers also will suffer.

Even under existing tariffs, Japanese producers are giving the American crabbing industry a tough time. In 1950, crab imports from Japan were 1,761,000 pounds and by 1953 had increased to 3,860,880 pounds. Crab imports from Japan more than doubled in those 3 years

During the same years, the American canned crab pack declined from 137,490 cases to 114,886 cases, a decrease of more than 20 percent.

In short, during the years 1950 to 1953, the latest years for which complete statistics are available, Japan increased her shipments of crab into the United States by more than 100 percent and our domestic American pack of crabmeat declined 20 percent.

There is a strong feeling among most Americans that our country should do nothing that in any way will aid or strengthen Russia whose leaders, nowadays, are doing everything they can to embarass and harass the United States. If we, at Geneva, lower tariffs in an effort to aid Japan, we are apt also to be helping Russia.

If additional markets for Japanese crab are opened in the United States by lower tariffs on crab imports, Japan, then naturally, will seek to expand her crab take and crab production. Under the Yalta Treaty the Allies gave to Russia great areas of the crabbing waters which Japan, previously, had owned, controlled, and fished.

Japan to fill orders for the expanded American market, which will be created

for Japanese crab if tariffs on crabmeat are lowered, undoubtedly, will buy crab from the Russians and pack it under a canned-in-Japan label and then ship this Russian crab into the United States. Or, if not that, Japan could obtain from Russia at a price fishing rights for Japanese fishermen to fish the waters that once belonged to Japan but which we, at Yalta, gave to Russia. Thus, opening our American market to increased imports of crab by lowering existing tariffs could prove to be of great financial benefit to the Russians.

The American crabbing industry is not the only American industry which will suffer from the increased influx of foreign crab meat which the lowering of crab tariffs will encourage. All American shell fish industries-oyster, lobster, and shrimp industries-also will be hurt.

If Japanese shipments of crab into the United States increase due to lowered tariffs-and these shipments will increase if tariffs are lowered-the imported crab produced by low-wage, lowliving standard Japanese labor, will be sold at prices below that of shrimp, oysters, lobsters, and other shellfish. As a result of low priced Japanese crab flooding our market, the price on crab cocktails will drop below those made of other shellfish. Oysters, shrimp, and lobster will have to meet these lower Japanese crab meat prices which American oyster, lobster, and shrimp producers cannot do because they, like those in the American crabbing industry, cannot compete with Japanese cannery labor which is paid as little as 8 cents an hour.

We also have a great and growing oyster industry on the Pacific coast which if the import duty on oysters is lowered at Geneva will suffer in the same ways the American crabbing industry will suffer.

In one community on Willapa Harbor. named Nahcotta, there are 5 oyster canneries, each of which employs 50 to 70 people. Other canneries operate on Willapa Harbor. This oyster industry is rated as a \$10 million one. It can be greatly weakened, even wiped out, by further growth in the oyster imports from Japan.

Most of those who are engaged in the oyster and crabbing industries of the Pacific coast have their life savings invested in canneries, boats, and gear. Their continued activity is of utmost importance to all the people in the fishing communities where these businesses operate. Lowering of tariffs on Japanese crab and oysters very well might make ghost towns out of these fishing communities.

Rules of Procedure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, when the rules of the 84th Congress were before

the House for adoption I proposed an amendment in the form of House Resolution 61, a resolution which was approved by the Subcommittee on Legislative Procedure of the Committee on Rules of the 83d Congress. This sub-committee was composed of the gentleman from Colorado [Mr. CHENOWETH], the gentleman from Virginia [Mr. SMITH], and myself as chairman.

Since this amendment was not adopted at the beginning of the session I plan to request the Committee on Rules to hold a hearing on this proposal.

House Resolution 61 provides as fol-

House Resolution 61

Resolved, That paragraph 25 (a) of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives is amended by striking out "standing" and by adding at the end thereof the fol-lowing: "The rules of committees are hereby made the rules of subcommittees so far as applicable. Committees and subcommittees may adopt additional rules not inconsistent with the Rules of the House."

SEC. 2. Paragraph 25 (e) of such rule is amended by inserting ", finding," after "measure."

SEC. 3. Paragraph 25 (g) of such rule is amended by striking out "standing committees or their subcommittees" and inserting in lieu thereof "committees."

SEC. 4. Paragraph 25 of such rule is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new subsection:

"(h) Unless otherwise provided, committee action shall be by vote of a majority of a quorum.

SEC. 5. (a) Paragraph 26 of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives is amended by inserting "(a)" after "26." and by adding at the end thereof the following new subsections:

"(b) No person shall be employed for or assigned to investigative activities until approved by the committee.

"(c) Unless otherwise provided, subpenas to require the attendance of witnesses, the giving of testimony, and the production of books, papers, or other evidence shall be issued only by authority of the committee, shall be signed by the chairman or any member designated by the chairman, and may be served by any person designated by the committee, the chairman, or the signing member.

(d) No witness shall be compelled to give oral testimony for broadcast, or for direct reproduction by motion picture photography, recording, or otherwise in news and entertainment media if he objects.

"(e) Oaths may be administered and hear-Ings may be conducted and presided over by the chairman or any member designated by the chairman. Unless the committee otherwise provides, one member shall constitute a quorum for the receipt of evidence and the taking of testimony; but no witness shall be compelled to give oral testimony before less than two members if, prior to testifying,

"(f) Witnesses shall be permitted to be advised by counsel of their legal rights while giving testimony, and unless the presiding member otherwise directs, to be accompanied by counsel at the stand.

"(g) Witnesses, counsel, and other persons present at committee hearings shall maintain proper order and decorum; counsel shall observe the standards of ethics and deportment generally required of attorneys at law. The chairman may punish breaches of this provision by censure or by exclusion from the committee's hearings, and the committee may punish by citation to the House as for contempt.

"(h) Whenever the committee determines that evidence relating to a question under inquiry may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate persons called as witnesses therein, the committee shall observe the following additional procedures, so far as may be practicable and necessary for the protection of such persons:

"(1) The subject of each hearing shall be clearly stated at the outset thereof, and evidence sought to be elicited shall be perti-

nent to the subject as so stated.

"(2) Preliminary ctaff inquiries may be directed by the chairman, but no major phase of the investigation shall be developed by calling witnesses until approved by the committee.

"(3) All testimony, whether compelled or volunteered, shall be given under oath.

"(4) Counsel for witnesses may be mitted, in the discretion of the presiding member and as justice may require, to be heard briefly on points of right and procedure, to examine their clients briefly for purposes of amplification and clarification, and to address pertinent questions by written interrogatory to other witnesses whose testimony pertains to their clients.

"(5) Testimony shall be heard in executive

session, the witness willing, when necessary to shield the witness or other persons about

whom he may testify.

"(6) The secrecy of executive sessions and of all matters and material not expressly released by the committee shall be rigorously

"(7) Witnesses shall be permitted brief explanations of affirmative or negative responses, and may submit concise, pertinent statements, orally or in writing, for inclusion in the record at the opening or close of their testimony.

"(8) An accurate verbatim transcript shall be made of all testimony, and no alterations of meaning shall be permitted therein.

"(9) Each witness may obtain transcript copies of his testimony given publicly by paying the cost thereof; copies of his testimony given in executive session shall be furnished the witness at cost if the testimony has been released or publicly disclosed, or if the chairman so orders.

"(10) No testimony given in executive session shall be publicly disclosed in part only.

"(i) Whenever the committee determines that any testimony, statement, release, or other evidence or utterance relating to a question under inquiry may tend to defame, degrade, or incriminate persons who are not witnesses, the committee shall observe the following additional procedures, so far as may be practicable and necessary for the protection of such persons:

'(1) Persons so affected shall be afforded an opportunity to appear as witnesses, promptly and at the same place, if possible, and under subpena if they so elect. Testi-mony relating to the adverse evidence or utterance shall be subject to applicable pro-

visions of part (h) of this rule.

"(2) Each such person may, in lieu of appearing as a witness, submit a concise, pertinent, sworn statement which shall be incorporated in the record of the hearing to which the adverse evidence or utterance

"(j) The chairman or a member shall when practicable consult with appropriate Federal law-enforcement agencies with respect to any phase of an investigation which may result in evidence exposing the commission of Federal crimes, and the results of such consultation shall be reported to the committee before witnesses are called to testify therein.

"(1) Requests to subpena additional witnesses shall be received and considered by the chairman in any investigation in which witnesses have been subpensed. Any such request received from a witness or other person entitled to the protections afforded by part (h) or (i) of this rule shall be considered and disposed of by the committee.

"(m) Each committee conducting investigations shall make available to interested persons copies of the rules applicable there-

SEC. 6. Rule XXII of the Rules of the House of Representatives is amended by adding at the end thereof the following new paragraph:

7. All bills and resolutions to authorize the investigation of particular subject matter shall define such subject matter clearly, and shall state the need for such investigation and the general objects thereof."

Mr. Speaker, I have also included copies of various reports of our Subcommittee on Legislative Procedure containing these and other recommendations which will be found elsewhere in this issue of the Congressional Record.

Rules of Procedure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted I would like to have the following report of the Subcommittee on Legislative Procedure of the Committee on Rules of the 83d Congress inserted in the Concressional Record.

House Resolution 571 has been reintroduced as House Resolution 61 of the

84th Congress.

SUBCOMMITTEE ON LEGISLATIVE PROCEDURE (Statement by Mr. Scorr to the Committee on Rules, May 1954)

Your subcommittee was appointed June 10, 1953, to make a study of legislative procedure with particular reference to procedure governing the conduct of investigations by congressional committees. This summary of findings and recommendations which I am submitting today is in the nature of an interim report. In the past 11 months we have held extensive hearings, have studied various pending proposals and suggestions made to us, and have developed a proposed set of rules which is submitted, in its latest version, herewith.

A formal analysis and report, intended to accompany the proposed rules, is in preparation. This latest revised draft is submitted meanwhile, for consideration by the full committee, in order to expedite its being re ported out in final form at an early date. copy of House Resolution 571 is attached.

I am deeply appreciative of the contributions of both my colleagues, Mr. SMITH and Mr. CHENOWETH, have made throughout this undertaking. We have differed among our-selves from time to time, so our conclusions in which we all now concur-have resulted from deliberation, discussion, and a good measure of amiable give-and-take. The end product of our efforts is doubtless much improved on this account.

THE NEED FOR RULES OF PROCEDURE

Public interest in problems relating to congressional investigations has been growing steadily. In recent years, the entire Nation has been made conscious of the sweeping powers vested in Congress for the purpose of conducting factfinding inquiries. It is unfortunate that the public knows so little of the scores and hundreds of routine investigations which are quietly and efficiently conducted each year by committees of Congress, and that only the most sen-sationaly and controversial fall under the spotlight.

But because of this distorted observation, and because a few regrettable episodes have been so widely publicized, a large segment of the public has come to believe that congressional investigations are not infrequently unfair, or even outright abusive of the rights of persons affected.

At the same time, and this impressed your subcommittee very much, both Members of Congress and responsible members of the public at large seem urgently aware that the coin has another side, that persons called as witnesses before these congressional bodies have sometimes contrived, in their turn, to affront the investigators, to defy their powers, and generally to frustrate the investi-gative purpose without being in any way

penalized or punished therefor.

So the apparent need for rules of pro-cedure is twofold, to satisfy everyone concerned that proceedings before investigating committees will be held to reasonable stand ards of fair play, on the one hand, and to assure potentially defiant witnesses that congressional committees have adequate powers to get tough if they need to, on the other. As will be emphasized hereafter, the danger of weakening the necessary powers of committees has been kept in view throughout this work; your subcommittee adopted as a starting premise the proposition that no rules of procedure would be proposed which could operate in any way to impair the legitimate investigative activities of congressional committees.

Thus while a need for rules of procedure exists, and while the promulgation of such rules is strongly recommended, yet we note that even the word rules is almost too restrictive in its connotations. What is called for seems more accurately describable as principles, i. e., precepts of fair play, set forth for the guidance of committees and

the reassurance of witnesses.

Your subcommittee heard more than a score of witnesses, including 10 Members of Congress and representatives of bar associations, labor groups, church groups and vet-erans' organizations. The testimons organizations. The testimony was overwhelmingly in favor of an exercise of Congress' rule-making powers in this field, though we were repeatedly warned of the danger already noted, i. e., the danger of unduly restricting Congress in the process.

One witness, the Honorable George Meader, urged upon us the proposition that under the doctrine of Christoffel v. U. S. (338 U. S. 84 (1949)), any rules whatsoever, promulgated to govern the conduct of investigations by congressional committees, would subject committee action pro tanto to review by the courts. Representative MEADER therefore opposed all rule-making efforts. We have given this point careful study, and have concluded that the doctrine of the Christoffel case (wherein the Supreme Court relied upon a rule of the Senate for guidance in interpreting and applying a Federal per-jury statute) would be inapplicable to rules of the type it is recommending.

In sum, it is concluded that rules of procedure for committee investigations are both necessary and proper-with the reservation that such rules should be conservatively cast to serve as standards of guidance without imposing burdensome procedural restric-tions. Committees are not courts, It is mistake to equate committee hearings with the highly technical and formalized procedures that have been developed in the judicial domain. Your subcommittee has carefully rejected proposals and suggestions which appeared to be cast in the rigid form of judicial rules.

Furthermore, we have taken a relatively conservative position in other respects as The original version of House Resolution 447, prepared to consolidate all the seemingly meritorious ideas and suggestions which had been submitted in the hearings and in earlier bills and resolutions, contained

a number of features which have subsequently been deleted. The version submitted herewith by your subcommittee is the product of repeated revisions, so that it represents a fair minimum, and in no sense a radical maximum.

At the end of this presentation we shall summarize briefly, for your information, the more important additional suggestions which have been considered and rejected in our deliberations.

Finally, in concluding this presentation, we shall note briefly three pending bills which would strengthen the hands of investigating committees, and which are deemed appropriate for consideration and endorsement by your subcommittee since they also concern procedures, and tend to complement the rules proposed herein.

EXISTING RULES

The power of each House of Congress to determine its own rules of procedure is directly conferred by the Constitution (art. I, sec. 5, cl. 2). It seems clear that this is the appropriate power to be called into play for the instant purpose. Determining procedures to be followed by its committees is within the province of each House of Congress, and should not be attempted by joint action of the two Houses; for even if formity between the two were insisted upon and achieved at the outset, each would re-main free to depart from the uniform pattern at any time. Rules currently in force in the Senate differ materially from those now observed by the House of Representatives.

Indeed, it is precisely this absolute, unqualified, and continuous control by each House over its own rules that provides ultimate assurance against the dangers of unduly hampering House proceedings, if the new provisions are adopted as House rules. No rule thus adopted will be enforcible, as a practical matter, if the House does not wish to enforce it; and no rule will remain binding, as a precedent or otherwise, if the House wishes to drop it. This is the status of existing rules. It is the status properly to be accorded the new provisions recommended by your subcommittee. Even the rights directly conferred on witnesses (and there are only three—see paragraph 26 (d), (e), and (f) of the draft) would merely operate to excuse witnesses who relied on them from compulsion, i. e., from punishment for con-tempt. They do not create any basis for outside intervention.

The present rules of the House of Representatives number 42; of these, only 3 relate to committees. Rule X governs the creation and composition of the House's 19 standing committees; rule XI determines the powers and duties of committees; and rule XIII concerns procedures for the calendaring and consideration of the reports of standing committees.

Matter pertaining to the investigative function thus logically belongs in rule XI.
This rule contains in turn 29 numbered paragraphs, of which only 2. paragraphs 25 and 26, presently relate to the general factfinding powers and functions of committees.

The amendments which your subcommittee proposes are therefore designed to be incorporated within paragraphs 25 and 26 of rule XI. The existing text of these two paragraphs is unaffected, except for slight editorial changes. Thus the structure of the rules is undisturbed and the entire proposal (except the slight addition to rule XXII, on the subject of resolutions) consists only of enlarging 2 subdivisions of 1 rule.

ANALYSIS OF PROPOSED RULE

The changes proposed to be made in the present text of paragraph 25 (i. e., by the draft attached), are indicated in the following full reproduction thereof; their purpose needs no elaborate explanation. They merely broaden the paragraph so as to make it applicable to special and select committees and to all subcommittees, as well as to standing committees:

"25. (a) The rules of the House are hereby made the rules of its committees so far as applicable, except that a motion to recess from day to day is hereby made a motion of high privilege in said committees. The rules of committees are hereby made the rules of subcommittees so far as applicable. Committees and subcommittees may adopt additional rules not inconsistent with the rules of the House.

"(b) Each committee shall keep a complete record of all committee action. Such records shall include a record of the votes on any question on which a record vote is demanded.

"(c) All committee hearings, records, data, charts, and files shall be kept separate and distinct from the congressional office records of the Member serving as chairman of the committee; and such records shall be the property of the House and all Members of the House shall have access to such records. Each committee is authorized to have printed and bound testimony and other data presented at hearings held by the committee.

"(d) It shall be the duty of the chairman of each committee to report or cause to be reported promptly to the House any measure approved by this committee and to take or cause to be taken necessary steps to bring the matter to a vote.

"(e) No measure, finding or recommendation shall be reported to the House from any committee unless a majority of the committee were actually present.

"(f) Each committee shall, so far as practicable, require all witnesses appearing before it to file in advance written statements of their proposed testimony, and to limit their oral presentation to brief summaries of their argument. The staff of each committee shall prepare digests of such statements for the use of committee members.

"(g) All hearings conducted by committees shall be open to the public, except executive sessions for marking up bills or for voting or where the committee orders an executive session."

The new subsection (h), added at the end of paragraph 25 (by sec. 4 of the draft) establishes the general principle, "unless otherwise provided," that all committee actions shall be taken by vote of a majority of a quorum of the committee. This is a very generalized provision intended to suggest that committee authority must not be usurped by the chairman or by any individual member, unless the same has been specifically delegated.

The present language of paragraph 26 of rule XI, incorporated into the rules from the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, is unchanged by the draft, and reads in its entirety as follows:

"26. To assist the House in appraising the administration of the laws and in developing such amendments or related legislation as it may deem necessary, each standing committee of the House shall exercise continuous watchfulness of the execution by the administrative agencies concerned of any laws, the subject matter of which is within the jurisdiction of such committee; and, for that purpose, shall study all pertinent reports and data submitted to the House by the agencies in the executive branch of the Government."

The meat of the proposals contained in the draft are incorporated in the new subsections to be inserted immediately after the present text of paragraph 26. These begin at page 2, line 9 of the draft, and will be briefly explained in the order in which they appear.

26 (b). This recognizes a new problem which has proved acute in some instances, namely, the authority of any single member to select people to go forth as investigators and to deal with the public in the name of

the committee. It is believed that the committee itself should have the final say in this matter, at least in the rare instances when controls become important. Note that regular professional staff members hired by standing committees are already subject to a similar requirement (rule XI-27 (a)).

26 (c). This subsection on the issuance and service of subpens is paraphrased from the special provisions in rule XI which control the subpena powers conferred specially on three standing committees (rule XI-2 (b), 8 (d), and 17 (b). Such subpens are to be issued "only by authority of the committee" unless the committee makes other provisions and, in effect, delegates its authority to the chairman or a single member. The terms as to signature and service are intended to be as broad as possible to defeat any purely technical attack on the validity of a committee subpens.

26 (d). This is the first of the three absolute rights conferred personally upon witnesses appearing before committees. It is the right to be spared compulsory appearances in news and entertainment broadcasts via television or radio, if the witness interposes an objection. It is noteworthy that some of the views expressed to the subcommittee on this point supported a far stronger rule, namely, an unqualified prohibition against such coverage of committee hearings. Your subcommittee believes that the instant middle-of-the-road provision affords adequate protection.

26 (e). The first sentence of this subsection affirms the statutory power of any member to administer oaths, and resolves all questions as to who may preside over committee hearings. The second sentence deals with the thorny problem of whether one member may sit alone to hear witnesses and receive evidence. It is very desirable to establish the validity and regularity of the one-man quorum in ordinary circumstances, because of the holding in the Christoffel case alluded to above. But at the same time socalled one man subcommittees have been severely criticized from time to time. The proposal therefore contains two safeguards: It is specified that the committee may "otherwise provide," i. e., may pass a rule of its own imposing a more rigid quorum requirement; and—the second absolute right conferred on witnesses-no one may be compelled to testify before a single member if he makes timely objection. In the latter event, at least two members must be present to hear the testimony. Consideration was given to requiring the presence of more than two members and/or members representing more than one political party, but it was concluded that two would suffice to prevent the abuses sometimes charged to one alone, while the requirement as to partisan repre-sentation might make it possible for a minority to block a committee's work entirely by merely absenting itself.

26 (f). This is the third absolute right of witnesses, to be "advised by counsel of their legal rights." Counsel may also accompany the witness at the stand "unless the presiding member otherwise directs." The last-noted limitation is to make it perfectly clear that counsel may be ordered to stand aside if he indulges in the commonplace practice of coaching the witness so that the latter is in effect merely parroting the testimony of his adviser.

26 (g). This subsection merely prescribes general standards of behavior for counsel and other persons attending the hearings. The chairman's right to punish by censure or exclusion and the committee's right to cite offenders to the House are specifically noted.

26 (h). Into this subsection have been gathered all the seemingly meritorious protections which have been urged from time to time for the special benefit of witnesses involved in investigations aimed at their own

reputations or possible guilt. Emphasis on the fact that the rules are really mere precepts and principles of fair play are obviously most apposite here.

It will be noted that the introductory language of subsection (h) leaves complete and absolute discretion in the committee as to the application of all which follows. The entire subsection applies only "whenever the committee determines" that some particular evidence to be adduced may tend to injure some particular person or persons to be called as witnesses—and even after such a finding the committee is bound only to follow the specified procedures "so far as may be practicable and necessary for the protection of such persons." Thus, it will be seen that the sudivisions of subsection (h), numbered (1) through (10), truly have the force of suggestions of fair play, and nothing more.

gestions of fair play, and nothing more.
Subdivisions (1) through (3) of 26 (h) are
self-explanatory. Subdivision (4) pertains
to the rights of counsel (i. e., under these
circumstances, where the witness is somewhat in the position of a defendant), and
it will be noted that here, out of an excess
of caution, still further qualifications have
been added: "in the discretion of the presiding member" and "as justice may require."
The rights, so diluted and qualified, are: to
be heard briefly by the committee in argument, to examine their own clients briefly
for clarification, and to question other witnesses by means of written interrogatories
submitted through the committee.

Subsection 5 provides that to the extent necessary to shield the witness and other persons about whom he may testify, testimony should be taken in an executive session, if the witness is willing. The last clause is in recognition of an opposite consideration, namely, the possibility of affording protection to witnesses against potential abuses of the secret session, which your subcommittee considered and abandoned. Subdivisions (6) through (10) appear to be self-

explanatory.
26 (i). This subsection is designed to protect persons who, while not called as witnesses, may nevertheless be injured by evidence adduced before a committee. Note that the same elaborate modifications, reducing the entire subsection to a mere affirmation of principle, are incorporated in the introductory language. The two sub-divisions that follow merely give persons so affected a double option: to appear as witnesses in their own behalf (and to enjoy the benefits and protections conferred by 26 (h) if they do so), or to submit a sworn statement in lieu of such appearance. words "under subpena" have been added merely to assure payment of mileage fees, etc., which are available only to witnesses appearing under compulsion, in case extensive travel is necessary to enjoy the benefits of the provision.

26 (j). This is another provision which is rendered advisory only by insertion of the words "when practicable," and which is narrow in its application but potentially important when it does come into play. Whenever investigating committees approach fields where Federal law-enforcement agencles are active, there is danger that the former may defeat efforts of the latter. An unimportant Communist hanger-on, example, called as a witness by an investigating committee, might easily defeat longlaid plans to apprehend and prosecute his important bosses; and the same is true of other Federal law enforcement, including the enforcement of regulatory statutes and the punishment of tax evasion. This subsection therefore suggests that a representative of the committee should confer with Pederal law-enforcenment agencies involved, and should report the results of such conference back to his colleagues before the committee plunges into the field.

26 (k). This provision concerns a problem which occasionally presents itself where a witness, or a nonwitness involved in a particular hearing, believes he has a meritorious case for demanding that the committee should call additional witnesses on his behalf. It is simply specified that such requests shall be considered by the committee itself if they emanate from a person who has been found to be threatened with injury under subsections (h) or (i).

26 (1). This requirement is self-explanatory. It is contemplated that if rules such as those proposed here are adopted, a single standard print could be made available for use and distribution by all committees having need of them.

Finally, the new paragraph proposed to be added at the end of rule XXII—which pertains not to procedure but to the form and content of petitions, memorials, bills, and resolutions submitted to the House—is offered as a suggested improvement in the investigative process at another point, namely, in relation to the subjects upon which investigations are authorized in the first place. Resolutions calling for special investigations are presently sometimes worded so generally that it is not clear what is sought to be studied, and the suggested language would enjoin the sponsors of such measures to take pains to reveal and justify the objects which they are pursuing.

ADDITIONAL PROPOSALS REJECTED

As has been emphasized already, the draft resolution analyzed in the foregoing discussion is conservative in scope and operation. Several of the proposals now pending in the House go further. Your subcommittee studied all of these with care, and considered, besides, numerous suggestions offered in the course of the testimony it heard.

The features which are noted hereafter were rejected during the deliberations of your subcommittee, and are not contained in the final version of our draft resolution. Nonetheless, several of the most interesting are discussed briefly, since it is believed they will likely be the subjects of further discussion when the final version of the draft is reported.

Generalizing the investigative power: Under present rules of the House of Representatives, as established by the Legislative Reorganization Act of 1946, only three standing committees enjoy subpena powers-Appropriations, Government Operations, and Un-American Activities. Other standing or select committees desiring to send for persons or papers must seek and obtain special authorization from the House for this purpose. It is noted that such powers are vested in all committees of the Senate by a single blanket provision. While a similar provision would make for greater uniformity of authority and practice among House committees, it would, at the same time, remove a potentially important check, i. e., the necessity of affirmative action by the House before any but the three named committees is entitled to make use of these investigative prerogatives.

The witness' absolute right to be heard in public: There is some basis for urging that witnesses should be entitled. If they insist, to be interrogated in public rather than before a secret session. It was suggested to your subcommittee that secret hearings could be used as star chamber proceedings to place the witness at a very unfair disadvantage. Nevertheless, the opposite consideration seemed more weighty: Certain witnesses, especially uncooperative individuals summoned from the executive branch, could seriously embarrass certain inquiries by demanding publicity. The executive session is more frequently a device for protecting witnesses than a threat, and it is to be hoped that other safeguards, such as the requirement of an accurate transcript in the case of witnesses whose reputations are in jeopardy, etc., will prove adequate. Note that the phrase "the

witness willing" has been retained in subsection (h) (5) (draft, p. 4, line 13), as a suggestion that the witness' desire to be heard publicly ought always to be taken into account.

Appeal, review, or enforcement machinery: It has been suggested that reference should be made to the manner in which rules governing the conduct of investigations might be enforced. Proposals embracing elaborate enforcement provisions were considered. It is recognized that enforcement problems in connection with rules of procedure differ slightly from problems relating to general rules of the House in that personal, adversary interests of outsiders are not at stake in usual applications of the latter.

Nevertheless, we believe elaborate machinery and detailed procedures should not under any circumstances be considered for this purpose, for essential flexibility would be sacrificed thereby. At most, an informal submission of problems arising under such rules might be made at the outset to some body less than the full House, e. g., to the Rules Committee or a similar House group. This matter seems best left open for further consideration after experience has been accumulated with actual problems of enforcement, etc.

The right of cross-examination: Opinions are widely divided on whether counsel for a witness should ever be permitted to cross-examine his client or other witnesses directly. After carefully considering the alternatives, your subcommittee decided to recommend the use of written interrogatories only. In appropriate circumstances, the committee could still permit limited cross-examination if it wishes to do so; thus the omission merely serves to discourage potential abuses by contentious advocates.

RELATED PROPOSALS IN PENDING LEGISLATION

In conclusion, we wish to note briefly three bills now pending before the House, which deserve consideration in connection with these proposed rules of procedure: H. R. 4975 and H. R. 6899, introduced by Mr. Keating, and H. R. 7955, introduced by myself.

H. R. 4975 would greatly improve the machinery now available to congressional committees to deal with persons who refuse to testify or otherwise to comply with committee subpenas and orders. At present, the only recourse for a committee when so defied is to submit a resolution citing the defiant person for contempt before the full House, after which, if the resolution is passed, the matter must be referred to a United States attorney for prosecution as a criminal offense under title 2, United States Code, section 192.

The result is delay, often amounting to months or even years, before the issue comes to trial. And in consequence, contempt convictions under this statute are very rare; defying the authority of congressional com-mittees has become relatively safe; excepting the cases of Communists, Federal courts have bent over backward to exonerate persons hailed before them under this statute. Under Mr. KEATING's proposal, the committee would be given another alternative. It could address itself forthwith to a Federal district court, and make application for an order of the court compelling obedience to its own subpens, etc. If the relief sought by the committee were improper for some reason, the defiant witness would be entitled to a hearing and to immediate exoneration; the committee's position proved sound, immediate compliance would be compelled, by the sanctions of the court's own plenary contempt powers. It is noteworthy that the proposal has ample precedents. Federal agencies such as the FTC, the SEC, the ICC, Federal etc., have long enjoyed precisely this power in aid of their fact-finding prerogatives, and have found it to work admirably for all parties concerned.

Mr. Keating's second bill. H. R. 6899, is an immunity measure, aimed at reviving the powers once enjoyed by Congress under title 18, United States Code, section 3486, but which have been virtually dead for many years. With such powers, congressional committees could once again overcome pleas of privilege under the fifth amendment by granting immunity for any incriminating effects of testimony sought to be compelled. Such legislation in slightly different form has already been favorably acted upon by the Senate, (S. 16, 83d Cong.). H. R. 6899 has the unqualified endorsement of Attorney General Brownell, and has also been formally approved by the American Bar As-The passage of such immunity sociation. The passage of such immunity legislation would tend to reduce or eliminate a number of difficulties now encountered in congressional investigations dealing with controversial matters.

My bill, H. R. 7955, makes a simple change in the existing congressional contempt statute, title 2, United States Code, section 192, by adding the offense of misbehavior. At present, a witness whose affront consists not in defying the authority of a committee but in offensive conduct in its presence, etc., is not punishable under the statute. Committees have occasionally been obliged to put up with very serious abuses on account of this deficiency. H. R. 7955 corrects the situation, so that such offenders can be properly dealt with in the courts.

Rules of Procedure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I insert the following statements concerning House Resolution 571, 83d Congress. This resolution has been reintroduced as House Resolution 61, 84th Congress.

RULES OF PROCEDURE, HOUSE RESOLUTION 571

Representative Hugh Scott, Republican of Pennsylvania, today introduced a revised version of the proposed rules of procedure for committees in the House of Representatives being developed by a subcommittee (Scott, chairman; Chenoweth, Republican, of Colorado; Smith, Democrat, of Virginia) of the House Rules Committee. The new resolution is House Resolution 571. Scott emphasized that this final version has yet to be considered by the full Rules Committee of the House. He added that he had been assured of such consideration by the full committee (of which he is a member) in the near future.

Said Scorr, "This is the product of more than a year's work; we have been through four revisions, and I feel that we are very close to a final version which should be acceptable to everyone."

The Scott subcommittee was created in 1953 to make a study of House Resolution 29 (introduced by Representative Keating, Republican, of New York) and other proposals then pending on the subject of rules of procedure. After holding extensive hearings, the subcommittee introduced a set of rules incorporating its own views, together with ideas and suggestions it had received. This was House Resolution 447, introduced on February 17, 1954. Subsequently, House Resolution 447 was widely circulated for criticism, and modified in successive revisions. House Resolution 571 is the result.

Senate Resolution 253, introduced on May 24, 1954, by Senator Bush, Republican, of Connecticut, for revision of the Rules of the Senate, closely follows the Scott subcommittee's proposals for House Rules revision. The similarity between the two resolutions may serve to expedite action during the present session of Congress. Both Scorr and Bush are urging their respective Houses to take action on these proposals at once.

"I think the administration tends to share our viewpoint; the American people want something to be done to insure fair play before congressional committees. rent interest is at an all-time high because of the televised hearings which have attracted so much attention to the whole investigative process. There is a widespread feeling that the pursuit of desirable ends requires clear statement of the ground rules governing the means (i. e. the methods) em-

"In both Houses, rules proposals have become so popular that there is no serious question of partisan disagreement. Our subcommittee's work has proved more timely and fruitful than we dared hope. My only regret is that we did not have the benefit so much support and emulation earlier, when the calendar was less crowded with

priority items.

"The only substantial difference between House Resolution 571 (and Senate Resolution 253) and those currently sponsored by our Democratic colleagues is in the matter of enforcement of the rules we propose. Our subcommittee considered suggestions as to special enforcement procedures and rejected them-at least for the present-on the ground that the mere adoption of a real set of ground rules will probably suffice. When everyone knows the fules, no one will be likely to flout them. The whole trouble now is that there is no accurate standard to measure by. The American people have a very strong sense of fair play. If we give them something definite to judge by, they will insist on reasonable compliance. And of course Congress already has ample enforcement machinery if it wants to compel obedience to its rules by its own Members."

Scorr explained that his resolution is proposed for adoption by the House of Representatives only, since the existing rules of the House and the Senate differ in some particulars and since neither House could be expected to surrender exclusive power over its own proceedings. The resolution is thus in the form of an amendment to the existing rules of the House (a feature accepted in the

Bush resolution in the Senate).

In brief summary, the resolution provides: 1. All committees and subcommittees of the House are to be subject to uniform rules of procedure.

All committee action must be approved by a vote of a majority of a quorum of the committee (or subcommittee).

3. Committee personnel to be assigned to investigative activities must be approved by the committee.

4. The committee shall have control over the issuance of subpenas, unless it expressly delegates this power.
5. Witnesses shall have the absolute right

to bar television and radio broadcasting of their testimony if they object to it.

6. One-man quorums are allowed only if the witness is willing to give his testimony before a single member; otherwise, on de-mand of the witness, at least two members must be present. This is designed to meet criticism of the so-called one-man subcommittees, without, at the same time, unduly hampering committees in the conducting of routine hearings.

7. Witnesses are given an absolute right to

legal counsel.

8. All participants in a hearing must observe proper order and decorum, subject to censure and punishment.

9. Whenever a witness is likely to be injured in his reputation or defamed or incriminated, by the nature of the inquiry, the committee will be expected to follow certain additional procedures:

(a) The subject of each hearing must be clearly stated and all evidence adduced must be relevant to the subject.

(b) No new line of investigation can be developed until the committee approves it.

(c) Everyone appearing in such proceed-

ings must testify under oath.

(d) Counsel for witnesses may address the committee briefly and may ask questions of his own client to clear up points on the record. Questions to other witnesses, when pertinent, may be submitted in writing.

(e) Executive sessions must be used to

protect the witness when necessary.

(f) The secrecy of executive sessions must be protected.

- (g) Witnesses will be permitted to submit brief-written statements for inclusion in the record.
- (h) An accurate transcript must be kept. Transcript copies must be made avail-(i) able to the witness.

(j) No testimony heard in executive session shall be released in part only.

10. Anyone, not being called as a witness, who is named in a derogatory or irresponsi-ble fashion in a hearing shall be entitled to appear promptly as a witness and testify in his own behalf, in refutation of charges or alleged "smears," or to submit a written statement for incorporation in the record. This provision is designed to protect innocent persons from unwarranted assaults upon their reputations by any participant in, or before, an investigative committee.

11. The committee will be required to consult with law-enforcement agencies, such as the FBI, before undertaking investigations into areas where they might conflict with law-enforcement activities. The purpose of this is to avoid blundering into criminal cases which the enforcement agencies have already prepared-a real danger where extensive undercover work has been done but not vet

presented to a grand jury.

12. The committee will entertain proper requests to call additional witnesses, from witnesses or others who feel that such additional testimony is necessary in their behalf.

 The foregoing rules of procedure shall be freely available to all interested persons. It is essential that witnesses be advised of the "ground rules" relating to their rights and responsibilities.

14. Resolutions introduced in the House for the purpose of authorizing investigations must specify exactly what is proposed to be investigated and what is expected to be accomplished by the investigation.

Additional Statement by Representative Hugh Scott, Chairman, Subcommittee on Legislative Procedure, House Rules Com-MITTEE ON HOUSE RESOLUTION 571, AND IN-TERIM REPORT RELATING THERTO

Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, I am submitting today an interim report on the work of our subcommittee in developing rules of fair play to be proposed for congressional committees.

Because of the heavy workload that always falls on this committee during the last weeks of a session, it has not been possible to secure an earlier hearing. Also, we have wished to avoid any interpretation of these proceedings as being in anyway in conflict with hearings before a committee of the other body. The objects of general rules of fair play are much broader than any of the issues that attracted so much attention during recent hearings; it would have been harmful to confuse the two-just as, I think, it was greatly harmful to let people confuse the televised proceedings with courtroom standards or practices as much as they did.

I aimed from the outset to be able to have

a set of rules revision proposals considered by our full committee and reported out to the House before this session ended. That is still my hope. The American people are

concerned with the problem; the President has alluded to it a number of times; and it is an exclusive, internal responsibility of ours which must be met, in recognition of the need for clarification of existing rules.

The full analysis and formal report referred to in our interim report has been deferred to await this presentation. But we can complete it rapidly if you wish to act

before adjournment.
Otherwise, I suggest that you authorize us to prepare and submit our formal report on or before the opening day of the first session of the new Congress. If I have the honor to serve again next year, and if we have not achieved our goal before then, I intend to offer these revisions of the rules as the first order of business when we reconvene.

We have worked long and carefully and our proposals are sound. One additional item, which has been developed in the deliberation of the recently-formed Senate subcommittee addressing itself to the same subject, is a special limitation on the creation of subcommittees-whether the chairman can do it or whether only the full committee ought to have the power. In my opinion this would have to be "committee action," subject to the rule we propose at lines 3 and 4 of page 2 of House Resolution 571. But you might wish to consider it specially.

In concluding, let me reaffirm my strong disagreement with the estimable people who have suggested from time to time that all new rules are undesirable. To some of these, the existing rules are seemingly as sacred and inviolable as the Ten Commandments; to others any efforts to establish principles of fair play raise the terrifying spector of total interference and total failure of the workings of Congress. These attitudes are totally unrealistic.

Here, for example, is an excerpt from this immutable body of preceipts, House rules XIV, paragraph 7, provides (and has always provided) that "during the session of the House no Member shall wear his hat." This ironclad pronouncement is unqualified by any limitation as to the places where it applies, nor does it make any exception for our charming lady colleagues. So, literally and in the inflexible tradition urged upon us, we wear headgear anywhere in or out of the Capitol during a session at the peril of clashing head-on with the overbearing wisdom of our ancestors in the matter. And worse than that, any John Doe opposing a law we have enacted, if he can show a hatted Member at the time of the vote would have a clear argument that we were acting in violation of our rules-ergo, the law is not a law at all. Incidentally, while our rules forbid wearing hats, there is no prohibition against the carrying of firearms.

Despite my respect and affection for some of the people who have expressed similar alarm over our proposals, I think it may be fairly observed that there is nothing sacroscant about the rules governing the conduct of the House. If the occasion arises for improvement in our laws, we change the laws. If our present rules do not meet present day situations, it is worse to endure them supinely than to change them intelligently.

Rules for Investigators

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HUGH D. SCOTT, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted, I would like to have the following editorial from the Washington Post

and Times Herald, dated Sunday, January 9, 1955, inserted in the Congressional Record:

The editorial follows:

RULES FOR INVESTIGATORS

Floods of advice and suggestions on how to control congressional investigations are sweeping in upon both the House and Senate. Especially notable on the House side is the proposed fair code of procedure that Representative Hugh D. Scorr tried without success to get before the House when it adopted its rules on the opening day. It is the product of extensive study by the previous Congress. On the Senate side, the Jenner subcommittee and Senators WATKINS and HEN-NINGS are competing for the spotlight on the reforms they have offered. Mr. WATKINS' suggestions grew out of the experience of his select committee which recommended the censure of Senator McCarthy. Mr. Hennings drafted his set of rules after studying the recommendations of the American Association.

The important point is that both Houses have before them thoughtful studies of investigative procedure and a wealth of advice as to the reforms that should be adopted. Not all of this advice is sound, as witness the Jenner subcommittee's self-serving defense of one-man hearings. But Senators WATKINS and Hennings have shown how the one-manhearings problem can be handled without danger of impeding any important inquiry. If the new Rules Committees would bring together the best of the proposals that have been made, they could give witnesses muchneeded protection and save Congress from at least some of the discredit that now clings to it because of uncontrolled investigations.

No doubt the new leaders feel that the Republicans, having failed to impose restraints on their investigators when some of them were running wild, should not be allowed to put over the neglected regulations just as the Democrats take the helm. The greatest pressure for reforms of this sort usually comes from the minority. But many Democrats are also clamoring for the adoption of rules for investigating committees, and in any event partisanship should not stand in the way of an important reform. The Democratic Members complained bitterly about the license assumed by some GOP investigators. They cannot now turn their backs upon corrective measures without raising a large question as to their sincerity.

Address of Joseph H. Cohen, General Manager, Atlantic Gelatin Division of General Foods Corp., at Woburn, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, it is a great pleasure for me to place in the Congressional Record a letter and address by Mr. Joseph H. Cohen, general manager of Atlantic Gelatin Division of General Foods Corp., located at Woburn, Mass.

Thirty-five years ago Mr. Cohen began the making of gelatin in Woburn. Today the industry he established then has become the largest of its kind in the world. To visit this fine industry is indeed an event of memory. The physical properties, plant, grounds, and equipment are of the finest. The management is excellent and the employees are of the best. Throughout the entire industry there seems to be a spirit of happiness and cooperation. The men and women associated with Mr. Cohen have worked loyally together to make their industry the best of its kind.

The people of Woburn, Mass., are very grateful and very proud of the achievements of Mr. Cohen and the men and women of Atlantic Gelatin.

On this 35th birthday celebration, I extend my congratulations and my best wishes for another 35 years of successful, happy industrial operation in our community.

ATLANTIC GELATIN,
DIVISION GENERAL FOODS CORP.,
Woburn, Mass., October 4, 1954.
Hon. Edith Nourse Rogers,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. ROGERS: It was indeed a privilege to have you as our guest at the 35th anniversary celebration of the founding of Atlantic Gelatin, and I sincerely appreciate your participation and interest in this happy event.

As you requested, I am enclosing a copy of the address I made on this occasion. I am deeply honored that you wish to have my remarks published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD and thank you for your thoughtfulness.

I hope that you can visit us again soon. Sincerely yours,

JOSEPH H. COHEN.

Address by Joseph H. Cohen, General Manager of Atlantic Gelatin Division of General Foods Corp., Woburn, Mass., at the 35th Anniversary Celebration of the Company on October 2, 1954

I am happy to have this opportunity to welcome you today. Birthday celebrations are always joyful occasions and I am indeed glad to be able to participate in one at any time. This particular birthday, however, is something very special—something that has meant a great deal in my life and the lives of many good people of this community.

Atlantic Gelatin is celebrating today the 35th anniversary of its organization. A charter was granted to this company on September 25, 1919, and ground was broken for the construction of the plant in October.

As in any business starting out, it was necessary to have money for a factory, materials, and equipment, as well as for other expenses. Fortunately, as founder of the company, I was able to enlist the support of five important tanners to back me in this enterprise. They shared my belief that gelatin could be made and sold at a price that customers were willing to pay and that the business would grow and prosper. These backers were. Widen-Lord Tanning Co., Creese & Cook Co., Northwestern Leather Co., Thayer Foss Co., and J. S. Barnet & Sons. To these people we owe our very existence. It took imagination, it took initiative, it took courage, and it took cash.

As I look back at the beginnings of the Atlantic Gelatin Co., I marvel at our ability to have evolved such a fine, handsome, and stable industry as we have today. Although the plant was a good one in those early days, many changes have been made. It stands today as the best gelatin manufacturing plant in the world, embodying the latest developments from the fields of chemical engineering and food technology. Our problems of production and quality manufacture at first were very great. But we persevered.

bringing to all of these problems the wisdom and light of science until we could say proudly that we manufactured a good, clean, wholesome product of outstanding quality. Quantitatively, we have made excellent progress too. For starting with a productive capacity of a million pounds a year we now have the capacity to produce over 24 million pounds of gelatin a year. Today we represent the largest gelatin manufacturing concern in the world. We are also a member of General Foods Corporation, the largest manufacturers of processed foods in the world.

An organization like Atlantic is not an impersonal abstract institution. On the contrary, it is a very live, human, throbbing enterprise. It is like a large family; the welfare of the whole is reflected in the welfare of each individual member. Those who have participated in our growth and development should have a sense of achievement over what they have helped to create. To each member of our company—in factory, office, sales, and laboratory, I want to extend my heartfelt thanks for the contribution he or she has made to our general welfare. It would have been impossible to record this splendid record of growth and achievement without the loyalty and devotion of the men and women of Atlantic Gelatin.

I also want to pay a long overdue tribute to the wives of our employees. Too often we are inclined to overlook the part they play in our great industrial civilization. Experience points out very clearly that an employee who comes from a home where contentment, happiness, family solidarity and a feeling of security reigns, is a good employee. We recognize the fact that the ladles of our homes are the helpmates who see to our comfort and happiness, and peace of mind.

Probably the most important reasons for the rapid growth of Atlantic Gelatin was the happy business and friendly relationship that developed between the company and its customers and suppliers. We have been most fortunate in this respect. In order to obtain an adequate supply of satisfactory raw mait has been necessary to purchase terials. throughout the world. Similarly, in order to sell our product, it has also been necessary to have loyal friends. Those who have had business relations with us have learned that they can count on our integrity, on our sense of decency and fair play, on our willingness to help our customers solve their production problems and on our human interest in their welfare. This attitude has brought rich and satisfying dividends, not only in profits but also in the host of friends Such relafor Atlantic all over the world. tionships are of inestimable value in the smooth and successful functioning of a business as interesting and as complex as the manufacture and use of gelatin.

One of our first customers was the Genessee Pure Food Co., of Leroy, N. Y., which later became the Jell-O division of General Foods Corp. This company soon became our biggest customer and today take two-thirds of our total gelatin production. Ours, indeed, has been a fortunate company. At times in other industries, when the wheels of production were slowed down and people were thrown out of work, we continued to offer steady employment and to operate our plant on a 24-hour basis. We have been fortunate in other ways, too. Not only have we had an increasing demand for our product but the officers and staff of General Foods have stood by loyally with advice and technical support and with that moral encouragement which is so essential for growth and success. On this occasion I want to pay tribute to them.

It may well be said that the development of the gelatin industry in the United States has paralleled the remarkable growth of our country as a whole, and that Woburn has contributed toward this achievement more than any other American community. Woburn was, in fact, the logical place for a successful gelatin company because it was for many years the world's largest hide and leather center and therefore a great source of supply of raw material for the production of gelatin. Massachusetts is the gelatin

capital of the world.

I want to say that we at Atlantic Gelatin have always had a sincere desire to carry our share of the load as a responsible member of the community and to contribute as individuals and as an organization to the welfare of the ocmmunity. You have all been wonderful friends and neighbors to us and I assure you that we intend to continue our efforts to make you feel that Atlantic Gelatin is as good for Woburn, Stoneham, Winchester, and other neighboring communities as these communities are for Atlantic Gelatin.

In closing, I want to say that I feel excited and happy over this occasion. I hope that you will find our house in good order, that you are pleased with the reception and treatment you receive, and that you will go away with a warm glow of kindly, friendly interest and affection. I hope too that you will have a sense of pride in the achievements in which you have played a part and a feeling of confidence in our future.

We have built our house on faith, on courage, on hard work, on good will, and on happy human relations with all concerned. Our foundation is secure. Our house is substantial. The future beckons. Let us look to this future with the hope that labor, management, and stockholders will continue to work together to make a still bigger and better Atlantic Gelatin. With an excellent record of achievement behind us to serve as a stimulus, I am confident of our continued success and growth.

A Department of Urbiculture

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker I am today reintroducing my bill for the creation of a Department of Urbiculture at Cabinet level to deal with the special problems and welfare of municipalities.

These include such economic and social problems as slums, dope, juvenile delinquency, housing, and smog.

Smog, fast becoming a nationwide problem in metropolitan areas, was mentioned by the President in his state-ofthe-Union message as a problem in need of a strengthened combative program. This would fall under the jurisdiction of the new department, if created.

The bill, which I introduced last July shortly before adjournment of the 83d Congress, has created tremendous interest among Washington legislators, who feel it could lead to the solution of one of the most important problems of American cities,

When the Department of Agriculture was established in 1862, 80 percent of the population lived on farms. Now the situation is reversed, with 85 percent in urban communities and only 15 percent rural.

It is only natural then that Government emphasis should be placed on solving the problems of this new majority of urban dwellers as it formally was for the majority of rural dwellers.

The bill, which has received extensive press coverage on a national scale, has brought forth a volume of correspondence from interested citizens and groups approving the action.

The term urbiculture was a coined word to describe a "new science" which would result from the discovery and application of natural law to the utilization of urban lands.

The new department would consolidate the urban functions of various other Federal agencies—notably Home Finance, Housing, Public Health, Department of Justice—which have dealt with areas of the problems of city folk.

Size and Weight Limitations on Parcel Post

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOEL T. BROYHILL

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. BROYHILL. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege in the 83d Congress to sponsor in the House of Representatives a bill designed to repeal the discriminatory Public Law 199 of the 82d Congress, and restore parcel-post size and weight to the historic limits in effect for 20 years prior

to January 1952.

Eight days of hearings were held a year ago this month on the subject of parcel-post size and weight limitations by the St. George Subcommittee on Postal Operations. Ninety-four witnesses submitted statements to the subcommittee urging repeal of Public Law 199. They represented all segments of business; two farm organizations and other agricultural and consumer groups. There were spokesmen from the Post Office Department; a witness appeared for a postal workers' organization, and one from a housewives' organizationall urging repeal of the law. There were only five witnesses appearing in opposition, all representing the Railway Express Agency, or the railroad intereststhe only interests in all the world that stand to gain anything under this inequitable law that operates to the inconvenience and expense of all senders of small parcels.

Letters poured in to the Members of this body, urging passage of my bill. Many of my colleagues told me of their hope that my bill would be favorably reported in committee so they could vote for its passage on this floor. The advisory council to the Committee on Post Office and Civil Service in the other body said quite forthrightly that Public Law 199, 82d Congress, should be repealed, and weight and size limitations should apply uniformly to all post offices.

But, in spite of the overwhelming support for my bill, it was never reported out of committee.

On Wednesday, January 5, 1955, I again introduced a bill to restore the

parcel-post size and weight limits to the reasonable limits the postal patrons of this country had come to look upon as standard through 20 years of use.

Enactment of my bill will be looked upon as desirable by the vast majority of the people of this country, including the Post Office Department, whose own figures show that its financial position would be bettered by some \$70 million a year by repeal of Public Law 199. Enactment of my bill will greatly facilitate the flow of goods to market and to the ultimate consumer, with a maximum of convenience and economy through the use of the nationwide distribution system now held by the Post Office Department and paid for by the users of parcel post, with the ultimate savings in distribution costs going to the consuming public.

I know that the beneficiaries of the special advantages under Public Law 199 will again wave the banner of free enterprise. But, Mr. Speaker, the only interests who stand to benefit by retaining Public Law 199 on the statute books are not really free enterprise at all; they are

a wholly owned monopoly.

On the other hand, my bill will have the support of at least two of the major farm groups. It will be upheld by the housewives of America, many of whom trudged back home with their relatively small packages in the recent Christmas season, because Public Law 199 had denied them the use of their own postal facilities for mailing those packages of good cheer. My bill will have the support of all businessmen, but particularly the small businessmen who are unable to hire traffic experts or cooperate in joint shipping endeavors to save themselves heavy transportation expenses. My bill will have the support of such business organizations as the National Retail Dry Goods Association, which is very well known for its espousal of ideas for good government, and which is on record for not opposing any postal rate increases necessary to put the Post Office Department on a self-sustaining, efficient operating basis

Mr. Speaker, I ask for the support of every Member of this body for my proposal to repeal Public Law 199. Passage of my bill would be to place the interests of 160 million American people above those of a single special interest.

Health Bills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of the 84th Congress I introduced several bills to make available means by which facilities to promote the health of our people would be more generally available than at the present time.

The seven bills I have introduced are designed to help the American people to bear the burden of hospital and medi-

cal expenses and to provide for a more effective use of available Federal funds in promoting the health of the American people. These bills are the result of very extensive hearings and committee consideration of health programs proposed to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce during the 83d Congress during which I had the privilege of being chairman of the committee.

My first bill-H. R. 397-is a bill to amend the Public Health Service Act to provide mortgage-loan insurance for hospitals and medical facilities. The purpose of this bill is to stimulate investment of private capital in the construction of hospitals and medical facilities and thus to increase the availability of adequate medical facilities in which health services may be rendered to the American people. This bill would supplement the hospital-construction amendments-Public Law 482, 83d Congress-by channeling private funds into the construction of hospitals and medical facilities.

My second bill-H. R. 398-is a reintroduction of the bill, H. R. 7700, introduced by me during the 83d Congress.

This bill is based on the same principle as my first bill, but the mortgage-loan insurance provided for in the bill for hospitals and medical facilities would be available only for hospitals and medical facilities used in connection with voluntary prepayment health plans. These plans, of which the Kaiser Foundation in California and the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, and Group Health Association, Inc., of Washington, D. C., are outstanding examples, have been particularly successful in furnishing comprehensive medical care to the members and subscribers of these plans in return for monthly premiums paid by the members and subscribers.

My third bill-H. R. 399-which is a reintroduction of H. R. 6950, 83d Congress, is designed to assist nonprofit associations offering prepaid health service programs to secure necessary facilities and equipment through long-term interest-bearing loans advanced to such associations by the Federal Government.

While the first three bills introduced by me are designed to facilitate the construction of hospitals and medical facilities, my fourth bill-H. R. 400-is designed to provide improved protection for an increased number of our citizens under prepayment health plans. This bill is a reintroduction of H. R. 8356 which was reported favorably by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee during the 83d Congress. The bill would establish a limited Federal reinsurance service with a self-sustaining fund derived from reinsurance premiums paid by the sponsors of health service prepayment plans participating in the program.

My fifth bill-H. R. 401-is a reintroduction of the bill, H. R. 6949, introduced by me during the 83d Congress. Like my fourth bill, it is designed to expand health services through the medium of Government reinsurance. However, the bill is limited to non-profit associations which render or secure medical and hospital services and does not extend to commercial health insurance companies. This bill is of particular importance, I feel, because it sets forth minimum standards which insurance plans must meet in order to become eligible for reinsurance under the plan

proposed by the bill.

My sixth bill-H. R. 402-would amend the Internal Revenue Code and authorize a deduction up to \$100 for income-tax purposes for any taxpayer. and \$100 for each of his dependents for insurance premiums or fees paid to health insurance companies and voluntary prepayment plans. This deduction would be in addition to deductions for medical expenses now authorized under the Federal income-tax laws. This deduction would stimulate individuals to prepay their medical expenses by participating in health insurance plans.

My last bill-H. R. 403-is a reintroduction of H. R. 7397 introduced by me during the 83d Congress. This bill was reported favorably by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and was passed by the House of Representatives. The purpose of this bill is to promote and assist in the extension and improvement of public health services by providing for a more effective use of available Federal funds.

It is my hope that this series of bills will enable the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce—and in the case of the tax deduction bill, the Committee on Ways and Means-and the House of Representatives to give careful consideration to plans designed to ease the economic burden which illness, and particularly prolonged illnesses, places on the American people. The 83d Congress enacted much-needed amendments to the Hospital Survey and Construction Act. It is my hope that the 84th Congress will follow up the action of the 83d Congress by enacting several of the measures which I have introduced.

A Corkscrew

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Punxsutawney Spirit: A CORKSCREW

Does the Tennessee Valley Authority provide an honest yardstick of the rates that should be charged by the power industry in general?

It doesn't-in the view of a man who certainly should know-Brig. Gen. Herbert Vogel, newly appointed TVA head.

Speaking before the Memphis Engineers Club, General Vogel said that if TVA "were to assume the obligation of paying interest at any reasonable and proper rate" it would have to increase its charges for power or cut payments to the Government. He said also that if TVA is to be a true yardstick consideration will have to be given to paying interest and to at least allowing on paper for taxes. Then he added, "Yardsticks also include profit, which any industry is entitled to make.

In other words, TVA rates are cheap only because TVA's customers are, in effect, sub-sidized by all the rest of us. The authority pays no interest on its huge investment, pays no Federal taxes, and makes only small token payments in lieu of taxes to State and local

governments.

This is an especially timely matter now. with all the hubbub over the contract whereby a private, taxpaying utility group is to build a \$107 million plant to supply power to an atomic energy installation in Arkansas. It is argued that the power could be provided at a lower rate if funds were given TVA to expand and produce it. Actually, the difference in rate is accounted for by the tax and interest factors.

Under present conditions, to sum up, the TVA vardstick has the shape of a corkscrew.

Penalty for Sale of Narcotics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill which provides for the death penalty or life imprisonment for anyone convicted of the sale of narcotics or marihuana to minors.

Selling narcotics to young people, in my estimation, is the most vicious crime that can be committed and it must be stopped through drastic Federal legislation calling for the death penalty for

I feel that the introduction and distribution of narcotics to teen-agers in the Nation's high schools condemns them to a fate worse than death and should be punished by death or life imprisonment to offenders.

My decision to introduce the bill has been endorsed in statements from numerous parents throughout my San Mateo County district and environs.

A typical parent wrote a letter in which she said:

My son is now 23 years old but has been on the stuff since he was a teen-ager, and if this bill is passed it will not only protect my son from further contamination from this evil, but also save many boys and girls from a slow death.

She went on to state:

My son is at present serving a term in prison for forgery. Of course, he wanted money for this stuff and would do anything to get it.

Several doctors have written me their enthusiastic endorsement of the bill.

I also propose that marihuana, not now included as a narcotic under Federal definition, be incorporated in its definition by this bill.

I cite the logic of the Lindbergh law, which has virtually stopped kidnaping in the Nation through fear of the death penalty, in strong support of the bill.

Hon. George Holden Tinkham

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, some years ago one of our Members was George Holden Tinkham, of Massachusetts. He was a recognized student of history and economics. His advice was often sought and found of great value. Since retiring from Congress, he has continued his travels over the world and this year was the subject of a special article in the well-known London News Chronicle. The article follows:

HE'S LOOKED US OVER SINCE 1888, AND NOW-THESE WISE OLD EYES SEE DANGER-HE'S OFTEN RIGHT

(By Michael Gilderdale)

To look at him you might be tempted to call him Rip Van Winkle. For George Holden Tinkham, Esq., of Boston, Mass., aged 83, has a fine gray beard and eyes that gaze mildly on the world, as if they had been closed long years in sleep.

But when you listen to his soft New Eng-land drawl and see his eyes brighten and twinkle in animated discussion, the name that springs to mind then is Lincoln—or even Gladstone.

The resemblance is not farfetched, for Mr. Tinkham was, and indeed still is, a politician in the grand manner, a man who took his seat in Congress as a Republican for 28 years, and whose eyes sighted political truths long before the facts confirmed them.

SIXTY-FIVE YEARS TRAVELING

Yesterday in London, on his annual visit to England-he has visited Europe almost every year since 1888—he talked modestly about himself, about the warning he gave and which we in Britain and they in America never heeded.

On February 17, 1933, Lincoln's birthday, he rose in the House and in a carefully pre pared speech told his fellow Americans that within 6 years there would be a world war precipitated by the Polish question and in-volving, through Britain, the United States.

Mr. Tinkham was right, just as he was in 1912 when he foresaw the First World War, and later the 1929 slump that hit his own country.

He predicted the failure of the Versailles Treaty, and yesterday apologetically but categorically stated:

"Neither can the United Nations succeed. There are too many nations participating, too many divers philosophies which cannot be reconciled.

"Since the Napoleonic era there has never been an arms race that was not followed by war. And now we have the greatest arms race of all time."

DIFFERENT FEARS

Of our differences with our American cousins he said: "The United States fears communism more than war. Europe fears war more than communism."

But this prophet is not a philosopher of gloom. His well-based opinions stem from, originally, a study of history at Harvard University and an intimate acquaintance with the world and the ways of man.

He was one of the first to voice a persistant 10-year opposition to prohibition. "Drink? No, sir—not at 83. But in my day I drank most anything, and liked nothing better than your English ale."

He likes to think the reason for this is his Anglo-Saxon blood, for his Devon fore-bears went West in 1620 with those other stalwarts in the Mayflower.

LIKE GIRBON

Marriage never came his way.

"Women," he says, "you can't live with them and you can't live without them. But if I had married I could not have done all that I have done."

And "all" includes hearing Gladstone

speak in the Commons in 1888.

One regret only has this gentle elder atesman. An ambition he could never statesman. realize: "I would have liked, more than anything else, to have written history the way Gibbon did.'

The National Interest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Kane Republican of Kane, Pa.:

THE NATIONAL INTEREST

Where does the national interest lie? If we take the freely-given and largelyunsolicited advice of some groups, it would appear that the national interest doesn't lie in the same direction as the interest of Northwestern Pennsylvania and the community of Kane.

A case in point is the recent announcement by the Committee for Economic Development. It says, to wit: "It is in the national interest of the United States to continue a policy of gradual and selective tariff reduction. As the strongest economic power in the free world, the United States has a special responsibility for liberalizing tradethe responsibility of leadership."

All right, so we have a responsibility to the world. What about our responsibility to the American workingman? Haven't we responsibility, for instance, to the coal miner, the workers in the Pennsylvania oil fields and to the manufacturing employees of the area? It would also seem that we have some responsibility for the future security of the United States.

Right at this moment, the hard-pressed coal industry and the Independent Petroleum Association are striving vainly to convince the Government that some should be placed on the flood of foreign oil which is pouring in on the United States. Their argument is that the foreign products are competing unfairly with those of American firms. The result is less work for Pennsylvanians and a limiting of domestic operations. This latter concern is more serious than appears on the surface. For, in the event of an emergency, such as war, we couldn't count on that foreign fuel. We'd have to rely primarily on what we could produce in this country. If we are forced to limit production of our fuel in peacetime, it will be that much harder to expand it to the required capacity to meet demands of another global war.

We have no quarrel with sane and sensible tariff revision so long as the welfare of the American workingman and the Nation's security are well protected. However, experience has taught us that too many of the freer trade advocates are more concerned with the welfare of other nations than is good for the United States.

Certainly at this time of domestic unemployment and world uncertainty, the best interest of this area does not lie in the direction of any general reduction in the tariff struc-ture. We've just had 20 years of such re-ductions and the process is beginning to hurt. Especially since the nations to which we have been so magnanimous have shown little, if any, disposition to reciprocate.

Dangerous Gamble

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL C. JONES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the usually conservative Globe-Democrat, recognizing the danger that accompanies a recommendation of one of President Eisenhower's commissions, is editorially supporting the views of President Fred V. Heinkel of the Missouri Farmers Association who has so forcibly emphasized the mistake that would be made if the United States Soil Conservation Service be discontinued.

I hope that this administration will thoroughly consider all of the basic factors involved and which are so clearly pointed out in the accompanying editorial before considering the recommendation of this special commission. I further hope that the Members of Congress will join in the views expressed by President Heinkel which have been further endorsed by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat, as follows:

DANGEROUS GAMBLE

There are many functions usurped by the Federal Government in recent years which should be returned to the States. We have supported some of the proposals to decentralize governmental functions and put the responsibility where it belongs, at the State or local level. However, there are other func-tions which can best be administered by the Federal Government. One of these vital functions is the conservation of this Nation's soil and water resources.

A subcommittee of President Eisenhower's Commission of Intergovernmental Relations has recommended that the United States Soil Conservation Service be discontinued and the responsibility for saving our soil passed on to the 48 States with funds to be on a matching basis. A transition period of 5 years is proposed for making the change. It is significant that only one representative of the farmer, who is most vitally concerned, is a member of the subcommittee. He is Hershel D. Newsom, master of the National Grangeand he voted against the recommendation.

In our judgment the subcommittee has failed to consider several basic factors in making its recommendation. The United States Soil Conservation Service, which is an agency of the Department of Agriculture, furnishes technical and other services to soil conservation districts and to farmers who are cooperators in the soil districts. The Soil Conservation Service assists in planning conservation practices, which are carried out by the farmer and paid for by him. It furnishes no financial aid. In short, the SCS is an agency comparable, say, to the United States Public Health Service, which no one thus far has suggested abolishing as an infringement on State rights.

Until the SCS was established in 1935, little was done about soil conservation in this country. Under the leadership of the SCS, progress has been rapid in the last 2 decades. There are now soil districts in 2.500 of the Nation's 3,000 counties. Approximately

the Nation's 3,000 counties. Approximately 80 percent of the farmland of the country is now receiving benefits from the SCS's

constructive program.

Fred V. Heinkel, president of the Missouri Farmers Association, warns in the Missouri Farmer that if the SCS is crippled as is proposed in the recommendation, soil conservation in this country-and in Missouri-will be set back at least 20 years. The United States cannot afford such a setback. population is growing at the rate of 2 million a year-and at the same time our good farmland is being taken out of production because of erosion at a rate of 500,000 acres a year. Today we have just a little over two acres of tillable land per capita. Unless we can preserve our natural resources of soil and water and increase the fertility of the land, we will face the danger of being a have-not nation in food within the lifespan of this generation.

The subcommittee proposes in effect that we gamble by dividing the conservation program into 48 pieces. It is a risk we cannot afford to take. Instead of delaying the program of conservation, we need to accelerate it by strengthening the work of the SCS.

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPÈECH

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I would join in the remarks of my distinguished colleagues from Florida in expressing my sincere regret and the sense of deep loss that has come to our State with the passing of one of its outstanding leaders and great Congressmen, Dwight L. ROGERS. It was not my pleasure to know him well. It was my privilege to have met Mr. Rogers and to have known well his many great efforts in the Florida legislature and in these Halls of Congress. From his many close friends and associates I feel that I have been privileged to learn of the many great achievements that are counted in his long record of service. Mr. Rogers was an outstanding Floridian whose great personal charm and friendly nature made friends for himself and our State wherever he went. He was counted among the most able men in this legislative body and the reflection of his labors for Florida and the Nation is clearly shown in the development of our State and the dignity of our country. Such men are not to be replaced. We who serve here now may only persevere in emulating their patterns of achievement and devoted serv-

At this time I would express my humble regret and join with all his many friends and neighbors in bereavement over his passing.

To his widow and devoted family I extend my deepest sympathy.

Make the Most of the New Tax Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend, including excerpts, I am inserting in the Record an article entitled "Make the Most of the New Tax Law—Uncle Sam Gives Farmers an Income-Tax Break This Year," by H. L. Tinley, which appears in the January issue of the Country Gentleman, the magazine for better farming.

I wish to state in connection with this insertion in the RECORD that the proposed attempt to repeal this law will have my firm opposition. The article is as follows:

MAKE THE MOST OF THE NEW TAX LAW

After 75 years of tugging and hauling at the old tax code, Congress finally got around to passing a new law in 1954, and now that you're ready to start figuring how it affects you, you'll be more pleased than otherwise.

You don't have to file your final return and pay the tax until April 15, 1955, provided you have filed an estimate by January 15. If you don't file an estimate, your return

and tax are due on January 31.

Now you can charge the expense of soil and water conservation off against current income. You can deduct, in an amount up to 25 percent of your gross income, the construction expense of drainage ditches, ponds and earthen dams, water courses, leveling, grading and terracing, contour furrowing, construction and maintenance of diversion channels, removal of brush and planting of windbreaks. If these costs exceed 25 percent of your gross income, you can carry the excess over to the following year.

Several methods can be used to speed up depreciation, instead of using the so-called straight-line method which, in the case of a building worth \$10,000 with a 10-year life, calls for \$1,000 to be depreciated each year. Speedup cannot exceed, as a rule, taking more than double the straight-line depreciation amount the first year, then lesser amounts in each succeeding year, so not more than three-fourths the cost is recovered in first half of your asset's useful life.

The grain-storage-depreciation law is important. You can write off new buildings and equipment built or purchased in 1954 used for this purpose within 5 years, at 20 percent a year. The USDA sponsored this idea to get more on-the-farm storage built, and it really worked. Incidentally, don't try to apply this fast depreciation schedule to other buildings.

You now can carry back net operating losses for 2 years, or carry over, or forward, up to 5 years. This law, formerly a 1-year carryback, was a lifesaver to some feeders when the bottom fell out of the market in 1953. Here's an example that shows how it might now work for you:

Let's assume that in 1953, John Angus, a Nebraska feeder, had a net profit of \$10,000 but in 1954 he showed a net operating loss of \$5,000. When he paid his 1954 tax, John could go to his internal revenue director, and ask to carry this \$5,000 loss back to offset some of the \$10,000 profit he made in 1953—and he probably can do it. His 1953 tax then would be based on \$5,000 net income

and he would be entitled to a refund. Let's make the situation worse: Suppose John lost \$50,000 in 1954 instead of \$5,000. He could go back 2 years and wipe out first the \$12,000 profit he made in 1952, and the \$10,000 profit he showed in 1953, then—providing the internal revenue people agree with him—he would be entitled to the full return of all of his 1952 and 1953 taxes. Though he can only go back 2 years, he can go forward 5 years, and could offset the balance of his 1954 loss, some \$28,000, against the first profits to come during the next 5 years. Here's a word of warning. When you start fishing for a tax refund, Uncle Sam is likely to put on his bifocal glasses and give your last year's return an exhaustive study.

So much, then, for the parts of the new law that particularly affect farmers. You'll also benefit from the provisions that apply to all taxpayers, such as:

MEDICAL EXPENSES

In the past you could only deduct medical expenses in excess of 5 percent of your adjusted gross income; now they need only be 3 percent. Maximum medical deductions have been doubled. Now the limit is \$2,500 for each individual named on the return, before it was only \$1,250. Along this same line, this year you can only deduct the cost of medicines and drugs when they exceed 1 percent of your adjusted gross income. But here's a word of warning. Just because you bought tooth paste, face powder, and mouth wash from a drugstore, don't show their cost as medicine and drugs on your tax form; you're asking for trouble if you do.

CHILDREN'S EARNINGS

Congress finally licked this problem, and it's been a real headache in the past. Now if your youngster is under 19, don't worry if he makes over \$600 a year. When this happened in the past, you lost a dependent. Even if he or she is over 19, it's still O. K. to deduct if they are a full-time student at an educational institution during some part of 5 months of the year.

DEPENDENTS

This year you can claim as a dependent—with a \$600 exemption—any individual dependent upon you for over half of their support, and providing that individual is living with you. Relationship is no longer so important.

CONTRIBUTIONS

The limit for charitable contributions is hiked this year from 20 percent of the "adjusted gross income" to 30 percent. There's a string attached, though. This extra 10 percent must be given to churches, schools, or hospitals.

When you start figuring your tax, here are some "Do's" and some "Don't's:

Be sure you keep operating expenses separate from personal expenses. Charity, alimony, and doctor bills are personal deductions. Machine hire, feed, taxes are operating deductions.

Be sure you and your wife file jointly; it's generally advisable.

Be sure, if you're buying a farm, to have your real-estate agent give you a report showing the purchase price allocated to each item such as house, barn, and so on, with its estimated life.

Be sure if you're selling your farm to see if it isn't more profitable taxwise to sell before the crops are harvested; usually it works out that it is. The selling price allocated to these crops is then treated as long-term capital gains—not as ordinary income.

Be sure you keep accurate records. Nothing will get you into trouble faster than poor records, and nothing will bail you out of trouble quicker than good ones.

And here are the don'ts:

Don't pay unrealistic wages to small children who do typical farm chores. Nothing makes revenue agents more curious.

Don't claim capital-gains treatment on purebred helfers that are sold in the usual course of your business of raising and selling purebred stock. However, there is a good way of getting around this-let the heifers drop

Don't try to catch up on depreciation of items overlooked in previous years by deducting too much depreciation this year. If last year's was forgotten, you can't pick it up

this year.

And here's a final suggestion. Sam is making a pretty decent profit off your farm, it's good to know how he figures out his There isn't much you can do about changing the lease you have with him, but there is a lot you can do in figuring out which are his dollars and which are yours. Get a tax expert to line up your farm, and give you a series of recommendations that you can follow all year.

Agriculture Must Tell Its Story

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLIFFORD R. HOPE

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. HOPE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the RECORD, I submit herewith a copy of a speech which I made at the annual meeting of the National Grange at Spokane, Wash., on November 16, 1954:

ACRICULTURE MUST TELL ITS STORY (Address by Hon. CLIFFORD R. HOPE, of Kansas)

I greatly appreciate the honor which you have conferred upon me by inviting me to address this 88th session of the National

I am a member of many organizations, but in none do I value my membership more highly than in the Grange. I must confess that I am not a working Grange member. I am proud to have been a member of the Pioneer Grange near Lakin, Kans., for more than 20 years, but my work in Washington makes it impossible for me to attend many

meetings. That is my loss.

In Washington I have enjoyed and profited by my association with the officers and representatives of the National Grange at national headquarters. I have had the privilege of working with three great Grange leaders—National Master Louis J. Taber, National Master Albert Goss, my dear friend for many years, and now with our present able and distinguished National Master, Herschel Newsom, and his associates in the Washington office.

Today as always the Grange represents the best in American rural life. During almost a century of service it has exerted tremendous influence for good in the life of farmers throughout the length and breadth of the land.

Since 1867, the Order of Patrons of Husbandry has adhered to the covenant of its declaration of purpose so well stated in these words: "To develop a better and higher manhood and womanhood among ourselves; to enhance the comforts and attractions of our homes and strengthen our attachments to our pursuits; to foster mutual understanding and cooperation; to maintain inviolate our laws and to emulate each other in labor; to hasten the good time coming.'

There is something inspiring and stirring in these words. They ring with a constant reminder that while we have just pride in the accomplishments of our fraternity, the challenge of the work yet ahead transcends all else.

We are meeting here in Spokane in the midst of a critical period, both for this Nation and for the world which today is divided into armed camps in a state of cold conflict.

Bombs are not falling, but the men in the Kremlin are frank to tell us that they are waiting for the day when the economy of this and other free countries will collapse; when people will be hungry and ragged in the streets.

On that day they hope communism will ride triumphantly over freedom.

I do not know whether we can keep Russia from dropping bombs on this country. I do know our best hope is to maintain a position of strength.

That means not only military strength, even more important, it means economic and moral strength.

I sincerely believe that while we must maintain our defenses in a military way, our greatest protection against Communist domination throughout the world lies in the field of economic and moral strength.

Even more than on force, the Kremlin is betting that America does not have the economic and moral strength to win a cold war.

This puts a great responsibility upon the men and women who live and work on the farms of our country.

Historically, we know that depressions begin on the farms.

The lessons of history teach us also that the moral strength of every nation has found its greatest bulwark in the people living on the land.

It is of the utmost importance, therefore, that agriculture in this country remain the strong economic and moral force that it has

been in the past.

Whether it does or not constitutes a great challenge to such an organization as the National Grange, because all is not well with agriculture. For several years past our na-tional income as a whole has been increasing; our population is growing by leaps and bounds; but at the same time farm income is declining and people are leaving the land.

A hundred years ago almost 70 percent of our people were farmers, and even as late as 1910 a third of them were directly engaged in agriculture. Today less than 14 percent

live and work on our farms.

It is a great tribute to the industry and efficiency of our farmers, however, that, although their numbers have been declining both relatively and actually, since 1939 we have increased our over-all agricultural pro-duction by more than 40 percent. This has enabled us to not only take care

of the needs of an increasing population for food and fiber, but it has enabled us also to carry on a great moral and economic battle against communism because we have had food and fiber to feed and clothe hungry and distressed people in all parts of the world.

If we win the cold war the part played by the farmers of America will stand out in bold

relief.

Along with the decline of agricultural population great changes have taken place in the whole economic structure of agriculture.

Until comparatively recently farming was largely a self-contained industry. The farm produced most of the family food; woodlots and forests most of the fuel; horses and oxen produced on the farm furnished the power. They were fueled by hay and grain grown on the farm. The farm produced its own fertilizer.

There was little expense for hired labor, because families were large, and work was interchanged with neighbors.

Taxes were negligible. Capital investment was low. Interest charges were unimportant.

In other words, until comparatively recent times the farmer had little need for cash

Contrast that with the situation of the farmer today—not only the big farmer and the medium-sized farmer, but even the little farmer requires a heavy cash outlay to carry on his operations.

He must purchase his power on the farm in the form of tractors and other equipment. He must buy gasoline and distillate as fuel.

He must buy fertilizer. Hired labor is costly, if he can get it.

His large investment in plant and equipment, and necessary working capital makes interest charges an important item.

He has a heavy outlay for insurance and taxes.

In other words, the farmer today is in the same position as any other businessman.

He must have substantial cash receipts to meet his current operating expenses, and his prices must be high enough to pay for these charges and lay aside a reserve for depreciation, to say nothing of the reasonable profit to which he is entitled as legitimately as any other businessman.

So while the market price of farm products may have been unimportant in the past, today it is everything and it determines whether or not a farmer is going to be able to stay in business.

Thus one of the greatest if not the greatest problems of the farmer is to have some-thing to say about the prices of the things he buys and the things he sells.

With few exceptions his costs are determined by someone else. He has no bargaining power to enable him to reduce them.

he consumes electric power, the price

is fixed by a public commission.

The wages of his hired labor are fixed by competition with industrial enterprises where wages, hours, and working conditions are determined by collective bargaining between well entrenched labor unions and industries which can pass high labor costs on to con-

His taxes, his transportation costs in getting his products to market centers, his insurance rates are all fixed by the action of State and Federal agencies.

The price of his fuel, his fertilizer, and his farm machinery and equipment is not the subject of bargaining as far as he is concerned.

He pays what the seller demands.

On the other hand, with certain unimportant exceptions, and in the absence of help from farm programs the farmer has nothing to say about the price of his products. If he ships his cattle and hogs to Kansas City or Chicago he takes what the buyers offer him, and they all offer him substantially the same.

His alternative is to ship his livestock home

When he takes his grain to market he doesn't say how much he will take for it.

He says, "How much will you give me?"

Furthermore, the farmer is subject to all the vagaries of the weather as well as the destructive effects of plant diseases and insect pests. These factors very largely netermine his yields, and his unit cost of production depends upon the yield.

His corn may make 80 bushels an acre one year and 40 bushels the next. In the latter case, assuming that his expenses are the same, the cost per bushel is twice as much as it was in the previous year.

That is not to say that good farming does not pay or that efficiency does not reduce

costs. The point is that no farmer can tell in advance what his costs are going to be.

What other businessman could stay in business if his costs and selling prices were determined by someone else and the quantity and quality of his product was determined in most cases by weather and other factors beyond his control?

It is the recognition of these facts which has brought about Government farm programs in recent years. The fundamental purpose of these programs has been to enable farmers to maintain some balance between supply and demand in connection with the marketing of their products.

Most of these programs have been on a trial and error basis. We have been dealing with something new, and have had to feel our way as we went along, but they have been reasonably successful. Changes have been made as we went along, and a considerable variety of programs has been developed.

I do not want at this time to get into the controversy over price-support programs except to say that experience has demonstrated as we have gone along that the Grange position is right, and that our greatest mistake as far as farm programs is concerned, is to attempt to apply one magic formula, one cure-all, that will answer the problems of all agricultural products.

Furthermore, I think we have to recognize that there are some commodities which do not adapt themselves to direct price-support programs.

That great man in agriculture, Albert Goss, warned us years ago that there is no such cure-all and that there are almost as many problems as there are commodities.

I remember he used to tell our committee that just as we can't cure appendicitis with castor oil or smallpox with surgery, we must have a bag full of remedies as a country doctor carries a bag full of different pills, so to speak.

Our experience has demonstrated the value of attempting to tailor a program to meet the needs of a particular commodity.

Take the case of-sugar, with which many of you are familiar. The sugar program stands by itself. It was worked out to meet the particular needs of that commodity, and it has worked more successfully, perhaps, than any other program.

The same can be said of the tobacco program. Ninety-percent price supports with strict controls have worked so well on that commodity that practically everyone has agreed—no matter what his views might be as to other commodities—that such a program should be continued for tobacco.

In the last Congress, recognizing the fact that wool has peculiar problems of its own, we set up a wool program to meet the needs of that commodity.

All of this is in accord with the views expressed by President Eisenhower in his message to Congress on January 11, 1954, entitled "Recommendations Affecting the Nation's Agriculture."

In that message he said, and I quote: "No single program can apply uniformly to the whole farm industry. Some farm products are perishable, some are not; some farms consume the products of other farms; some foods and fibers we export, some we import. A comprehensive farm program must be adaptable to these and other differences, and yet not penalize one group of farmers in order to benefit another."

In the farm bill which the House Committee on Agriculture reported to the House, we carried out the policy recommended by the President in this regard. That is, we provided for keeping tobacco supports at 90 percent of parity with strict controls. We set up a separate program on wool. We did not deal with the sugar program because that has always been carried out as separate legislation.

But we went further than this in applying the principle laid down by the President, in that we set up a plan for wheat along the lines of the cerificate form of a two-price system.

We set up some special provisions for the dairy industry and directed the Department of Agriculture to make a study of two price plans for rice. The Senate did not go along with us with respect to the new program for wheat nor with most of our provisions relating to the dairy industy.

In conference we were able to keep many of the dairy provisions, however; among them a provision directing the Secretary to make a special study of dairy price-support programs, including the self-help plan proposed by dairy producers.

The final form of the bill also contained the direction to the Department of Agriculture to make a study of a two-price system

In these matters we had the invaluable support of your great leader, Herschel Newsom, one of America's greatest farm leaders of all times, who speaks with a strong, clear

voice on all agricultural problems.

To sum it up, I feel, that while agriculture in the overall may be one big industry, contained in it are a great many smaller industries, some of which are in a degree in conflict with each other.

No one plan can meet all of the many problems.

In the overall program, we must keep and use the best tools we can devise but at the same time we must constantly study and test new approaches, always keeping in mind the interests of both farmers and all of our citizens.

Personally, I want to use fixed supports when fixed supports work best. I want to use flexible supports in areas where they work best. I want to employ marketing agreements and orders where they work best.

I want to manage and remove surpluses in such a way as will be in the best interests of farmers, consumers, and taxpayers.

However, while I feel we should be flexible as to the tools and methods that we use, in our objectives where agriculture and the good of this country are concerned, we should be rigid and inflexible.

What I want to see is economic equality; that is, a fair share of the national income for agriculture. I believe that this is only simple justice, and furthermore I am convinced that the health of the whole economy and the well-being of all our people depend upon it.

There are of course many vital Government programs in agriculture besides those relating to price supports, including soil and water conservation, adequate credit, research, education, cooperative marketing, expansion of markets, crop insurance, rural electrification and telephones and many more.

I shall not go into them at this time, but there is one thing we must stress in all of our programs: that is the encouragement and preservation of the family type farm,

We hear too much talk now about getting rid of the so-called inefficient farmer, of consolidating his land with somebody else's and sending him to town to look for a job. I am afraid this may cause some people to believe that a small farmer is an inefficient farmer. Quite often the case is drectly the contrary.

One great motivation, one of the strengths of our free-enterprise system, is the hope of every young man that some day as a reward for his labor and frugality he may have his own farm or his own small business.

We have long since realized the dangers of monopoly in business through enactment of our antitrust laws. It is equally as important that we protect the opportunities for individual ownership in agriculture,

So it would behoove all of us to talk less of liquidating the so-called inefficient farmer and put greater emphasis on improving the position of the family farm. We should do everything possible to improve and adapt machines, methods, and programs to make this the most productive and prosperous unit

of agriculture. Otherwise we will be locing one of our greatest moral assets, both in agriculture and in the Nation.

I mentioned a while ago that those engaged in agriculture now represent less than 14 percent of our population. That poses a real danger for agriculture, because it means that only a comparatively small number of our people understand its problems. And so great have been the changes in agriculture that even men and women who grew up on farms a generation ago and have since gone to the cities know little about agriculture and its problems today.

I think it is entirely possible that at least 80 percent of the people of this country have little or no knowledge of the problems which now confront the farmers of this country. This is a dangerous situation because the farmer must depend upon the understanding of the people in the cities if he is to obtain economic equality and justice through fair and just laws and economic policy.

Moreover there seem to be influences at work that tend to separate the interests of rural and urban peoples, and which are even building conflicts among the farmers themselves

selves.

Our Committee on Agriculture took note of this in presenting to the House the Agricultural Act of 1954, when in our report we said, "the committee deplores any tendency in the consideration of farm programs toward a separation of the interests of the farmers and our great consuming population of the cities. These interests are one and the same. They are inseparable. Stability of agriculture is equally as important to urban people as to people on farms."

Many thousands of fine people whom we respect differ with us on the nature or even the need of a farm program.

They are intelligent people.
They are fairminded people.
But they have been misinformed.

We of agriculture are largely at fault because we have the poorest public relations of any large group in our national life. That is the situation which must be changed not only in the interest of agriculture but of the country as well.

Frankly I am amazed at some of the misconceptions which exist in the minds of nonfarmers with respect to farming.

There is no use denying that this misinformation exists.

What we must do—all of us who are interested in agriculture—is to frankly face the situation and then take steps to build up better public relations for the farmers of this country.

It isn't a difficult thing to do provided we get out and do it, because all that needs to be done to refute the erroneous impressions which exist is to tell the truth—the real truth about farmers and their problems. What are some of the misconceptions that

we find in the minds of nonfarmers?

Well, for one thing we find an impression among a lot of people that farmers as a class are getting rich.

We find that there are many who think

We find that there are many who think that farm prices and food prices are high with respect to other prices.

There are others who think that farm programs have worked to the disadvantage of consumers.

There are still others who are convinced that agriculture is being subsidized in vast amounts by the Federal Government and that Government subsidies are exclusive to agriculture.

Not one of these misconceptions is based upon fact, and their very existence demonstrates that in some way agriculture has failed to get its story across to the country.

Take the first misconception I mentioned: that farmers as a class are getting rich.

I know of no reason why the opportunities which other Americans have to achieve

material prosperity should not also apply to farmers, and it is true that some farmers frugality and good management

have achieved a competence.

But the answer to those who think that farmers are getting rich as compared to the rest of the population is given by the cold statistics compiled by the Department Agriculture. These figures show that in 1953 the farm population had a per capita income of \$882, including cash from marketings, Government payments, value of home consumption, and rental value of buildings.

For each person in the nonfarm population

the average income was \$1,898.

Thus the average income of a person on the farm is less than half of that of the average person living off the farm.

But tell that to your nonfarm friends and

see how many of them believe it.

Now perhaps the greatest resentment against farmers and agriculture comes from the prevalent fallacy that farm prices and food prices are high with respect to other prices. Before going into that, I think it should be pointed out that of each dollar spent by the American housewife for domestically produced food, 57 cents now goes for processing, marketing, and transporta-tion charges. The farmer receives 43 cents.

That figure has been going down year by year since 1946, when the farmer's share was 52 percent and the processor's and distribu-

tor's share was 48 percent.

This is reflected in the fact, as shown by a study made by the Committee on Agriculture, that as of last July farm prices had fallen approximately 19 percent since 1951 while in contrast, retail food prices remained right at the postwar peak.

at the postwar peak.

Since 1948 the price of wheat has declined
32 percent, but the price of bread has advanced 23 percent. The amount of wheat in
a 17-cent loaf of bread comes to 23/4 cents.

In June, New York and Chicago housewives paid 25 cents per quart for milk delivered at their doors, while farmers who supply milk to the Chicago market received 61/2 cents per quart for class I milk and farmers participating in the New York City market received 9½ cents for this milk.

Similarly, there is less than 30 cents worth

cotton in a \$3.95 cotton shirt.

In the case of tobacco, Federal, State, and local taxes on the 1953 crop amounted to almost three times as much as farmers received for that part of their crop consumed in the United States.

The Grange had something to say about middlemen in its declaration of purpose written in 1874 and now called the Farmers Declaration of Independence: "For our business interests, we desire to bring producers and consumers, farmers, and manufacturers into the most direct and friendly relations possible, hence we must dispense with the surplus of middlemen, not that we are unfriendly to them, but we do not need them. Their surplus and their exactions diminish our profits."

We want no surplus of middlemen or unfair profits among them at the expense of the producers on the farm. In all fairness, however, the consumer should understand the essential part distributors, processors, and transporters play in the drama of food and that much of the costs added to food after it leaves the farms is due to the consumer's demand for better processing, new mixtures, improved sanitation and more convenient and attractive packaging, plus increased labor costs in processing, distribu-

tion, and marketing.

The food industry must continue to give consumers what they want and what they are willing to pay for. But at the same time the industry should let consumers know that these increased costs occur after the products leave the farm and do not add to the income of the farmer.

And that brings me to the third fallacy I mentioned a while ago, namely, that farm programs have worked to the disadvantage of consumers.

The fact is consumers get more and better food today with an expenditure of a smaller percentage of their total income than at any other period in history.

Figures prepared by the Department of Agriculture show that in 1929 the average factory worker could buy 6.4 pounds of bread with an hour's earnings. Today the average hour's earning will buy 10.3 pounds.

The average hour's wage would buy 1 pound of butter in 1929 and 2.6 pounds today; 3.9 quarts of milk in 1929 and 7.9 quarts today; 1.4 dozen eggs in 1929 and 2.9 dozen today; 17.7 pounds of potatoes in 1929 and around 30 pounds today; 4.4 No. 2 cans of tomatoes in 1929 and 10.3 cans today; 1.2 pounds of round steak in 1929 and 2 pounds today, and so on down the list.

Our earliest farm programs began in 1929. Thus it will be noted that this large reduction in the price of food in relation to wages has occurred during the years of the development of the present program, which has for its overall aim a parity of income for agricul-

In other words, it is clear that consumers have gotten the greatest real reductions in of food and fiber during the time of growth toward farm income stability.

And then we come to the belief that agriculture is being subsidized in vast amounts by the Federal Government and to a greater

extent than other industries.

While it is the hope of all of us in agriculture that modifications of our programs which will better balance supply and de-mand, and the tailoring of specific programs to meet the needs of particular commodities, plus improved marketing policies and practices will reduce and perhaps in time eliminate most agricultural subsidies, I think we should point out to our friends in the cities that the subsidy is the oldest economic principle known in our Government, and only in fairly recent years has it been used to any appreciable extent to protect agriculture.

The First Congress in 1789 set up a subsidy program to encourage the development of an American merchant fleet. Many billions in subsidies have gone to business and industry. The House Appropriations Committee in January 1954, published figures indicating subsidies amounting to about \$45 billion have been paid to business and to consumers during and since World War II. A large part of this was in business reconversion payments.

In contrast, farm price supports and surplus removal operations for the 20 years up through 1953 cost enly \$3,500,000,000, or 1 percent of the value of crops and livestock

marketed.

What is the answer to all of this? I think it has very largely with agriculture itself.

I think it should be the first duty of the Department of Agriculture, of farm organizations, of the farm press, and of the cultural committees in Congress to tell the truth about agriculture and to point out to those who are misinformed on these matters just what the facts are.

We must plant a new crop-a universal crop with a universal harvest-a harvest of understanding. We must tell the people in the cities what they do not know—tell them of the fallacies that tend to separate us.

Let them know that the people on the farms have less than half the average income of people who live elsewhere.

Let them know that fewer than half the farm homes in the United States have running water. They perhaps will be surprised at this, but it is true.

Tell them that farmers cannot conserve their soil and maintain its fertility for fu-

ture generations unless they have adequate

incomes with which to do it.

Emphasize the social and moral values as well as the general economic necessity of maintaining the prosperity of the familysize farm.

Tell our city friends why we need the farm program, that as an individual the farmer has no control over the prices he receives and no adequate way of adjusting his production to the total market demand for his commodities.

Ask how long our free-enterprise system would last if all industry operated as must the producers of major crops in agriculture producing 11 months in the year and selling on overflowing markets at one season, not at what producers fix as a fair price as an industry, but at what buyers are willing to pay.

Tell them the safety of the consuming population requires that we have on hand more food than can currently be used, that this margin of safety is known as a surplus in the market place and constantly depresses the farmer's prices unless we have a farm

program.

Tell them that one carload of potatoes on the market in New York City-just one more car than is needed-can depress the price of potatoes all over the United States.

Impress upon all our friends that we must recognize the interdependence of all segments of our economy; that what we are talking about is a tremendous economic problem affecting every phase of our national life; that any farm program must be fair to farmers and consumers alike and serve the best interests of all our people.

All of us who are interested in agriculture must have a part in this public relations program to convince the consumers that the farm problem is everybody's problem.

I know of no organization or group better fitted to undertake leadership in such a program than the National Grange. With its background of almost 100 years as a great farm organization, its record of standing for the solid traditional American virtues, with the prestige that comes from generations of wise leadership, and with the respect in which it is held by farmers and nonfarmers alike-the Grange and its officers and members can do much to bring about that sympathetic understanding by everyone of the problems of the people who live on the land.

I am sure that this is a matter which has been given consideration and attention by the officers and leaders of this great fraternity. I am bringing it up today because I am convinced of its urgency and impor-

It is a problem which canot be met in a passive way. It constitutes a challenge and an opportunity which I am sure must appeal to you as leaders in agriculture and as good citizens who are striving to make a better nation of this great land of ours.

Hon. Sam Rayburn

SPEECH

HON. JOE M. KILGORE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. Speaker, you have been honored on the occasion of your birthday by many of this great Nation's most esteemed people. I hope that it is not presumptuous of me, as a freshman Congressman, to speak at least for me and the people of Texas' great 15th District in offering congratulations on your anniversary and a prayer that many more years are yours to serve our Nation and guide this, the greatest deliberative body the world has yet known.

It has never before been my pleasure to serve with you, but it has been my pleasure to closely watch you and your activities through my comparatively few years. It is my extreme pleasure to now be a Member of this body and to be among those to wish for you, on behalf of the 15th District of Texas, many, many happy returns of this memorable

Post Office Department Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following excerpt of an article by Mr. Jerry Kluttz, of the Washington Post and Times-Herald, which appeared in the November-December 1954 issue of the Postmasters Gazette, gives a fine synopsis of the accomplishments that resulted from the recommendations made

by the Subcommittee on Postal Operations of which I had the honor to be chairman during the 83d Congress.

My colleagues on this subcommittee were Messrs. Withrow, Gross, Bonin, Broyhill, Jarman, Dowdy, Boland, and Reams. I am sure they are as gratified as I am with the work and accomplishments of our subcommittee.

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT REPORT

The House Postal Subcommittee, headed by Representative KATHARINE ST. GEORGE, Republican, of New York, conducted a management survey of postal operations and its recommendations already placed into effect have saved Uncle Sam an estimated \$70 million annually.

The St. George group took the lead in

urging the Department to set up a personnel division, a promotion plan for its employees, and a classification plan for its jobs.

It recently asked the Post Office Depart-

ment to report to it the action taken on each of its recommendations. A summary of them follows with the Department's comment on each.

1. A review of the qualifications of the supervisory force.

Post Office Department reported: "A study is being made of the most practical manner to accomplish this."

2. Uniform pay for custodial employees in the Federal service, including postal emplovees.

Post Office Department reported: "New grades and salaries will be proposed for them."

3. Postmasters be required to take leave during their terms of office.

Post Office Department reported: "Liquidation of leave applies to postmasters."

4. Procurement of qualified transportation specialists in the postal servicee.

Post Office Department reported: Bureau of Transportation is headed by an Assistant Postmaster General. The policy is to fill all key positions in the Bureau with qualified specialists."

5. Separation of management function from the Inspection Service.

Post Office Department reported: "Creation of a new organizational element in the service dealing with management studies and procurement of several qualified manage-ment aides to make specialized management studies (estimated saving, \$23 million)

6. Revision of labor-management relations in the postal service, including elimination of job-ticket procedures in the Chicago Post Office.

Post Office Department reported: "A major objective of the Bureau of Personnel is improvement in management-employee relationship. Job-ticket procedures at Chicago

7. Revision of procedures and use of costascertainment system.

Post Office Department reported: "Studies of the cost-ascertainment system have been made and action taken as indicated from studies."

8. Establishment of a firm policy with respect to management of post-office cafe-

Post Office Department reported: "Investigations were conducted and corrective action as indicated taken."

9. Establishment of a forms-control pro-

Post Office Department reported: "A forms-control program has been inaugurated and is in effect."

10. Conference of postmasters and key supervisors.

Post Office Department reported: "Such conferences have been held and contemplated in the future."

11. Visits of top policy officials to large post offices.

Post Office Department reported: The Department favors this recommendation and it is being carried out."

12. Postmasters should have more authority to act on management problems.

Post Office Department reported: tralization has helped accomplish this recommendation. Postmasters have been given authority to act on many additional mat-

13. Addition of qualified technical personnel to handle the research and development program.

The Post Office Department reported: "Qualified engineering personnel have been engaged from private industry and other governmental agencies to work on this program."

14. Analyses be made of space utilization in the major post offices, including possible establishment of parcel-post processing units outside congested areas.

The Post Office Department reported: "Buildings Management Section, under a newly created Division of Real Estate, is setting up a space assignment and utilization unit which will have this responsibility. Regional supply centers will be established in large cities removed from the main post office !

15. Discontinue storage of 35 million paid postal-savings certificates.

Post Office Department reported: "Public Law 487, approved July 14, will bar all claims on certificates after 6 years. will permit destruction of the 35 million certificates now in storage (estimated sav-

16. Revision of administrative examination of postal-savings business.

The Post Office Department reported: "Central examination has been discontinued, now under authority of the regional accounting offices (estimated saving, \$100,000)."

17. No certificates for postal savings be issued for less than \$25 (stamps could be

The Post Office Department reported: "Two-dollar certificate eliminated; \$1,000 and \$2,500 certificates provided, thus eliminating a large number of \$500 certificates."

18. Limitations on exchange of postal savings certificates of at least 60 days.

Post Office Department reported: "Law requires certificates be payable on demand. However, a charge of 10 cents for each certificate is now being made if they are cashed within 30 days of issuance (estimated sav-ing, \$300,000)."

19. All claims of \$25 or less be settled by local postmasters.

Post Office Department reported: "The Department believes all claims should be handled by specialists. Requirements have been liberalized and the Department feels this has greatly improved this matter."

20. Analysis be made of fourth-class post offices whenever vacancy in office of post-master occurs to determine if office should be continued.

Post Office Department reported: "One thousand fourth-class post offices have been closed in 12 months."

21. Consolidation of fourth-class post of-

fices on light rural routes.

Post Office Department reported: "Nine thousand five hundred and one extensions to rural routes were placed in effect in fiscal year 1954, resulting in closing of small post offices in many instances."

periods between visits of Longer inspectors to fourth-class post offices (now annually).

Post Office Department reported: "Department did not concur in this recommenda-

23. Establishment of a ratemaking board with the Post Office Department.

Post Office Department reported: "Department concurs but feels it should be established by law. A Division of Postal Rates has been set up within the Department."

24. Uniformity in size and weight of par-

cels sent through the mail.

Post Office Department reported: "The Department concurs in this recommendation."

25. Simplification of budgetary, allotment, and payroll procedures and controls in the Department.

The Post Office Department reported: "Such a project is now underway."

26. Elimination of accounting and reporting by small post offices.

The Post Office Department reported:

"This is being studied and corrective action taken where deemed advisable."

27. Requirement that third-class mallers sort their mail by zones for delivery in large

The Post Office Department reported: "The Department is constantly urging zoning numbers on mail and furnishes zone information on mailing lists

28. Arrangements should be made for late pickup at selected letter boxes in most large cities.

Post Office Department reported: "This has been accomplished in most large cities."

29. Modification on restriction on giving overtime work to regular employees.

The Post Office Department reported: "This was accomplished at Christmas time when it was felt it was more effective."

30. Consolidation of responsibility for financial management of the Post Office Department under a top-level management

The Post Office Department reported: "This has been accomplished by a newly organized Bureau of the Controller."

31. Establishment of an internal audit organization to report to highest authority in the Department.

The Post Office Department reported: "A Division of Internal Audit has been established with the Director reporting directly to the Controller."

32. Concentration of accounting activities at points where operations are controlled.

The Post Office Department reported: "Regional controllerships are being established."

33. Development of work-measurement standards.

The Post Office Department reported: "Projects are underway."

34. Accounting personnel should be hired under general schedule classifications.

Post Office Department reported: "This is being carried out."

35. Reduction of the number of allotment accounts

Post Office Department reported: "This is being effected."

Centralization in one office of final au-

thority to grant allowance to the field.

Post Office Department reported: "This is being studied."

37. Elimination of formal accounting by district post offices.

Post Office Department reported: "Plans are underway to accomplish this."

38. Establishment of a pay lag.
Post Office Department reported: "Depart-

ment recommend Congress pass a biweekly pay bill."

39. Centralization of payroll operations of small post offices in regional accounting

Post Office Department reported: "This recommendation is being carried out."

40. Elimination of duplication of retire-

ment records.

Post Office Department reported: "This is being studied and will soon be accomplished."

41. Discontinuance of payment of salaries

Post Office Department reported: "Payments to departmental employees and mail equipment shop employees are now being made by check.

42. Centralization of departmental payroll operations.

Post Office Department reported: "All payroll and leave functions for departmental employees have been transferred to the Bureau of the Controller.'

43. Delegation of authority to effect auto-

matic promotions.

Post Office Department reported: "Studies are being made of this matter.

44. Adoption of a biweekly pay period.
Post Office Department reported: "The Department is supporting a bill to accomplish this."

Political Exaggerations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial appeared in the January 6, 1955, issue of the Long Beach Press-Telegram newspaper. It sets the record straight and I commend it to my colleagues:

POLITICAL EXAGGERATIONS

The righteous indignation expressed by Democratic congressional leaders over GOP campaign language is an amusing hypocrisy.

We're aware that the virtue of intellectual honesty has taken beatings on occasion from members of both political parties. And we don't think evil on one side justifies evil on the other. But it is only fair to keep the record straight.

The Democratic leaders complain of alleged remarks that they interpreted to be the impugning of the loyalty of Democrats, and they even want some apologies. Their

sensibilities were not so easily shocked in past times when genuine and unmistakable insults dropped upon Republicans.

It is strange that the men who tolerated the campaign language of their colleague. Harry Truman, in 1948 and 1952 are so sensitive to the relatively mild utterances of Vice President Nixon in 1954.

Their main complaint is that Nixon recharged them with disloyalty. Nixon repeated the disputed remarks during a campaign visit to Long Beach, and we made no such interpretation. He did charge the administration of Harry Truman with evading the issue of communism in Government, but the charge was laxity and obstinacy, not disloyalty. The evidence Nixon submitted consisted of repeated remarks by Truman that investigations of communism in Government were mere red herring tactics.

If apologies are due, perhaps the Democratic congressional leaders should consider a sort of bargain deal.

They could apologize for Harry Truman's charge that the Republican 80th Congress aided the power lobby in "crudely and wickedly cheating" the people; or for his charge that the House Un-American Activities Committee was "more un-American than the activities it is investigating"; or that "powerful forces" like those that created European fascism were "working through the Republican Party" to "undermine" American democracy; or for his comparison of "all this Republican talk about communism" with the anti-Catholic "whispering campaign" of 1928

Exaggeration, as we see, is a familiar tool

of political campaigning.

It is a tool which the Democratic leaders have already begun to use in the campaign of 1956. The fact is that they want the people to believe that the Democratic Party has been grossly insulted, in order to gain sympathy.

We may expect more of this sort of thing, from both sides, as 1956 draws nearer, even though it does seem incongruous for politicians to appeal to the sense of fair play of the public by unfairly distorting the position of the opposition.

The only defense the public has against such tactics is to judge candidates by what they say, not by what their opponents say they say.

Red "Soldiers in Smocks" Perverting United States Art

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE A. DONDERO

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include therein an article written by William F. Alder, of California, on the subject of Communist infiltration of American art.

This may not be a new subject called to the attention of Congress and the American people, but the article does indicate clearly how far Communists have already penetrated art in the United States and is in support of my own efforts during the last few years on the same subject. I addressed the Congress 3 or 4 times on different occasions in order to expose this danger and to preserve legitimate art in the traditional American way as we have always known it in our

land. I commend this article to the reading of every Member of Congress. RED "SOLDIERS IN SMOCKS" PERVERTING UNITED STATES ART

(By William F. Alder)

As one studies the record of Communist infiltration into every facet of American life, there can be no doubt as to its aim, its penetration to the very grassroots and the pattern of its approach.

As stated in my previous article, art offers a blatant example of this. William Z. Poster, chairman of the Communist Party of America at the time, made this statement in the April 23, 1946, issue of the Communist maga-

zine New Masses:

"There must be a clear understanding that art is a weapon in the class struggle. That not only is art a weapon but a very potent one as well. Moreover, rising revolutionary social classes instinctively realize the importance of art as a social weapon, have always forged their own art and used it to challenge that of the existing ruling classes."

Foster's association of art with the ruling classes is indicative of the Communist's true grasp of its potency, for its victims—the proletariat—cannot be counted as potential purchasers of fine art. Only in a lesser degree than formerly are the artists of today dependent on patrons for their livelihood. In the days of Da Vinci, the real artists were given the full patronage of princes and wealthy merchants. Likewise today, our outstanding artists become renowned because of the recognition of their talents by persons of wealth whose patronage confers the accolade of fame.

In every walk of life there are those misfits who would substitute the position of others for their own out of envy for the apparent ease by which a contemporary gains wealth and high public regard. the motivating cause of the original move-ment by would-be artists, hacks and fallures, in Europe who attempted to organize a guild-a trade union-of professional artists and thus gain control of the profession and eventually starve out of existence the reigning successful members of their craft. Unable to exist out of their own talents, these would-be artists followed the course of iconoclastic members of any calling who cannot out of themselves compete highly skilled and therefore continuously employed craftsmen. They see in a tightly knit, self-serving organization controlled by themselves, the only feasible safeguard for their hapless mediocrity.

ART'S PIED PIPERS

Thus was the Artists' Equity Association formed under the leadership of this William Z. Foster, who is enlisting the big names in art necessary to act as Pied Pipers—the Rock-well Kents, Paul Robesons, et al.—for the rabble, was careful to mask his ultimate purpose under the customary party line, "the liberation of the proletariat."

In this lies the danger to the innocent American artist in his career who unknow-ingly joins this Artists' Equity Association. These young artists, however, soon learn that unless their art conforms to the unorthodox standards of modernism they cannot secure even honorable mention at the vast majority of exhibitions held in the United States.

This Communist-front Artists' Equity Association was formed at the Modern Museum of Art, New York City, in April 1947. It is an extension of the American Artists' Con-gress, which is listed in our Government printed pamphlet Citations as a Communistcreated and controlled organization.

Another leading protagonist of this organized movement is one William Gropper, a clever cartoonist, but an infinitely more clever revolutionist, who has a House Un-American Activities Committee record of 60 radical affiliations. He is a regular contributor of subversive cartoons to the Communist newspapers, New Masses, New Ploneer, The Worker, Daily Worker, and Soviet Russia Today.

A letter by this Gropper, addressed to his superiors to Moscow, points unmistakably to the meticulous attention every section the country, including California and the entire west coast, is receiving from the organized hierarchy channeled through the Museum of Modern Art and the John Reed Club, its alter ego, in the city of New York.

Quoting Gropper's reply to Moscow, in

"In reply to your cable requesting me to report on my activities and action in fighting the imperial war, allow me to state, in short,

as follows:

1. I have held exhibitions of cartoons, drawings, and paintings on the imperialist war and the defense of the Soviet Union throughout the west coast of the United States of America, like Berkeley, San Francisco, Los Angeles, and in galleries in New York City.

"2. At present I am at work on a mural painting to be exhibited in the Museum of Modern Art, which thousands of people visit weekly, and shall register my protest by exposing the war plot against the Soviet Union

in this painting.

"3. I am also organizing, through the bureau of the John Reed Club, a counter exhibition to be held in the galleries of the John Reed Club by its members. The artist group of the John Reed Club has also been active in painting postcards and streamers for demonstrations

"With revolutionary greetings,
"WILLIAM GROPPER."

SOLDIERS IN SMOCKS

One could continue at great length to enumerate the present-day active soldiers in smocks in conjunction with the presently militant, subversive organization known as Artists' Equity.

The Communist art that has infiltrated our cultural front is not the Communist art of present-day Russia. The Communist-inspired art we Americans call modernistic is communism's weapon of destruction. It was exported to us as a part of Russia's program for world domination. Present-day art in Russia has return to the traditional, represensational form, for only such art can be used for constructive propaganda.

The art of the isms with which we are now submerged, it must be remembered, is not an American conception, but was imported for the sole purpose of overawing. overriding and overpowering the fine arts

of our traditional inheritance.

If one but stops to consider the appearance of the suffix "ism" in the American vernacular, he will instantly realize that it stemmed from Europe and is not an American word form as regards its application It started with such terms as dadaism, futurism, constructivism, suprematism, cubism, expressionism, surrealism and abstractionism, just to name a few, all of which have no place in American art, but are strictly invidious imports from an effete and wholly decadent, immoral coterie of European nihilists.

The leaders among this movement to clamp confusion and false premises upon the minds and lives of all Americans were, of course, Picasso, Braque, Leger, Duchamp, Dali, and sculptor Alexander Archipenko. Believe it or not, Archipenko recently was added to the faculty of Oregon State Uni-

versity to teach sculpture.

Archipenko is notorious also for his specialty of flame-like, nude female torsos, usually sans arms, legs, and even heads.

Way back in 1935, Earl Browder, as general secretary of the Communist Party in America, helped implement the next sinister act of the Moscow plot to gain control of art and literature in the United States as part of its plan to destroy and take over he whole American economy. This was the for-

mation of the League of American Writers as an active section of the International Union of Revolutionary Artists and Writers with headquarters in Moscow. Its affiliate, the American Artists' Congress was organized

the following year.

Membership of the League of American Writers included most of the radical minded

art and book critics.
Attorney General Tom Clark, in letters to the review board, cited the League of Ameri-

can Writers as Communist and subversive. That this plan is being carried out with dedicated persistence and characteristic stealth of a movement now gone underground, as FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover warned, there can be no doubt. Communist Gropper's personal invasion of the west coast on behalf of the "imperialist revolution" is but a drop in the bucket as regards the continuous and constantly augmented attacks on west coast thinking and ethical standards.

OJAI VALLEY VISIT

The most recent example of this proselyting in Ventura County centered in Meiners Oaks, Ojai Valley. Here we find a group of gullible Americans listening with rapt attention to a lecture by a traveling, self-styled Marxist missionary notorious for his anti-American subversive activities, Joe R. Starobin, who was invited to attend a meeting of so-called Progressives in the home of Mrs. Elma Kays.

Asked by a reporter whether he was a member of the Communist Party, Starobin said his political views are well known but that So. just his beliefs are his own business. to keep the record straight and tag this Starobin for what he is, we cite from the Fourth Report of the Joint Fact Finding Committee to the 1948 California Legislature.

On page 186, Joseph Starobin is listed as being a member of a subsidiary Communist front created by the notorious American Youth for Democracy, parent of a number of innocent sounding organizations. He was among the leaders of the Friends of the Campus branch. Again, on page 226, Joseph Starobin is listed as one of the sponsors of the Conference on Constitutional Liberties in America, along with Gerhart Eisler, William Z. Foster, Eugene Dennis, and a host of others.

Again, on page 3377, he is cited as being editor of the New Masses, a notorious Com-munist publication which was the monthly organ of the National Student League which headed a revolutionary movement among the students of high schools, colleges, and universities. Again, regarding the New Masses, he is listed as being connected with the com-bined magazines, Main Stream and New Masses, under the title, "Masses," which was suppressed by the Government for its subversive policies.

Among the names listed with his in this connection were those of William Gropper, John Howard Lawson, Paul Robeson, the late Vito Marcantonio, and a dozen others. Again, en page 342, Starobin appears in the role of a newspaper writer for the People's Daily World which is the west coast mouthpiece of the Communist Party.

It was a matter of pained admission by the Joint Fact Finding Committee of California that the People's Daily World "utilizes the service of the United Press, and on many occasions garbles the press items furnished by the United Press in bending the news to the Communist Party line. Apparently the United Press can do nothing about it.

So, if there is any lurking doubt as regards the underlying purpose of the meeting held in the home of Mrs. Emma Kays in Meiners Oaks, Ojai Valley, the concluding words of the editorial printed in a Ventura newspaper of July 9, 1954, would seem to It said: "If Ventura cover the situation. It said: "If Ventura County doesn't have a trifle of Communist hang-over in its midst, it will do until a redder one comes along."

Diplomatic Relations Between the United States and the Soviet Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Case for Severing Relations With Soviet Rulers," written by David Lawrence, and published in the U. S. News & World Report of December 17, 1954. The article traces the diplomatic relations of the United States with the Soviet Union.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the article is estimated to make 71/4 pages of the RECORD at a cost of

\$580

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

THE CASE FOR SEVERING RELATIONS WITH SOVIET RULERS

(By David Lawrence)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.-Is it time to break diplomatic relations with Communist Russia? Has United States only aided Soviet rulers by recognizing a Government that openly seeks 16 years to overthrow this Nation? For American Presidents avoided relations with the Kremlin. For the last 21 years recognition has been extended. All through this period official records show agreements violated, hostile acts committed, warnings of Soviet intent to injure United States. American Government today is talking of peaceful coexistence and still hopes to do business with the Communist rulers of Russia. What follows is a study of official records—the warnings that began 35 years ago. They read as if they were written yesterday.) L WHY RECOGNITION WAS WITHHELD IN THE 1920'S

To understand what is fundamentally involved in the question of severing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Government, we must reexamine the facts of our own troubled relations with Soviet Russia-the facts in the period prior to the resumption of diplomatic relations with Moscow in 1933.

We must study especially the basis on which recognition was originally extended, and review particularly the solemn agree-ments and pledges made by the Soviet Union which have since been flagrantly violated.

As we look at the history prior to the initiation of our present diplomatic relations with the present Soviet Government in Moscow we find a remarkable record. It is evident that few people today who discuss the question have ever read the actual documents in the case.

In the first place, 16 years elapsed while this very question of resuming diplomatic relations was argued, not only in the forums of the world, but in the diplomatic correspondence between the United States and various governments, other than Russia.

The first document which it is important to note was a message sent on August 2, 1920, by Bainbridge Colby, Secretary of State in the Democratic administration of President Woodrow Wilson, to the American Ambassador in Great Britain, Norman Davis. It read in part as follows:

It is the feeling of the American Government that recognition of the Soviet regime or negotiations with it involves sacrificing moral strength for the sake of material gains,

advantages which will prove to be temporary and bought at a very high price. This Government feels that no permanent and just settlement of eastern European affairs can be thus attained. The revulsion felt by the civilized world against the tyranny holding Russia in its power is shared by this Government. This tyranny disregards all principles upon which dealings and relations between nations are founded and is not freely chosen by any considerable part of the people of Russia. A permanent and wise solution of the problem of Russia, it would seem, cannot be reached until there is put into effect a plan whereby all elements of the Russian people will be represented effectively for the consideration of the reciprocal needs, political and economic, of the different regions which made up imperial Russia.'

On August 10, 1920, Secretary Colby, in a communication to the Italian Ambassador in Washington, who had inquired on behalf of the Italian Government concerning the views of the United States with respect to the Russian advance into Poland, wrote as

"That the present rulers of Russia do not rule by the will or the consent of any considerable proportion of the Russian people is an incontestable fact. Although nearly 21/2 years have passed since they seized the machinery of government, promising to protect the Constituent Assembly against alleged conspiracies against it, they have not yet permitted anything in the nature of a popular election. At the moment when the work of creating a popular representative government based upon universal suffrage was nearing completion the Bolsheviki, although, in number, an inconsiderable minority of the people, by force and cunning seized the powers and machinery of government and have continued to use them with savage oppression to maintain themselves in power.

"Without any desire to interfere in the internal affairs of the Russian people, or to they suggest what kind of government should have, the Government of the United States does express the hope that they will soon find a way to set up a government representing their free will and purpose. that time comes, the United States will consider the measures of practical assistance which can be taken to promote the restoration of Russia, provided Russia has not taken itself wholly out of the pale of the friendly interest of other nations, by the pillage and oppression of the Poles.

"It is not possible for the Government of the United States to recognize the present rulers of Russia as a Government with which the relations common to friendly govern-

ments can be maintained. This conviction has nothing to do with any particular political or social structure which the Russian people themselves may see fit to embrace. It rests upon a wholly different set of facts.

"These facts, which none dispute, have convinced the Government of the United States, against its will, that the existing regime in Russia is based upon the negation every principle of honor and good faith, and every usage and convention, underlying the whole structure of international law; the negation, in short, of every principle upon which it is possible to base harmonious and trustful relations, whether of nations or of individuals.

"The responsible leaders of the regime have frequently and openly boasted that they are willing to sign agreements and undertakings with foreign powers while not having the slightest intention of observing such undertakings or carrying out such agreements. This attitude, of disregard of obligations voluntarily entered into, they base upon the theory that no compact or agreement made with a non-Bolshvist government can have any moral force for them. They have not only-avowed this as a doctrine, but have exemplified it in practice.

"Indeed, upon numerous occasions the responsible spokesmen of this power, and its official agencies, have declared that it is their understanding that the very existence of bolshevism in Russia, the maintenance of their own rule, depends, and must continue to depend upon the occurrence of revolutions in all other great civilized nations, including the United States, which will overthrow and destroy their governments and set up Bolshevist rule in their stead. They have made it quite plain that they intend to use every means, including, of course, diplomatic agencies, to promote such revolutionary movements in other countries.

"It is true that they have in various ways expressed their willingness to give 'assurances' and 'guarantees' that they will not abuse the privileges and immunities of diplomatic agencies by using them for this purready referred to, such assurances and guarantees cannot be very seriously regarded.

"In the view of this Government, there cannot be any common ground upon which it can stand with a power whose conceptions of international relations are so entirely allen to its own, so utterly repugnant to its moral sense. There can be no mutual confidence or trust, no respect even, if pledges are to be given and agreements made with a cynical repudiation of their obligations already in the mind of one of the parties. We cannot recognize, hold official relations with. or give friendly reception to the agents of a government which is determined and bound to conspire against our institutions; whose diplomats will be the agitators of dangerous revolt; whose spokesmen say that they sign agreement with no intention of keeping them."

The foregoing note was delivered to all embassies and legations of the United States abroad. This was the deliberate opinion of the Department of State under a Democratic administration.

Let us look now at the viewpoint of the United States Government as expressed in a Republican administration when the Secretary of State was Charles Evans Hughes, who had served previously as an Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States and was later to become Chief Justice of the United States.

Mr. Hughes, on March 21, 1923, addressed a delegation of the Women's Committee for Recognition of Russia. During that address he said:

"As I said to the representatives of your organization a year ago, the fundamental question in the recognition of a government is whether it shows stability and a disposition to discharge international obligations. Stability, of course, is important; stability is essential. Some speak as though stability was all that was necessary. What however would avail mere stability if it were stability in the prosecution of a policy of repudiation and confiscation? In the case of Russia we have a very easy test of a matter of fundamental importance, and that is of good faith in the discharge of international obligations.

"I say that good faith is a matter of essential importance because words are easily spoken. Of what avail is it to speak of assurances, if valid obligations and rights are repudiated and property is confiscated? This is not a question of the rich or of the poor. It's a question of principle. * * *

"Here is a simple test. We have in this case no need to speculate, as of what avail are assurances when we find properties taken, without compensation or restoration, obligations repudiated-properties of all sorts, the investments of one of our great life insurance companies, for example.

"Not only would it be a mistaken policy to give encouragement to repudiation and confiscation, but it is also important to remember that there should be no encouragement to those efforts of the Soviet authorities to visit upon other peoples the disasters that have overwhelmed the Russlan people. wish that I could believe that such efforts had been abandoned. Last November-last November Zinoviev (head of the Communist International) said: "The eternal in the Russian revolution is the fact that it is the beginning of the world revolution.'

"Lenin, before the last Congress of the Third Internationale, last fall, said that, "The revolutionists of all countries must learn the organization, the planning, the method and the substance of revolutionary work... Then, I am convinced,' he said, 'the outlook of the world revolution will not be good but

excellent.'

"And Trotsky, addressing the Fifth Congress of the Russian Communist Youths at Moscow last October-not 2 years ago, but last October-said this: "That means, comrades, that revolution is coming in Europe as well as in America, sytematically, step by step, stubbornly and with gnashing of teeth in both camps. It will be long protracted, cruel and sanguinary.'

"Now I desire to see evidences of the abandonment of that policy. I desire to see a basis for helpfulness. We want to help. We are just as anxious in this department and in every branch of the administration as you can possibly be, to promote peace in the world, to get rid of hatred, to have a spirit of mutual understanding, but the world we desire is a world not threatened with the destructive propaganda of the Soviet authorities, and one in which there will be good faith and the recognition of obligations and a sound basis of international intercourse."

A few months later in the same year, July 9, Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, wrote to Secretary Hughest and asked for an expression of his views on the American position regarding the Russian Soviet power. The labor leader said it had been the consistent contention of the American Federation of Labor "that the Soviet power cannot be recognized because it is an autocracy forced upon the people of Russia without their consent and against their will and maintained in the same manner.

Mr. Gompers added that he could not see where good crops or an improving economic condition, including an acknowledgment of Russia's financial obligations, could change the American position regarding recognition "as long as the principle of tyranny remains.

Mr. Hughes, on July 19, made a lengthy reply in which he said in part:

'The fundamentals of the Russian situation are pretty generally understood in the United States and have made a profound impression upon the thought of our people. We are constantly made aware of this in the Department of State by the various ways in which public opinion makes itself felt in the seat of Government. We learn of the hope of America that Russia should have the opportunity of free political expression and that she should be enabled to restore her economic life and regain prosperity and once more to take her place among the nations on the basis of mutual helpfulness and respect.

There can be no question of the sincere friendliness of the American people toward the Russian people. And there is for this very reason a strong desire that should be done to place the seal of approval on the tyrannical measures that have been adopted in Russia or to take any action which might retard the gradual reassertion of the Russian people of their right to live in freedom. * * * in freedom. *

"We are not concerned with the question of the legitimacy of a government as judged by former European standards. We recognize the right of revolution and we do not attempt to determine the internal concerns of other states. .

"When there is a question as to the will of the nation it has generally been regarded as a wise precaution to give sufficient time to enable a new regime to prove its stability and the apparent acquiescence of the people in the exercise of the authority it has assured. The application of these familiar principles, in dealing with foreign states, is not in derogation of the democratic ideals cherished by our people, and constitutes no justification of tyranny in any form, but proceeds upon a consideration of the importance of international intercourse and upon the established American principle of non-intervention in the internal concerns of other peoples.

"But while a foreign regime may have securely established itself through the exercise of control and the submission of the people to, or their acquiescence in, its exercise of authority, there still remain other

questions to be considered. "Recognition is an invitation to Intercourse. It is accompanied on the part of the new government by the clearly implied or express promise to fulfill the obligations of intercourse. These obligations include, among other things, the protection of the persons and property of the citizens of one country lawfully pursuing their business in the territory of the other and abstention from hostile propaganda by the one country in the territory of the other. In the case of the existing regime in Russia, there has not only been the tyrannical procedure to which you refer, and which has caused the question of the submission or acquiescence of the Russian people to remain an open one, but also a repudiation of the obligations inherent in international intercourse and a defiance of the principles upon which alone it can be conducted. • • •

"What is most serious is that there is conclusive evidence that those in control at Moscow have not given up their original purpose of destroying existing governments wherever they can do so throughout the world. Their efforts in this direction have recently been lessened in intensity only by the reduction of the cash resources at this disposal. * *

"While this spirit of destruction at home and abroad remains unaltered the question of recognition by our Government of the authorities at Moscow cannot be determined by mere economic considerations or by the establishment in some degree of a more prosperous condition, which of course we should be glad to note, or simply by a consideration of the probable stability of the regime in question.

"There cannot be intercourse among nations any more than among individuals except upon a general assumption of good faith. We would welcome convincing evidence of a desire of the Russian authorities to observe the fundamental conditions of international intercourse and the abandonment by them of the persistent attempts to subvert the institutions of democracy as maintained in this country and in others. It may confidently be added that respect by the Moscow regime for the liberties of other peoples will most likely be accompanied by appropriate respect for the essential rights and liberties of the Russian people themselves.

"The sentiment of our people is not deemed to be favorable to the acceptance into political fellowship of this regime so long as it denies the essential basis of intercourse and cherishes, as an ultimate and definite aim, the destruction of the free institutions which we have laboriously built up, containing as they do the necessary assurances of the freedom of labor upon which our prosperity must depend."

The diplomatic documents in the foreign relations of the United States are filled with episodes confirming, incident by incident, the views expressed by Secretary of State Hughes, Operations of the Communist Party throughout the world were the subject of many interesting communications which are printed in the records.

There were even denials by the Russian Government that it was intimately connected with the Communist International, and there was a time when Moscow endeavored to creat the impression that it no longer favored international operations by the Communits Party abroad.

II. MISGIVINGS ABOUT RECOGNITION IN 1933

We come then to the period immediately preceding the recognition of the Soviet Government in 1933. The published documents of our diplomatic history show that, during the period of 16 years in which the United States Government refused to extend recognition, there was no evidence of any important change in the policy of the Soviet Government. But the economic pressure inside Soviet Russia became intense, and it was evident that the Moscow Government needed the recognition of the United States in order to carry on trade with this country and other countries. So a determined effort was made by the Communists to try to impress the new administration in Washington, the Democratic administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, that the time had come for recognition and a change.

Notable is the document prepared by Robert F. Kelley, Chief of the Division of Eastern European Affairs in the Department of State, dated July 27, 1933, which was handed to President Roosevelt by the Acting Secretary of State on that date.

Having determined to take a chance on recognition and the resumption of diplomatic relations, there was a desire, at the same time, to impose conditions so as to achieve, through the very act of recognition, some of the agreements which it had not been possible to attain before.

The Kelley memorandum said:

"In order that the United States may derive from the recognition of the Soviet Government the benefits which normally follow the recognition of a foreign government, the recognition of the Soviet Government should involve the establishment of relations with Russia on a basis which would render possible the maintenance of friendly cooperation between the Governments of the United States and Russia, and the development of trade and intercourse between the two countries.

"The experience of countries which have extended recognition to the Soviet government has shown pretty conclusively, it is believed, that there are serious obstacles in the way of the establishment of the relations with Russia on such a basis, and that so long as these obstacles remain, official relations, established as a result of recognition, tend to become, in view of the extraordinary nature of these obstacles, the source of friction and ill will rather than the mainspring of cooperation and good will.

"It should seem essential, therefore, that every endeavor should be made to remove these obstacles prior to the extension of recognition. Until a substantial basis of mutual understanding and common principles and purposes has been established, official intercourse, with its increased contacts, is bound to lead to friction and rancor.

"Formal diplomatic relations may be established, but the substance of a useful relationship will be lacking, as much for the Russians as for ourselves, unless and until we have cleared up the existing difficulties through mutual agreement and work out a modus vivendi for the future."

This document is of transcendent significance. It shows not only the basis on which recognition was extended, but it justifies in every respect the withdrawal now of that recognition through the severance of diplomatic relations because the original con-

ditions became an integral part of the act of recognition.

The Kelley memorandum went on to say: "The fundamental obstacle in the way of the establishment with Russia of the relations usual between nations in diplomatic intercourse is the world revolutionary aims and practices of the rulers of that country. It is obvious that, so long as the Communist regime continues to carry on in other countries activities designed to bring about ultimately the overthrow of the government and institutions of these countries, the establishment of genuine friendly relations between Russia and those countries is out of the question.

"Even when these activities do not constitute a present menace to the established order, the systematic interference of a foreign power in the domestic affairs of a country constitutes ipso facto a source of deep resentment and unavoidable friction. The persistence of such interference after diplomatic relations have been established leads inevitably either to the rupture of relations—as has taken place in the case of England, China, and Mexico—or to serious tension and the reduction of the existing diplomatic relations to a barren, meaning-less relationship—as has taken place at times in the case of France, Germany, Poland, et cetera.

"It would seem, therefore, that an essential prerequisite to the establishment of harmonious and trustful relations with the Soviet Government is the abandonment by the present rulers of Russia of their world revolutionary aims and the discontinuance of their activities designed to bring about the realization of such aims. More specifically and with particular regard to the United States, this prerequisite involves the abandonment by Moscow of direction, supervision, control, financing, et cetera, through every agency utilized for the purpose of Communist and other related activites in the United States."

The memorandum pointed out furthermore that the Soviet Government had been unwilling to observe "certain generally accepted principles governing the conduct of nations towards each other," because it refused to respect the rights of citizens of other States, and that international obligations had been rejected, which the experience of mankind "has demonstrated are vital to the satisfactory development and maintenance of commerce and friendly intercourse between nations."

Cordell Hull, Democrat, who was Secretary of State at the time, requested Judge Walton Moore, Assistant Secretary of State, and William Bullitt, who subsequently went to Moscow as the first American Ambassador, to prepare memoranda on the more important "conditions and understandings that might be considered significant in connection with the development of plans for the recognition of the Russian Government."

Mr. Bullitt, in his memorandum, said:

"Whatever method may be used to enter into negotiations with the Soviet Government, it seems essential that formal recognition should not be accorded except as the final act of an agreement covering a number of questions in dispute. Before recognition and before loans, we shall find the Soviet Government relatively amenable. After recognition or loans, we should find the Soviet Government adamant."

Mr. Bullitt wrote that there were three important conditions which in his opinion had to be met before recognition could be forthcoming. He outlined these as follows:

"1. Prohibition of Communist propaganda in the United States by the Soviet Government and by the Communitern.

"2. Protection of the civil and religious rights of Americans in Russia which are inadequately protected under current Russian practice (e. g., 'economic espionage').

"3. Agreement by the Soviet Government that the act of recognition shall not be

retroactive to the foundation of that Government (which is the usual practice), but shall take effect only from the day on which it may be accorded. This is essential to protect both our Government and many citizens and corporations from suits for damages."

The Bullitt memorandum said further: There are, of course, scores of other questions involved in resuming normal relations with Russia. Our position would be strongest, I believe, if all these questions, whether legal, economic, or financial nature, should be handled as a unit in one global negotiation, the end of which would be signature of the agreements and simultaneous

recognition." Negotiations proceeded, and by an exchange of notes in the latter part of 1933 recognition was formally extended.

The exact language of the exchange of notes is of vital importance to examine now, because the documents are equivalent to a treaty which must be honored by both nations if the signatures are to mean any-

When formal recognition was finally extended on November 16, 1933, the action was taken through an exchange of letters be-tween the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs, Maxim Litvinov (who came to Washington especially for the occasion), and the President of the United States.

The language of the two notes is identical.

Mr. Litvinov wrote:
"My Dear Mr. President: I have the honor to inform you that coincident with the establishment of diplomatic relations between our two Governments it will be the fixed policy of the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics:

1. To respect scrupulously the indisputable right of the United States to order its own life within its own turisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in manner in the internal affairs of the United States, its Territories, or possessions.

"2. To refrain, and to restrain all persons in Government service and all organizations of the Government or under its direct or indirect control, including the organizations in receipt of any financial assistance from it, from any act overt or covert liable in any way whatsoever to injure the tranquillity, prosperity, order, or security of the whole or any part of the United States, its Territories, or possessions, and, in particular, from any act tending to incite or encourage armed intervention or any agitation or propaganda having as an aim the violation of the territorial integrity of the United States, its Territories, or possessions, or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its Territories, or possessions.

"3. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group-and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group-which makes claim to be the government of, or makes attempt upon erritorial integrity of, the United States, its Territories or possessions; not to form, subsidize, support, or permit on its territory military organizations or groups having the aim of armed struggle against the United States, its Territories or possessions, and to prevent any recruiting on behalf of such organizations and groups.

'4. Not to permit the formation or residence on its territory of any organization or group—and to prevent the activity on its territory of any organization or group, or of representatives or officials of any organization or group-which has as an aim the overthrow or the preparation for the overthrow of, or the bringing about by force of a change in the political or social order of the whole or any part of the United States, its Territories or possessions.'

It is interesting to observe that President Roosevelt in acknowledging receipt of this note in his letter to Mr. Litvinov gave exactly the same assurances as the Soviet had given to us in the numbered paragraphs above.

It is significant, too, that on the same date separate letters were exchanged, on the subject of religious freedom, in which Mr.

Roosevelt said to Mr. Litvinov:

"As I have told you in our recent conversations, it is my expectation that after the establishment of normal relations between our two countries many Americans will wish to reside temporarily or permanently within the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and I am deeply concerned that they should enjoy in all respects the same freedom of conscience and religious liberty which they enjoy at home. *

"The Government of the United States, therefore, will expect that nationals of the United States of America within the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics will be allowed to conduct without annovance or molestation of any kind religious services and rites of a ceremonial nature, including baptismal, confirmation, communion, marriage and burial rites, in the English language, or in any other language which is customarily used in the practice of the religious faith to which they belong, in churches, houses, or other buildings appropriate for such service, which they will be given the right and opportunity to lease, erect, or maintain in convenient situa-

We will expect that religious groups or congregations composed of nationals of the United States of America in the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics be given the right to have their spiritual needs ministered to by clergymen, priests, rabbis, or other ecclesiastical functionaries who are nationals of the United States of America, and that such clergymen, priests, rabbis, or other ecclesiastical functionaries will be protected from all disability or persecution and will not be denied entry into the territory of the Soviet Union because of their ecclesiastical status."

Again Mr. Litvinov wrote to President

Roosevelt assuring him that the right "to free exercise of liberty of conscience and religious worship" and protection "from all disability or persecution on account of their religious faith or worship" was guaranteed by the fixed policy of the Soviet Union and that it was supported by various laws and regulations existing in the various republics of the Soviet Union.

Almost immediately after the acts of recognition occurred, the Soviet press declared that the United States had been "comto restore diplomatic relations and there began a series of events which showed clearly that those who had had misgivings before were not wrong in their assumptions as to what might happen after diplomatic relations had been resumed.

We find Ambassador Bullitt shortly afterward writing to Secretary of State Hull "in regard to several instances in which the Soviet Government does not seem disposed to carry out understandings between it and the Government of the United States."

We note on August 14, 1934, Mr. Hull writing to Ambassador Bullitt in Moscow as follows:

"Since recognition was accorded the Soviet Government the Department has followed the Communist movement in the United States for the purpose of ascertaining whether the propaganda pledges contained in Mr. Litvinov's note to the President of November 16, 1933, are being observed. Furthermore, various individuals and organizations, such as the American Federation of Labor, have laid before the Department evidence tending to show violations of the pledges.

"The Department believes that the following transactions, evidence of which seems indisputable, constitute such violations and in particular of the pledge covered by paragraph 4 of Mr. Litvinov's note. .

You should emphasize that, as Mr. Litvinov is certainly aware, the American people are most sensitive with respect to interference from foreign governments in their domestic affairs and that our Government is hopeful that the Soviet Government will take appropriate means to prevent further acts in disregard of the solemn pledges he gave in its behalf."

Ambassador Bullitt reported from Moscow on October 5, 1934, as follows:

'In accordance with the instruction contained in your August 14, I protested today to Litvinov orally and informally with regard to direction from Moscow of the activities of the Communist movement in the United I informed Litvinov that if at the Cominterm Congress, which is scheduled to take place in the month of January, there should be attacks on the Government of the United States or indications that the Communist movement in the United States is being direced by Moscow the most serious consequences might result; that the Government of the United States was as sensitive as the people of the United States to any interference in our internal affairs by agencies of foreign countries. Litvinov replied that he did not even know that the Comintern Congress would take place and that he was not aware of any activities of this nature. . .

"I think I might go so far as to intimate to Litvinov verbally that we might sever diplomatic relations if the Comintern should be allowed to get out of hand. *

Then on October 8 Secretary of State Hull sent a note to Ambassador Bullitt in which

"Without making any statement to Lit-vinov that diplomatic relations might under certain circumstances be severed, it is highly desirable to give him the impression that in case of a violation of pledges he made when here and failure to agree to that settlement on such reasonable terms as we have proposed, the relations between the two Governments will inevitably be less close and friendly than anticipated, and the reason for our Government doing many things contemplated may disappear.'

Again we find Ambassador Bullitt on July 19, 1935, writing to Secretary of State Hull as follows:

"Contrary to the comforting belief which the French now cherish, it is my conviction that there has been no decrease in the determination of the Soviet Government to produce world revolution. Diplomatic relations with friendly states are not regarded by the Soviet Government as normal friendly relations, but 'armistice' relations, and it is the conviction of the leaders of the Soviet Union that this 'armistice' cannot possibly be ended by a definitive peace but only by renewal of battle. The Soviet Union genuinely desires peace on all fronts at the present time, but this peace is looked upon merely as a happy respite in which future wars may be prepared.

"I feel sure that the Department must have received many reports that the Soviet Government has abandoned the idea of world revolution and that the convictions I have expressed above may seem ill founded. I can only say that my own observations, without exception, have convinced me of the accuracy of my statement. I have yet to converse with a single leader of the Soviet Union who has not expressed his belief in the necessity of world revolution."

This was the view of Ambassador Bullitt, who had gone to the Soviet Union with a very friendly attitude toward the regime there, and who had indeed participated in the negotiations leading to the extension of recognition. But he was quickly disillusioned when he came into actual contact with the Russians in Moscow.

Ambassador Bullitt on August 21, 1935, in a message to the Department of State, pointed out how Litvinov's pledges had been violated and describing in detail the meeting of the Communist International, together with the attacks made upon the United States at that meeting. Urging that President Roosevelt make a speech giving utterance to his views concerning the activities of the Communists inside the United States, Mr. Bullitt wrote:

"I venture to suggest that henceforth the law excluding Communists from the United States should be applied rigidly and that you should instruct all American Missions to refuse visas to Soviet citizens unless they present entirely satisfactory evidence that they are not and have never been members of the Communist Party or Communist International, and are not candidates for admission to the Communist Party or Communist International and are not members of the Profintern."

Instead of a speech by the President, a note was sent to the Russian Government on August 25, expressing the protest of the United States. Attention was called to the Litvinov pledge and to its violation at the meeting of the "All World Congress of the Communist International," and the note added:

"The Government of the United States would be lacking in candor if it failed to state frankly that it anticipates the most serious consequences if the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is unwilling, or unable," to take appropriate measures to prevent further acts in disregard of the solemn pledge given by it to the Government of the United States."

The Russian Government answered the note on Aguust 27 by saying that it could not take upon itself "obligations of any kind with regard to the Communist International"

Secretary of State Hull on September 1, 1935, issued the following statement to the press:

Press:
"The recent note of this Government to reply of that Government raises the issue whether that government, in disregard of an express agreement entered into at the time of recognition in 1933, will permit organizations or groups operating on its territory to plan and direct movements contemplating the overthrow of the political or social order of the United States. For 16 years this Government withheld recognition-as did many other governments-mainly for the reason that the Soviet Government had failed to respect the right of this Nation to maintain its own political and social order without interference by organizations conducting in or from Soviet territory activities directed against our institutions.

"In 1933 this Government, observing the serious effects upon peace and prosperity of the many partial or dislocated international relationships throughout the world, took up anew the question whether the United States and the Soviet Union, two of the largest nations, could not find a way to establish more natural and normal relations, which would afford a basis for genuine friendship and collaboration to promote peace and improve material conditions both at home and abroad.

"After various stipulations in writing had first been carefully drafted and agreed upon by representatives of the two governments, recognition was accorded to the Government of the Soviet Union by this Government in November 1933. One of the most important provisions of the agreement thus reached was the pledge of the Soviet Government to respect the right of the United States 'to order its own life within its own jurisdiction in its own way and to refrain from interfering in any manner in the internal affairs of the

United States, its Territories, or possessions.'

"The essence of this pledge was the obligation assumed by the Soviet Government not to permit persons or groups on its territory to engage in efforts or movements directed toward the overthrow of our institutions. * * *

"In its reply of August 27, 1935, to this Government's note of August 25, 1935, the Soviet Government almost in so many words repudiated the piedge which it gave at the time of recognition. * * If the Soviet Government pursues a policy permitting activities on its territory involving interference in the internal affairs of the United States, instead of 'preventing' such activities as its written pledge provides, the friendly and official relations between the two countries cannot but be seriously impaired."

III. "LISTENING POST" OF DOUBTFUL VALUE

Already, by November 24, 1937, we were finding that the value of an American Ambassador in Moscow as a "listening post" had been very much exaggerated. In a memorandum written on that date, George F. Kennan, of the Division of European Affairs in the Department of State, said:

"The Soviet policy in general: When this Government has sent ambassadors to the Soviet Union it has had a right to expect that they would be welcomed with some-thing more substantial than formal words, and that they would be accorded by the Soviet authorities that measure of cooperation which is essential if their missions were to contribute to advancing American-Soviet relations. But the experience of the two Ambassadors [William C. Bullitt and Joseph E. Davies | who have represented the United States in the Soviet Union, compels one to the conclusion that the Soviet Government has made it a policy to place every possible restriction on the activities and contacts of foreign missions in that city. The Soviet leaders appear to welcome the presence of foreign envoys in Moscow as something contributory to Soviet prestige; but they make it very evident that in their opinion these envoys-like well-trained children-should be seen and not heard.

"In this they have little cause to fear retaliation on the part of foreign governments. The Soviet diplomatic missions abroad constitute only one (and not always the most important) of the channels through which Russia's foreign affairs are directed. The situation in many countriesand particularly in the United States-is such that it is an easy matter for Moscow to eircumvent the governments of these countries and to deal directly with private individuals, firms, and organizations. has its trade delegations, its local Communist parties, its foreign newspaper correspondents, and its various disguised agents, to help it in these efforts. Thus the Soviet leaders have been able to proceed to curb the scope of activity of the Moscow diplomatic corps, confident that no retaliatory measures which might follow could effectively disturb their own business with the outside world. • • •

"The presence of an American Ambassador in Moscow has apparently led to little if any change in the activities carried on in the United States by the Communist International. In 1934 (1935) this Government was compelled to make formal protest in connection with the meetings in Moscow at the Seventh All-World Congress of the International. Despite this protest there is evidence that Soviet leaders are continuing to exercise authority over a certain political group in this country and are requiring members of this group to serve political interests which have nothing in common with those of the United States."

Secretary of State Hull reveals his record of a conversation on January 13, 1938, with the Soviet Ambassador in Washington, when he read to him a memorandum which said in part:

"Ever since diplomatic relations between the United States and the Soviet Union were established the American Government has earnestly sought to make a real contribution toward maintaining them on a close and friendly basis by effecting solution of a number of matters which have been the source of irritation if not, indeed, of friction. That success has not attended its efforts is due, in part at least, to the attitude that has been evidenced by the Soviet author-

"Indeed, the American Government has been constrained, in view of the conditions under which the American Embassy in Moscow has functioned ever since it was established, to consider whether the value to it of that mission is sufficient to warrant the maintenance of the Embassy on the present scale."

There are many references in the foreign relations documents showing that American Embassy officials abroad were experiencing more and more difficulty in dealing with the Soviet Government. Thus, Loy Henderson, United States Chargé d'Affaires at Moscow, wrote to Secretary of State Hull on February 1, 1938, as follows:

"1. It should be considered as axiomatic that the ruling forces of the Soviet Union have always considered and still take the view that the presence of foreign diplomatic representatives in the Soviet Union is an evil which world conditions force them to endure:

"2. In order that the effects of this evil may be reduced to a minimum, they consider it advantageous to follow a policy which will tend to restrict the influence, prestige, and effectiveness of the diplomatic missions in Moscow;

"3. This policy is expressed in part by the adoption of measures, the purpose of which s to discourage the maintenance of large missions, to cause the population of the country to look with suspicion or at least with lack of respect upon these missions, to restrict the activities, freedom of movement, and number of contracts of members of these missions, and to cause members of these missions gradually to acquire a feeling that if they forfeit the good will of the Soviet authorities by fearlessly and resolutely defending the interests of the Governments which they represent they are likely to encounter increased difficulties in operating their chanceries and households with a reasonable degree of effectiveness and economy and in performing the various duties imposed upon them by their Governments, and are even likely to be attacked openly or privately as saboteurs of Soviet relations with their respective countries;

"4. One of the most effective instruments which the Soviet authorities possess for the execution of this policy is their power to decide by means of the formulation and interpretation of customs regulations the conditions under which diplomatic missions may bring articles into or take them out of the country;

"5. The Soviet customs, laws, and regulations are deliberately so worded that if given a strict interpretation the life of members of diplomatic missions in the Soviet Union would be so unpleasant and the cost of the upkeep of such missions so expensive that comparatively few governments would endeavor to support diplomatic representation in that country;

"6. Since in present world conditions, the Soviet Government feels that it is necessary for it to maintain diplomatic relations with other countries, it follows the policy of interpreting and applying the customs regulations in such a manner as not to cause foreign governments to withdraw their missions from the country;

"7. The Soviet authorities apparently are of the opinion that at the present time most diplomatic missions in Moscow are maintained by governments which feel that under existing world conditions their representations in the Soviet Union must not be withdrawn even through the conditions under which such representations are compelled to work are difficult;

"8. This opinion and the rise of antiforeign feeling, particularly noticeable during the past year, undoubtedly partially explains the increasing degree of strictness with which Soviet customs regulations are

s enforced:

"9. This strictness will increase until it runs counter to opposition of a nature that will cause the ruling forces to find it to be the best policy to call another temporary

breathing spell;
"10. If, therefore, the American Government and other governments maintaining diplomatic missions in Moscow permit without protest curtailments of the courtesies accorded by Soviet customs officials to their diplomatic representations, new and more serious curtailments of such courtesies may be expected in the future;

"11. In view of the impossibility of obtaining in Moscow supplies for office and household and of the exorbitance of Soviet import and export duties, the matter of customs courtesies is much more serious in the Soviet Union than in most countries; and

"12. Since merchandise in the United States is plentiful and since exports are not subject to export duties, customs courtesies mean much more to the American Embassy in Moscow than they do to the Soviet Embassy in Washington."

Discourtesy to envoys

This same situation is discussed further between Secretary Hull and the Soviet Ambassador. Here is a quotation from a memorandum by Secretary Hull written on March 26, 1938:

"After talking on another subject, the Russian Ambassador then brought up the question of the complaints in the memorandum which this Government handed to him some weeks ago relative to unsatisfactory treatment of our officials and employees and American travelers in his country. He un-dertook generally to deny most of these complaints, adding that he would soon present

a memorandum on the subject.

'I stated that disagreeable as the small pinpricks were, there was a worse phase that our Government has in mind and that is the atmosphere created there of inconvenience and indifference and of more or less uninviting hospitality to those who go into Russia, including the constant espionage and interference with Russian employees of American citizens in the Embassy and Chancery at Moscow; that it prevents this country from improving the relations between the two countries as we are so desirous of doing, especially from the standpoint of promoting peace and mutual welfare; that regardless of the accuracy or inaccuracy of the charges presented, we are seriously handicapped in this broad way and I consider that extremely important.

"I concluded by saying that if, after we had recognized Russia, that country and this country and Great Britain and France had gone forward in the exercise of normal relations and in developing their combined moral influence for peace, the unpleasant experiences in both the Far East and in Europe would have been reduced at least 50 percent, whereas the present policies of Russia in these small ways are seriously handicapping such supremely important efforts. * * *"

The most authoritative commentary on what happened before and after diplomatic relations with Soviet Russia were formally begun in November of 1933 is to be obtained from a reading of the Memoirs of Cordell Hull (published in 1948 by the Macmillan Co.).

Mr. Hull's analysis

Mr. Hull reviews the events leading up to the negotiations for the resumption of diplomatic relations and tells how, in advance of the step, he had called to the attention of the President that the United States should face the practical considerations concerning the conduct of the negotiations. He writes in his book:

"Consequently, I told the President we had two powerful weapons which can be used to bring about a favorable settlement of some, if not all, of our outstanding problems with

the Soviet Government.

"I am convinced, from the experience of other countries, that, unless we utilize every available means of exerting pressure on the Soviet Government in order to obtain a settlement of outstanding problems, there is little likelihood that such problems can be satisfactorily solved. It is evident that if loans of any considerable amount should be extended to the Soviet Government, except as a part of an agreement involving a satisfactory settlement of such problems, one of our most effective weapons would be taken from our hands—possibly the most effective-since the Soviets, it is believed, prefer at the moment credits to recognition. I concluded by recommending that no loans be extended except as part and parcel of a final settlement of our relations with Russia.

Thus our approach to the question was different from that of other nations then maintaining diplomatic relations with Russia. Those nations recognized Russia first and then began to discuss the questions in dispute between them. The results were generally disappointing. Having obtained part of what she wanted, Russia became less disposed to make concessions to obtain the

remainder.

"In some respects we stood to gain more than Russia by a restoration of diplomatic relations. Without relations, the Russians were probably much better informed about conditions in America than we were about the situation in Russia. The Soviets were in close touch with what was going on here through their Amtorg, or trading office, in New York, an information bureau in Washington, and the American Communist Party.

Mr. Hull describes the negotiations in the agreements that were formally signed and

then writes:

"But our efforts toward closer relations were again to be negated. The Communist International, with headquarters in Moscow, continued to support Communist propagan da and activities in the United States. We made verbal complaints to Moscow, without result. Finally Russia permitted the holding of an All-World Congress of the Communist International in Moscow from July 25 to August 20, 1935. American Communists attended and took part in discussions and plans for the development of the Communist Party in the United States. Here was a flagrant violation of the pledge of noninterference given us on November 16, 1933, and we could not let it pass without protest. By agreement with the President, I sent through Ambassador Bullitt a strong note to the Soviet Government:

"'The Government of the United States would be lacking in candor if it failed to state frankly that it anticipates the most serious consequences if the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is unwilling, or unable, to take appropriate measures to prevent further acts in disregard of the solemn pledge given by it to the Gov-

ernment of the United States.

"But the Soviets replied with the astounding assertion that 'it is certainly not new to the Government of the United States that the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics cannot take upon itself and has not taken upon itself obligations of any kind with regard to the Communist International.' They refused to accept the protest. In other words, the Communist International, although intimately connected with the Soviet Government, could do what it wanted in American internal affairs without interference from that Government.

"In publishing both notes, I issued a statement in which I said: 'In view of the plain language of the pledge, it is not possible for the Soviet Government to disclaim its obligation to prevent activities on its territory directed toward overthrowing the political or social order in the United States. And that Government does not and cannot disclaim responsibility on the ground of inability to carry out the pledge, for its authority within its territorial limits is supreme and its power to control the acts and utterances of organizations and individuals within those limits is absolute * * *. If the Soviet Government pursues a policy of permitting activities on its territory involving interference in the internal affairs of the United States, instead of "preventing" such activities, as its written pledge provides, the friendly and official relations between the two countries cannot but be seriously impaired.'

"We were now back almost to where we had started. We had official relations with Moscow, but they rested on no bedrock of friendship and cooperation. Try as I might, could not establish the sound relationship I deemed so necessary not only for the two countries but also as a counterweight for peace in the scales tipping more sharply toward war."

IV. A ROAD TO NEGOTIATION

The foregoing record demonstrates conclusively that we can utilize the severence and possible resumption of diplomatic relations as an instrument of policy and that it can be, moreover, the basis for extensive negotiations.

By severing diplomatic relations with all the countries behind the Iron Curtain, the United States will in reality be adopting a policy that could prevent war and lead to

a state of peace in the world.

Severance of diplomatic relations with the government at Moscow actually means opening up the road to negotiation for peace. It means, in effect, negotiation with the only sovereign that can make peace, namely, the people of Soviet Russia.

Such a policy should not be put into effect in a mood of pique, as if it were related to a single act that had produced irritation in our midst. It should stem from the moral force that has been the root of American idealism throughout our history.

Many persons who have conscientiously opposed this course when it has been suggested do not take into consideration the act that severance of diplomatic relations, like its predecessor step, the opening of diplomatic relations, is a fundamental concept which can have a constructive aim. They fail to realize that it can be a constructive, rather than a destructive move and that it can conceivably awaken the world to the ways by which we can avert the outbreak war. It can accomplish more than threats or counterthreats to use military force alone.

While it is true that severance of diplomatic relations has sometimes immediately preceded the outbreak of war, this has not at all been true in those instances where the diplomatic break has been based upon differences in fundamental policy, as contrasted with instances where some overt act led to the break itself.

History shows more instances in which a diplomatic break is an intermediate step toward peaceful intercourse rather than a final step toward war.

Within the last 2 years. Soviet Russia severed diplomatic relations with both Israel and then Australia; episodes in the evolution of her international policies. It didn't lead to war in either case.

It is contended that there are advantages in maintaining a listening post behind the Iron Curtain and that this factor is of such importance as to outweigh all moral considerations. While such an argument has some merit it suggests an excuse for inaction rather than a basic reason. For too often the philosophy of moral cowardice, which consults its fears rather than its conscience, winds up with the self-same crisis that a policy of timidity and forbearance sought to avoid.

If every time we contemplate some step in the evolution of our moral policies we are urged not to offend the other side, to repress our indignation, and so to conduct ourselves as not to antagonize tyrants who are every day oppressing millions and millions of people, then indeed it may be that western civilization has started on the road to decay and disintegration. There is no obligation resting upon us to consult our enemies about what to do about our enemies. We must not be frightened by our own self-created bogeys.

No better demonstration of the power of moral force in world policies could be given than that which occurred during the administration of President William Howard Taft, when the government of the Czar refused to honor the passports of American citizens if they happened to be Jews. To the credit of the Taft administration be it said that the United States notified the Russian Government that an American passport applied equally to all citizens and that there could be no discrimination between them, if the treaty which had been signed by the Russian Government were to be honored.

The Russian Government refused to change its policy, and the United States denounced the treaty as no longer in effect.

Nobody suggested at the time that by offending the Russian Government we would create a situation of international tension which could lead to war. Nobody suggested that the United States yield to expediency and recognize a practical situation, because the anti-Semitic policy was an internal problem in Russia at the time.

As to the argument that it is valuable to have American diplomats behind the Iron Curtain to listen, the record there proves this is an advantage of dubious value.

Very little information that comes through official quarters is any different from that which is broadcast by the Moscow radio or the radio stations of its satellities. Most of the information that has been obtained by the United States Government concerning conditions in Russia has come from sources other than the Embassy. Naturally the most valuable facts about internal conditions come from the hundreds of thousands of persons who travel across the borders during the course of the year in business, professional, and cultural pursuits of various kinds. It is obvious that Americans living in a restricted area in Moscow are not necessarily the best sources of information about Russia. The nationals of various countries who travel back and forth are better qualified to keep us informed, particuthose who have contacts with former residents of the Soviet Union, namely nationals of Soviet Russia now in exile.

Severance of diplomatic relations would impress the Soviet people, but much would depend upon exactly how the policy was executed. If it appeared as a mere manifestation of anger it would lose its moral force.

If our argument were focused, however, on the pledges that have been broken and on the agreements that were entered into by the Soviet Government and dishonored, it would profoundly impress the people of Soviet Russia. With the opportunities we now have for disseminating our point of view throughout the globe, it would be practicable for our own Government to make a forceful presentation of all the reasons for the severance. The very debate would draw attention to the moral issues which have so long been neglected.

The severance of diplomatic relations, therefore, would be not a negative but an affirmative act. It would mean that the American people had opened their hearts and minds to the peoples of Soviet Russia and dealt with them directly in an effort to find some means of bringing about peaceful relations between the peoples. It would give hope where there is now despair. The Red army in particular, which must make the major sacrifice in the event of war, would be especially interested to learn why America had found it impractical to deal with the present rulers in the Kremlin. For the Moscow government has never been portrayed inside Russia as the big obstacle to world

Obviously this obstacle, namely a government in Moscow which dishonors pledges, is something which, if emphasized to the Russian people would in due time make them realize they were being represented by a government that can suddenly plunge them into war. It is a government which does not give the people an opportunity to express their wishes—a government which has become a menace to them and to mankind.

It will be said that, with the censorship of the press inside Russia, the documents sent forth by the United States would not be printed, but as news about them came over the radio this in itself would direct attention to the restrictions upon the relations between the two countries growing out of the censorship and the suppression of the free flow of opinion. Radio and word-of-mouth would give it full publicity in the end.

The severance of diplomatic relations would permit a minute review of all the experiences, incidents, episodes, and controversies between the United States and the Soviet Union beginning in 1933.

The mere narration of these events would be enlightening to the public opinion of the world.

It would reveal America as acting in selfdefense against the encroachment of Communist agents and saboteurs.

It would constitute the greatest blow that could be struck by means of moral force, thus demonstrating to the world that the decent opinion of mankind can be more important as a means of bringing peace than the threats to use military force alone.

For when we sever diplomatic relations because of the breaking of pledges, dishonoring of agreements and the disregard of international obligations, we base our action on the highest standards of human conduct.

Our spokesmen, on the one hand, declare frequently that we do not want war. We cannot, on the other, fail to use the weapons of moral force which reach into the hearts and minds of people to prevent war.

It takes courage to exercise moral force. Even the counsel of those who propose the exercise of moral force is rejected as "leading to war." Yet the only road really open to those who shrink from the use of moral force is more and more appeasement, and finally war, because the overt acts of an arrogant enemy inevitably produce war.

V. WOULD THE ALLIES JOIN US?

The question will be raised as to the practicality of such a step in the event that our allies do not take similar action.

American leadership cannot be forfeited, nor can our expression of our free opinions be restrained merely because temporarily there is no agreement with us on the part of other countries.

Precisely because other governments may not concur at once, our opportunity for debate would be widened. It would lend emphasis to the discussion. On the so-called practical side—to those who believe that it is important to have a "listening post behind the Iron Curtain"—it should be mentioned that the American Government would have ready access to any of the diplomatic reports of any of the other governments during the interval while we who have severed diplomatic relations wait for the others to do so.

But this very interval would be of farreaching importance. We would be urging upon our own allies that they take a course of action similar to ours. This debate would have a profound effect inside the Soviet Union. For the discussion itself would afford an opportunity anew to draw attention to the spy rings and infiltration campaigns which actually have been carried on by Soviet agents in the United States, Canada, Australia, Guatemaia, Britain, France, Italy, Japan, and almost every one of the free countries.

It would not be necessary for the debate to be limited in length. It might go on for several months, with the United States pressing powerfully on the morale-force side, and with the allies one by one coming to our side as they gradually recognize the futility of further negotiations with the Kremlin government itself, or else as they perceive a change in government control there and finally an attitude which could conceivably bring about a new and better understanding between Soviet Russia and the rest of the world.

The Soviet Government itself is outwardly indifferent nowadays to the problem of maintenance or discontinuance of diplomatic relations with non-Communist countries. It believes evidently that the western world would maintain them no matter what happened. Our failure to exercise more leverage in this situation by raising the question of whether we care to continue diplomatic relations has recently brought repeated instances of disrespect for our representatives in Moscow.

Today we seem to be unconcerned about exercising any leverage at all against the Soviet Government. We appear to be passively acquiescing in every act of the Soviet Union. We find ourselves in a strait jacket because we, of course, will not precipitate a war, and the phrase "likely to precipitate war" is directed inside America against any policy except abject acquiescence.

Those who argue against precipitating war cannot have it both ways. They cannot, on the one hand, urge that our Armed Forces be immobilized, and on the other hand insist that we shall not take any steps to advance our cause in the court of world opinion.

Wielding moral force

Our only opportunity today in the court of world opinion is to mobilize moral force. And the biggest instrument of moral force is in our hands, namely, the severance of diplomatic relations. It is logical, legal, and clear cut and can be earried on to assure in the end the peace of the world.

Precisely as we laid down the basis for recognition by written conditions, so we can lay down the basis for the withdrawal of that recognition or the severance of diplomatic relations, and also the basis for resumption when the original conditions of 1933 have been fully met by the Soviet Union.

When there is an opportunity for the resumption of diplomatic relations we would be in the position of discussing a new state of affairs in which the Soviets would be making concessions to the rest of the world. We would not remain in the fixed position in which we are today taking affront after affront without really doing anything to impress our enemies that we might make a countermove that could be effective.

We shall not cease to express our own Government's views merely because of the discontinuance of one form of technical communication between the United States Government and the Soviet Government. With radio and newspapers and the reports of those who go back and forth across the border there are many ways to discuss our relations with Russia and to bring home to the people there our views besides the method of formal diplomatic notes, which have really grown less and less effective anyway in recent years.

Basis for new policy

The true meaning of the severance of diplomatic relations, moreover, would not be lost upon the world as a whole. It would have a significance far more than the actual change which involves the withdrawal of a few diplomats from Moscow. For it could form the basis for a new policy in negotiating with the Russian peoples—a new setup as between the United States and Soviet Russia.

America must take the leadership in such a moral cause. Those who say it is theoretically right to discontinue relations with the Soviet Government but not expedient are unintentionally condoning evil and destroying the hopes of the oppressed peoples.

The Soviet Government today has only contempt for vaciliation in an adversary. That's because again and again we have been pushed back and insulted without showing the slightest bit of spirit in protest.

The long history of the periods prior to the outbreak of war shows that when a nation fails unequivocally to express its viewpoint and to maintain its honor and insist upon the fulfillment of solemn pledges it gives the impression of craven weakness, and ultimately it is overrun by an enemy, which miscalculates and thinks that it can win an easy victory.

The way to prevent world war III is to assert our moral position and to indicate clearly and persistently to the peoples of Soviet Russia that it is their government which is pushing us slowly but surely into a larger conflict.

As a warning against such a large conflict the severance of diplomatic relations can have a sobering effect. It can focus attention on the real issues between our Governments and the dangerous steps that have been taken by the Kremlin government to infiltrate our own territory in an attempt to set up agencies to overthrow our Government. Our Department of Justice, our Federal courts, our congressional committees for the last 10 years have recorded in official testimony the acts of Soviet agents on our territory.

The question naturally will be asked as a corollary: What effect would the severance of diplomatic relations have upon our relations with the United Nations?

Strictly speaking, the question of the maintenance or severance of diplomatic relations with a particular government is not related in the legal or diplomatic sense to the membership which a particular nation may have in an international organization set up for specific purposes. Thus many governments now in the U. N. recognize Red China although it has not been admitted to the U. N. Conversely, there are governments recognized by the United States and diplomatic relations are maintained with those governments, but they are not members of the United Nations, though of course eligible for such membership.

It cannot be denied, however—and in fact it should be emphasized—that there is a moral relationship between the position of the United States with respect to the severance of relations with the Soviet Union and continued membership of the Soviet Union in the United Nations.

For example, all of the arguments we have made for the nonrecognition of the Government of Red China and for its nonadmission into the United Nations are on all fours with

those which can logically be made for our severance of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and for its expulsion from the United Nations.

It is not logical, on the one hand, to say that we will not admit Red China to the United Nations because of its aggressive policies and at the same time permit the Soviet Union to remain in the United Nations while it continues its aggressive policies toward other members of the United Nations.

It has been frankly acknowledged by the representatives of the Soviet Union in a formal meeting of the United Nations Assembly that the Moscow government sent arms and ammunition to the Chinese and North Korean Governments, and thus aided and abetted in that aggression, even though the United Nations by formal resolution had called upon all its members to refrain from sending arms to assist the aggressors.

In this connection, a few weeks ago Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, in a CBS radio-television discussion with some newspaper correspondents, was asked the question concerning the membership of the Soviet Union in the United Nations. The colloquy ran in part as follows:

"Question: Mr. Ambassador, could we get back to that word 'peace-loving' for a moment? Now, do we understand that a country, to be a U. N. member, must be peace-loving—by implication be part of a club of very peaceful, law-abiding nations? It seems, for example, to begin with Russia wasn't one in 1945, and Russia was one of the original signers of the U. N. Charter—

Mr. Lodge. "Well, I think that in 1945 and 1946, at San Francisco, the United States assumed that Russia was a peace-loving nation, and the whole United Nations was based on the assumption that the alliance between the United States and the Soviet Union would continue, which, of course, was a very false—tragically false—assumption. Certainly, if we had thought at that time that the Soviet Union believe in war as an instrument of national policy, we would not have joined the United Nations with her."

From the foregoing it is clear that the Soviet Union has no moral right to continued membership in the United Nations. The League of Nations did expel the Soviet Union from that organization. The United Nations ought to have the moral courage at least to suspend the membership of the Kremlin tyrants. The seat can be declared vacant by the action of the Assembly.

It is this moral issue which is raised not only in the continued membership of an aggressor nation in the United Nations, but also in the refusal of all forward-looking nations to countenance the admission of Red China into the United Nations for the same reasons.

So by a single stroke in severing diplomatic relations we would be reopening the whole question of whether the present government of the Soviet Union should remain in the United Nations. This probably would not be decided immediately. But the moral effect of a thorough discussion would be felt around the globe. Step by step the moral forces of mankind would concentrate on evils which are now upsetting the peace of the world.

VI. AN ACT OF SELF-DEFENSE

So, to summarize, the severance of diplomatic relations is an act of self-defense. It is a step taken to prevent the encroachment by the agents of foreign governments upon our territory in their attempt to infiltrate our institutions. Every democratic government has a right to resist such measures, by banning the use of its own territory for the the conduct of operations hostile to itself.

What we say, in effect, is this: "We are not interfering with your internal affairs, but we are resenting the use of your power externally to the injury of the United States."

Sooner or later the Western World must recognize that the policies of Soviet Russia are actually hostile to them, as is proved by the many processes of subversion and internal infiltration that have characterized the so-called cold war.

By severing diplomatic relations we also take the necessary steps toward the shutting off of all trade relationships with the United States. We can stop the flow of money to the many Soviet consulates and agencies in various countries, which are the centers of espionage. Unquestionably the Latin-American governments would eventually follow our lead, and a very important opportunity that the Soviets now have to upset Latin-American governments would be eliminated. That would be consistent with our Monroe Doctrine and the recent pronouncements of the Organization of American States.

It is obvious that the subversive movements throughout the world, conducted by the Soviet Union, could not be financed except with Russian rubies cabled to its agents in embassies everywhere, who bribe officials, newspapers, and other media of communication, especially in Latin-American countries, to help them do their work of subversion.

We know that on the continent of Africa, and in various parts of Asia, the Communist agents are busily engaged in moves to upset existing regimes, and to capitalize on existing controversies. But the money for such exploits would not be forthcoming if diplomatic relations and trade relations were cut off.

What we are advocating here is a policy of nonintercourse with the Soviet regime, which when fully explained to the people of the Soviet Empire must inevitably result in some internal change. This is the hope of the world, and we must contribute toward that end by shaping our policies in self-defense against those who have made war upon us.

For the severance of diplomatic relations is merely a logical sequel to the acts of offense which have been committed by the Soviet regime upon the territories of free peoples. To condone these evils is to compound them and to deprive free peoples of their only means of protection against an enemy in the modern world which disregards all rules of sovereignty, all rules of international law, all obligations and agreements solemnly entered into and signed in formal agreements, and all assurances and guaranties given to respect the rights of others.

By interrupting diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union we would be telling the entire world that the United States of America, which has always stood in the past on moral principle, is continuing vigorously to pursue the course of morality, and that it will not resume diplomatic relations with any government which has violated its pledges to the United States Government, and which gives no practical evidence of any change in its attitude.

No evidence of good faith

We have called in the last few years for "deeds and not just words" from Soviet Russia. President Eisenhower has spoken publicly of the importance of concrete evidence on the part of the Soviet Union that it will act in good faith, but no such evidence has come forth. Under those circumstances we have no choice but to develop a policy of nonintercourse, with the definite assurance given by us that this policy will be gradually modified and relations with a new Government established in Soviet Russia as soon as the Russian people express their will freely and put into office a government that will respect international obligations.

There are, of course, only two ways by which the present government in the Kremlin can be altered—that is either by external military action or internal force.

External force is out of the question bean opportunity to consolidate their position inside the country and light the fires of patriotism and nationalism.

Internal force is the logical instrument. Revolution or peaceful change is the only means by which a despotic government can be removed without bringing on an external

Again and again in recent history we find that revolutions are short-lived or that the impact of pressure from the people will without bloodshed cause the resignation of unpopular rulers.

When a great nation like the United States lays the case before the world and tells the people of Soviet Russia what its Government has done to impair the peace of the world, the people there must inevitably learn the truth about the danger that they face. the real danger is that the Kremlin will involve them in a war which will require great sacrifices from the very people who only re-cently suffered so heavily on the battlefield.

Kremlin creates war fear

The fear of war grips everybody in the world, and the people of Soviet Russia are no exception. It is a hazard that the present rulers in the Kremlin have created which is dangerous to the future of all peoples. That is why we must never enhance the prestige of the present rulers of the Kremlin. We must not engage in high level conferences which can be played up in the Soviet press as examples of how the western nations are bowing to the great rulers in the Politburo. We must not treat the leaders in the Kremlin as if they were our equals in the world and respectable representatives of a great nation. On the contrary, we must do as Secretary of State Charles Evans Hughes advised in 1923 when he said:

'Nothing should be done to place the seal of approval on the tyrannical measures that have been adopted in Russia, or to take any action which might retard the gradual reassertion of the Russian people of their right

to life in freedom." Only by a severance of diplomatic relations can we give convincing evidence to the people behind the Iron Curtain of the dangerous course which the evil men in power in Mos-

cow have chosen to pursue.

When diplomatic relations have been severed and the debate begins throughout the world, the moral force of all the oppressed people will be strengthened and stimulated so that they will in their own way bring into being in Moscow a free government which will have the respect of the rest of mankind. Such a free government will have earned not only recognition, but a rightful place in the

family of nations, and, of course, in the United Nations itself.

Address of Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway Before the West Point Society of New York

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, the views of Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Chief of Staff, United States Army, whenever expressed, are always worthy of profound consideration and study.

I include in my extension an address made by General Ridgway on December

14, 1954, in the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, before the West Point Society of New York, Every part of his address is significant

and particularly when he said:

It is only through possession of adequate military strength that the efforts of the splendid leaders of American diplomacy can realize their fullest success.

I have stated in and out of the House that "the strength and power of our military force is the main avenue by and through which our national objectives in the field of foreign affairs is attained."

There are many Americans, of which I am one, who are very much concerned with the reduction in our Army in recent months, and particularly with the sharp reduction proposed during the next 18 months. I have a feeling of confidence that General Ridgway is also one of those Americans.

It is a pleasure and a privilege for me to be here today with you who share the deep love of country and the ideal of service which West Point engenders and exemplifies. The words "duty," "honor," "country" express "country" tersely the soldier's ideals of purposeful service, ennobled by high standards of personal integrity and personal dedication. times when ideals or spiritual values of the highest type are called for, if our Nation is to endure, and its precious heritage of free-dom is to be preserved unimpaired. Our Nation's spiritual resources, more than its material resources, will be the ultimate determinant of our place in history.

Our Nation today is faced with a military threat unique in its history. It is a threat, though, which menaces, not our Nation alone, but every nation outside the Communist bloc. The military strength of the Communist world is such that if it were thrown against us, an adequate defense could only be through the combined efforts of those free nations who see the peril for what it is and who have therefore allied themselves, with their combined strength, in unswerving opposition to it.

The alliances that add strength to the free world were formed in the face of this common danger. If they are to endure, they must be nourished by mutual trust and confidence arising from mutual understanding and common interest.

These alliances, and their military significance to us, form my topic today.

The military man is deeply concerned with the strength of our alliances because he appreciates full well the contributions to our Nation's security which such allies can make. Our national goals of deterring war by all honorable means, and of achieving victory should war be thrust upon us, are best attainable within a framework of effective

Were we as a nation to rely solely upon our own industrial and manpower resources to defend ourselves against the full military strength of militant and aggressive communism, our Nation might find the task desperately difficult. The threat against us is total in its maleficence, and in the various areas in which its influence is being exertedin the psychological, economic, sociological, diplomatic, and cultural fields—as well as in the purely military.

Perceiving the comprehensive nature of the defenses we must erect in all these areas of human activity, and fully realizing their interdependence—I should like to discuss with you some of the military implications of our alliances, and the extent to which the security of our Nation is bound up with the security of our allies—how much they contribute to our military strength, as we contribute to theirs.

In any approach to a military problem, a logical starting point is the military capability of the potential adversary as revealed by his forces in being in reserve, and in

capability to employ those forces against us.
The catalogue of Soviet military strength in being is an impressive list. Briefly stated, the Soviets have 175 divisions, and there are a million men in the armies of European captive states under varying degrees of Soviet control. In addition, the Red Chinese Army boasts 2½ million men. This Soviet-controlled ground strength, then, represents a military force far exceeding purely defensive needs. Its existence, in the light of the clearly demonstrated aggressive policies of the men of the Kremlin constitute a grave threat to world peace. And not only in ground strength, but at sea and in the air the Soviets continue to increase the effectiveness of their armed forces. The Soviet Navy is now estimated to be the second largest in the world with much of its strength concentrated in submarines. In the air the Soviets are estimated to have a total of 20,000 active planes, with an everincreasing effort devoted to the production of jet fighters and long-range bombers, and a continuing buildup in the air strength of their satellites.

These formidable military forces respond to the orders of a small clique of powerful and ruthless men whose avowed alm is world domination and who, on the record, respect only force as the ultimate arbiter in the affairs of men. Their basic philosophy, abhorrent to us, stands revealed in historical record by their willingness to expend human lives on whatever scale the achievement of their aggressive aims demands.

Now the Soviet and satellite governments have certain military advantages which derive from the physical resources they control. The have an advantage in freedom of action which dictators always enjoy over democratic nations responsive to public support, and to the conscience of God-fearing peoples.

The Soviet bloc controls more than onefourth of the earth's land surface. Applied to military considerations, this is an extremely significant fact.

Wars are fought, not for control of the seas or control of the air. These are but intermediate steps toward attainment of the final objective. That final objective is control of land and of the people living on it. Control of essential land areas is vitally necessary to the effective exercise of sea and air power, since seapower is dependent upon the continued use of land bases, and air forces upon the continued availability of landing fields. I scarcely need point out, however, the essential role of sea and air power in modern war, particularly in our case, with a continent to defend and worldwide allies to support. Yet, I do wish to put in clear and proper perspective the vital role of land power and the decisive instruments of land power-ground forces or armies-in the sum total of armed strength.

The more land an aggressive force controls. the more sea, air, and land power it can sustain. With the land comes the food for the armed force, the steel and coal to forge its weapons, the oil to power its engines of war, the industrial capacity to enlarge its warmaking potential, the manpower to labor for its aggrandizement. Moreover, with conquered land comes space to add depth to the defense of an aggressor's homeland from retaliation.

It is not only that more land, with all the resources of that land, becomes available to strengthen the aggressor, the conquered land, and the people on it, are unable to join with those powers which would normally be its allies. Thus, to the extent an aggressor can establish and maintain his control, the conquest of more land strengthens and enlarges his capabilities for further aggression, while simultaneously weakening the capabilities of every other power successfully to resist him.

At present, Kremlin-led Communist control is exercised over some 800 million human beings—roughly, one-third of the earth's population, inhabiting one-quarter of its land surface. Beyond the periphery, this force continues to infiltrate and attempt to subvert the governments of free countries. It seeks to exploit every weakness. Those who direct it have only too often stated their hasic aim of world domination, and the pattern of their deeds continues clearly to support their words. They would, if able, destroy the institutions and ideals which have enabled man, with God's guidance, to achieve new heights of dignity. These men would, if they could, extinguish the light of freedom itself, for in their basic attitude toward life there is no place for freedom, no purpose of man, except to serve them and the state they represent.

It is, therefore, with due regard for the broad nature of the Communist threat and the urgency of that threat, that our Nation must build and maintain its defenses. It is enlightened self-interest for us to recognize that our safety is joined with the safety of other free peoples, that our strength is augmented by theirs and theirs by ours.

Only a part of the free world's important production centers and important sources of vital raw materials are located in the United States, or even in the Western Hemisphere. Other continents are rich in the materials on which our security and the continued progress of civilization depend. Africa holds much of the uranium required for our de-fense effort. Southeast Asia is a primary source of natural rubber and a rich source of tin. More than half of the world's known oil reserves are located in the Middle East. Japan, while short of many raw materials, possesses an industrial capacity of increasing importance. And in Western Europe there are rich deposits of coal and iron, as well as a population of 300 million, closely akin to us, with a high proportion of skilled workers and technicians.

All other considerations apart, the Importance of such resources and capabilities to the strength of the free world makes it urgent that they remain on our side. If a Kremlin-launched war should succeed in seizing and controlling the vast productive capacity of Western Europe, the balance of military power would swiftly shift to our grave disadvantage. Then, even if many industrial centers behind the Iron Curtain were to be destroyed by allied retaliatory efforts, the scizure of Western Europe by the Soviets would have compensated, perhaps much more than compensated them, for what they had lost.

Besides the resources which we and our allies can contribute collectively to mutual defense, there are other distinct military advantages which accrue from our united efforts.

In a world in which time and space continue to shrink, our regional defense groupings would give more timely warning of aerial attack, more precious time to alert our collective defenses, both here and overseas. Bases on allied soil would enable the United States to employ its striking power against aggressors in any part of the globe. Land, sea, and air bases in the European and Mediterranean area and in the Far East make a vital contribution to the security of these coalitions, and no less so to the security of the United States. These numerous dispersed bases offer added insurance against the possibility of successful multiple surprise attacks, by which an enemy might seek to deliver a knockout punch, before the free world's men and planes and ships could retailate.

Another advantage of mutual benefit is the increased effectiveness of combined intelligence efforts, so essential to the conduct of successful military operations. Further, our forces overseas are daily gaining familiarity with the language and characteristics of the nations with which we are working, and of the characteristics of the terrain over which we may be called upon to fight. Such knowledge is of scarcely less importance in peaceful pursuits than in time of war.

Obviously, one of the great contributions of our allies is in the military forces which they contribute to the common cause and which, combined with ours, constitute a deterrent to Soviet armed attack and, if launched, an obstacle to its advance.

In proportion as the menace of Kremlin-inspired aggression has become more apparent and the power of Kremlin-controlled military strength a more ominous and obvious threat to world peace, the free nations of the world have increasingly recognized their common danger and the necessity for combining their military strenth. Unfortunately, the converse has likewise been generally true. The more the Kremlin has disguised its designs and preached of peace, the more the Western World has tended to relax its efforts and drop its guard. Nothing could better serve the Kremlin's cause, or more injure our own.

The military contributions of Western Germany would add still further strength to Western Europe's defenses, and it is for this reason, among others, that so much significance attaches to the continuing efforts to bring Western, and ultimately all of, Germany into NATO, efforts which have come closer to realization through signature of the recent London and Paris agreements.

The military arrangements I have mentioned are dependent for their motivating power on much more than a mere pooling of our military and other material resources. There must likewise be some pooling of spir-Itual forces in support of the principles we all profess, some meeting of the minds in a great moral purpose-a purpose sufficiently idealistic to lift it above the purely material, yet sufficiently practical to promise true progress if fulfilled. In the moral factor lies that vital spark of vision and strength and determination which alone can bring our efforts to flower into a finer civilization. destruction of our moral and spiritual standards therefore remains the final deadly aim of the Kremlin-controlled communism.

It well recognizes the importance and significance of cooperation—spiritual as well as military—among the nations of the free world. Wherever it operates, it strives to turn our allies against us, and to destroy the strength of the alliances that its own aggressive policies have forced into being. One theme is consistent through all the devious twists and turns of the Kremlin line, the "Hate America" theme. Simultaneously, the attempt is made to lull the peoples of the free world into complacency by constant repetition of hypocritical offers of world peace.

By propaganda, psychological warfare, subversion, and all methods short of open war, the struggle to isolate the United States continues. Its success would vastly increase our difficulties and our peril.

It is well, therefore, for the citizens of our Nation to appreciate the contributions of our allies and their importance to our national security. We should realize that alliances require both "give" and "take." We must likewise realize the necessity for patience and understanding, and bear in mind that the issues which unite free nations are far greater than those which divide them. Any alliance—and, of course, I am here

Any alliance—and, of course, I am here dealing with military alliances—must be of mutual benefit to the parties concerned.

Trying to get something for nothing is no more praiseworthy or practicable in international than in personal affairs. Efforts to do so are rightly regarded as unethical. That our alliances meet the test of practicality is indicated by the fact that they were voluntarily entered into by free governments with the support of their respective peoples.

I have had occasion to serve with our allies in both Europe and Asia. I have served both here in the United States as well as in the Caribbean, with the military representatives of our Latin American allies. The degree of unity and cooperation which I have observed in all those regions among the military men of the nations concerned, is a highly encouraging sign of the mutuality of interest that prevails and of a strong aspiration to achieve a common objective of strength through unity. It is an asset of intangible yet incalculable value.

Since military commitments are a necessary part of military alliances, international military arrangements by the United States must be carefully scrutinized to ensure that our commitments do not exceed our capabilities and that the benefits expected to accrue are worth the commitments. Obviously, perspective is required. The capabilities of our Nation, while enormous, are not unlimited, and selfishness still rides high in this practical world.

Yet, we can take pride in the leading and enlightened role our statesmen have played helping to forge a structure of international, or collective defense the better to safeguard our own national security.

American military men have played a prominent part, advisory in the formulation and executive in the implementation, of these arrangements. They have added greatly to the prestige and high reputation that our Nation's military forces enjoy in the world. Because our military capability is an important element of our diplomatic effectiveness, the significance of a potential enemy's respect for the capabilities of our military forces should be obvious. It is only through our possession of adequate military strength that the efforts of the splendid leaders of American diplomacy can realize their fullest success.

American officers of all our armed services are working with allied officers in all parts of the free world as partners in an international effort to preserve principles and to defend ideals, which basically have a great deal in common. In 39 countries of the world, officers of the United States Army, though relatively few in number, are helping to train and supply the fighting forces of our allies. These officers are securing excellent results in assisting allied military establishments to contribute more effectively to their own defense and so to ours, and perhaps of even more importance, in interpreting our way of life by precept and example. Our two United States field armies overseas—the Seventh in Europe and the Eighth in the Far East, together with their associated fleets and air forces-are conclusive evidence of our Nation's determination to help our allies to resist aggression, and to participate as a full partner in the common defense.

The great efforts we are exerting to secure world peace in partnership with the free nations of the world—efforts in which the United States Army is proud to have a major share—have for their goal the preservation of the freedom we have inherited from our forebears, the freedom we are determined to preserve for our children and our children's children, the freedom we continue to seek to extend by peaceful means for all men to enjoy everywhere.

For the sake of all of this, we must not isolate ourselves. He who advocates such a course is, I think, a dangerous counselor.

Eighty-fourth Congress of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE S. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, all of us who are honored to serve our great people in their Federal Congress, are of course, and properly so, the recipients of large amounts of mail from them. Indeed, it is traditional in our land for the citizen to write to his Congressman or his Senator on the least provocation.

Now, Mr. Speaker, too many of us upon whom rests the responsibility for our legislative affairs are inclined to ignore the importance of these letters. Nothing could be more foolish. These letters are, in a very real sense, instructions from our employer; and, if we want to be good and faithful servants, it behooves us to take heed of the counsel with those who employ the people of the United States. Indeed, Mr. Speaker, one of these letters, which I am sure has been received by all of my distinguished colleagues, is the inspiration for this address. The gentleman who wrote it, Mr. Bluford H. J. Balter, is an outstanding citizen of my own State, although not of my district. He is no personal friend of mine, although I wish that he were. I do know, however, that this patriotic man has spent a fortune in his efforts to aid in the survival of his country. Is it any wonder, then, that his letter has inspired this address? Mr. Speaker, the letter of which I speak is worthy of a permanent place in our national archives, and I make it a part of this address.

All experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.

The little-noticed words quoted above were inserted in our Declaration of Independence before the meeting of the First Congress of the United States of America. They gave clear and ringing notice to the world that Americans, though disposed to be long suffering in the face of governmental oppression, did have within them a point beyond which no king nor potentate might proceed in interfering with their inalienable rights.

When His Britannic Majesty, George III, disregarded this warning from his American subjects they proceeded to turn from long-suffering subjects of a European nation, to violent and aggressive citizens of their own free and independent nation, determined to preserve their freedoms with their lives, and responsible only to their God for their actions. Now, 179 years later, that same grave and portent warning is in order. Our Nation again stands in grave peril; whether or not it survives may well depend upon the strength and integrity of the men and women who make up the 84th Congress of these United States.

Our valorous Founding Fathers rose up and "abolished the forms to which they are accustomed" because they valued the freedom and honor of themselves and their descendants more than they feared the horrors and sufferings of war. That freedom might not perish from the earth, they did not hesitate to face death as traitors if they failed in their high endeavor. They did not fail

their high endeavor. They did not fail. Having won their fight for human freedom and human liberty, our great forefathers on this continent then proceeded to draft, adopt, and promulgate the Constitution of the United States. one of the greatest documents ever devised by the mind of man. That Constitution and its first 10 amendments guaranteed to all Americans for all time that "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" that was promised in the Declaration of Independence. Today, after some 164 years of the existence of our Constitution, we have life but precariously, dependent upon the whim of the brutal rulers of those governments who have embraced atheistic communism: if we have liberty at all, it is at the whim of some government functionaire, intent upon taking of our sustenance in order that the habitants of foreign shores may live better than we, and who fails to exercise the absolute power that government has wangled and decadent judges have affirmed, to take all of our property and all of our earnings to satisfy the needs of an ever-expanding worldwide giveaway program, designed to enrich and strengthen our enemies while pauperizing us; and if we may pursue liberty at all, we are pursuing only an unobtainable myth, made unobtainable by unreasonable, unconstitutional, and confiscatory taxes that are driving our people to desperation, and which will inevitably destroy our Nation just as they have already destroyed the individual initiative that has made our country great.

Where along the way did we lose the freedom and independence for ourselves in the present and the hope for our descendants in the future, so carefully created and nurtured by our valiant fore-fathers on this continent? We have more than once demonstrated our valiance in war and our magnanimity in victory.

During the years 1941-45 our country, rightly or wrongly, was at war, and our people labored long and hard, and without thought of themselves, to carry the immense financial burden imposed upon them by the necessities of their native land. They did so gladly and cheerfully. With victory in Europe and Japan, our people continued giving of their sustenance without complaint in order that the enemies they had just made prostrate might have food and drink and continue to live. But now some 14 years have elapsed, during which the people of the United States of America have carried the financial burdens of most of the world, and with what results? In 1940, before we began our wasteful giving, we had friends all over the world. Today we have hardly a friend outside our own hemisphere.

But even with this dismal background our thoughtless leaders in our National Capital now propose to tax our people even more grievously and to assume now the additional burden of the support of the uncounted masses of the great land mass of Asia. What fools we are. If our generosity made only enemies among the Christian peoples of Europe, by what logic may we expect friends as a result of foolish give-aways in hostile, non-Christian lands?

Our great Constitution guarantees us the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. All of these guaranties become meaningless in the face of illegal and confiscatory taxes. We could serve the cause of communism no better by sending them vast shiploads of armaments than we do by senseless spending ourselves into chaos and national bankruptcy.

Too long have we played the fool. Our national survival depends upon a sane reappraisal of the policies of folly that have made our continued existence a serious question at this tense moment of history.

And now, Mr. Speaker, I tender the letter from my fellow citizen of our wonderful State of Louisiana, Mr. Bluford H. J. Balter, the letter which was the inspiration for this address, and I ask that it be made a part of this address and take its place in the historical archives of our great Nation as witness to the fact that in our great land of the United States of North America the humble citizen as well as the statesman is aggressively determined that our free land shall survive and that our descendants shall enjoy, under our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, that freedom and liberty to which we ourselves were born and which we are obligated to hand on to them undefiled.

New Orleans, U. S. A., January 1, 1955. Hon. George S. Long,

United States Representative from the Eighth Louisiana Congressional District, House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Exercising that inalienable right of free men to petition their government for redress of wrongs, as guaranteed by your illustrious predecessors gathered in constituent assembly to frame the Constitution of the United States, I now address you and implore you to save the very existence of our beloved Nation.

The Declaration of Independence, that great document by means of which our ancestors cast the die for freedom rather than tyranny, promises to us, as inalienable rights, "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

After the bitter struggle for independence was won, that promise was made reality in the Bill of Rights comprising the first 10 amendments to the Constitution, and especially the due-process requirement of the fifth amendment.

Living under the Bill of Rights from 1789 to 1913, the United States of North America attained the highest standard of wealth, of living, and of culture that the world of man has ever known.

Then an iniquitous blight was impressed upon our constitutional system, the 16th amendment, declaring, in effect, that all the earnings of the citizen belonged not to him, but to the Government. Whatever amount of his earnings he was allowed to keep was by the grace of his all-powerful Government and not by reason of his natural and inallenable rights.

The 16th amendment had within itself the seeds that have now turned a proud Nation of free men into a Nation of ignominious slaves and regimented robots. The graft and

corruption in high places, the mink coats and the freezers, yes, even the alleged action of Alger Hiss, Harry White, William Remington, and the Rosenbergs, as documented by the House Un-American Activities Committee, all are byproducts of a Nation of slaves, a people devoid of all hope of ever living in the blessed light of freedom and exercising the dignity inherently possessed and rightly expressed by all men who live not under tyranny.

For 14 years our people have supported from their earnings most of the rest of the World. During the great war that ended in 1945, they did so gladly; at the end of the decade that has since elapsed, they find the burden intolerable and the proposal to spend untold billions upon the teeming masses of

Asia unthinkable.

History will hold to stern account the 84th Congress of these United States. It is to you that we look for the restoration of freedom and sanity in our beloved Nation. If you continue giving of our wealth and earnings to ungrateful and indifferent Europeans who give us only hate and ridicule in return and if you saddle us with the burden of supporting hordes of atheistic Asians, then truly we shall die as a free nation. If you take the first step toward returning us to sanity and Americanism, then shall you see a miracle among us. If you will but restore to us the right to use the fruits of our labor and our undertakings as we choose, limiting the arbitrary power of government to confiscate our wealth to some reasonable and predetermined amount, then shall you see American initiative and ingenuity come to the fore again and raise our living standards and our national prosperity to such un-dreamed-of heights that the rest of the world will live better than it ever has on the mere byproducts of American civilization. Members of the 84th Congress:

If you fail us we die. If we die you and the hopes of mankind everywhere die with

Respectfully submitted.

BLUFORD H. J. BALTER.

Production of Wheat for Feed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced today a bill which will permit the farmers of the Nation to produce wheat for feed, without penalty, if all of the wheat produced is fed where grown and no price support is desired.

Under the present law, when marketing quotas have been voted for wheat, farmers who harvest wheat in excess of their allotment are subject to penalty. Farmers who produce wheat only for feed and who do not want price support on their wheat or any other crop are forced to curtail their operations and are in violation of the law and subject to penalty if they fail to do so. This is true even though the farmer uses his entire production of wheat solely to feed his own cattle or poultry. This situa-tion is an intolerable and unnecessary interference with the operation of our country's farms and has been the source of widespread dissatisfaction among our farmers.

The ridiculousness and downright injustice of the situation are obvious. Many small farmers who raise wheat solely to feed their own cattle or poultry are forced to put that wheat into storage and then buy the wheat they need for feed purposes. This is an indefensible example of Government regulation run

Wheat used for feed on the farm where produced does not enter any marketing channels. Its production does not affect the operation of price supports and, therefore, should be exempted from marketing quotas. My bill will accomplish that purpose. I shall press for its early consideration by the Congress.

How We Served as Partners in a Purge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, since the end of World War II there have been many stories to the effect that the American Government went beyond the terms of the Yalta agreement when returning displaced Russian nationals to the Russian Government, due to the zealousness of some of its officials. It has been charged that this phase of the repatriation program returned these people to their deaths.

A very interesting article on this subject, written by Julius Epstein, was published in the December 1954 issue of the American Legion magazine. The article is entitled "How We Served as Partners in a Purge," and is as follows:

How We Served as Partners in a Purge (By Julius Epstein)

During the night before they were packed into army trucks and carted off to Stalin's slaughterhouses, the 4,000 prisoners of war slept peacefully. They had again been reassured officially that there was no intention to deliver them against their will to a red

The reassurance was a cruel trick. Before dawn that Sunday morning their camp was surrounded by armed troops under command of grim-faced officers. Though the war had ended more than 9 months before, all was in readiness for one of its bloodier-and morally most shocking-operations.

At about 6 the prisoners, awakened by searchlights suddenly flooding the entire camp, were hustled out of their barracks. They were frisked for weapons-not weapons of assault but of suicide. Those who resisted were beaten up; skulls were cracked, and ribs smashed. Despite careful planning of the macabre business, many of the victims succeeded in slashing their wrists and throats with concealed razor blades and jagged glass. Quickly the air was filled with cursing. wailing, and the agonized moans of the wounded.

In batches the men were driven onto the waiting trucks, each guarded by soldiers flaunting rubber clubs and machine pistols. Hour after hour, the trucks hauled away their freight of betrayed prisoners, some of them bleeding and dying, to the Communist fate they dreaded far more than death.

Even in this age of mass violence, this scene has a nightmarish quality. Who were the unfortunate prisoners? What was their crimes? Who were their captors, so intent upon providing targets for Stalin's firing squads?

For Americans with a conscience the answers to such questions are deeply distressing. Yet they must be faced. Whether crime or blunder or both, we can cleanse the national record on this score only by acknowledging the unpleasant facts.

The scene I have described took place on Feburay 24, 1946, in an American camp for Soviet war prisoners at Plattling, Germany. The bloody job of forced repatriation was carried out by United States troops. The victims were veterans of Gen. Andrei Vlasov's Russian Army of Liberation, which had fought under German auspices in the desperate hope of overthrowing the Red despotism in their homeland. Knowing that tor-ture and death awaited them in the Soviet Union, they had surrendered to the American victors, in the naive belief that they would be accorded political asylum.

Plattling was a typical episode in what one American writer has called the hush-hush bargain at Yalta under which Allied bayonets and machineguns were enlisted in the noble task of driving Soviet citizens back into their prison land. No less gory dramas of violence were being played out at dozens of detention points for displaced Soviet citizens in Germany, Austria, Italy, France, England, and even the United States.

Nor was the brutality unleashed only against those who, like the Vlasov men, had donned German uniforms. It was directed also against the vast number of Red Army war prisoners liberated from Germans camps; against millions of civilians, including women and children; in short, against all Soviet nationals who at the war's end, though they loved their native land, refused to return to the Kremlin yoke.

One must pause to savor these extraor-inay facts. The democratic governments in dinay facts. their hour of victory used force-ranging from deceitful persuasion and threats to raw violence—to return men and women against their will to Stalin's mercies.

The British and the French, too, shared in this ugly enterprise, but the main job, alas, was done by the Americans. In all, according to the best estimates, about 2 million who wanted to remain on the freedom side of what would soon be called the Iron Curtain were forcibly repatriated.

In his book, Our Secret Allies, Eugene Lyons calls it a moral obscenity. Another book, Soviet Opposition to Stalin, by George Fischer, calls it an indelible blot on the West's tradition of ready asylum for political exiles. In the minds of anti-Communist Russians, whether inside or outside the Soviet Union, it is an inexpungeable memory of betrayal by the free world.

How did the enormity come to be? Who was responsible, and why? Even at this late date the affair remains shrouded in secrecy and embarrassed silences. By dint of long research I have uncovered some of the pertinent documents. But much must still be exposed and explained. It is primarily in the hope of stimulating a congressional inquiry of the whole subject that I have written this article.

Some years after it had carried out forced repatriation on a huge scale, the United States was destined to take a gallant, principled stand against that vicious practice. Again the occasion was an effort by Communists to get their claws on men who had chosen freedom. This time our Government, backed by all the 15 nations taking part in the Korean war, stood firm. It rejected the Communist demand, which had become the stumbling-block in the Korean truce negotiations. Our officials, press, radio, and pulpit were unanimous in denouncing the Moscow-Peiping insistence on the coerced surrender of war prisoners as illegal, immoral, barbarous.

We held unswervingly to the view that to repatriate a single prisoner against his will would be a crime against humanity. On October 24, 1952, Secretary of State Dean Acheson defended this view before a committee of the United Nations Assembly, with Comrade Vishinsky in the audience, and drew the applause of the whole civilized world.

"It was quite unthinkable to the United Nations Command," he declared, "that it should use force to drive into the hands of the Communists, people who would be resisting that effort by force." In this address he marshaled arguments in ethics and in international law. Analyzing the Geneva Convention of 1949, Mr. Acheson showed that it contained nothing "which would lead one to believe that a prisoner of war must be forced at the end of a bayonet, fighting, perhaps dying, to go back where he does not want to go." Forty years of international practice, he demonstrated, left no margin for doubt on the basic principle, namely:

"If a prisoner believed that it was dangerous for him, that he might die if he were sent home, and if he claimed asylum, and if the detaining state thought that it was an honest, bona fide claim, the detaining state

could grant asylum."

The bitter irony of the speech, though few noted it, was that its every argument, its every appeal to the law of God and the law of man, applied also to the forcible repatriation of Soviet nationals after World War II. That, too, had been a crime against humanity by our own definition and standards. It had been, in Mr. Acheson's words, "wrong, improper, illegal, and unnecessary to return prisoners by force." The impropriety and illegality, indeed, had been compounded by the fact that the victims included hordes of civilian fugitives, among them women and children.

The courageous American position with respect to anti-Communist prisoners in Korea is an implicit admission of our guilt from 1945 forward. If the crime is to be atoned, if the political blunder is to be repaired, the admission must be made explicit. The evil was too great, the political consequences have been too harmful, to justify continued silence on the issue.

Forced repatriation, it has been generally assumed, was agreed upon at Yalta by Roosevelt and Churchill under the spell of the willy Stalin. The truth is even more damaging.

Perhaps there was an off-record verbal understanding that the democracies would, if need be, drive his reluctant subjects back into Stalin's prison-house with bayonets and rubber truncheons. But so far as the written commitments go, including the secret portions, we played the cruel game with far more zeal than was called for even by the Yalta agreement on the subject.

That agreement, made public 13 months later, provided for repatriation of "prisoners of war and civilians" of any of the Allies liberated by another ally. It glossed over the real problem; what to do about prisoners and civilians who refused to go home. It contained no reference, open or implied, to the employment of force. That, for reasons beyond normal understanding, was an extra, a bonus tossed in by American officials strangely eager to help herd Russians into Soviet torture chambers and concentration camps.

The secret Yalta Agreement on repatriation was signed on February 11, 1945, by Maj. Gen. John R. Deane for the United States of America, Maj. Gen. A. A. Gryzlov for the U. S. S. R. Article 1 simply stipulated that each of these nations would gather liberated nationals of the other "in camps or points of concentration until they have been handed over to the Soviet or United States authorities."

Article 2 provided that Soviet and United States repatriation officers "will have the right of immediate access into the camps and points of concentration where their citizens are located," as well as "the right to appoint the internal administration and set up the internal discipline and management in accordance with the military procedure and laws of their country."

The Soviets immediately violated these terms. As recorded in his book on The Yalta Conference by Edward R. Stettinius, Jr., "The Soviet Union after Yalta would not allow a United States mission to function behind the Soviet lines." Soviet missions, by contrast, not only enjoyed free entry to American camps holding their citizens but were allowed to propagandize and often to terrorize the inmates into accepting repatriation.

On March 8, 1946, in releasing the agreement to the press, the State Department also issued a statement on the implementation of that document. It declared that the United States "is facilitating the repatriation to the Soviet Union of only those persons who were citizens of and actually domiciled within the Soviet Union on September 1, 1939," which is to say at the start of the war. It went on to specify that "repatriation of Soviet citizens is not facilitated unless they so desire," except in the cases of members of Soviet armed forces and those who had voluntarily collaborated with the enemy.

That implementation thus went far beyond the letter of the agreement. In effect it undertook to send back vast categories of men and women even if they did not "so desire." In practice, moreover, our military authorities, and also UNRRA, violated the State Department's own rules.

For instance, citizens of the three Baltic republics certainly had not been "domiciled within the Soviet Union on September 1, 1939." Yet we turned over hundreds of thousands of Estonians, Latvians, Lithuanians—and even Poles—to the Soviets.

The record shows that the principle of forced repatriation was accepted and acted upon by the Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Forces (SHAEF) as early as April 1945, weeks before the war's end. This and other disturbing information on the subject is spelled out in an official, heretofore unpublished 156-page document entitled: "The Recovery and Repatriation of Liberated Prisoners of War, Occupation Forces in Europe, 1945-46." It was compiled under authority of the Army chief historian, Col. Harold E. Potter, by the chief archivist, Gillet Griswold, Frankfurt-am-Main.

This document proves to the hilt that not only SHAEF but the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington deliberately chose to use force to drive Soviet nationals to their doom; not because they had to but because they wanted to. On page 64 we read:

"The principle of forcible repatriation of Soviet citizens was recognized in supreme headquarters in April 1945. Although the Yalta agreement did not contain any categorical statement that Soviet citizens should be repatriated regardless of their personal wishes, it was so interpreted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff. On instructions from the latter, theater headquarters ordered repatriation regardless of the individual's desire with only two exceptions, namely, Soviet citizens captured while serving with the German armed forces and unwilling to resign their status as prisoners of war, and Soviet citizens known or suspected to be war criminals."

This statement bristles with puzzles that only Congress can solve. Fortunately two members of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Marshall and Admiral King, are still alive to testify, along with scores of lesser officers involved in making and executing the amazing decision.

If Soviet soldiers who had served with the German forces but were unwilling to resign their status as prisoners of war should not have been forcibly repatriated, how come that nearly all of them, including hundreds of thousands of Vlasov men, were surrendered to Stalin? Surely not one of them in his right mind would have given up his prisoner-of-war status. The greater puzzle, clamoring for an answer, is why SHAEF and the Joint Chiefs decided to invoke force against Soviet soldiers and civilians despite the fact that the Yalta agreement did not make this obligatory. Who was so anxious to rid the world of anti-Communist Russians, and why? What we have learned in recent years about the infiltration of our Government agencies and the White House itself by Soviet agents makes a clear solution of the mystery urgent and inescapable.

The same document reveals another telltale detail. On August 25, 1945, the Seventh Army, under General Patch, requested from theater headquarters specific instructions on the use of troops to turn over unwilling repatriates to the Soviets, Despite its decision in favor of force in April, SHAEF referred the inquiry to Washington. Meanwhile General Patch, presumably because, like most field commanders, he hated the brutal chore, suspended the use of force.

Washington took 4 months to answer. In their reply on December 20, 1945, the Joint Chiefs of Staff set forth the policy of unstinting force in repatriation that was to remain effect deep into 1947. It was a policy in nowise dictated by the Yalta agreement (which the Soviet authorities were violating right and left in any case) and even more outrageous in its cruelty than the State Department's statement on implementation. The order was signed: "By command of General McNarney: L. S. Ostrander, brigadier general, United States Army Adjutant General." But the authority derived from the Chiefs of Staff. And it is unlikely that a decision involving the lives of millions was made without consulting the Commander in Chief.

Another highly revealing document—still classified—is now in the custody of the Historical Record Section of the Army in Alexandria, Va. It bears the file No. 384.7—14.1 and is entitled: "Forcible Repatriation of Displaced Soviet Citizens—Operation Keelhaul."

This document, issued on September 1, 1948, probably holds the clues to the ghastly secret which took a toll of hundreds of thousands of Russian lives—the secret which has muddled and bloodied our relations with the peoples, as distinct from their hated Communist masters, behind the Iron Curtain. Along with all other classified materials on repatriation resting in Alexandria, Kansas City, Mo., and other military repositories, it should be opened to the daylight of public knowledge.

As a vital aspect of the cold war, we are

As a vital aspect of the cold war, we are today addressing the Kremlin's subjects through the Voice of America, Radio Free Europe, Radio Liberation, and various unpublicized channels. How can we expect them to believe in our friendship, our assurances that we consider them potentially our allies, until we purge ourselves of the guilt of forced repatriation?

Perhaps it was anxiety to butter up the Politburo which led our top-shelf officials to commit that atrocity. Perhaps the policy was folsted on them by the machinations of Alger Hisses and Harry Dexter Whites at control points in the Government. Whatever the motivations, it is a story compounded of moral callousness made worse by sheer confusion and ineptitude.

What, for example, went on in the addled heads of officials who in April 1945 decided to drop leaflets urging Soviet nationals to surrender to Americans for "speedy return to their Russian fatherland." Speedy return, as any tyro in the business should have known, meant speedy liquidation by firing squads. Meanwhile other leaflets and broadcasts addressed to Russian enemies of the Kremlin promised that they would never be sent back; many of those who believed that promise would soon pay for it with their freedom or their lives.

Our Psychological Warfare Division, headed by Gen. Robert A. McClure, with C. D. Jackson as his deputy, cannot slough off its share of responsibility for confusions and deceits of this character. The pattern, however, was set at much higher levels. Its was a pattern such as Moscow itself might have prescribed. For its effects were (1) to turn the Soviet peoples, in particular the enemies of the regime, against the democracies; (2) to convince the Kremlin's internal foes that it was futile to count on the understanding and help of the West; and (3) to strengthen Stalin's hand as against the population in his difficult postwar period of readjustment.

It was a pattern ethically unclean and politically obtuse. Those who carried out the policy in the face of the fugitives' protests, desperation and self-destruction can claim that they were merely obeying the orders of superiors—except that this allbi was ruled out at the war-criminals trials in

Nuremberg and Japan.

The forced repatriation undertaken after V-E Day continued for more than 2 years. It was extended also against the thousands of Red soldiers and officers in the Soviet occupation zones who deserted and sought asylum on our side; these were summarily handed back to the Red commands for execution.

I do not have the space here for a detailed inventory of the piled-up horrors. A few

samplings must suffice.

Once, more than a thousand whom we were transporting to Linz, a Soviet detention center, jumped out of the windows of the train as it passed over a bridge near the Austrian frontier. They perished. As the train approached Linz, hundreds more of the doomed prisoners jumped into the Drava River.

This story repeated itself at other concentration points, such as Dachau, Passau, Kempten, Plattling, Bad Eibling, St. Veit, Marburg. Operation Keelhaul became Operation Suicide. When Soviet officials came to take them over from American custody, prisoners in some cases locked themselves in churches or their barracks, to which they then set fire. Our GI's stood guard while Stalin's agents dragged out their "liberated" nationals, clubbed them without mercy and carted them off to the Red limbo. We shall never know how many cheated the Soviet executioners by taking their own lives, or how many died in transit before they reached the Soviet borders.

The British role, though secondary, was no sweeter. Thousands of Soviet prisoners taken to Britain were then forced to board British vessels to be sent to Odessa. Suicides abounded. Many jumped overboard and drowned. In one case it took 3 days in Odessa for Soviet police to drag the pris-

oners ashore.

A small part of the tragedy unfolded even on American soil. Many liberated Soviet soldiers were brought to the United States, chiefly to camps in Idaho. Virtually without exception, after the war, they begged for political asylum. But they were forced to board Soviet ships in Seattle and Portland. Over a hundred who resisted successfully were brought to a New Jersey camp. In the end these, too, were surrendered to Stalin, though we had to use tear gas to dislodge them from the barracks.

Hundreds of thousands of Soviet fugitives who evaded repatriation by our military monitors ended up in DP camps under UNRRA control. Again force was used—not outright violence now but propaganda, threats, lies, pressures—to make them go home Eugene Lyon writes:

"The role of UNRRA in riding herd on Stalin's enemies, both under HERBERT LEH-MAN and Fiorello LaGuardia, was hardly one to make Americans proud of their statesmen. LaGuardia in particular showed himself insensitive to the fears and grievances of the Kremlin's runaway subjects. Since UNRRA was widely infiltrated by Communists and fellow travelers in any case, the plight of would-be nonreturners was far from enviable."

Senator Lehman in a letter to me shows that, as first Director General of UNRRA, he did not know what his subordinates were doing. At meetings of the UNRRA Council in Montreal in 1944 and in London in August 1945, he writes, "Russia tried to insist on the forced repatriation of Soviet citizens," but the non-Communist members voted against such a policy.

Nevertheless hordes of DP's in American hands were cajoled and frightened into going behind the Iron Curtain. Under Lehman's successor, LaGuardia, came the notorious secret Order No. 199. This, to quote Lyons again, "not only instructed DP camp officials to effect speedy return of Soviet nationals to their home land in accordance with the Yalta agreement but outlined pressures and hinted at punishments toward that end."

Between 1945 and 1947 the American press from time to time published reports on gory episodes of forced repatriation. A dispatch in the New York Times of January 20, 1946, for example, described a riot in Dachau precipitated by impending repatriation. It told how Russians in a frenzy of terror committed suicide—10 died, 21 were hospitalized, and "many suffered cracked heads from the nightsticks wielded by 500 American and Polish guards." The dispatch added: "Even though threatened with rifles and carbines, they refused to leave the shelter, begging GI guards to shoot them rather than carry out the extradition order."

But no official voices were raised in protest against the staggering indecency. Worse; the military and UNRRA personnel in the field, like the public, were allowed to believe that in applying moral and physical force without stint we were carrying out a Yalta agreement. To reveal that the responsibility lay less in Yalta than in the inhuman and pro-Soviet interpretations of the agreement arbitrarily made by Washington would have given the nightmare an additional dimension of horror.

To this day officialdom on all levels has maintained a stubborn silence. Probably only Congress can break through it. The evil and the stupidity cannot, of course, be undone. But it can be faced, apologized for; its lessons can be learned.

A respected German journalist, Jurgen Thorwald, has written a book indicting his own country for its failure to make allies of the peoples in the Soviet Union against the Soviet regime. He relates a conversation between General von Koestring, as a prisoner, and an American colonel who was interrogating him. Von Koestring had opposed Hitler's mistreatment of the Soviet population. Now in defeat he tried to warn America. He said:

"We Germans surely have—through stupidity, inefficiency, and ignorance—destroyed the greatest capital which has ever existed in the world in the fight against bolshevism. * * You will not understand me now, when I tell you that you have destroyed this capital for a second time. * * It may well be that you will desperately call in the very near future for what you have now destroyed."

The capital he had in mind was the friend-ship and help of the Russian people in the struggle against communism. We were squandering it by surrendering Russian patriots to the Soviets. Today, as von Koestring foresaw, we are seeking to regain the good will we then sacrificed. An indispensable first step is to purge ourselves of what we have ourselves identified, in the Korean context, as a crime against humanity. Only then will the road be open to an understanding with our secret allies behind the Iron Curtain.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

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Appendix

Future of American Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last night it was my privilege to deliver an address in Philadelphia on the subject of the Future of American Foreign Policy.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of my address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BASIC PRINCIPLES FOR AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

It is a great privilege to speak to you in this distinguished forum.

It is a particular pleasure to share the with my able colleague from the State of Washington, a man young in years but broad in experience, one who has al-ready contributed significantly to the effective functioning of the United States, the Honorable Henry Jackson.

It is most appropriate to consider with my colleague and with you, tonight, the future of American foreign policy as the new

84th Congress gets underway

Here, in Philadelphia, hallowed birth-place of American liberty, we will contemplate how best we may preserve our own liberty and others' liberty throughout the world.

With the new Congress but 5 days old, we are entering into a new chapter of American history, a continuing chapter in unfolding American foreign policy.

NEED FOR BIPARTISAN TEAMWORK

The presence of my colleague here to-night, emphasizes perhaps the most important single point which I or anyone else, can make tonight. It is simply this: The success of foreign policy-now more than ever before-depends upon genuine teamworknot lip-service teamwork between the two major political parties. I am certain that we are going to have genuine, effective teamwork.

I am certain that under the leadership of our great President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and our able Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, that friendly constructive liaison will be maintained so that there is real consultation on the major issues involved in the future conduct of our foreign affairs.

No one here tonight need probably be told that never before has it been more important that we, as a people, be truly united at the

water's edge.

In this atomic-hydrogen age, this age of jet propulsion and soon, possibly, this age of an intercontinental ballistic missile, we cannot have a "Republican foreign policy"; we cannot have a "Democratic foreign policy"; we must have an American foreign

That is precisely what we are going to have.

TRIBUTE TO SENATOR GEORGE, CONGRESSMAN RICHARDS

We are fortunate indeed in having two statesmen on whom much of the legislative burden will fall in foreign affairs in the new Congress. I refer to the Honorable WALTER F. George, of Georgia, President pro tempore of the Senate, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and the Honor-James Richards, of South Carolina, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. They are men of the highest caliber. They are legislative leaders in the finest sense of the word, deeply aware of their re-sponsibilities to their Nation.

I know, too, the other members of both the Foreign Relations and Foreign Affairs Committees, and I can assure you that they, too, are deeply sensitive to their obligations to carry out a constructive foreign policy.

That is especially the case with our distinguished committee Member, our Senate minority leader, William Knowland, and it is the case with the Senate's Majority Leader Senator Lyndon Johnson, who has already contributed much particularly inter-American relations.

CURRENT CHALLENGES AND PERILS

Against this background, let me say that in my judgment the outlook for our future foreign relations is bright.

To be sure, it is full of immediate chal-lenges, full of critical dangers.

You are all aware of these perils. You are aware of the continued crisis in southeast Asia, notably in southern Vietnam.

You are aware of the nationalist ferment which is sweeping North Africa-site of several of our strategic bases-as well as the tension in many other underdeveloped areas of the world.

You are perhaps aware of recent Soviet diplomatic-economic developments with regard to Afghanistan and Finland, to cite two widely separate points, which give us cause for concern.

You are aware of the problem raised by the position of the new Japanese Government. It is a position which, I feel, in all frankness and friendship, is not sufficiently realistic about the danger of Communist aggression, the danger involved in the fake Soviet trade offensive—an offensive which is being used as a crude disguise for Soviet penetration of underarmed Japan.

DANGER OF SOVIET VERSION OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

You are aware of how significantly the Soviet Union is emphasizing the worldwide propaganda theme—the supposedly soothing lullaby-of "peaceful coexistence."

Now, by our United States definition that concept-those two words-can be sound. But, the Soviet definition of "peaceful coexistence" implies a great deal more than the ordinary definition, a great deal which is absolutely unsound for the free world.

It implies compulsory neutralism to keep in the good graces of the Kremlin; it implies breaking up the western alliance; it implies ignoring the fact that international communism is still bent upon ruthless conquest.

No realistic power can, therefore, accept the misleading Soviet definition of peaceful coexistence with all its dangerous implica-

But, every realistic person believes we must do everything within our power to prevent a nuclear Armageddon-a terrible world war

War can be prevented. It will, I believe, be prevented, provided—I emphasize, provided—we are strong, provided we are prepared, provided we are united. Peaceful coexistence-yes, but only through free world strength, free world unity, free world realism.

Peaceful coexistence through actual, ironclad Soviet demonstration, for the very first time, that she means what she says and says what she means, that is what the West must

Glib Soviet promises, meaningless Soviet gestures, more Soviet soft-soap, of these we have had our fill. We are not going to heed more of the same.

We insist on hard and fast and irrevocable Soviet actions truly aimed at peace. In other words, let's see the Soviet Union agree to the sound Austrian state treaty. Let's see the Soviet Union agree to absolutely free and uncontrolled elections in East Germany and in North Korea and to an enforceable system of gradual world disarmament.

Let's see if the Soviet Union will do these or any of the other constructive deeds which she has so consistently refused.

PEACE PROGRESS EXPECTED

These, then, my friends, are some of the problems before us.

And, yet, as we review them, I am convinced that in spite of them, in the next 12 months, we are going to make further tremendous progress in helping to assure peace and prosperity. The Senate is going to ratify overwhelmingly the very helpful Southeast Asia Treaty Organization Pact. Moreover, at the meeting in Thailand late in February, I am convinced that SEATO is going to be strengthened. It must be strengthened.

We are going to ratify our mutual defense arrangement with the Republic of China.

We are going to witness final ratification of the Western European Union. Thus far, only 3 of the 14 NATO powers have ratified West Germany's admission. But, I am convinced that in spite of all the pitfalls ahead for WEU, in spite of all the roadblocks and traps which we are certain the Soviet Union will try to set in order to sabotage the setting up of the new West German Army-I am convinced that we are definitely on the high road toward the bringing into being of the Western European Union with West German membership.

I am conviced, too, that there is forthcoming new vitality in cooperation in our own Western Hemisphere and in particular in the Organization of American States. We are going to see a greater emphasis on sound inter-American relations—political, cultural, economic, defensive.

I believe, and so stated at the recent Inter-American Conference at Rio, that there is going to be far more abundant private American investment in Latin American lands. Thrilling new frontiers for the world, and particularly for these countries them-selves exist in the lands below the Rio Grande. There are magnificent opportunities for growth, development, and exchange. Standards of living within the next few years

are going to be tremendously raised there. What is needed is, of course, a favorable climate for greatly expanded American and other foreign investment, and I believe that it will be forthcoming in many of these Latin countries.

GREAT PROMISE IN ATOMS-FOR-PEACE

And there is other progress that is going to be made. Few avenues offer brighter promise than the famous atoms-for-peace plan offered by President Dwight D. Eisen-

This is one of the most dramatic, one of the most inspiring, one of the most fruitful channels of international cooperation now lying before us. It will be fruitful in the of medicine, fruitful in the field of industrial power, fruitful in the field of overall scientific advancement, fruitful in helping to ease East-West tensions.

All this lies before us, and it is capable of

So, we are moving ahead. We are doing so in spite of the pessimists, in spite of the "spreaders of gloom," in spite of some morbid people who almost seem to prefer precrisis rather than making realistic predictions of good things to come.

I, for one, have never believed in overoptimism, but I do believe in faith: Faith in ourselves, faith in our allies, faith in our chances for peace, faith in our Creator. And that is why I believe that we are going to continue to have a successful bipartisan

foreign policy in time to come.

Let me say, too, that we are going to expand our program of technical assistance particularly in free Asia. This program, with modest expenditures, has already done incalculable good in helping to reduce illiteracy, disease, malnutrition, in helping to improve housing, sanitation, agriculture in a great many countries. I believe that this program should be expanded, not only through our own efforts, but, through the medium of the United Nations because it pays off in a thousand and one constructive ways for the good of mankind.

And, speaking of the U. N., I believe that the United States Senate will submit important suggestions for strengthening of the

U. N. Charter.

I do not believe that they can or will be very radical proposed changes, but they may affect such vital matters as helping to broaden membership in the U. N., more effective Pacific settlement of disputes, and other phases which definitely do lend themselves to improvement, in spite of the possibility of Soviet veto.

This, then, is the partial shape of some of the things to come, as I see it. I am not a prophet or the son of a prophet, but I believe that all that I have mentioned thus

far is feasible.

Tomorrow will bring changes. The scenes on the world stage are constantly in flux. Great political personalities rise and fall, party coalitions change, circumstances un-fold, new facts come to light, but these goals I have mentioned are all attainable.

In anticipating our future foreign policy goals, I should like to stress several princi ples which I think can be a sound guide

to our action.

AMERICAN ACTIONS OBSERVED BY WORLD

The first principle which we must follow is that our own domestic actions here at home will, to a great extent, determine our success or failure abroad and that we have got to watch our step.

The eyes of the world are on America. The eyes of friends and neutrals and foes. may, in George Washington's words, "raise a standard to which the wise and the honest may repair," or we may drag down our cause by folly and error and by being untrue to our own principles of fair play.

I must frankly state to you that the bung-ling initial decisions in the so-called Ladejinsky case did us no good in the eyes of the free world.

I say that any man who can win the confidence of Gen. Douglas MacArthur or that of one of my own leading colleagues like Congress Walter Judo, any man with almost two decades of unblemished service is entitled to a fairer "shake" than this Government employee apparently got in the initial arbitrary handling of his case. I say to you further that certain of our immigration policies have done us little good in the eyes of the free world.

I am not of course reflecting on a blanket basis on our security program, either with respect to our own Government servants or with respect to screening would-be immigrants to our land.

On the contrary, no sensible patriotic person would want us to ignore the obvious serious security problems which we face, and which for too long, was given little consideration.

But neither would a sensible person want a security system to be distorted or mismanaged to such an extent that it harms our

own country at home and abroad.

I recently released a report summarizing the candid reactions of members of our Foreign Service. That report reflected the deep concern which these patriotic men and women feel over the administration of our present security system. That does not mean that they want a single genuine security risk to tarnish the Foreign Service. But neither does it mean that they want this system to impair the effective functioning of their own Foreign Service to which they are dedicating their lives. These officials in our diplomatic corps are entitled to our respect and faith, as are the uniformed men in our armed services. Both groups are in the front lines of our worldwide defense. They are entitled to fair dealing, and I am sure that our outstanding Secretary of State, a man who has labored so long and so well for the success of our foreign policy will do everything he can to help relieve the conin the minds of our Foreign Service workers.

PATIENCE AND JUDGMENT

2. The second principle is that we must be patient in our foreign policy dealings.

There is too much of a tendency among some Americans to want to seek a quick decision always. There is too much of a tendency in some unofficial quarters toward hasty, ill-considered impulsive action.

And let me say, there is too much of an "either/or" philosophy. "Either the Soviets do this or else. * * " "Either an allied or neutral power does this or else. * * ""

There is too much of a tendency to ignore the fact that diplomacy is an art of patient. detailed, often necessarily negotiation. It consumes a great deal of time, particularly with an adversary like the Soviet Union and its satellites, as we learned at the lengthy Korean peace discussion at Panmunjom. So, we have got to get out of the immature habit of toying with "ultimatums" and arbitrary deadlines. We have got to realize that we cannot solve all our problems overnight.

In stressing this point, I am not arguing for delay or inaction or "donothingism" or weakness. On the contrary, there are issues which definitely require speed, decision, and strength and vigor of expression and action.

But, we must not assume that every single policy question lends itself to those characteristics. Our problems have been a long time in the making. They will be a long time in solving.

ALLIED TEAMWORK ESSENTIAL

3. The principle that we must bear in mind is that our strength is a team strength.

A teammate does not try to order the rest of the team, even if he is a captain. works with his men as their equal. He is respected because of the rightness of his position, the intelligence of his decision.

We of the United States have never sought, do not now seek, a master-servant relationship with our allies. They are our sovereign equals. They are entitled to and will receive

our respect and consideration.

There is too much of a tendency among some Americans to want to go off "half cocked" every time the United Nations, or the Organization of American States, or NATO, or our partners in any of the other multilateral or bilateral groupings may not want to do something precisely as we suggest.

But, let's now act like team players and

let's continue to urge our allies to do like-

WATCH POSSIBLE CHAIN REACTIONS

4. The fourth principle that we must follow is that we must think through our actions and ponder where our actions may lead.

There is too much of a tendency for some people to suggest some reckless action without giving the slightest thought to where that action might plunge us. The fact of the matter is that not even in nuclear physics are there more dangerous chain reactions than in the field of diplomacy. diplomatic decision on our part may cause reverberations throughout the world—so vast as to be almost uncontrollable.

To cite an illustration, take the instance of those who loosely suggest that todayright now-we break relations with the So-

viet Union and the satellites.

Now, we keenly recognize why there is so much clamor for severance—the fact that the Soviet and satellites embassies are invariably beehives of esplonage and sub-version. We fully recognize the extreme difficulties which our own embassies are placed under inside the Iron Curtain and we recognize many other disadvantages of the status quo. But, the fact of the matter is that the whole world hungers for peace and diplomatic contacts for peace and symbols of the possibility of peace. There are few free powers on earth which do not want us to explore reasonable bases with the Soviet Union to try to work out an equilibrium of peace.

For us rashly and independently to sever relations would be tending almost to confirm some of the worst lies in Soviet propaganda. It would be like our saying, don't want to explore, we don't want to negotiate." It would tend to give unjustified credence to false Soviet propaganda to the effect that all we allegedly want to do is "to rattle atomic bombs."

Nothing could be further from the truth. No one wants peace more than we do. No one wants more than we to achieve peaceful use of the miracles of nuclear energy.

And so we should maintain our contacts. our listening posts, while protecting our own security here at home from espionage.

We must not drive the neutral powers toward the Soviet orbit by our own ill-considered action. We must impress upon the neutrals the truth that it is the Soviet Union which has consistently sabotaged all genuine diplomatic negotiations for peace, particu-harly by its hollow demands for phony new conferences which get nowhere.

In the spring, 30 Asian-African nations will meet in Indonesia. It is up to us to strengthen our record so that all will see that it is we, contrary to the Soviets, who are leaving no stone unturned in our efforts for peace and prosperity and security and freedom.

EVENTS COMPLEX AND INTERRELATED

The fifth principle that I want to mention is that we must realize the complexity and the interrelation of foreign events.

There is too much of a tendency to give snap reactions to particular problems on the foreign scene, as if these problems existed in isolation. A great many people who have hardly given the slightest study to certain key questions, are always offering "packaged" solutions.

Let me just mention a few key problems. Any man who thinks that any one of these problems is simple or can be solved all by itself had better go back and do some home-

Here they are: The Cyprus question, the New Guinea question, the Morocco-Tunisia-Algeria question, the Kashmir prolem, world disarmament, and the general agreement on tariffs and trade.

I could cite 20 or 30 more key problems.

But I think that you can appreciate the fact that the State Department, in seeking the solution of these problems and of the big overall problem of East-West tensions, has a tremendous job on its hands. It is a difficult, complex, detailed, challenging job.

We should first seek to understand that job, to understand these interrelated problems before we offer snap criticisms or snap

solutions.

T.PARN PAST LESSONS

6. The sixth and final principle that I want to mention tonight is that we have got to learn from the past, to learn from our successes, and yes, from our failures. But we must also learn that we cannot try identically to duplicate successes under greatly dissimilar conditions.

Now, what illustrations do I have in mind? Well, we should have learned from the lessons of Indochina that there is no country in this world which can be defended today unless a native government has the respect and eager support of its own population. No amount of foreign armies or foreign aid can hold any underdeveloped or other country unless the domestic population is eagerly committed to its own defense.

The loss of northern Vietnam was a serious loss, but what now about our successes? Well, the Marshall plan, which contributed so magnificently to the revival of western

Europe, was a great success.

But for us to attempt to duplicate the Marshall plan, with its outpouring of billions of dollars in an area like southeast Asia, would be utter folly. The countries there are obviously in a different state of development than the highly industrialized countries of what was then war-ravaged western Europe. The capacity of native governments efficiently to administer aid programs is far more limited in southeast Asia. What southeast Asia needs particu-larly is technical assistance, greatly ex-panded, for improved health, improved housing sanitation, education, administration,

Of course, they need firepower, too, defensive firepower, against the internal and external foe, and we have got to help them get it. But guns are of little use unless there is the will to shoulder them on behalf of a cause in which one truly believes.

KEEP OUT PARTISAN POLITICS

Thus, I have referred to six basic principles.

Obviously, by no means are they the only basic principles in the conduct of our foreign policy, but, at least, they may help serve as a guide to some of our future

I should like to conclude with the thought that the greatest obligation upon all of us in public life is this: To think of the next generation rather than the next election.

Both parties obviously are squaring off for the 1956 Presidential election. There is nothing wrong about the two major parties laying plans so as to put their best foot forward in November 1956.

But I submit to my own party and to the Democratic Party that to put their best foot forward they must put America to the fore. The American people will continue to insist that we keep partisan politics out of foreign policy.

NEITHER PARTY IS FOR TREASON OR WAR

We can't do so if irresponsible, unfair criticism is made by one party of another party; if in ill-tempered, ill-justified zeal, one party is falsely tagged a "party of treason" or another party "a war party."

I say that both parties are patriotic; both parties are for peace. Of course, there are substantial differences within and between parties, but that is no excuse for misrepre-senting the others' stand.

Let's stick to the issues. Let's get away from personalities and from false tags on people or parties. Let the facts speak for themselves. Let's fight our political campaigns far more fairly than has been occurring in some places heretofore.

The American people won't tolerate low blows. We believe in sportsmanship-in playing hard but clean-in playing to win, but not in using any foul means to do so.

And may I submit, too, that the American people will ask that all of us stand behind the great man who occupies the White House and his Secretary of State. That does not mean that there should not be intelligent scrutiny of the administration's foreign policy actions and proposals. Obviously this Congress, or any other Congress, must fulfill its constitutional obligations, including careful review of appropriation requests and evaluating how past appropriations have been spent.

But, we have seen in certain foreign countries, notably in our long-time ally France, how the executive branch, time after time, has been paralyzed by irresponsibility and pettiness and partisan chaos in the legislative branch.

I do not want to see that recur among our French friends or, particularly, to see it happen in this country. And for the reasons which I stated earlier in this address, I definitely do not believe that it will happen

I do not want the legislative branch to usurp the prerogatives of the executive branch, nor the executive branch to usurp those of the legislative branch. I believe to the depth of my being in a government of checks and balances, of three separate coequal and independent branches of Government.

I do not believe that any member of the legislative branch can or should set himself up as an omniscient alternate Secretary of State. I do not believe that any member of the legislative branch should attempt to interfere with the constitutional obligation of the Chief Executive of our land to spearhead the conduct of foreign relations.

The Founding Fathers of this Nation knew what they were doing in allocating the division of powers.

Let us oppose any move from any quarter in any party which would impair the vitality of that division of power.

In so doing, we will adequate to the challenge of our times. We will advance the welof the next generation, and each of us will have made a record which will command the respect and admiration of the American electorate and most important, of our own conscience.

Thank you.

Tariffs on Textiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement on behalf of the New England Governors and the New England Textile Committee before the United States Tariff Commission and the Committee for Reciprocity Information by Seymour E. Harris:

TARIFFS ON TEXTILES

I. INTRODUCTORY

1. The occasion of this brief: Brief of Seymour E. Harris on behalf of the Conference of New England Governors and the New England Textile Committee appointed by the New England Governors in re the United States Tariff Commission investigation No. 2 and public information hearings under section 3 of Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as amended, and section 332 of the Tariff Act of 1930, in connection with proposed trage-agreement negotiations with Japan and other countries. This brief is also submitted for hearings of the Committee for Reciprocity Information in relation to the hearings on anticipated negotiations under GATT

2. Credentials: The occasion for my being here is suggested by the following letter from the Conference of New England Governors:

NOVEMBER 22, 1954.

Prof. SEYMOUR HARRIS. Harvard University.

Cambridge, Mass.

DEAR MR. HARRIS: As you are no doubt aware, the trade and tariff policies of the United States are a matter of deep concern to New England.

We understand that these matters will be considered both from a legislative point of view before congressional committees and in hearings before the Tariff Commission and the Committee for Reciprocity Information in connection with the negotiations with Japan and other nations scheduled to begin in February at Geneva.
Your familiarity with our New England

economy, and particularly its textile industry, as well as your knowledge of international trade problems, make your peculiarly well qualified to represent us at these hearings and to work with our textile committee, which is vitally concerned with these

The Governors, at their conference on November 18, voted to ask you to represent us and the textile committee before the congressional and other committees referred to above in order that the interests of New England and her textile industry shall be properly protected from destructive low-wage foreign competition.

Your acceptance of this task will be greatly appreciated by each of the Governors.

Very truly yours,

JOHN LODGE,

Chairman, New England Governors' Conference.

May I add that I have written this brief and am appearing before the Tariff Commission and the Committee for Reciprocity Information without compensation as a public service on behalf of the New England region. I am a professor of economics and a member of the graduate school of public administra-tion faculty at Harvard, though, of course, I do not speak for the university. At Harvard, I have taught for more than 30 years, have taught international economics for about 20 years. I have also written many books in international economics. I was also chairman of the New England Textile Committee appointed by the Conference of New England Governors, which wrote the Report on the New England Textile Industry (1952).

3. Main outlines of the argument: In this brief and supplementary remarks, I shall try to prove that further reductions on tariffs on textiles would be injurious to New England and would be contrary to the national interest. I shall support this position by showing (1) that national policies in the last generation have already greatly injured the New England economic position, and that tariff policy is to be considered as one facet of national policy; (2) that New England, and especially her textile industry, is suffering from serious transitional difficulties and for that reason any costs or concessions made through tariff policy should be put upon the more thriving regions and industries, not upon New England and textiles; (3) that the Government can clearly seek solutions of the disequilibrium in international markets to a greater extent in policies other than tariff reductions; (4) that the Japanese problem is much more than a United States tariff problem, and that many other approaches to the Japanese problem should be considered.

II. NATIONAL POLICY, THE NEW ENGLAND REGION, AND THE NEW ENGLAND TEXTILE INDUSTRY

4. Tariffs, one kind of interference with the free market: For a generation now, New England has suffered from Federal policies tended to advantage which have regions at the expense of New England. This point is relevant because interference with the free market has been involved, and the argument against the tariff is always that a tariff results in uneconomic allocations of factors of production and hence higher costs. But in a world of all kinds of interferences with the pricing system and the free market tariffs cannot be condemned merely because they involve interference with the pricing system.

5. Government agricultural and related policies and New England: The fact is that through agricultural policies, the Government has increased the price of the food New England consumes and the raw materials she processes. (This region devotes only a few percent of its employment to agriculture, fishing, and mining and therefore as a region can survive only insofar as she sell manufactured products primarily and services secondarily for food and raw materials.) Not only has the Government increased these prices for New England consumers and producers, but even in 1954, the Farm Act included a provision for raising domestic output of wool by one-third, thus increasing the price of a product indispensable for our woolen industry, which is now in the midst of a fight for survival against man-made fibers; and in a recent ruling the President provided an artificial market for nonferrous metals thus contributing to higher prices of these raw materials which New England processes.

6. Other policies of the Government adverse to New England: But it is not merely the higher prices of food and raw materials that the Government is responsible for. Even as it raises these prices, it acts to depress those of manufactured goods through removal of tariff restrictions. Moreover, the operations of the Treasury tend to take money out of this region to build up its competitors. In 1 year as much as \$1 billion was taken out of New England net, or about 7 percent of its income. Under the accelerated amortization tax relief, the main competitors of New England profited at the expense of New England. I can document this

position more fully and shall be glad to do this in the hearings. (I shall say nothing here of the tendency of the Government to subsidize competing regions nor of the abuse of tax exemption privileges by some Southern States, a practice which is used to attract northern management and capital). Tariff Commission and the Reciprocity Committee may find much additional testimony on this issue in the reports of (1) the Committee on New England Report to the President and (2) the New England Textile Committee, two committees on which the writer served, and his book on the Economics of New England.

III. ECONOMIC TRENDS IN NEW ENGLAND AND IN NEW ENGLAND TEXTILES

7. Explanation of trends in New England: For many reasons, New England grows less rapidly than other regions. Among the more important explanations are its early industrialization, its great dependence on textiles and shoes, the two slowest growing of all census industries in the last 50 years, its location in the northeast corner of the Nation and therefore its inability to attract industries which require bulky raw materials and produce products expensive to transport, and finally certain institutional factors and notably those related to politics,

Federal policy, etc.
8. Trends: Here are some figures which show the trends in New England:

(a) Percentage rise of nonagricultural employment, 1939-53: United States equals 63.3; New England equals 37.4 (lowest of all 10 regions).

(b) Percentage change in nonagricultural employment, 1939-53:

	United States	North-	West North Central	South Atlan- tic	Pacif-
Construction Manufacturing	124 71	79 35	102 98	119	210 140
Government	68	39	32	94	139
Trade	60 59	32 49	51 48	89 65	75 84
Transportation and public	49	51	61	104	79
utilities Mining	1.4	26 -79	- 52 29	53	70

Again New England's gains are less than those of all other regions with few exceptions, other than in finance. But it is espe cially in the last 10 years that New England's relative losses have been large. Her nonagricultural employment rose only by 4.9 percent as compared with 20.7 percent for the country.1

9. Trends in New England textiles: In textiles the trends are more serious as they are, though not to an equal degree, in leather and shoes. In 1919 New England accounted for 440,000 textile jobs; in 1947, 283,000. There was little change from 1947 to 1951 (net) but by 1954 the total seems to have fallen by about 100,000 additional. Hence the net decline since 1919 is considerably more than 200,000 jobs, or more than one-half of the textile jobs available in 1919. Earlier in the century New England had accounted for about 80 percent of the cotton spindles; her proportion of spindle activity now seems to be less than 10 percent. Total United States employment in textiles seems to have been relatively stable from 1919 to 1951. Again, in the last few years, New England has experienced serious losses in woolens, an industry in which she maintained her relative position almost unchanged from 1919 to 1947. Even in recent years textile employment accounted for about 10 percent of the employment in New England, and of course in terms of the secondary effects of losses of a textile job perhaps 20 percent of all jobs are involved."

10. Trends, New England textiles, 1951-54: Since 1951, the textile industry has suffered substantial losses in the country, though especially in New England. Note in this same period all industrial production rose by about 10 percent and real gross national product by about 12 percent. The table below reveals a significant downward trend from 1951 to 1954. In fact, total textile jobs declined by 268,000, or 20 percent; in New England by 107,000, or 38 percent; and in the South by 41,000, or 7 percent. Generally New England's relative losses are several times those of the South but in fine goods New England's output fell by 31.5 percent in 81/4 years, while the South gained 10.6 percent.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Table 1 .- Percentage change in textile activity, 1951-54, United States, New England, and

		September anuary 198		Change, September 1954 from September 1953		
	United States	New England	South	United States	New England	South
Cotton consumption (per working day in bales) Spindle activity in cotton fibers (average hours per	-22.2	-48, 9	-19.0	-7.6	-21.6	-6.1
working day) Spindle activity in synthetic fibers (average hours	-16.1	-47.3	-10.0	-8.0	-25.7	-5.1
per working day) Production, fine goods (millions of linear yards) Production, synthetic broad woven fabrics (mil-	-5.7 1-11.2	-9.1 1-31.5	-5.9 1+10.6	+13.4	-16.7 1-13.3	+17.1
lions of linear yards)	1-25.4	1-41.4		3-16.4	3-10.8	
(a) Cotton and synthetic textile mills (broad woven fibers)	-19.9	-49, 2 -38, 2	1-7.7 -7.2	-9.7	-26.7 -20.3	1 -4.6 -3.6

Change 1st quarter 1951 to 2d quarter 1954.
 Change 2d quarter 1953 to 2d quarter 1954.
 Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

Source: Adapted from Northern Textile Association Study. (Based on Census Facts of Industry.)

11. Concentration in textiles: These heavy losses in textiles are serious, and especially because they are so heavily concentrated. A substantial part of the livelihood of such textile towns as Lawrence, Lowell, New Bed-ford, and Fall River in Massachusetts, Woonsocket, R. I., Nashua and Manchester, N. H., and Lewiston, Maine, are dependent upon textiles. In 1950, 20 percent of all jobs in Rhode Island were in textiles and in Lawrence no less than 55 percent.3

Footnotes at end of speech.

12. The problem of mobility and adjustment: Time and again it has been pointed out that labor mobility in the textile industries is low. The theory of free trade or of the harmlessness of tariff cutting rests on the assumption that those who lose their jobs then obtain jobs in the growing industries, either as they migrate or as new industries move in. But both New England and British experience show that the movement is slow, and the loss of textiles brings serious problems. Unsatisfactory demand in textiles in itself is a depressing influence.

Any Government policies tending to open up the markets of the United States further to textile products would further depress the industry. It has been shown time and again that unemployed textile workers do not move easily, in part because women are a large part of that labor market, and in part because, when there is a concentration of racial stocks, movement is slow. Failure to move would not be serious if new industries moved in to take the place of the departed ones. But the new industries tend to avoid textile towns, with their depressingly empty mills, high tax rates, with labor relations aggravated by declining markets. When the new industries do move in, they are frequently low-paying industries, paying much lower wages than in textiles. The textile towns tend to attract the low-paying apparel industries and electronics and rubber, employments paying wages in New England way below the national average in these industries.

13. Some facts on adjustments of displaced textile workers: In the most careful study yet made of the mobility of textile works, Dr. Miernyk, in tracing the subsequent history of employees of 6 mills that shut down in 6 textile towns in New England, found that 45 percent were presently employed, 43 percent were unemployed, and 12 percent had abandoned the labor market. He also found that about one-third of those who obtained jobs moved on to other textile jobs, suggesting that in view of the declining employment in the textile industry they merely squeezed other textile workers The employees of closed mills generally found their new job less satisfying than their textile employment, and suffered a deterioration of skills used and a reduction

in pay.*

14. Limited openings for displaced workers: Transfers of workers are a troublesome problem even in our highly prosperous economy since 1940. In times of depression the situation of course becomes much more serious. But the long continued problems of such textile towns as Lawrence, Fall River, and Manchester, show that these problems are not solved overnight. When employment in the declining industry is large, the problem is aggravated. A relevant factor is that there are distinct limitations on the alternative employments that may be offered to the displaced textile worker. This is particularly true since growth is largely in other regions or at best in other parts of the tex-tile State. In a paper that I read before the American Economic Association in 1953, I tried to point out some of these difficulties. Allow me to reproduce several paragraphs from this paper, the main point made being that employments are largely localized and hence to a considerable extent do not offer openings to those who have lost jobs in declining industries. That really means we must wait for growth; but unfortunately New England is a slowly growing region and the growth is generally not in the depressed

"Obviously, most sales are at home. In fact, a large part of all sales are within the region or even city of production. This is perhaps even more true of services than of movable goods. A large part of our services are almost exclusively free of interregional competition—medical, local, and State government, public utilities, domestic service, local transport, public education, etc. Here competition outside the city or region is distinctly limited. This point is of importance because it underlines the limited area within which adjustments in response to losses in interregional competitive position must be made.
"It is well to remember that manufac-

"It is well to remember that manufacturing income in 1952 accounted for but 31 percent of all income. The major adjustments in the competitive position of a region have to be concentrated to a considerable extent on this part of the economy. Hence, large losses in interregional competition, say in textiles and shoes, if they are to be made goods in substitute exports, must largely be made goods in improvements in manufacturing export industries.

Contract construction, 5 percent; whole sale and retail trade, 17 percent; services, 9 percent; finance, insurance, and real estate, 9 percent; transportation, 5 percent; communication and public utilities, 3 percent; government and government enterprises, 12 percent-these all have elements of regional competition, but, to a considerable extent, are necessarily localized. An estimate of the approximately 40 items included in the employments listed in this paragraph and accounting for 60 percent of all income suggests that only about 10 percent of all income and corresponding employments included here are largely subject to interregional competition. Thus for retail trade. public utilities, transportation, telephone services, most other services (education, religion, cinema, private households), local and State government, and a large part of Federal Government, the location of activities for the most part are determined by the present distribution of population and income. Only as population and income are redistributed will the services be redistributed. They are determinates, not determinants. Substantial parts of wholesale trade and of insurance are examples of services subject to interregional competition.

"If a manufacturing region loses heavily in exports, its losses must be recouped largely in manufactures, with some help from services. Yet even in manufactures there are segments where adjustments are not easily made. For example, in 1951, the distribution of manufacturing employment was as follows:

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"I. Seven industries with location predominantly determined by access to raw materials (and to some extent to proximity to markets) accounted for 35 percent of the value added in 1951.

"2. The location of 7 industries accounting for 46 percent of the value added was determined to a substantial degree by the need of being near the raw materials.

"3. The other five industries (textiles, apparel and related, printing and publishing, leather and leather products, instruments and related products) accounting for 19 percent of value added were industries which might be located largely independently of the proximity to the sources of the raw materials.

"The last group would especially be subject to pressures for any adjustments that have to be made."

15. Declining and growing industries: Part of New England's difficulties stems from the fact that expansion in the growing industries is not adequate to offset the declines in the weak industries. Note, for example, that from 1899 to 1951 the share of jobs in textiles, apparels, and shoes dropped from 23.5 percent to 19.4 percent.

"From 1919 to 1947, New England added 162,000 jobs in the 10 manufacturing industries growing most rapidly, or about 4 percent of the additional jobs in these industries in the Nation, a proportion much below the region's 9-10 percent of all manufacturing The figures point to difficulties in adjusting. In this same period, the region had lost 200,000 jobs in textiles and shoes. From 1947 to 1952, New England lost no less than 61,000, or 22 percent, of its textile jobs. But the region gained 25,000, or 2 percent, in all jobs in industry. The major gains were in transportation equipment (28,000) and electrical machinery (26,000)." •

16. In short: In short, textiles are a declining industry, even in prosperous times. But on top of that the severe competition with the South, which pays much lower wages and enforces standards of public services and social services much below the national standard (though the South also has some real advantages), results in large losses for New England textiles. No sovereign government would have stood by while its people lost jobs at the rate of New England textile losses since 1919. Is it fair to impose additional losses on New England textiles and on New England in the light of these adjustment problems, which are made much more serious by unusual interregional competition, slow growth in New England, and various Federal policies? Would any Federal agency be wise to recommend increased foreign competition for an industry which, if it continued to lose as many jobs as from 1951 to 1954, would be out of business in the Nation in 15 years and in New England in 8 years?

IV. TARIFF REDUCTION AND OTHER APPROACHES TO INTERNATIONAL EQUILIBRIUM

17. The pressure to cut tariffs: Undoubtedly the current pressure to cut tariffs springs in part from the disequilibrium in the dollar market. The original pupose of the trade agreements legislation was to expand the total amount of trade—both exports and imports. Obviously, this kind of agreement would do little good in solving the dollar problem. Insofar as it has contributed toward narrowing the dollar gap, the explanation is that American negotiators have been outsmarted by foreign negotiators. If the objective of our reciprocal trade agreements is to increase imports and not exports, then this should be clearly stated.

18. Restrictions on trade in the United States and abroad: It certainly must be clear to all that the United States is the free trade country among the larger nations. tariffs have been cut by about two-thirds (even granting all the points raised against this kind of comparison, the declines have been large). The dollar is the only major currency that is convertible, and hence the dollar can be freely used to buy anywhere. Though we have a few quotas, our dependence on quantitative restrictions is small; on exchange control and on multiple exchange rates we rely not at all. In the last 15 years, the average depreciation (weighted by trade) of all currencies vis-a-vis the dollar has been about 90 percent. Each devaluation of course improves the competitive position of other countries. Indeed, often this is an offset against a relatively large price rise abroad. But there have been many in-stances in which a trade agreement has been followed abroad by a devaluation, an export subsidy, an introduction of exchange control, or quantitative restrictions which has nullified the concessions made to this country. Obviously, if GATT now has jurisdiction only to reduce tariff rates and the United States relies almost exclusively on tariff rates for restricting trade, and her trading partners rely largely on other types of restrictions, the trade agreements made are of limited significance, and United States negotiations are at a great disadvan-

19. Tariff policy; the dollar shortage: Indeed, there has been a serious dollar shortage and both on political and economic grounds it is necessary to solve this problem. For this reason, the case for tariff reduction is greater than it otherwise would be. But it should be noted that though the dollar problem is probably not solved for all time, nevertheless there has been a great improvement in the last few years. For example, the gold holdings outside of the United States and Canada increased by close to \$2 billion from December 1952 to the middle of 1954; and gold and foreign exchange hold-

ings by about \$2.3 billion. Moreover, the recent relaxation of trade barriers against dollar goods by the nondollar world is also evidence of a less stringent dollar market. Hence the case for tariff cuts as a means of solving dollar shortage is much weaker than it was a few years ago.

20. Alternative solutions of the problem of dollar shortage: There is general agreement that the dollar problem may be solved by reduced restrictions on trade, by a reduction of United States exports and by United States foreign loans and assistance. I do not here consider a factor of greater importance than tariffs in determining imports, namely, the high level of activity in the United States. From prewar to 1953, United States imports had risen by 60 percent in volume, from \$2.6 billion in prewar to \$5 and \$11 billion in 1946 and 1953 respectively, and from 9 to 15 percent of world imports. us consider these alternatives in turn.

21. (a) Reduced restrictions on trade: The use of this approach tends to put the burden of the adjustment upon the industries that compete with foreign products. The dollar problem is one that concerns the entire economy, since it is tied to fundamental economic and political considerations. Hence it is unfair to put an excessive burden on any one group. Thus why should textiles with 1,300,000 out of 65 million workers assume a large part of the adjustment required to provide Japan with necessary dollars? Furthermore, insofar as the adjustments are made through removal of restrictions on trade, the division of the burden should be related to other policies and conditions affecting particular regions and industries. On that score, it is clear that textiles and New England should not contribute through further tariff cuts on textiles. The burden should be put on growing industries and growing regions. It would be the greatest folly to introduce artificially new competition for an industry (the New England textile industry) which at (the New England textile industry) which at the rate of liquidation of the last 3 years would largely disappear in 8 years. Could anything be more cruel? Even the national industry in the last 3 years lost ground at a rate, if sustained, which would destroy the industry in 15 years. If tariffs have to be reduced, a greater relative burden should be put on such industries as chemicals, netroleum and rubber, where amployment petroleum, and rubber, where employment relative to 1899 has risen 150 percent above that in textiles, apparels, and shoes, or on 5 major metal and metal fabrication industries, where relatively to these weak industries employment from 1939 to 1951 had risen by 47 percent.7

Protectionism is not expressed merely in uriffs. Conditions set for competition in Government procurement, export subsidies, shipping subsidies, etc., are also relevant. Thus, why not allow the British to compete an equal terms on Government procurement with the great electrical equipment corporations which have been so vocal on the issue of tariff reduction in order to expand exports and yet protest vehemently when a foreign bidder greatly undercuts the American producer and gets the contract?

22. (b) Reduction of exports: Perhaps the most fruitful attack on our dollar problem would be through a cut in our exports. This is a rensible way out in part because over the last 40 years considerably more than \$100 billion of excess of exports over imports (and about \$5 billion annually in the postwar) have been subsidized through Government loans and assistance and through private loans (not repaid) and gold imports. result is that exports are at a highly inflated level. These are the industries which generally can afford a reduction in markets with a minimum of losses. What is also important is the point that the major export mar-

kets of Western Europe and Japan lie not in the United States but elsewhere. Western Europe sells only 10 percent of its good in the United States and even Japan sells less than 20 percent of its exports in this market. Moreover, in response to economic deterioration abroad and large loans and assistance by the United States, United States exports as a percentage of world exports rose from 15 percent in prewar to 21 percent in 1953, or 40 percent.

23. (c) Foreign loans and assistance: Since 1945 the major adjustments in the dollar market have come (aside from increased imports associated with our growing economy) through a rise of exports of the nondollar world to nondollar countries, and foreign loans and assistance by the United States. This does not mean that United States imports have not risen greatly. They have. In 1953 imports in volume were onethird above the 1945 level; and in value, by about 160 percent. But the striking fact concerning the rise of imports is its association with income movements in this coun-The case for recourse to loans and assistance rests on the fact that the burden is more widely distributed as compared with relaxation of tariffs. It is possible to work out a long-range assistance and lending program which would put a relatively small burden on the taxpayer and yet greatly lengthen the period during which this economy has to adjust to a rise of imports vis-a-vis exports. Even assistance to Asia, Latin America, and Africa would greatly strengthen the economic position of Western Europe. The their underdeveloped nations would use additional dollars and higher income in part to purchase more goods from Western Europe (and also Japan).

24. In summary: Tariff reduction was not proposed as a weapon for solving the dollar problem. Contrary to the spirit of the Trade Agreements Act, reciprocal trade agreements may have been used for this purpose. A

major point made in this section is that tariff cuts are only one approach to lifting of trade restrictions, and since this is our mafor weapon we are at a disadvantage with countries using all kinds of restrictions on trade. We do not adhere to the view that an additional burden should be put on textiles nor that a major part of the adjustment in the dollar market should be concentrated on the weak or on a small minority of all wage earners. Hence the proposal to deal with the problem in other ways.

V. THE JAPANESE PROBLEM

25. Need for helping Japan: It is obvious to all that the Japanese are having great difficulties in balancing their international accounts; and it is equally obvious that it is to the advantage of the United States that a solution to this problem should be found. A failure to do so would greatly weaken the defenses of the free world in Asia.

26. The Japanese balance of payments: From the table below, it is evident that the Japanese trade balance has tended to deteriorate in the last few years. The explanation of a deterioration in current accounts after credit balances of \$104, \$217, and \$257 million in 1950, 1951, and 1952, and a debit balance of \$221 million in 1953 lies primarily in the large expansion of imports of \$1,227 million from 1950 to 1953 as against an expansion of exports of but \$473 million. The deficit on current account is found despite the fact that Government outlays provided \$623, \$786, and \$780 million in 1951.

1952, and 1953, as compared with \$153 million in 1950. (These apparently include largely procurement by United Nations forces.) But it should be noted that United States grants, which amounted to \$534, \$361, and \$15 million in 1949, 1950, and 1951, were not available at all in 1953. To meet the deficit in 1953, Japan imported shortterm capital primarily, inclusive of drawing on sterling balances (\$125 million) and borrowed from various sources. In the years 1949-52 Japan had built large credits on short-term account.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Table 2.—Balance of payments of Japan

[In millions of United States dollars]

	1949	1950	1951	1952	1 1953
1. Goods and services 2. Exports, f. o. b 3. Imports, f. o. b 4. Trade balance 5. Total, current account 6. Cumulative total, inclusive of private financing 7. Total, official financing 8. Total, long-term capital 9. Total, short-term capital 10. Monetary gold	533, 3 -728, 1 -194, 8 -306, 4 -320, 1 516, 3 -17, 5 -175, 8 -2, 9	821. 3 -822. 0 - 7 70. 2 103. 6 361. 3 - 2 -460. 9 -3. 8	1, 353, 6 -1, 645, 2 -291, 6 158, 4 216, 9 155, 1 -2, 4 -365, 2 -4, 4	1, 276, 0 -1, 685, 6 -409, 6 193, 3 257, 4 5, 4 -71, 7 -203, 0 11, 9	-755, 4 -212, 2 -221, 3

¹ Preliminary.

Source: I. M. F., International Financial Statistics, October 1954, p. 201.

27. Prewar and postwar trade of Japan: As compared to prewar, the United States proportion of Japanese imports has increased, whereas there has been a large de-cline of Japanese imports from other sterling countries (exclusive of United Kingdom and dominions). The explanation of this trend is undoubtedly the large part played by

United States aid and military operations. But the Japanese market in the United States has declined, and there has been some improvement in relative sales to other countries. This, of course, points up again the great importance of dollar-weak countries finding markets elsewhere.

Table 3 .- Japanese trade, prewar and postwar: Proportions (percent) to groups of countries

	1937		1951-3		1954—1st quarter	
	Exports to	Imports from	Exports to	Imports from	Exports to	Imports from
United States and Canada. Other sterling Rest of world *	1 21 22 39	1 36 25 20	18 33 29	40 22 19	17 23 38	45 15 19

In 1337 and 1938 (average) Japanese exports to the United States were 18-19 and imports 34 percent. U. N., IMF,
 B. R. D., Direction of International Trade, 1937, 1938, 1948-52, p. 34.
 Exclusive of above and exclusive of Latin America, United Kingdom, EPU countries, and EPU dependencies.

Source: IMF, International Financial Statistics.

Country by country, the large relative gains of Japan's imports were from the United States, Canada, Australia, Mexico, Philippines, and Thailand; the large declines, China (from 21 to almost 0 percent), Indonesia, Germany (7 to 1). The major change in Japan's exports was registered by China: a decline from 43 to almost zero percent. The largest relative increases were in a sense fictitious: Hong Kong (1/2 to 4+ percent), Formosa (0 to 5 percent), Pakistan (0 to 9 percent). India and Pakistan together (7 to 13 percent), Korea (0 to 4 percent), and Ryukyu Islands (0 to 4 percent). Note that in large part the gains are explained to some extent by including as international trade what was formerly regional trade."

28. Textile production and trade: Japan's output of textiles is much below prewar:

It con metric tons!

	Cot- ton yarn	Woren cotton fabrics	Wool yarns	Rayon staple	Rayon fila- ment yarn
1937	60. 0	336	5. 59	6. 6	12.7
1.38	46. 2	230	4. 48	12. 4	8.09
1948	10. 4	64	. 92	1. 3	1.35
1952	29. 4	156	5. 71	9. 9	5.37
1953	34. 5	196	7. 06	13. 5	6.17
1054 (6 months)	40. 0	223	6. 68	16. 5	6.76

Source: U. N., Monthly Bulletin of Statistics, November 1954, pp. 41-44.

It will be observed that, though output is below prewar, it has been steadily rising and especially since 1948. By the first half of 1954, output was about four-fifths as great in cotton yarn as In 1937-38 (average), threequarters in woven cotton fabrics, four-thirds as much in wool yarns, five-thirds as high in rayon staples, and three-fifths for rayon filament. Japan's output is lower than in the prewar, both absolutely and relatively. According to Mrs. Lovasy, Japanese production, in 1951, of cotton textiles averaged 2,216 million square yards as compared with 4,794 and 3,297 million square yards in 1937 and 1938. The export percentages were 55 and 66 percent in 1937 and 1938 and 49 percent in 1951.10 According to another study, Japanese exports of textiles amounted to \$361 million in 1952, or 29 percent of total export trade.11 Since the prewar there have been large changes in relative production and exports of textiles.

29. Japan's trade trends in textiles: Total trade in textiles (quantity) declined by 1.2 billion yards from 1937 to 1951, or 18 percent. The major changes in relative export trade in textiles are suggested below:

TABLE 4 .- Percentage of export trade in textiles, 1937 and 1951 [Percent]

100	37	19
Cotton textiles	Syn- thetic fiber goods	Cotton textiles

	Cotton textiles	Syn- thetic fiber goods	Cotton textiles	Syn- thetic fiber goods
United States United Kingdom Japan India Italy France	+3 28 38 2	2. 5 5 65	14 16 20 14	17 16 27 19 9

Source: G. Lovasy, op. cit., pp. 49-50 (my calcula-

30. Other aspects of the Japanese economy: In a table below, I have summarized for the years 1949 to 1954 several relevant variables. They show above all that the Japanese have been experiencing a large inflation. This is evident, for example, in a rise in wholesale prices of 70 percent, of

Pootnotes at end of speech.

monthly wages of 74 percent (as compared with an increase in the cost of living of but 28 percent). This rise of prices is associated more with monetary expansion than with government deficits. With exchange rates at 360-361 yen per dollar from 1949 to the summer of 1954 and with wholesale prices rising but 12 percent in the same period in the United States (only 17 percent as much as in Japan), it would be expected that Japan would be confronted with serious deficits in the balance of payments. Obviously, trends

in prices and exchange rates since 1949 suggest that the Japanese competitive position has deteriorated. In view of relative price and exchange movements, Japanese goods had become much more expensive and foreign goods much cheaper. It is well to re-call also that most sterling countries ex-perienced a depreciation of 30 percent in 1949 and many other countries experienced a decline in the exchange rates in 1949; and most other competitors experienced a reduction in the foreign value of their currency.

Table 5.—Various aspects of the Japanese economy, 1949-53 and latest month, 1954

		1954					
	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953	Amount	Latest
1. Exchange rate (yen per United States dollar).	1 360. 0	2 361.0	361.0	361.0	s 360. 8	360.8	July.
 Government gold and foreign ex- change (millions of dollars). 	225. 0	564.0	924.0	1,051.0	844.0	714.0	Do.
3. Money supply (billions of yen)	678.3	789.0	1,047.9	1, 264, 7	1, 438, 8	1, 262, 0	Do.
4. Government finance, deficit (billions of yen).	109. 4	125. 0	-88.4	-52.4	26.5	-16.0	Do.
5. Market discount rates	10.10	9.52	9, 49	9.38	8.88	9.13	Do.
6. Wholesale prices (1950=100)	85	100	139	141	144	144	Do.
7. Cost of living (1950=100)	107	100	116	121	130	137	August
8. Wages (monthly earnings) (1950= 100). Unit value of trade:	92	100	128	148	168	160	April.
9. Exports (1950=100)	116	100	155	146	130	130	May.
10. Imports (1950=100)	107	100	143	126	109	106	Do.
11, Manufacturing production (1950= 100).	84	100	140	156	186	201	August
12. National income (billions of yen)	2, 737	3, 361	4, 535	5, 282			

¹ Beginning Apr. 25.

Source: IMF, International Financial Statistics, October 1954, pp. 120-122.

31. Japan's international position and textiles: Japan's imbalance in her international accounts is serious. There are many explanations of this imbalance: Monetary and wage inflation; failure to adjust ex-change rate to the inflation; the damage done by war to capital plant and sources of food supplies, with unfavorable effects on exports and increased need for imports; much uneconomic investment; loss of shipping and fishing income associated with the war; the loss of markets as the result of the war, losses not easily recouped; and, finally, the termination of United States aid and the ending of the Korean war. Obviously reductions in United States tariffs on textiles or generally will not solve the international problems of Japan. It will be necessary to use many cures. First, there is much need for assistance. Japan will not solve her problems until she is able to increase her savings greatly and import much more capital. Then she may be able to cut down her imports and increase her exports. Second, Japan will have to reduce inflationary pressures which weaken her competitive position. Additional savings, a more moderate wage policy, and foreign loans and assistance will reduce these pressures. Third, Japan will have to turn more to Asia and even the Iron Curtain countries for trade. With improved East-West relations this will be possible; and even without them Japan could increase her trade in nonstrategic items with China without damaging the position of the West. Certainly, increased imports by the United States of Japanese products will not offset Japan's losses in Asiatic and some European and even Latin American markets. Fourth. Western European countries will have to accept part of the responsibility for providing markets for Japan. So far several of them have been most reluctant to accept even limited Japanese competition. Fifth, higher incomes both in Western Europe and the United States should contribute toward higher imports from Japan. Sixth, with increased productivity and higher output in Japan, her exports should increase.

32. Reduced tariffs on textiles not the solution: The concessions in tarlffs, if made, should be concentrated not in textiles but on other products where increased imports would not raise serious problems of adjustments. In 1952, textiles were less than 30 percent of Japanese exports. machinery and transport accounted for about 35 percent of Japan's exports. When one considers that United States imports of cotton cloth from Japan in the years 1935, 1937, and 1939 averaged 68 percent of all imports of cotton cloth in quantity but only percent in value and but three to four million dollars yearly, it can be seen that the major adjustments in the Japanese trade balance will have to be found elsewhere.13 Surely textile imports, even though Japan alone of foreign countries seems to be on a competitive basis pricewise with this country in textiles, will not close a significant part of a gap on current account of \$221 million (1953). Should we exclude mili-tary operations and the like, then the deficit would be close to \$1 billion.

VI. CONCLUSION AND SUMMARIES

1. The major conclusion in this brief is that a reduction in tariffs on textiles would be unjustifiable. No administrative agency could defend tariff relaxation for an industry which, if it continued to lose the average number of jobs of the last 3 years, would be gone in 15 years; and which on the same basis would disappear from New England within 8 years. (This position holds even if the decline since 1951 were not held entirely indicative of trends.) It is to be hoped that this rate of decline will be stopped or at least slowed down; but it should be noted that New England is now entering a phase in woolens which is reminiscent of the interwar period in cottons.

2. A second major conclusion is that tariff policy is but one facet of national policy; that interference with the free market by the Government has greatly injured New England's competitive position—for example,

Pootnotes at end of speech.

Beginning Jan. 16.
 Beginning Jan. 12.

through Federal agricultural and tax pol-It would be the height of folly for the Government now to revert to free-market principles through tariff cuts with into New England when interference with the free market has hurt New England. The Government should look at overall policies.

3. A special case can be made for textiles and New England in that this industry and the region face serious adjustment policies which would become more evident once military outlays are cut. Unfortunately, major growth is outside of New England and outside of the depressed textile and shoe towns, and hence the mobility of capital and labor upon which the theory of tariff reduction rests is not to be found.

4. Dollar shortage, which has become one of the strongest motives for tariff cuts, does not justify the contemplated tariff cuts. First, because the shortage is less serious than it was a few years ago. Second, because the major markets of the dollar-short countries lie not in the United States but elsewhere; and hence the case for adjustment through a reduction of United States exports which have been inflated to the extent much more than \$100 billion over 40 years through various kinds of subsidies. Dependence on this way out puts the burden on the strong, not the weak. Third, because since dollar shortage is a problem of great importance for our economic and political security, its solution should be the responsibility of the entire Nation, not of a few vulnerable industries. Surely the weak textile industry responsible for 1.3 million out of 65 million jobs should not be asked to effect a significant part of the adjustment. Hence there is some case for putting a greater part of the burden on the taxpayer or on lenders generally. A proper assumption of respon-sibility by the Nation in this way would contribute much more to dollar equilibrium than tariff cuts. Besides, such policies ex-tend the period during which adjustments have to be made. It is a happy omen that the Eisenhower administration seems to be moving in this direction. Fourth, there are many ways of making dollars available to our friends abroad through a more sensible commercial policy than tariff cuts-for example, competition for United States procurement, reduced shipping, and even reduced agricultural subsidies. Fifth, the solution the dollar problem lies much more in rising income here, as our rise from 9 to 15 percent of world imports since 1938 suggests, than in tariff cuts.

5. Some questions can be raised concerning the whole reciprocal trade agreements program, which in many ways has become an anachronism, however justifiable it was in 1934. It either canont be used to solve the dollar problem, because in theory under this program more imports must be balanced by more exports; or it has been used to solve the dollar problem, which is contrary to the spirit of the legislation. (And in my view it has been so used.) Furthermore, the it has been so used.) Furthermore, the United States depends almost exclusively on tariff rates as the weapon of commercial policy; but since the rest of the world is much more protectionist and relies on exchange controls, export subsidies, exchange depreciation, multiple exchange rates, quotas, etc., more than on tariffs, the United States is at a great disadvantage in bar-gaining to cut tariffs. In many instances, concessions granted to the United States in reduced tariffs have been obviated by the introduction of a nontariff type of restric-tion (e. g., depreciation of the foreign ex-changes, which acts like a tariff and cuts export prices of the depreciating country).

6. Finally, all will admit that the Japanese situation is serious; and for our security, her problem of the balance of payments should be solved. But her allments are many and deep, not the least of which are the loss of the Chinese market formerly accounting for about one-half her exports, the destruction of capital plant in the war, unwise investment policies, the large money and wage infiation not offset by a corresponding depreciation of the exchanges, the abandonment of United States aid, the loss of territory with corresponding losses of export potential and increased need of food imports. the continued rise of population accom-panied by increased need of imports of food and raw materials, the loss of dollar income associated with reduced shipping and fishing income, and the unwillingness of Western Europe to open their markets to Japan. In the light of these fundamental changes, is not likely that tariff concessions at the expense of one of the United States major weak industries is going to contribute in any important way toward the solution of Japan's dollar problem.

'All figures are from the BLS Monthly Re-

view, July 1954, pp. 740-743.

Figures from report of the New England textile industry by committee appointed by the Conference of New England Governors, 1952, p. 96, and United States Census, Facts

of Industry.

Report of the New England textile indus-

try, p. 94.

*W. H. Miernyk, Inter-Industry Labor Mobility: The Case of the Displaced Textile Worker, Boston, Mass., especially chapter II (mimeographed and preliminary).

S. E. Harris, Interregional Competition: "With Particular Reference to North-South Competition," Proceedings of the American Economic Association, 1954.

* Ibid., p. 12.

† Proceedings, op. cit.

All figures from International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics, October 1954.

*All figures calculated from U. N., Yearbook of International Statistics, 1952.

³⁰ G. Lovasy, Rise in United States Share of World Textile Trade, I. M. F. Staff Papers, April 1953, p. 56.

"U. N., Yearbook of International Trade Statistics, 1952, pp. 200-202.

"U. S. Tariff Commission, Cotton Cloth, 1947, pp. 88-89.

Tribute to a Mason: Dr. Abraham Shaoni. Grand Master of Masons of the State of

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, Dr. Abraham Shaoni, grand master of Masons of the State of Israel, and a distinguished citizen of that country, is now visiting in the United States. On Wednesday next he is to be honored at a reception tendered to him by Benjamin Franklin Lodge, No. 50, F. A. A. M., of the District of Columbia.

On this occasion there will be present the grand master of Masons of the District of Columbia, Gregor Macpherson, who is also one of the Official Reporters of Debates of the Senate, and many other Masonic dignitaries from this and other jurisdictions.

It is a pleasure to me to join in a tribute to this distinguished visitor to our shores.

Dr. Shaoni has traveled throughout Europe and the United States, gaining friends and recognition for himself and his grand lodge. His visit to the United States is in pursuance of that objective.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD a brief description of some of the highlights in the career of this distinguished man.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Dr. Abraham Shaoni is an attorney of scholarship and distinction who has the degree of doctor of jurisprudence. He was one of those pioneering and energetic lovers of freedom who helped found the new State of Israel. His dedication to the principles of liberty led him to an active Masonic career beginning on April 18, 1935, when he was initiated into Moriah Lodge. On February 9, 1942, he ascended to the throne of King Solomon as the 10th master of Moriah Lodge. On April 24, 1944, he was elected as grand junior deacon and as member of Grand Lodge of Israel. On March 18, 1946, he was elected grand senior warden. On May 13, 1953, he was elected to the greatest prize that the Masonic order can bestow upon its brethren, the office of grand master.

Sixth Anniversary of the Arrest of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following speech which I made in New York on December 26, 1954, on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the arrest of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty: SPEECH OF HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY, OF MICHI-

GAN, IN CONNECTION WITH SIXTH ANNIVER-SARY OF ARREST OF CARDINAL MINDSZENTY

I feel greatly privileged and honored to have been invited as guest speaker at the ceremonies commemorating the sixth anniversary of the arrest and imprisonment of Josef Cardinal Mindszenty which took place on December 26, 1948. I am also happy to have this occasion to deliver some of my thoughts regarding the present problem which besets the Hungarian nation and all the rest of the 800 million people who today find themselves living under Communist slavery.

We have all of us seen in the papers the past few days rumors and reports emanating from Austria to the effect that the cardinal has recently been released from prison. I have been informed by official sources of our Government that there has been no confirmation or substantiation of such reports. Naturally all of us would rejoice if these rumors were found to have some basis in fact. But lacking this, we must assume that Josef Mindszenty is still languishing in a Communist prison, in the power of the same ruthless force which seized upon his person 6 years ago today.

I well recall the events which took place

in Hungary at that time so far as they were

known to the general public. Most of you know that I was then in Budapest, attached to the American Legation there. Although we heard of the arrest almost as soon as it had occurred, not a word appeared in the government-controlled press until 2 days later, December 28. The brief communique from the Ministry of the Interior merely said: "Josef Mindszenty, Archbishop of Ecztergom, has been arrested by police authorities under charges of low (petit) treason, conspiracy to overthrow the republic, and currency violation." The announcement must have been somewhat unexpected as only one paper, Szabad Esti Szo, com-mented editorially on the announcement that day. It took at least 24 hours for the rest of the Communist press to get into the act.

Many will have noted and remarked on the fact that the arrest took place on the day after Christmas, incidentally, also on a Sunday just as it is today. The explanation is, of course, due to the fact that the Communists feared to touch him before the holiday, knowing that demonstrations in his favor might have occurred on Christmas Day when millions of Hungarian Christians would be attending the church of their faith. News of the arrest, of course, did not reach the people until well after they had returned

home from Sunday worship.

The story of the arrest, imprisonment, interrogation, trial, and subsequent confinement has been told and retold, and I will not further develop it here. It was my privilege to address the United States House of Representatives last February on the fifth anniversary of Mindszenty's sentencing, at which time I reviewed the facts regarding these developments as they have become known to the world outside. I think it appropriate, however, to comment briefly upon one of the cardinal's most oft-quoted remarks, an answer he so often gave to those who tried to persuade him to take refuge in the free world.

All of you have heard of this statement many times. It is very brief: "Now men are needed here."

There are with us today many persons, formerly prominent in their own occupations in Hungarian life, who have escaped from the country of their birth and have sought shelter in these United States, the traditional home of refugees and exiles even long before the time of Louis Kossuth. There is no criticism intended in my remarks for such persons, either from Hungary or from any other Iron Curtain country. They are performing a vital function here in America by their tireless efforts to keep the memory of the enslavement of their people constantly before the American public. They have also many other useful tasks to perform which they are doing ably and well. Not only their own homelands but the entire free world owes them a debt of gratitude for their work, a debt which I hope will one day be repaid in full. Such individuals are needed, and will continue to be needed.

But the human memory is of such frailty that it is not enough to need exiles and refugees. To keep the awareness of these terrible events alive in the conscience of the free world and of the slave world, we also need martyrs. Their task is immeasurably harder for in many cases they die or vanish almost unknown and unsung. But, fortu-nately, there are those, such as Mindszenty, whose bravery and courage is known everywhere and who will never be forgotten. We need such martyrs as examples to all of us, no matter on which side of the Curtain we

Cardinal Mindszenty knew he was a man in a peculiar position. He knew that at any time he could have become an exile or a refugee and continued his fight against communism from abroad. But he also knew that that was not enough, that his country and the cause of freedom everywhere needed men to remain at home, men who were willing to face the terrors of communism, men who were willing to suffer martyrdom, even of the degrading kind which he underwent. And he knew that, because of his peculiar position that his martyrdom would leave such an indelible impression on the conscience of the world that the cause of communism would be the loser thereby even though his mind would be perverted by drugs into self-confession and denial of the principles he had formerly championed. He knew that the complete contrast between Mindszenty the cardinal and Mindszenty the prisoner in the dock would be so revealing of Communist barbarities that the conscience of the free world would be aroused as perhaps nothing else could arouse it. And knowing this, he deliberately chose martyrdom, knowing that his cause, the cause of freedom, would be the stronger thereby. In such a belief, he was eminently correct.

I wish now to speak briefly to the captive peoples, not only of Hungary, but everywhere behind the Iron Curtain. Recently there has been much talk in the press of peaceful coexistence between this country and the Soviet Union. Some have interpreted such talk as an indication that we have abandoned the captive peoples to their fate, that we are willing to sit down with the Soviet ruler and divide the world into so-called spheres of influence, that we are prepared to permit the Communists to have Hungary, let us say, if they will agree to abandon their infiltrative efforts in perhaps Guatemala or Chile or Brazil. I want to answer such interpretations this afternoon.

I say to all those who hear my voice that the policy of this Government toward the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain has not changed one lota nor will it change under our present administration. Under date of December 16, merely 10 days ago, I have the following assurances from the State Department, from which I quote: "This Government is not reconciled to the present fate of those peoples; it will not be a party to any arrangement or treaty confirming or prolonging their subjection to Soviet despotism, and it seeks by peaceful means conditions permitting these enslaved national groups to recover genuine freedom and independence."

You may have heard or read of the recent speech which Secretary of States Dulles made in Chicago in which he stated, and I quote: "The scope of conferences with the Soviet Government is necessarily limited by our attitude toward the captive peoples, for the Soviets know that we will not make any deal which would condone and perpetuate the captivity of men and nations. And the State Department has personally assured me that our objective remains unchanged which is to work in all peaceful ways for the creation of a Europe in which the captive peoples will again enjoy governments as well as social and economic institutions of their own free

I hope that these official statements of policy on the part of our Government will act as a reassurance to the captive peoples that they are not and will not be forgotten and that no so-called deal will be made with the Soviets that would in any sense of the word be an acceptance on our part of their conditions of bondage. Moreover, I will say that I am convinced that the great majority of the American people are desirous and hopeful that the eventual day of liberation will come and that it will come soon.

I wish to make one thing clear about which there has been much misunderstanding. There will be no so-called war of liberation in its literal sense. The American people are not prepared and do not intend to fight a war solely and simply for the liberation of the captive peoples. The horrors of an atomic and thermonuclear war are to great for us ever to seek war of our own choosing. But if, in spite of all our efforts for peace, war should be thrust upon us we will not shrink from its horrors, however catastrophic they

All the peoples of the world ardently desire peace. No one wished for peace more than Cardinal Mindszenty himself. But on the other hand we will not pay any price. however unworthy, to buy peace. And I am convinced that if war with the Soviets should come, albeit not of our choosing, we would not hesitate but would wage it until the power of international communism, everywhere, was beaten and trampled into the

So, I tell you that, while there may be talk of peaceful coexistence, a concept which I personally believe can never be realized, the policy of liberation is still as much a part of our national objective as it ever was. And there are peaceful means and ways in which we can work for this liberation and I want to discuss some of them briefly.

In working for peaceful liberation, I believe we would be, in effect, working toward a victory over the Soviet Union in the only way which would avoid either shameful surrender to the Soviets or an all-out atomic war in which there would be neither victor nor vanquished. Therefore, you can see that the achievement of liberation by peaceful means would be very much in the interest of our own national security, and therefore, must of necessity be and remain a part of our Government's international policy toward the Soviets.

Before we can deal effectively with the Communists abroad, we must first settle with them here at home. There can be, and should be, no room in the United States for anyone who has sworn prime allegiance the Soviet Union and who acts as a traitor and fifth columnist within our midst. Many effective steps have recently been taken against the American Communist Party and its members. I hope that these steps will be continued and increased to a point where communism, as an internal threat and menace, no longer exists in our midst. Outlawing of the Communist Party, expatriation and deportation of its members, Government seizure of its assets, the most ruthless steps to root out and eradicate its influence from every part of our economy and our way of life, these are some of the steps which I would suggest in the interest of our own national self-preservation. Once we have dealt effectively with the Communist menace here at home, then, and then only, can we logically turn our attention abroad.

In this connection I would hope that we use all our influence, political and economic especially, to urge our friends and allies to take similar steps against the Communist organizations in their own countries. The great worth of friendship with this country, to say nothing of military and economic assistance which may have been received from us, would not make this too unreasonable a demand on our part. But we should defi-nitely take the leadership in this respect. We cannot, in good conscience, ask any free country to take action with regard to their own problem of domestic communism which we have been unwilling or unable to take in regard to ours.

The weapon of trade can be an important one in our hands. I have been greatly distressed recently to read that current restrictions are being loosened to permit the exportation of more and more articles behind the Iron Curtain. Excuses have been made that these are merely articles for domestic consumer consumption. But it is important to bear two theses in mind. In the first place, whatever is done to raise the standard of living of the captive people, even assuming that the average person is able to buy such consumer goods, thereby merely entrenches the Communist regime in power. In the second place, to the extent that the Soviets can import consumer goods from abroad, to that extent can they divert their industrial production from consumer to industrial and armaments production. We have had clearcut evidence that trade embargoes have in the past seriously embarrassed and hampered the Soviet economy. I do not believe that our efforts in that direction should now be relaxed. There is no such thing in my language as a distinction between strategic and nonstrategic goods; even foodstuffs are strategic when used to the ultimate benefit of your enemy.

Legislation has been introduced into the Congress in the past and will be reintroduced in the future to provide some means of assistance and encouragement to Communist escapees, defectors, etc. Difficult as it is today, ways can still be found to cross the Iron Curtain. I am sure that the fear of insecurity and uncertainty in the free world acts as a great a deterrent to the would-be refugee as do all the mines, barbed wire fences, and other physical impediments. Every encouragement should be given to those persons who defect from Soviet communism not only to benefit the acquisition of valuable information on our part but also to increase the feeling of mutual distrust that the Reds hold toward one another. Every assistance should be given to those refugees who successfully pierce the Iron Curtain with assurances of resettlement and the chance to earn a decent livelihood. As I have said before, some must remain but those who do emerge from slavery into freedom should be considered and treated as welcome immigrants, not as fugitive criminals.

In this connection, I should make particular mention of the military units which are authorized to be formed in Western Europe from among those escapees of military age. Although large sums have been appropriated for such a purpose, progress has so far been disappointingly slow. I believe the presence of so-called legions of freedom from each of the satellite countries, as well as the Soviet Union itself, in Western Europe would act as powerful magnets to draw more and more of the Communist military manpower from behind the curtain. The existence of such groups under their own national, patriotic standards could serve as rallying points for freedom-loving exiles everywhere. It should also be worthy of note that they could contribute immeasurably to the defense of free Europe itself and would thereby enable us to relieve ourselves of some of our own weighty commitments in that continent.

The shameful treaties of Teheran, Yalta, and Potsdam which delivered so many of the captive peoples into Soviet slavery should be carefully reviewed by our Government. It is my belief that the Soviets should be presented with an ultimatum to honor immediately the broken provisions of these treaties, especially with regard to Germany, Austria, and Poland. Should this ultimatum be rejected, I believe our Government would be completely justified in denouncing these treaties and declaring to the world that they no longer exist as far as the United States of America is concerned. It would be my sincere hope that our British allies would feel able to join us in such a course of action.

Much has been said about the possibility of a top-level conference with the Soviet leaders in the near future. I can conceive of only one excuse for our attending such a conference and that would be to present further proof to some of our wavering allies as to the complete and utter futility of ever reaching any agreement with the present Soviet rulers. We have had too many sad experiences in the past to hope that some benefit might be derived from a new meeting. Even if a satisfactory solution to many existing problems could be reached with the

Communists, what guarantee, based on the lessons of history, would we have that an agreement could or would be honored on the part of the Reds? In my opinion it is next to useless to negotiate with a government whose standards of international morality are so completely at variance with our own. The only language the present Soviet rulers appear to understand and respect is that of forceful pressure and no international meetings are needed to make use of that application.

I now come to a question which has been much debated in public circles recently and is certain to be revived again and againthe matter of severing diplomatic relations with the Soviet and satellite governments. I have recently had occasion to make some study of the reasons for which this Government refased to recognize the Soviet Union in the decade following World War I. Chief among these, of course, was the manner in which the Bolshevik minority seized power in that country and established a tyrannical government so obviously unrepresentative of the majority of te Russian people. The unmistakably amoral standards of the Soviet leaders in the conduct of international relations also played a large part. The lack of good faith, the failure to recognize normal international obligations and the noncooperativeness in regard to all forms of intercourse were also weighty considerations. But re-luctant as this Government was to indicate its approval of the tyranny which had settled over the people of Russia, that in itself was not the principal reason for our failure to extend diplomatic recognition. It was rather the fact that the Soviets openly supported and directed movements of international communism everywhere which were nothing more than flagrant interferences into the internal and domestic affairs of every free country in the world, not excepting this one. It was felt that no possible indication of approval could be given such unprincipled conduct on the part of an alleged member of the family of nations.

Even after such misgivings had been overcome and diplomatic relations between the two countries had been established in November 1933, the Soviet Government merely increased its activities in this regard. Soviet leaders themselves openly boasted of the inevitability of world revolution through the Communist fifth columns throughout the world. When they were reminded of their solemn promises in this respect and their pledges to refrain from any such activities which had been undertaken at the time of recognition, they repudiated, for all intents and purposes, such pledges by declaring that they could undertake no obligations with respect to the Communist International. Such barefaced violations of solemn international commitments very nearly caused the rupture of relations as early as 1934. Had it not been for the emergence of the Nazi menace which threatened both countries equally and forced a form of modus vivendi, it is probable that American-Soviet relations would have been strained to the breaking point.

Much has been made of the value of socalled listening posts provided by the American embassies and legations behind the Iron Curtain. Having served myself at one these posts for more than 2 years, I state it as my personal opinion that such value is of extremely limited content. Much, if not all, of the information thus acquired is readily available through other sources and can hardly compensate for the intense propaganda and espionage activities carried on in this country by Soviet diplomatic officers. Further, as I have reason to know from personal experience, it is official Soviet policy to place every conceivable handicap and hindrance in the way of the operations of our Government representatives in Communist-controlled countries. The indignities

and hardships, many of a personal nature, which our people are forced to undergo there are not only degrading to them as individuals but are even more degrading to the prestige and influence of this country. It must be extremely difficult for the captive peoples to retain any degree of respect or admiration for the United States when they see its servants treated with the scorn and contempt which has been the custom ever since we have been officially represented behind the Curtain.

It is my firm and sincere conviction, therefore, that a complete severance of diplomatic relations with the Soviet and satellite regimes would be one of the best steps which this Government could take to reassert its position of moral leadership of the world. Regardless of whether or not all of our allies joined us in such action immediately, we would have asserted, not only to the free peoples but also to the captive peoples, our determination that a course of ruthless and deliberate violations of international agreements will not be endorsed by continued diplomatic recognition. Much as we dislike and disapprove of the manner in which the internal affairs of the Soviet Union, are conducted, it would not be for this reason that we would take the step of breaking relations. It would rather be due to the systematic course of interference in our own domestic affairs which the Soviet Union has pursued ever since its inception.

If we are determined, as we are, to do all possible to avoid an open clash with the Soviet Union, the weapons of international morality are among the strongest which remain in our arsenal. The fullest exertion of moral force is perhaps the only way in which a change can be achieved in the present policies of international communism. No one realized this better than the man in whose honor we are gathered here this afternoon.

By his willing martyrdom, Josef Cardinal Mindszenty succeeded in rallying the moral Indignation of the free world against Communist barbarity and tyranny as perhaps no other single individual has been able to do. When he was arrested and imprisoned 6 years ago today, he knew of the possibility of death, of the likelihood of degradation, Whatever his fate was to be, he faced it as bravely and courageously as the martyrs of imperial Roman times faced the lions in the amphitheater of the Colosseum. And the fate which befell him has done more to advance the cause of freedom which he so passionately and earnestly championed than any other single action on his part could possibly have accomplished.

Only the Communists know whether or not Mindszenty will ever emerge alive from his prison. Regardless of this we can only hope that somehow some word may have reached him that his dauntless sacrifice was not in vain. But it will only continue to be of avail if the example of moral leadership and moral courage which he left us will continue to be remembered long after he is gone.

I earnestly hope that my words today will be heard in captive Hungary. To those who may receive them I urge you to carry on the spirit of moral resistance to the Communist domination which Mindszenty so splendidly typified. Your country has suffered foreign domination before, many times in its long and glorious history. But the spirit of men such as King Bela IV, John Hunyadi, Louis Kossuth, and many others always kept the flame of freedom and independence alive and Hungary always eventually threw off her foreign shackles and emerged triumphant. Josef Mindszenty now takes his place among the heroes of Hungarian history as one whose deeds and words will inspire those who survive to carry on the fight and insure Hungary will not forever remain crushed and downtrodden. Remember the spirit of your ancestors. Remember the example of Cardinal Mindszenty. Get off your knees and hold up your heads again. Talpra Magyar.

And for those of us who carry on the fight in the world outside, be we Americans or Hungarians or of any other oppressed people, let us also never give up the fight against the forces of godless, totalitarian commu-nism. Let us be firm in our faith that right and justice will one day triumph everywhere. us continually keep before the eyes of free peoples the plight of the captive nations and let us insure that the great examples of moral strength and courage displayed by such men as Mindszenty are never forgotten. For such an undertaking, no effort on our part is too great. We should be eternally grateful that we have men like Mindszenty who are willing to contribute so much and we should on our part be grateful that we have the opportunity to contribute our little, our bit, to bringing freedom again to the slave half of the world, to seeing that justice will again triumph and to insuring that peace will return to reign over us. May the good Lord bless and strengthen us in this, our crusade.

Statement of Counterpart Funds Charged to Committees of the House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, on January 27, 1954, I inserted in the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD a statement with reference to the history and use of counterpart funds by Members of the House of Representatives who had traveled abroad on official committee business. I also inserted in the RECORD at that time a preliminary report received from the Secretary of State listing the names of the countries in which counterpart funds were available, together with a series of tables showing the amount of counterpart funds expended by members of committees of the House of Representatives for the fiscal year 1954 insofar as information was available at that time.

On January 3, 1955, as chairman of the Committee on House Administration, I received from Assistant Secretary of State Thruston B. Morton a statement based on reports to the Department of State by United States disbursing officers abroad, giving the total net amounts of counterpart funds drawn by committees of the House of Representatives from July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954, expressed in United States dollar equivalents. While it is believed that most of the obligations incurred by committees which traveled during the fiscal year 1954 were liquidated during fiscal year 1954, and are reflected in this statement, it is possible that additional payments have been or will be made on behalf of these groups during the current fiscal year 1955, and have not as yet been reported to the State Department. Any such payments will be included in the fiscal year 1955 reports and designated as payments against 1954 travel. The statement furnished by the Department of State follows:

Statement of counterpart fund charges to committees of the House of Representatives, July 1, 1953, through June 30, 1954 [Expressed in United States dollar equivalent values!

Total net charges: House Appropriations Committee____ __ \$48, 914, 29 House Armed Services Committee___ 14, 713, 28 House Committee on Foreign 19, 965, 34 Affairs___ House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce_ 20, 265, 70 House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. 1,020.18 House Committee on the Judi-

Grand total of net charges_ 157, 466, 40

52, 587, 61

Public Law 665, 83d Congress, provides that any committee of the House of Representatives which uses counterpart funds shall make a full report thereof to the Committee on House Administration, showing the total amount of such currency so used in each country and the purposes for which it was expended.

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What the Farm Vote Showed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN V. BEAMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I enclose for the Appendix of the Congressional Record an editorial entitled "What the Farm Vote Showed," from the November 5. 1954, issue of the Indianapolis Star:

WHAT THE FARM VOTE SHOWED

In one of his major farm addresses President Eisenhower told his audience he had been warned that his program of flexible farm price supports was not good politics at a time of widespread concern over falling prices of agricultural commodities. To this Ike replied that if his program was good for the country it was good politics. This courageous judgment turned out to be the smartest thing politically that the administration did in the entire campaign, as the results showed.

The highly touted farm revolt, fanned so exuberantly by Democrats like Senator KERR, of Oklahoma, in telecasts paid for by the CIO, simply fell flat on its face. In Iowa, Senator Gillette, a perennial winner for the Democrats, made the mistake of challenging the Eisenhower-Benson program, and there-by lost to Republican Marin, a strong Benson supporter. In Kansas, Senator Schoep-PEL, a strong foe of rigid price supports, easily won reelection. In Indiana, the rural vote held back the big off-year shift to the outs that the Democrats were banking on.

Ike won on the farm front because he staked his political prestige plainly on the outcome. He made the fight over flexible supports his own fight, backing up his battling Secretary of Agriculture to the hilt. Considering how narrow the Democratic margin of victory turned out to be, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Ike could have had his Republican Congress if he had fought just as hard on nonfarm issues.

New England Textile Committee Report on the Subject of Tariffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I include the following New England Textile Committee Report on the Subject of Tariffs, December 14, 1954:

The importance of tariff rates to the New England textile industry and the current activity of the Federal Government relative to same have prompted the New England Textile Committee to conduct hearings for the purpose of discussing and studying this issue. This statement of the position of the New England Textile Committee on the tariff issue, for presentation to our New England governors, Congressmen, and to the general public, is the product of this careful

This report consists of a definition of the textile industry in New England, discussion of characteristics of the industry, the need for tariff protection, present tariff legislation, and recommendations of the New Eng-

land Textile Committee.

NEW ENGLAND TEXTILE INDUSTRY

The textile industry is one of the most important industries in New England. New England mills constitute about 20 percent of the cotton, silk, and synthetic textile industry, about 60 percent of the woolen and worsted textile industry, and a sizable percentage of other textile industries including manufacturers of lace goods, felt goods, coated fabrics, cotton cordage and twine, hats, carpets and rugs, knit goods, thread and yarn. The New England Textile Committee represents all of the textile-mill products industries.

Over 16 percent of the people employed in New England manufacturing industries are directly employed in textiles, approxi-

mately 220,000 people in 1953. Another 220,000 people are indirectly dependent on the textile industry, as the loss of a textile job in a community may mean the loss of one additional job when the worker and his dependents cut their purchases from the grocer, the druggist, the department store, and the professions. Thus, 1 in every 6 jobs in New England is directly or indirectly dependent on the welfare of the textile industry.

The New England textile industry represents capital investment in excess of \$1 1/2 billion, value added by manufacture in 1952 of \$1,154,000,000,4 and would require investments of about \$3 billion to substitute new manufacturing jobs for textile jobs."

The textile industry is not only essential to New England but is of great importance to the national economy. The total industry employs aproximately 1.25 million workers, has an annual gross product value of \$12 billion, pays taxes of \$1.25 billion annually, and has an investment at the end of 1952 of \$51/2 billion with total assets of about \$9 billion.

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDUSTRY

The characteristics of large employment, small size of units, geographical dispersion, high percentage of labor costs to other costs, free price competition, and military value make it mandatory that present tariff rates

Footnotes at end of speech.

on textile-mill products be maintained or 14½ hours a week." This shows how quickly increased in the interest of national welfare. foreign competition affects the textile in-

LARGE EMPLOYMENT

In addition to being one of the largest employers of labor, the industry is charac-terized by the fact that mills employ a relatively high proportion of the workers in the labor-market area where they are located. Many mills are situated in small towns where provide either the sole or principal source of outside income to the community. Other mills are located in textile centers such as Rockville and Danielson, Conn.; Sanford, Biddeford, and Lewiston, Maine; Fall River, New Bedford, Lawrence, and Lowell, Mass.; Manchester and Keene, N. H.; Woonsocket and Providence, R. I.; and Winooski, Vt., where they represent a large proportion of the total manufacturing employment in the area.

SIZE OF UNITS

The textile industry typifies small business which the Federal Government is currently trying to assist on the one hand through the Small Business Administration and is permitting to be injured on the other through reductions in textile tariffs.

The average number of employees in textile mills is very low in New England as well as in milis is very low in New England as well as in all regions of the United States and in all branches of the industry. In the United States, 43 percent of the textile milis employ less than 20 persons and 73 percent employ under 100 workers. The total industry is composed of over 9,000 milis, of which over 1,500 are in New England.

GEOGRAPHICAL DISPERSION

Only a relatively small number of textile mills are located in large metropolitan areas where there is a diversity of manufacturing and employment. Most of the mills are small, widely distributed, and located in small towns where a change or shift in demand for their output causes particular hardship on textile workers.

LABOR-ORIENTED INDUSTRY

The entire industry is noted for its relatively high percentage of labor costs to other costs. In 1953, salaries and wages of the wool textile industry represented 63 percent of the total value added by manufacture." In the case of the cotton and rayon broadwoven fabrics field, salaries and wages represented 67 percent of the total value added by manufacture in 1952.10 This labor cost is particularly important when one considers that raw-material costs are just as low or to other producers throughout the world. Government price-support policies tend to raise the cost of raw materials to American producers above the prevailing prices in the world market.

Uncontrolled competition from low-wage foreign producers can seriously damage the New England textile industry, the New England economy, and the national textile industry. In competition with foreign producers, the wage differential varies between 200 and 1,400 percent, and this in a labororiented industry.11 As a result, during 1953 textile products were entering the United States, duty paid, at prices substantially below those of domestic producers.13

The Government considers an area with 6 percent or more unemployment a surplus labor area. As an example of what can happen in a short period of time in textiles, let us consider the case of the lace manufacturers, predominantly located in the Blackstone and Pawtuxet Valley areas of Rhode Island. In the 2 years following the reciprocal trade-agreements program with France, in conjunction with the devaluation of the French franc, which in substance meant still further tariff reduction, the lace industry in Rhode Island found itself with 66 percent of its workers unemployed and the re-maining 34 percent working on an average of

dustry.

PRICE COMPETITION

The outstanding characteristic of the textile industry is its highly competitive nature with the resulting low free market price of textiles to the consumer. In recent years textile profits as a percent of sales have been running below the average earnings of manufacturing industries generally. The textile industry is not making profits at the expense of the consumer under the protection of the present tariff.

MILITARY VALUE

Maintenance of a domestic textile industry Is vital to our national security. During the 4 years, 1942-45, 51.4 percent of the production of cotton broad-woven goods in the United States went to the armed services.14 In the woolen industry, during the peak production years of 1942-43, 51.5 percent and 48.8 percent, respectively, of domestic production went to the armed services.15 injury to the New England textile industry through tariff reductions could jeopardize national security

TARIFF PROTECTION

In the interest of New England, our national security, and the national economy, present tariff rates on textile products must be maintained to protect the textile industry and its various segments from injury and unemployment caused by low wage foreign competition. When foreign imports cause or threaten to cause unemployment in any branch of the textile industry, tariff rates on the goods imported should be raised to prevent further injury and unemployment.

Textile workers laid off as a result of mill closings find it difficult to find jobs. Older textile workers are experiencing considerable difficulty in finding new jobs and if total textile employment declines it will be increasingly difficult for them to find any sort of employment according to a recent survey conducted by Northeastern University.¹⁶
Any reduction in tariff rates will only serve to aggravate the already serious problem of unemployment in some New England textile

The textile industry is one of the first industries to develop in new industrial areas and in rehabilitated countries. Since World War II United States textile machinery manwar if officed states textire inactinary many foreign mills. As a consequence, many foreign producers have machinery which is more modern and more efficient than the older machinery in many mills in the United States. With low wages, modern machinery and techniques, foreign producers can and will capture our domestic markets. Any advantage we enjoyed in the past in greater productivity and efficiency have been equalized by sharing our knowledge with our foreign neighbors. Fine-combed cotton goods from Western Europe and Japan, Italian and Japanese velveteens, English typewriter cloth, English tweeds, and other foreign textiles are coming into this country in increasing numbers.

Since the inception of the textile industry, the Government has provided protection against foreign producers through the medium of the tariff. Under these condi-tions the industry has grown and developed a scale of wages commensurate with the American standard of living. Through reciprocal trade agreements during the last 20 years there have been large reductions in tariff rates on textiles. Any further reduc-tion would be injurious to the industry and New England. The New England Textile Committee favors protection for workers, stockholders, and the public from the lowwage competition of foreign countries.

TARIFF LEGISLATION

Under present tariff rates, textile products are being imported in increasing quantities while domestic industry suffers from unemployment. The woolen and worsted industry is the prime example of this sitnation

The Commission on Foreign Economic Policy, popularly known as the Randall Commission, has recommended further tariff reductions to the President. The New Eng-land Textile Committee is opposed to any further tariff reductions on textile products.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The New England Textile Committee recommends:

1. That there should be no further reductions in tariff rates on any of the different classes of textiles.

2. That tariff rates should be raised on textile products where foreign imports cause or threaten to cause unemployment in any segment of the industry.

³ Statement of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Northern Textile Association on the Subject of Tariffs before the New-England Textile Committee, March

² Bureau of the Census, 1949.

*Statement of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Northern Textile Association, March 10, 1954.

Report on the New England Textile Industry by Committee Appointed by the Conference of New England Governors-1952. May 1, 1953.

Statement of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Northern Textile Association, March 10, 1954.

Report on the New England Textile In-

dustry, May 1, 1953.
*U. S. Department of Commerce and Federal Security Agency, County Business Pat-terns, First Quarter, 1949.

Statement submitted to the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy by the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, December 1953.

16 National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Northern Textile Association. April 1954.

11 Told.

z Ibid.

18 Testimony of National Association of Lace Manufacturers before the New England Textile Committee, March 10, 1954.

34 Statement of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and Northern Textile Association, March 10, 1954.

15 Statement submitted to the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy by the National Association of Wool Manufacturers, Decem-

²⁶Bureau of Business and Economic Re-search at Northeastern University, January 25, 1954.

The President's Message on the State of the Union

EXTENSION OF REMARKS - OF

HON. JOHN V. BEAMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I enclose for inclusion in the Appendix of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD a statement as given to the Indiana press following the state of the Union message of January 6:

I join President Eisenhower in his estimate and evaluation of the 83d Congress as expressed in his state of the Union message. I am glad to have been a Member of that body that did so much for everybody and that helped to produce the greatest prosperity that this country ever has seen, with peace at the same time.

I believe that the President will be very realistic in the matter of tariffs and the extension of reciprocal trade agreements. The industries of the United States do not ask for selfish protection but for equalization of tariff rates. It is realized that reciprocal trade agreements must work two ways and that we should be entitled to the same consideration from all other nations that we, in turn, extend to them.

In regard to the spending for defense, I certainly join with President Eisenhower instead of Speaker RAYBURN. The present ad-ministration has proven that more defense can be secured for less money. Apparently, the proposal of the Democratic Party, as stated by Speaker RAYBURN at the time of his installation as Speaker, will be to spend for the sake of spending with no mention about the waste which everybody knows must be watched.

I also raise the question whether or not foreign aggression might be invited by excessive saber rattling on the part of our country or on the part of any other country. President Eisenhower has had a lifetime of experience and prefers peace pru-dently secured instead of aggression by provocation.

The President's concern about Communist infiltration and subversives should be shared by all. Both major political parties will do well to clean their house immediately of any

extremist groups.

Revision of the McCarran Immigration Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today an immigration and naturalization bill to revise our present immigration laws. The title of my bill is "Immigration and Citizenship Act of 1955," and it is intended to replace the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act.

Let me state at the very outset that the chief objection to the McCarran-Walter Act is that is based on the nationalsupremacy doctrine which maintains that the people of some nations were superior to others. According to the McCarran-Walter Act, this idea is reflected in our present immigration policy. Needless to say, it is a fallacious theory because there is no such thing as a superior race or a superior people. A law reflecting such outmoded ideas has no place on our statute books and should be removed as soon as possible. We need an immigration law that will conform with American concepts of justice, fair play, and basic traditions.

Mr. Speaker, I represent a cosmopolitan district in the city of New York. The people of our great city are for the most part of immigrant stock. They are either immigrants themselves or children

and grandchildren of immigrants. Their roots are solidly planted in this country. They are intensely loyal and patriotic citizens of the United States. It is because they have known the adversities of life abroad at firsthand that they can best appreciate the American way of life.

They and many millions of others throughout our country are intensely interested in the problem of immigration and are anxious for the United States to follow a liberal policy in the matter. recall that during my service in the 82d Congress I had been approached by numerous people to help them in their immigration matters. Some of these were very tragic cases: Parents who wanted to be united with their children; broken families because the husband or the wife could not come here; deportation of the husband which left an entire family without support, and similar other cases. I did my utmost to help these people in every possible way.

Unfortunately, our immigration laws in recent years have been rather harsh, discriminatory, and often inhumane. The McCarran-Walter Act was intended to be a codification of all previous immigration and naturalization laws, but actually turned out to be a codification of all the discriminations and the prejudices against immigrants thought up during the past few decades. I am referring particularly to the quota system. the method of selecting immigrants who seek entry to this country, which dates back to the early 1920's when it was first enacted in an atmosphere of isolationism and hatred of all foreigners.

Under the quota system a total of 154,000 immigrants may be admitted annually to the United States. The original law enacted in 1921 set up the quotas on the basis of the 1910 census. It also contained the obnoxious implication that the people of southern and eastern Europe are inferior to those of northern and western Europe. In 1924, the law was amended and made even more discriminating against those of southern and eastern European origin. Quotas were reduced from 3 to 2 percent, and the census basis was moved back from 1910 to 1890, the reason being that immigration from southern and eastern Europe had hardly begun by 1890. Naturally, the quotas for those countries were drastically reduced. Thus, Italy's quota was cut from 42,000 under the 1921 law to less than 6,000 under the 1924 amendments; Poland's quota was reduced from 31,000 to 6,500, and the same was true for other countries.

Mr. Speaker, when a codification of our immigration laws was undertaken several years ago, million of our citizens had hoped that the biased and intolerant laws would be eliminated and a new approach toward the selection of immigrants would be established, but those who drew up the McCarran-Walter bill included the worst and most obnoxious features which had accumulated on our statute books over the past 30 years. The restrictive quota system was retained, large quotas were again assigned to countries unable to use them up, and the unused portions of the quotas were wasted instead of permitting low-quota countries to use them.

So much for the quota system. Now, let us examine briefly another set of regulations in the McCarran-Walter Act which constitute an insult to all Americans who believe in the concept of equality. I mean the provisions which deal with naturalized citizens. Under the McCarran-Walter Act it is easier to deprive such people of their citizenship and deport them from the United States. In the past it was necessary to provide proof of fraud at the time of naturalization, but now it merely needs to be shown that a person failed to mention some minor incident in his past and he stands to lose his citizenship. It is a threat which hangs over his head for the rest of his life. This, in effect, sets up two classes of citizenship, since no naturalized citizen can ever feel secure of his citizenship status any more; it is something which we have never before had since this Republic has been founded.

There are many other injustices in that act, perhaps too numerous to mention. Suffice it to mention the findings of a Presidential commission, named by President Truman in 1952 to study the act. In January 1953 this commission reported its findings of the McCarran-Walter Act as follows:

First. It discriminates against human beings on account of their national origin, their religious belief, and their color.

Second. It is based on hatred and distrust of all aliens.

Third. It ignores the needs of the United States in domestic affairs and foreign policy.

Fourth. It contains unnecessary and unreasonable restrictions and penalties against individuals.

Fifth. It is badly drafted, confusing, and in some respects unworkable.

In the 2 years since the Eisenhower administration is in power and in the 83d Congress nothing was done to wipe out the inequities of the McCarran-Walter Act and to restore sanity and dignity to our immigration system. The President has made no effort to keep his 1952 campaign pledge to support legislation to revise the McCarran-Walter Act. The 83d Congress, likewise, made no attempt to amend the act, but adopted the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 to admit 214,000 European refugees over a 3-year period. By now, many of us are aware that this act turned out to be a hoax, since its many restrictions make it so unworkable that only about 10,000 persons have been admitted under this law which went into effect on August 7, 1953. This is a separate issue to which I hope to return in the very near future with some constructive suggestions.

Many of my colleagues, I am sure, will recall that I was strenuously opposed to the McCarran-Walter measure when it came before the House in 1952, and then when President Truman vetoed it I voted to uphold the President's veto. Since then I have followed all developments in connection with this act; I have sought means and ways of revising it, and I have given the matter much thought and study.

Here are some of the major changes recommended in my bill:

First. The so-called national origins quota system is abolished as a basis for admission and in its place is proposed a unified quota system to be comprised of three groups of eligible immigrants:

A. Those coming under the family unification preference, but not more than one-third of the quota numbers are to be allocated for this purpose;

B. Those coming under occupational preference, which is to be limited to 10

percent;

C. The remainder shall be allotted to newcomers, including those seeking religious or political asylum, and those needed here in the national interest.

Second. There is to be no discrimination against any person seeking to enter this country as an immigrant, because of national origin, religion, race, or color.

Third. The number of annual quota visas is to be established on the basis of one-sixth of 1 percent of the United States population according to the 1940 census, the last prewar decennial census. On this basis a total of 220,000 immigrants may be admitted annually, which is about 75,000 more than under the present quota system. Furthermore, the allocation of quotas for all countries would be more equitable because the 1940 census is more representative of our population now than is the census of 1890.

Fourth. The allocation of visas to the above three groups and the quotas assigned to each nation shall be determined by an Immigration and Naturalization Commission, proposed in the bill, and with the approval of the President. The Commission is to operate as an independent agency, thus avoiding much of the confusion now existing.

Fifth. Unused quotas are to be pooled and distributed among those countries whose quota allotments had been used up. It will be of interest to note that since 1924 only about 40 percent of the quota numbers have been used, namely, 1,500,000 entered the United States under the quota system while 2,500,000 visa numbers remained unfilled and unused.

Sixth. Aliens shall not be deported if they were admitted before their 14th birthday, or have lived in the United States for 20 years or more. The bill also provides that no alien can be deported by reason of conduct which occurred more than 10 years prior to the institution of the deportation proceedings.

Seventh. Several provisions are contained in the bill which would permit an alien who is under a final order of deportation to seek judicial review under the Administrative Procedure Act or the Declaratory Judgment Act. In this way it is hoped to eliminate the contradictory standards of justice applied to alien residents in this country and the severe penalties meted out for minor errors and infractions of the law.

Eighth. All distinctions and discriminations between native-born and naturalized American citizens are eliminated and equality of all citizens under the law is established. In a democracy

such as ours there is no room for secondclass citizenship nor is discrimination against the naturalized citizens to be tolerated. The grounds for deprivation of citizenship, whether acquired by b...th or naturalization, are remedied.

There are numerous other changes and remedies suggested in the bill to improve our immigration laws, which I trust will be adopted at an early date so that the United States will be able to maintain its tradition as the haven of the oppressed and the asylum for the persecuted. Continuation of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act on our statute books is a blot on the good name of our country. If we permit this discriminatory measure to remain unaltered and unrevised, then much which is precious to American ideals and traditions is destroyed.

Mr. Speaker, I maintain that the Mc-Carran Act is not a true reflection of the thinking and the spirit in this country, or that it represents American opinion concerning the immigrant. The Mc-Carran Act is not the proper law for a nation which has been settled and developed by immigrants throughout its history, and which has been built to its present greatness and world leadership with the help of immigrants.

For the sake of America's greatness, its international prestige, and its position of moral leadership among the nations of the world, I urge this Congress to take swift action to undo the wrongs of the McCarran-Walter Act and to adopt my proposed revision of it.

Let Us Cling to the Pattern of Life That Has Brought Us Where We Are That We May Continue To Go Ever Forward

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, approved by the House, I am including in the Record an interesting address by a great American, James A. Farley, former Postmaster General of the United States. Mr. Farley is now chairman of the board of one of the big, expanding industries of the United States. The address was delivered in Wichita, Kans., on October 18, 1954, in commemoration of the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the industry which he heads.

Incidentally, General Farley attributes his success in the business world to opportunity afforded under a Government that encourages thrift and individual initiative.

The address follows:

I have been privileged to visit Wichita on many occasions and have always enjoyed it. I am told that the early Plains Indians who were your first settlers, called this territory Kansas—or "People of the South Wind." To me that has always seemed a most appropriate designation for your fine State—for it suggests the warmth and refreshing recep-

tion I have always received here. But I am particularly happy to be here tonight because it affords me an opportunity to participate in an event which can happen only once in a lifetime of a man or a business—the marking of a 50th anniversary.

of a 50th anniversary.

In my own lifetime, I have come away from many celebrations, such as this, impressed not so much with the great economic and historic factors which were discussed but with the people whose ingenuity and fortitude gave root and flower to the real meaning of why we are here.

In Wichita the Coca-Cola saga has been written boldly in the record pages of a growing city, as it has been etched into the progress of great communities across the Nation and throughout the world. You, my friends, are the authors, the builders, the men of vision and integrity who have created here a lasting monument—a thriving, respected, and revered business—from something so humble and simple as a pleasant-tasting, wholesome, nickel soft drink.

Now what does it take? What magic power must you have to attain this splendid achievement? Perhaps the answer may be found in this basic concept. It may be that aside from your abiding faith, your business acumen, and your merchandising resourcefulness, the formula for your success is contained in the one word "character." In the words of the old saying: "Sow an act and you reap a habit, sow a habit and you reap a character, sow a character and you reap a destiny."

I prefer to believe that you are not exceptional geniuses, but rather you are plain, straightforward, kindhearted, law-abiding citizens—men with healthy consciences, hearty appetites, and I hope good digestion, with cheerful but dogged determination to do your part in the sphere of life to which God has called you. It is a truism that no man who continues over the years to add something to the material, intellectual, and moral well-being of the place in which he lives is left long without proper reward. In bringing this business from nothing to its present impressive stature, through the trials and vicissitudes of more than seven times the normal life span of the average American corporation, you are deserving of recognition, not only by your associates but by your fellow builders of Wichita as well.

It is appropriate at this time also, for me to remind you that deep in the fabric of Coca-Cola's mantle of success is the name of Browne. To the Coca-Cola organization, Browne is synonymous with builder. The Browne vision and integrity helped cement bricks of acceptance in the solid foundation of public confidence laid down by the parent company. Because there are men among you in the Browne mold, the trademark Coca-Cola and the product and institution which it identifies, will continue to hold its position in world favor and renown.

Just as here in Wichita, so in any American city or town the Coca-Cola man is to his neighbor the personification of the institution itself. Through his efforts and through his dedication to the principles of what has been called the Coca-Cola pattern of business, this product benefits and sustains and develops each and all of the communities in which it is bottled and distributed. In the store and in the village, in the city and the Nation, Coca-Cola is a builder.

In fact, to call it a builder may be something of an understatement. Few products have had such a dynamic effect on the whole economy of the country. Because its growth and development have been so nearly concurrent with your own, let me refresh your recollection of some of its highlights.

It took 51 years to sell the first half billion gallons of Coca-Cola sirup, but only 7 years to sell the second half billion. And 1953 passed the second billion gallon mark.

When the Coca-Cola Bottling Co., of Wichita, came into being 50 years ago, total daily sales of sirup everywhere were only 2,400 gallons a day. Today and every day, more than one-third of a million gallons are moved out from our sirup plants. Fifty years ago, total sales everywhere were slightly more than 300,000 drinks a day. Now they have reached 50 million drinks a day.

Those are dramatic figures, but their real significance lies not merely in their size but in what they mean in terms of people employed and in the wages, salaries, and

dividends they provide.

It is good to remember also that the division of what the consumer pays for this drink—among all those who participate in making delivery to him-is such that every one, from the manufacturer of the original sirup to the ultimate retailer of the finished beverage, derives a fair return and legitimate profit from doing so. This product has en-riched many; it has impoverished none. Every retailer of Coca-Cola has the comforting consciousness that it gives him a faster turnover, draws more people to his door, and creates more secondary sales in his store than anything else on his shelves. As for the manufacturer and bottler, the published values of the operations and facilities of each bear eloquent testimony to a common and basic interest which united themunites us-in a common bond. I know of no other industry in which the manufacturer and the processor, the wholesaler and the retailer have found so broad an area of mutuality in their economic interests. The throughout the country have been singularly fortunate in their people. You may remember the banner displayed not so long ago at a convention of Coca-Cola bottlers that read: "The answer is men." There is no question in my mind that it has been men, and these men have been a dedicated lot. They have not looked upon their enterprise primarily as a means of making a fast dollar on a quick turn. They resisted the temptation to skim the cream of swift profits. They have been long-term operators, building for their communities and for their grandchildren. They have had an institutional attachment and a product loyalty that is legendary.

As another outstanding factor making Coca-Cola what it is, let us not overlook the exceptional system of distribution that carries sirup through 1,800 jobbers to 140,000 fountain outlets and through one-half dozen parent bottlers to more than 1,000 bottlers and from them to more than 1,500,000 bottling outlets all over the United States. Geographically, that system covers the Nation almost as completely as the Post Office Department. But the truly significant thing about it is that, at both the wholesale and retail levels, it is short through with economic independence. One hundred percent of the retailers are independent; 100 percent of the jobbers are independent; over 95 percent of the bottling plants are under ownership independent of the sirup-manufacturing company. There is no better example of the free-enterprise system than the mutually interested by individually independent businesses and organizations which produce and distribute Coco-Cola.

What developed in this country over the past 50 years is now repeating itself the world around. The qualities that have brought local and national acceptance to Coca-Cola here are carrying on toward global popularity. We now have Coca-Cola in 86 countries of the globe.

It may surprise you to know that Coca-Cola sales in Manila are greater than those in Chicago; that sales in Buenos Aires are the same as those in St. Louis and that sales in Brussels equal those of Birmingham.

It might be supposed that a product such as ours would not lend itself to the use of foreign trade. But just the opposite is true. Exports of finished products, of course, have a utility to the foreign country receiving them. But a greater value and a greater benefit is realized by that country when the article of international commerce is the kind that generates a series of secondary local activities. It is in this respect that Coca-Cola differs from many others. For it stimulates in the foreign country a great variety of local enterprises all calling for local management, local personnel, and local material.

A great virtue of this product to an overseas country is that a minimum of important material galvanized new and supplementary domestic developments on a widespread front. For example, crowns for Coca-Cola bottles are manufactured in 15 countries now; the bottle itself in 18 countries. one colonial territory the erection of a botling plant costing 60 million francs was made possible by the importation of equipment costing only \$150. In another area, a new bottling plant entailed the building, also, of an ice plant, a sugar mill, and factories to produce carbon dioxide, caustic soda, soda ash, paperboard, ice coolers, and bodies for electric coolers. When a public official welcomed Coca-Cola to Cape Town, South Africa, he emphasized that with a single exception, everything used in the manufacture of Coca-Cola is of South Afri-

Yes, wherever it goes, at home or abroad, Coca-Cola "belongs." It belongs to the man on the street, a native product and a creator

of other native products.

So much for the highlights of Coca-Cola. Now let us return to the purpose of this

gathering tonight.

While traveling out here from New York, I thought about how cities are built, how businesses are built and how completely entwined is the simultaneous growth of each and how each is interdependent-one upon the other. A city starts with a plot of ground, sometimes by accident, as when two trails cross and a small store is built to accommodate the weary traveler. Sometimes it starts because of some material foundation or blessing of nature such as a lake, navigable river, or good harbor. In the beginning there is nothing but the ground, and then a man comes. He may build a home or a store and then other men come and get others, and there are added to the ground, houses for the people and the people produce the demand for business and the two grow hand-in-hand from a village to a town, to a

There may be those in this room tonight who can go back to Wichita 50 years ago. Then, it was a young city-of only 34 sum-Yet for more than 300 years it had been recognized as a likely spot to make a community. History tells us that Coronado and his Spanish explorers paused here on his return from Pecos Pueblo in 1541. And even then he found the Plains Indians lived in villages of round straw houses and growing maize and beans and melons. Thesetold-were the home-loving Wichitas from whom your city took its name.

Then later, on, when the white man came from the East he too found this spotwhere the Little Arkansas meets Arkansas-a pleasing place to live and grow

and even to build a city.

When Wichita was chartered in 1871 the founding fathers may not have envisioned fully the great stature it would some day attain. But they could be sure it had great possibilities, for all the signs pointed to growth in greatness. It furnished a market for the products, a supply base for the area, and a banking, jobbing, manufacturing, and distribution center for Kansas and parts of Oklahoma. A spirit and an atmosphere pervaded that set Wichita apart to itself as a great thriving section of the country. And it did grow and it flourished. For its people

had faith; they had energy and endeavor and they applied them. They had convictions; and, through good times and bad, they stood firm for the verities of life.

And so, also, did this business. It started in a very small and insignificant way. But being an integral part of the community it partook of the community spirit. It was warmed by that spirit and it caught step with the strides of the community. It kept pace and developed and grew as the com-munity grew. So, tonight, in this celebration we must also pay high tribute to Wichita, to the citizens of Wichita, and to this State, for a climate in which a business of quality and character could flourish and for their patronage and support of this business. On behalf of the Coca-Cola Co., and I am sure I also speak for the Wichita Coca-Cola Bottling Co., I wish to express to Wichita and its people our great thanks and deep gratitude.

In the growth of this city, in the growth of this business, and in the growth of the men and women of this city, we have the miracle that is America, multiplied by innumerable communities throughout land—the miracle that has made this Nation the greatest nation on the face of the earth. It is the obligation of those here, and of those to follow, to cling to this pattern of life that has brought us where we are that we may continue to go ever forward.

We stand to night upon the dividing line between the first and second halves of a We reverently return thanks to Almighty God for the past and with hopeful promise walk forth upon sure ground toward the future. And 50 years from today, some other man will be here to pay tribute to this organization and to this city. he will remind you, as I do tonight, that the past is prologue. And in the words of the philosopher, he may say again to you: "Build out of the past, live in the present, work for the future."

An Explanation of Health Bills Introduced in the 84th Congress by Congressman Wolverton, Republican, of New Jersey

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, as previously stated I introduced on the opening day of this 84th Congress, January 5, 1955, several bills, the underlying purpose of which is to provide improved facilities and ways and means to promote the health of our people. I believe each of these bills, or bills similar thereto, and, embodying the fundamental principles thereof, would have a very beneficial effect in meeting the present tremendously high cost of hospitalization and medical attention.

In order that these bills may have the fullest possible understanding and thereby create sufficient interest to bring about enactment, I am making an explanation of each of them, as follows:

H. R. 397, A BILL TO AMEND THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT TO PROVIDE MORTGAGE-LOAN IN-SURANCE FOR HOSPITALS AND MEDICAL FACILI-

The principal purposes of the bill, H. R. 397, are:

First, to stimulate lending institutions, through Government insurance of mortgages, to loan funds for the construction of privately owned medical centers, hospitals, clinics, and other health facilities operated on a self-sustaining basis; and

Second, to encourage the extension of voluntary prepayment health plans providing comprehensive medical and hospital care of high quality to the people at reasonable costs within their means.

In order to accomplish these purposes, the bill would create a Health Facilities Mortgage Insurance Fund. The amount of contingent insurance liability would be limited to \$200 million, except that with the approval of the President, such amount may be increased by additional amounts aggregating \$150 million. Mortgages on qualified health facilities would be insured (subject to 10-percent co-insurance) up to 80 percent of the value of such facility. Interest would be fixed at 5 percent with a maximum of 6 percent if the Secretary finds the higher interest rate necessary.

Title II of the bill would set aside for a period of 2 years after the date of the enactment of the bill not less than \$40 million of the total insurance liability authorized by the bill for the insurance of mortgages covering health facilities used primarily in connection with the operation of group prepayment health service plans. This reservation is designed to make certain that a sufficient share of the fund will be available to encourage the extension of group practice prepayment health plans.

The principal objective of the bill, H. R. 397, is to encourage the flow of private capital into the construction and equipment of hospitals and medical facilities. This bill would supplement the Hospital Construction Act, as broadened by the 83d Congress, Public Law 482, which makes available Federal funds for the construction of hospitals and medical facilities.

The bill is based on the extensive experience which the Federal Government has had with the insurance of mortgages on residential housing, including single-family residences and apartments, and contains all of the legislative safeguards provided for in the Housing Act of 1954. enacted by the 83d Congress—Public Law 560—designed to prevent certain abuses which were discovered in connection with the housing program.

H. R. 398, A BILL TO AMEND THE PUBLIC HEALTH BERVICE ACT TO PROVIDE MORTGAGE LOAN IN-BURANCE FOR HOSPITALS AND MEDICAL FACILI-TIES USED IN CONNECTION WITH VOLUNTARY PREPAYMENT HEALTH PLANS

H. R. 398 is a reintroduction, in substance, of the bill H. R. 7700, introduced by me on February 3, 1954, during the 83d Congress. The purpose of the bill is to stimulate private lending institutions, through Government insurance of mortgages, to loan funds by which medical centers, hospitals, clinics, and other medical facilities operated in conjunction with voluntary prepayment health plans, can be constructed and operated on a self-sustaining basis.

The further purpose of the bill is to increase the opportunities and facilities by which doctors may associate themselves together in groups, partnerships,

and other private initiative arrangements of their own choosing, in order to broaden the distribution of high quality medical care through general practitioners and specialists working together, making the most efficient use of medical schools, facilities, and equipment and emphasizing preventive medicine, detection of diseases, and early diagnosis.

The bill, H. R. 398, is based on the extensive experience of prepayment plans offering comprehensive services in many parts of the country today, as for example, the Kaiser Foundation in California, the Health Insurance Plan of Greater New York, and Group Health Association, Inc., of Washington, D. C.

The bill would create a medical facilities mortgage insurance fund. The amount of contingent insurance liability at any one time may not exceed \$300 million, except that with the approval of the President, such aggregate amount may be increased at any time by additional amounts aggregating not more than \$150 million. Mortgages on qualified health facilities would be fully insured up to 90 percent of the value of such facility. Interest would be fixed at 5 percent with a maximum of 6 percent if the Secretary finds the higher interest rate necessary.

The bill is based on the extensive experience which the Federal Government has had with mortgage loan insurance in the field of residential housing, including both single family residences and apartments.

H. R. 399, A BILL TO ASSIST VOLUNTARY NON-PROFIT ASSOCIATIONS OFFERING PREPAID HEALTH SERVICE PROGRAMS TO SECURE NECES-SARY FACILITIES AND EQUIPMENT THROUGH LONG-TERM, INTEREST-BEARING LOANS

H. R. 399 is similar to H. R. 6950, 83d Congress which was introduced by me on January 6, 1954. The purpose of the bill is to stimulate the organization of additional, and assist in the expansion of existing, voluntary nonprofit prepayment health associations by making available long-term Government loans. The bill would authorize the appropriation of \$5 million each for the current and following fiscal years and \$10 million for each of the next 3 succeeding fiscal years.

The bill H. R. 399 is designed to supplement other bills introduced by me which are intended to stimulate the flow of private capital into the construction of health facilities used by voluntary health associations.

The bill would be administered by the Surgeon General acting with the advice of the Health Services Facilities Council. The Council would consist of representatives of the Department of Agriculture, Department of Labor, and 12 members to be appointed by the Surgeon General with the approval of the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare who are recognized as leaders in the field of medical economics, medical administration, or public affairs.

H. R. 400, A BILL TO IMPROVE THE PUBLIC HEALTH BY ENCOURAGING MORE EXTENSIVE USE OF THE VOLUNTARY PREPAYMENT METHOD IN THE PROVISION OF PERSONAL HEALTH SERVICES

This bill is similar to H. R. 8356, 83d Congress, in the form in which that bill was reported favorably on July 9, 1954, by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee—House Report 2106. H. R. 8356 was introduced in the House by me on March 11, 1954, to implement President Eisenhower's recommendations contained in his health message submitted to the 83d Congress on January 18, 1954.

The present bill, H. R. 400, provides for the establishment of a health reinsurance program in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It creates a reinsurance fund and authorizes an appropriation of not to exceed \$25 million to provide advances of working capital for the fund. The fund would be built up over a period of time from reinsurance premiums and from earnings of the fund. Reinsurance would be available on a voluntary basis and upon payment of a reinsurance premium, to private insurance companies, voluntary nonprofit health associations, such as Blue Cross and other organizations offering prepayment health insurance plans. The proposal is designed to encourage private insurance organizations to experiment in providing broader voluntary health insurance to more people.

The bill also provides for technical and advisory information services to health service prepayment plans.

The bill H. R. 400 incorporates certain provisions, which were adopted by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in reporting favorably H. R. 8356, 83d Congress, to meet questions raised by various witnesses in the course of the committee hearings held during the 83d Congress. The most important of such questions was based on the fear that the bill could be interpreted to permit some degree of Federal regulation of the health-insurance industry. This bill seeks to remove any and all fear in that respect.

The central philosophy of the bill is one of building on our existing system of voluntary insurance and of providing supporting services and a financial backstop for private effort toward the expansion of prepayment protection. The bill, if enacted, would not of itself directly provide insurance coverage for individuals. Its goal is the removal of obstacles to the extension of coverage for broader ranges of benefits and to additional groups of people.

H. R. 401, A BILL TO FACILITATE THE BROADER DISTRIBUTION OF HEALTH SERVICES, AND FOR OTHER PURPOSES

The bill, H. R. 401, is similar to H. R. 6949, 83d Congress, introduced by me on January 6, 1954. A similar bill was first introduced by me at the close of the 81st Congress—H. R. 8746.

Like H. R. 400, it is designed to expand health services through the medium of Government reinsurance. However, the bill makes eligible for reinsurance only nonprofit associations which render or secure medical and hospital services and does not extend to commercial health insurance companies.

The bill H. R. 401 differs from H. R. 400 in other important respects. H. R. 401 sets forth detailed standards which must be met by a voluntary health association in order to be eligible for reinsurance. Subscription fees charged by the asso-

ciation must be fixed as a percentage of health category and five separate disease income. The association must accept any nongroup applicant subject to certain limitations with regard to subscribers residing outside the geographical area which the association serves. Additional hospital and physician's charges to subscribers must not exceed 25 percent of benefits. Subscribers must pay \$1 per day, or 5 percent, whichever is less, of any hospital bill incurred by the subscriber. The association must provide for payment of 75 percent of the cost of 12 doctor visits during any year, excluding however the first visit. association must pay 95 percent of the cost of all medical services rendered to subscribers in hospitals.

Eligible associations would pay as reinsurance premium 2 percent of their premium income. They would be reimbursed out of the reinsurance fund to the extent of two-thirds of any claim in excess of \$1,000 submitted by a subscriber to an association. The reinsurance fund would be administered by a Government corporation to be known as the Federal Health Reinsurance Corporation.

H. R. 402, A BILL TO AMEND SECTION 213 OF THE INTERNAL REVENUE CODE OF 1954 TO PERMIT THE DEDUCTION OF CERTAIN PAYMENTS FOR HEALTH INSURANCE WITHOUT REGARD TO THE 3 PERCENT LIMITATION CONTAINED THERE-

The bill. H. R. 402, is similar in principle to the bill H. R. 6952, 83d Congress, introduced by me on January 6, 1954. The bill is designed to provide an inducement to individuals to prepay their medical expenses by participating in health insurance plans. H. R. 402 would amend section 213 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to permit deduction from adjusted gross income of up to \$100 for amounts paid for health insurance and, similarly, up to \$100 for health insurance paid for each of the taxpayer's dependents. This deduction would be without regard to the 3 percent limitation now contained in section 213 of the Internal Revenue Code of 1954.

H. R. 403, A BILL TO AMEND THE PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICE ACT TO PROMOTE AND ASSIST IN THE EXTENSION AND IMPROVEMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH SERVICES, TO PROVIDE FOR A MORE EFFECTIVE USE OF AVAILABLE FEDERAL FUNDS, AND FOR OTHER PULPOSES

The bill, H. R. 403, is similar to H. R. 7397, 83d Congress, in the form in which that bill passed the House of Representatives on April 27, 1954.

The bill, H. R. 403, is designed to provide a simplified formula for the distribution of Federal funds among the several States for public health programs and to permit the States to use greater initiative and to take more responsibility in the administration of these programs.

Under existing law, six separate grantin-aid programs to assist the States in developing and operating public health services are administered by the Public Health Service. One of these is a grant program for general public health services. The other programs are each for a separate disease category: venereal disease, tuberculosis, heart diseases, mental health, and cancer.

The bill, H. R. 403, would consolidate and simplify the public health grant-inaid system. In lieu of the general public categories, the bill would establish three new types of grants:

First. Support grants to assist the States in maintaining basic public health

Second Extension and improvement grants to assist the States in meeting the cost of adding to and improving their public health services; and

Third. Special project grants to assist States or political subdivisions in meeting emergency public health problems in specific geographical areas, or public health problems common to several States, or public health problems for which the Federal Government has a special responsibility.

Support grants would be distributed in accordance with the present Hill-Burton

Extension and improvement grants would be made on the following basis: During the first 2 years of a project, the Federal share would be 75 percent; during the second 2 years 50 percent; and during the final 2 years 25 percent.

No allotment formula is prescribed in the bill for special project grants. Instead, such awards are made by the Surgeon General on the basis of the comparative importance and immediacy of the various projects.

Eastern Orthodox Faith Preference Designation Asked for Servicemen of That

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ANTONI N. SADLAK

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. SADLAK. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of this Congress, I introduced H. R. 581, a bill to allow certain members of the Armed Forces to designate the Eastern Orthodox faith as a religious preference on their identification tags. The bill has been referred to the Committee on Armed Services.

I was genuinely pleased to introduce this measure, the purposes of which were first brought to my attention at a banquet at Bridgeport, Conn., on Sunday, December 19, 1954. The affair was sponsored by eight Eastern Orthodox churches in the community, comprising the Carpatho-Russian, Russian, Ukrainian, Rumanian, Greek, Syrian, and Albanian nationalities. In attendance was His Eminence Archbishop Antony Bashir, Metropolitan of the Syrian Antiochian-Orthodox Church in America, who officiated at morning services signifying the founding of the new St. Nicholas Syrian Orthodox Parish, which also became affiliated with the Council of Eastern Orthodox Churches of Greater Bridgeport. The banquet also celebrated the feats of St. Nicholas, archbishop of Myra and Wonderworker.

During the program, speeches were made by the pastors of the participating

churches and Mayor Jasper McLevy. Following this, there was the presentation of a resolution which was unanimously approved by the large number of persons in attendance. I then commented upon the procedures that had to be followed in order to bring about the passage of a bill to accomplish the ob-

Incidentally, Rev. John Kivko, pastor of the Holy Ghost Russian Orthodox Church, informed me that he was the first chaplain of the Eastern Orthodox faith in the armed services during World War II.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the resolution as adopted. Senator Saltonstall, of Massachusetts, introduced S. 106, a companion measure. Together, we shall request earliest possible consideration of this meritorious request.

Whereas Senator Leverett Saltonstall will introduce in the Senate and Congressman ANTONI N. SADLAK will introduce in the House of Representatives, in the 84th Congress, a bill to allow certain members of the Armed Forces to designate the Eastern Orthodox faith-one of the major Christian faiths in the world—as a religious preference on their identification tags:

Resolved, That the Council of Eastern Orthodox Churches of Greater Bridgeport, representing approximately 25,000 Eastern Orthodox Christians of the Albanian, Carpatho-Russian, Greek, Rumanian, Russian, Syrian, and Ukrainian nationalities:

1. Highly approves of such bill, which the council firmly believes will beneficially contribute to the spiritual welfare and morale of the many Eastern Orthodox servicemen in the Armed Forces of the United States; and

2. Strongly recommends to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress that such bill be enacted into law; and

3. That the council undertake whatever measures it may deem necessary or appro-priate to lend its fullest support to the passage of such bill.

Unanimously approved by the Council of Eastern Orthodox Churches of Great Bridgeport this 19th day of December 1954:

> Rev. JOE G. SIMKO, Chairman. SERGEI M. GUDEN, Vice Chairman. JEANETTE SKIRKANISH, Secretary.

Why This Gloomy Note on Economic Outlook?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN V. BEAMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the Congressional Record an editorial from the Mobile (Ala.) Press-Register dated January 9, 1955.

It is time for these prophets of gloom to join with those who look at the bright side. Then they will be telling the truth and adding to the well-being of everybody-including themselves:

WHY THIS GLOOMY NOTE ON ECONOMIC OUTLOOK?

President Elsenhower reported in his state of the Union message that the Nation's economic outlook is good.

nomic outlook is good.

On the heels of this statement by the President, a Government report on employment, issued jointly by the Commerce and Labor Departments, showed:

Employment in the United States declined by more than a million jobs in December. Nearly four-fifths of this was accounted for by winter curtailment of farming operations.

In spite of this decline, the December total was larger than that of December 1953. Also, December was the only month in 1954 in which employment figures equaled the level of the corresponding month of the preceding

Emil Rieve, chairman of the CIO economic policy committee, took a look at the employment report for December and commented that "the figures tell a story of economic stagnation so far as jobs are concerned."

As viewed by Mr. Rieve, the figures "show that the economic outlook isn't so good." He is quite within the bounds of his privi-

lege in reaching that conclusion.

We remind him, however, that when he uses this report alone as ground for a pessimistic estimate of the economic future, he disregards a number of other facts which in our opinion should be considered in appraising the outlook.

We also remind him that his conclusion is in sharp contrast to a long list of other opinions expressed in recent weeks about the economic picture.

President Eisenhower has plenty of company in the optimism he expressed in his state of the Union message to the new Congress.

Moreover, this widely expressed optimism is supported by a much wider base than Mr. Rieve, of the CIO, uses for his pessimism.

Their joint report on employment was not the only report issued jointly by the Commerce and Labor Departments the past week. It so happened that these two departments

It so happened that these two departments issued a joint report showing that construction operations in the United States reached a new high last year, expenditures for construction being larger in each of the 12 months than in the corresponding months of the year before.

"The total was 5 percent above the 1953 figure and made 1954 the eighth straight year in which construction activity set a new record," the United Press relates.

Does this indicate to Mr. Rieve as chairman of the CIO economic policy committee that "the economic outlook isn't so good"?

We invite Mr. Rieve's attention to these excerpts from a New York Times article of January 2:

"Lock a jury of retailers in a room and the chances are that they will quickly return with an optimistic verdict about 1955's business. A survey * * * of some of the Nation's leading retailers found them unanimous in expecting higher sales in 1955 than in 1954."

One more example of economic optimism: In that same issue the Times reported that "a billion-dollar program of new construction and expansion is planned for 1955 by the Nation's gas utilities and pipeline companies."

The fact is that examples of optimism over the economic outlook are almost endless until, of course, we find Mr. Rieve isolating himself in a glum corner and surrounding himself with gloom.

Everybody to his own opinion.

For our part we prefer to go along with the vast procession looking at the bright side.

And while we are at it we can't help wondering whether Mr. Rieve, of the CIO, would be equally depressed over the economic outlook if the so-called Fair Dealers hadn't been voted out of the White House a little more than 2 years ago.

In other words, is it possible that Mr. Rieve's unhappiness in the last analysis stems more from the presence of the Republicans in the White House than from the Government report on employment for the Dast December?

Meanwhile, if Emil Rieve or anybody else in the CIO is on the eve of breaking down and shedding economic tears for Britain, things are looking up there, too. Unemployment in Britain the past December was at the lowest level of any December since the end of World War II.

The Anniston (Ala.) Star's Man of the Year

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, recently the Anniston Star, a leading newspaper in the State of Alabama, nominated Col. George O'Connell as its "man of the year." The selection of Colonel O'Connell is a well-deserved recognition of one of Alabama's most outstanding citizens, and I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the staff of this fine newspaper for its wisdom. His devotion to the people of Calhoun County and the surrounding counties can never be forgotten.

After a long and brilliant medical career which began in 1916 as acting chief surgeon of the Alabama National Guard, he organized and took command of the First Alabama Field Hospital, No. 122. He served overseas with the AEF and upon his return from France he became regimental surgeon of the Fifth Cavalry of El Paso, Tex.

After service in several important posts of duty, he was retired, January 31, 1947, at Camp Gordon, Ga. However, retirement did not mean the end of unselfish service for this outstanding citizen. Colonel O'Connell became head of the county health office which serves Calhoun and Cleburne Counties.

A man of boundless energy and ability, he has been active in a multitude of civic endeavors. He has interested himself in veterans, in youth activities, and in practically every cause for the betterment of his community, State, and Nation. The accounts of his activities are set forth in the following newspaper article and editorial from the Anniston Star of January 2, 1955:

COLONEL O'CONNELL NAMED STAR'S MAN OF THE YEAR—REPORTER SKETCHES CAREER OF NOTED LOCAL CITIZEN

(By Sam Jones)

Having come in close contact with him during the years when I reported the proceedings of the county health office here, I was pleased to concur in the Star's decision to name Col. George Albert O'Connell the man of the year for 1954.

All other members of the Anniston Star staff join heartly in this first designation of honor for one of Anniston's most worthwhile and unselfish citizens. Colonel O'Connell has since his retirement from the United States Army Medical Corps in January 1947, after 34 years of distinguished service—served Calhoun and Cleburne Counties as district health officer.

But his competent work in this capacity has been overshadowed by his constant and unstinting service in scores of civil undertakings.

His energies and influence have been felt in every segment of our society, not alone during 1954, but in all the 8 years he has lived among us.

HIS ACTIVITIES MANIFOLD

He is chairman of health and safety for the Choccolocco Council, Boy Scouts of America, and has given unusual service for several years.

The colonel is physical examiner for Boy Scout campers at Camp Zinn each summer and for Girl Scouts at Camp Cottaquilla and campers for the Salvation Army.

in 1951 he served as March of Dimes chairman for Anniston. The following year he was county chairman of that annual campaign.

Active in Post 26, American Legion, and Voiture 1201, 40 & 8, Colonel O'Conneil has always interested himself in affairs of veterans and servicemen.

He has taken leading parts in the local chapter of the American Red Cross and the county civil defense organization.

In 1954 he was made adviser for the March of Dimes in eight northeast Alabama countles (Calhoun, Cleburne, St. Clair, Talladega, Etowah, Jackson, DeKalb, and Cherokee).

HELPS OUT AT M'CLELLAN

He has been vitally interested in the activities of the Fort McClellan Post Hospital, which he directed in its tremendous growth during his Army years as its commanding officer.

In addition to his strenuous work in various endeavors, Colonel O'Connell has inspired the youth and fellow citizens of Calhoun and Cleburne Counties by delivering numerous addresses,

He spoke to Anniston High School students on Armistice Day 1953 on "What My Flag Means to Me."

This stirring testimonial was placed in the Congressional Record in March 1954 by Senator Lister Hill.

During the past year he also addressed many civic and PTA groups, the Baptist Brotherhood, and the Lions Club at Hefiin, and gave a graphic talk on The Plague of Death on Our Highways to the Anniston Exchange Club and other groups.

Colonel O'Connell has always been ready when called on for any civic task, and hundreds know him as friend and confidant.

WAS BORN IN MONTGOMERY

George Albert O'Connell was born and reared in Montgomery, the third son of John C. and Lucy Merritt O'Connell. Dr. L. L. Hill of that city was Colonel

Dr. L. L. Hill of that city was Colonel O'Connell's preceptor before he entered medical college in 1902. He received his doctor of medicine degree from Tulane University in 1906.

After internship at St. Vincent's Hospital, he did postgraduate work in Philadelphia and New York, specializing in diseases of the eye, ear, nose, and throat.

the eye, ear, nose, and throat.

He began the practice of his specialty in Mobile in 1907, moving to Birmingham in 1909. He was a member of the medical corps of the Alabama National Guard before entering the United States Army.

Ordered into active duty in 1916, he was then acting chief surgeon of the Alabama National Guard. Before the guard became part of the 31st (Dixie) Division, he organized and took command of the First Alabama Field Hospital No. 122.

SERVED 9 MONTHS OVERSEAS

He served 9 months in the American Expeditionary Force as commanding officer field

hospital, director of the field hospital, 106 Sanitary Train. He later commanded Camp Hospital 110 at La Suze, France.

On his return from France, Colonel O'Connell became regimental surgeon of the Fifth Cavairy at El Paso, Tex. A year later he went to Fort Sill, Okla., as chief of the eye, ear, nose, and throat department of the station hospital.

After 4 years there, he was transferred to Tripler General Hospital, Fort Shafter, T. H., as chief of the EENT department for 3 years.

as chief of the EENT department for 3 years.

His subsequent service is summarized briefly as follows:

Four years as chief of his specialty at Fort Leavenworth, Kans.

One year as commanding officer, general dispensary, United States Army Base, Boston, Mass.

Six and a half years' duty followed at sta-

tion hospital, Fort Bragg, N. C.

In 1938 he moved to Fort McClellan, where he remained for 5½ years. During this period he was surgeon and commanding officer of the station hospital and witnessed the base's growth from a battalion post to one of about 45,000 troops.

In 1943 he went to Thayer General Hospital. Nashville, Tenn. Transfers followed to Fort Barrancas, Fla.; Mississippi Ordnance Plant; Camp McCain, Miss.; Camp Sibert and Camp Rucker, Ala.; and to his last duty station, Camp Gordon, Ga., where he was retired January 31, 1947.

Except at Nashville, he was post surgeon and commanding officer of the station hospitals.

MARRIED IN BIRMINGHAM

Colonel O'Conneil was married to Lollie Gilreath, daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Belton Gilreath of Birminghom.

They had 6 children, 3 sons and 3 daughters. All but one daughter are living. There are six grandchildren.

The eldest son, Col. Belton O'Connell, is on temporary retirement at Gulf Shores because of ill health.

Navy Capt. George O'Connell is serving in an important United States Navy position in Paris, France.

Maj. Courtney O'Connell is stationed at

Fort Sill, Okla.

Daughter Elizabeth is the wife of Col. Samuel W. Horner, on an Army assignment in Naples, Italy. Miss Margaret O'Connell is librarian at

Miss Margaret O'Connell is librarian at

Fort McPherson, Ga.

The honored citizen recalls that he is the sole survivor of those present when Dr. L. L. Hill (father of Senator Hill) performed successfully the first operation on the human heart.

PORTRAIT TO BE HUNG

Colonel O'Connell's portrait will be placed at Fort McClellan and Camp Gordon, Ga., in recognition of his outstanding service as commanding officer of the hospitals at those installations.

The colonel is a member of the Calhoun County Medical Society, Alabama Medical Society, American Medical Association, a fellow of the American College of Surgeons and a charter member of the Alabama and North Carolina Academies of Opthalmology, Aural, Rhino-laryngeal Societies,

THE ANNISTON STAR'S MAN OF THE YEAR

Androcles, the Roman slave who befriended a lion and later thereby saved his life, as well as furnishing the idea for a famous play by George Bernard Shaw, once said that "gratitude is the sign of noble souls"; and it is about a noble soul that we are pleased to write today, one to whom we all owe a debt of gratitude that we never fully can repay.

We have reference to Dr.-Col. George O'Connell, if we may borrow the German use of a double title. He is currently serving as public health officer for Calhoun and Cleburne Counties, for which he gets a relatively small annuity; but it is his service beyond the call of duty that has endeared him to people here at home and far away, and by reason of which he has been designated as Man of Year by the Anniston Star.

This paper many times has expressed a word of appreciation to the men and women of the armed services who for many years have tabernacled here in Calhoun County and become, to all intents and purposes, local citizens. But it is to those officers and men and their families who have chosen this city as their place of retirement and permanent home to whom we owe a special debt of appreciation.

Gen. Robert E. Noble, the noblest Roman of them all, has made it one of his avocations in life to encourage more of the men of the services to cast their lot with us, and none of them who has made that decision has been a better citizen than the man whom we honor today—one whose retirement is but nominal, as he continues to serve both the civilian and the armed services personnel.

If it had not been for George O'Connell, it is doubtful if the people of Anniston and Calhoun County would have been able today to enjoy the facilities of Memorial Hospital, for which he helped draw the plans and obtain the necessary funds for construction. Moreover, but for his activity in maintaining public health, we might not now have Fort McClellan and the Anniston Ordnance Depot.

This paper had heard of George O'Connell long before he came to Fort McClellan. For even while he was serving as an apprentice, as it were, to the great Dr. Luther Leonidas Hill, of Montgomery, and as medical officer with the Alabama National Guard, it became evident that he was a man of destiny as a physician and surgeon. And so it was that we heard of his skill from across the Pacific Ocean.

One of our great American physicians stated publicly in a recent address that any practitioner who is not a disciple of the Great Physician and addicted to prayer is robbing himself of his greatest source of power. George O'Connell evidently has believed this to be true for many years, as he once told us of a surgical patient that apparently was saved by prayer after he and attending specialists had given up hope of his surgical.

Elsewhere in the Anniston Star today, there is to be found a relation of some of the high spots in the career of this great man whom we are honoring because he has honored us with his presence as a citizen and has served us so effectively in so many ways down through the years.

It is because of his humility, his sense of dedication, his unfailing good humor, his indefatigable energy; because of the catholicity of his interests, the efficiency of his manifold services, or in a word, the magnanimity of his personality, that we nominate George Albert O'Connell—physician, surgeon, and humanitarian—man of the year for Anniston, Ala., anno Domini 1954. May his tribe increase.

Social Security Benefits at Age 60

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, today in this wonderfully productive country of ours, some 6 million people between

the ages of 60 and 65 are being denied the right to social-security benefits on the arbitrary grounds that they cannot receive such benefits until their 65th birthday. Last year we made a number of revisions and improvements in the social-security system. But for some reason, which I fail to understand, no change was made in the eligibility age of 65 years which was adopted away back in 1935. Very simply, this restriction says to millions of Americans over age 60 who are physically unable to work-or who are unable to persuade any employer to hire them-that they must starve until they reach their 65th birthday.

I have long been concerned with this gross inequity in a system which is designed to provide at least a minimum of security for our senior citizens, and have introduced several bills which would right this inequity. Because I believe a lower eligibility age is the logical next step in improving our social-security system, I have introduced a bill, H. R. 703, which will pay benefits at age 60 instead of the present age 65.

Surely it is clear that no one can predict the precise day or year in which he will be completely disabled by a devastating illness. Neither can anyone predict that he or she will be able to continue in his job at least to a 65th birthday. Can there be any doubt in our minds that the need for retirement benefits varies greatly with individual circumstances? Some of us are able to work far beyond our 65th birthday. Others, through no fault of their own, are forced to retire from their job at much earlier ages. There is certainly no reality, then. to this idea that the need for retirement benefits begins only at age 65, and not before. Can we then, in equity, continue to perpetuate this antiquated idea that the 65th birthday is the proper criterion as to eligibility for old-age benefits?

I have asked this question repeatedly—and the only answer I get is that such a liberalization of the system would cost money. For example, when an amendment which would have lowered the eligibility age to 60 years was introduced on the floor of the Senate during the last Congress we were told that the purpose of the amendment was laudable; that everyone hoped the retirement age could be reduced to age 60—but that it must be rejected because it would cost money.

Mr. Speaker, let us ask ourselves in all seriousness—what is the basic purpose of the social-security system? Is the major purpose of this program to provide a minimum of security for those of us who can no longer work because we are too old by the standards of our industrialized economy? Or is its major purpose to save money?

Now I recognize that no organized social-security system can be without some limitations. But I say to you that the crucial test with regard to such limitations should be chiefly concerned with the needs of our senior citizens as they change with the times. Let us be clear about the reasons why it is appropriate at this time to lower the eligibility age, because of changes in our economy. All

studies show that a phenomena of America's industrial expansion is the fact that the average worklife has been shortened. For example, in 1890, about two-thirds of all men aged 65 and over were in the labor force. By 1950 this proportion had dropped to less than two-fifths. Even under the pressure of a wartime labor market in the 1940's, many employers were reluctant to take on older workers until supplies of younger men were exhausted.

The changes in the national economy which have added so remarkably to the total wealth of the country and to the improvements in our standard of living have also, then, had the net effect of restricting employment opportunities of older workers. The shift from a rural to a highly industrial economy is reflected in the long-term decline in farm employment and in the expansion of such occupations as semiskilled operators and clerical and sales workers. And these two expanding occupational fields use the lowest proportion of workers who are over age 45.

The problem of older workers in finding and holding jobs has been thoroughly documented in hundreds of careful studies and dozens of symposiums. Recently Ewan Clague, Commissioner of the Bureau of Labor Statistics, summed up the situation in the following significant sentences:

Industrial change is proceeding at a rate faster than ever before in history-

The new process of automation (which substitutes machines and energy for manpower) is sure to bring about the decline and disappearance of many jobs and occupations.

• • • Industries will naturally prefer younger people whom they can train and develop. Furthermore, the average business concern will have enough older people on its rolls already, so that they will hesitate to hire

Now, I agree with those people who are working to increase the job opportunities for older workers as one means of counteracting this trend. But let us not delude ourselves by believing that jobs for our senior citizens can ever provide any kind of a total solution. If we are realistic about it, I think we will all have to agree that it is only a piecemeal solution which will gradually benefit only those fortunate older people who are able to work, and are fortunate enough to find an employer who is willing to hire them.

For the majority of older people, who have been retired from their jobs because they are unable to work, increased job opportunities for the elderly are, of course, no solution at all. I am, then, here concerned with the elderly carpenter or machine-tool operator who is forced to retire from a lifelong job because he had a heart attack, or other ailment which makes it impossible for him to continue to work. I am concerned with women widowed at age 60. after a lifetime of making a home, who must, under our present system, wait 5 years until they are eligible for socialsecurity benefits. I believe, further, that we must lower the eligibility age in order that we may increase job opportunities for younger workers.

I urge your support of my bill, H. R. 703 on the ground that it is a necessary revision of our social-security system to bring it in line with the dynamic economic conditions of today. I am convinced we must adjust that system to the changes in the average work life which I have described. But most of all, I believe we must lower the eligibility age by at least 5 years because, in so doing, we will be increasing the protection offered to those of our aged people who need it most-and that, as I understand it, is the major purpose of our social-security system.

The Small Business Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF HON. WILLIAM S. HILL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. HILL, Mr. Speaker, Members of the House, recognizing the importance of keeping the doors to opportunity for small businesses open, are grateful for the wholehearted support for this policy given by President Eisenhower in his message on the state of the Union this January 6. It will be recalled that in his message to the joint session of the Senate and House, the President said:

The prosperity of our small business enterprises is an indispensable element in the maintenance of our economic strength. Creation of the Small Business Administration and tax laws facilitating small-business expansion are but two of the many steps Government has taken to encourage smaller enterprises. I recommend that Congress extend the Small Business Act of 1953 now due to expire next June.

Since I had the honor of introducing into the House of Representatives the bill which finally resulted in the legislation that established the Small Business Administration, my interest in the President's message is apparent. Last week I introduced a bill, H. R. 521, to continue the SBA, which I hope this body soon will be considering, and in view of this we will want to examine the record of this Agency to consider how its services may be broadened and strengthened.

The Small Business Administration in a large measure is pioneering in a field of Government service, specializing in assistance to owners of small businesses. Obviously some time was required to staff the agency and to develop policies and programs. An examination of the record, I believe, will satisfy anyone that encouraging progress has been made. Wendell B. Barnes, the Administrator, and his coworkers have given excellent public service.

In a New Year message to all employees of the Small Business Administration, Administrator Barnes summarized results in the major programs. With the thought that Members of this body would be interested in seeing this letter from the Administrator to his coworkers as contained in Small Business Action, the agency's intraoffice information bulletin, the full text is presented to vou:

ADMINISTRATOR'S NEW YEAR LETTER TO ALL EMPLOYEES

DEAR SBA COWORKER: At the opening of a new year, I would like to write you directly to thank you for your loyal and energetic work during the past year. You and your associates in the Small Business Administration have responded so promptly and energetically each time one of the Deputy Administrators or myself have called upon you for extra effort on our programs that the Agency has been able to compile a noteworthy record.

Work has been accomplished in spite of the fact that you were at times handicapped by a heavy workload and a large backlog, lack of sufficient coworkers and the fact many people could only be given temporary employment status. The extra hours that you worked and the interest you took in our programs are deeply appreciated by me and by the Deputy Administrators, office heads, and regional directors.

I know that you were pleased to hear President Eisenhower say in his message to Congress:

"The prosperity of our small-business enterprises is an indispensable element in the maintenance of our economic strength. Creation of the Small Business Administration and recently enacted tax laws facilitating small business expansion are but two of many important steps we have taken to encourage our smaller enterprises. I recommend that the Congress extend the Small Business Act of 1953 which is due to expire next June."

I am confident that the quality of your work will also be recognized by the Congress when its committees during this session, review the accomplishments of our agency.

The compiling of a good record is not the result of the work of any one office. All have contributed. An organization can operate effectively only if the mail clerks, administrative services employees, the filing and stenographic clerks as well as the financial specialists, production specialists, and executives all do their part. That has been the situation during the past year, and the record must be considered the result of the work of each employee in the agency.

It is not possible to review in detail each of the activities, but I would like to point out to you a few of the things in which you can have a feeling of pride for having contributed your part.

CERTIFICATES OF COMPETENCY IMPORTANT

The certificate of competency program of the Small Business Administration is one of the most important functions in the Agency. Through it small companies obtain prime contracts with the Department of Defense which they otherwise would be denied, due to disqualification by a procuring office regarding capacity or credit, or both,

Requests for certificates of competency are initiated by a small-business concern when its low bid on a specific procurement has been rejected by a contracting officer. The small company submits an application for certification to the Small Business Administration regional office. A careful and thorough plant survey and financial analysis are then conducted by the field engineering and financial staff. The regional report is then sent to the national office for review and evaluation. The Administrator's committee makes a final determination and recommendation as to whether the certificate of competency is to be issued.

This part of the program, namely, the processing of applications, is probably the most important single item in determining whether the certificates of competency program is to be a real help to small firms. plications must be scrutinized with the greatest care in order to insure that only

those companies that can actually produce are awarded certificates.

GOVERNMENT SAVED \$425,235,23

As of December 31, 1954, the Small Business Administration received 113 applications totaling \$25,930,957. Of this number, 53 certificates were granted, which had a value of \$6,745,610. Of these 53 cases, 15 contracts have been completed, including 8 which were completed ahead of schedule. The cumulative savings to the Government resulting from these certified contracts as of December 31, 1954, amount to \$425,235,23. These certificates all were awarded after the most careful analysis of application data, and each contractor's progress is followed closely for any situation arising where the Small Business Administration production specialists can offer technical assistance which would be helpful in completing a contract.

The majority of the cases to date have been from the Department of the Air Force, followed closely by the Department of the Army. Some of the types of military defense items procured under these certified contracts include rocket launcher assemblies, smoke generators, aircraft platform assemblies, grenade launchers, bomb slings, bomb racks, bomb trailers, boats and tents.

The certificate of competency program of the Small Business Administration has been in operation since the start of the agency in August 1953. In addition the Small Business Administration assumed the responsibility at that time for 91 active certificates of competency from its predecessor agency, the Small Defense Plants Administration. Of those 91 certificates, 21 are still in active status as of December 31, 1954. Of the 21 cases, 16 are behind schedule in their production. They are behind schedule, in spite of the fact that we have worked with the companies holding these certificates originating with SDPA just as hard as we work for those which hold our own certificates.

I do not mean to make invidious comparisons of our work with that of the Small Defense Plants Administration or the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, but the figures we have are the only ones available by which we can measure the work of our agency.

agency.

What do we find regarding the 53 certificates of competency issued by the Small Business Administration in the past 18 months?

SBA RECORD GOOD

Fifteen of these have been completed, including eight ahead of schedule. Twenty-seven of the contracts are active at the present time and, of these, 23 are ahead of or right on, schedule and only four contracts are behind schedule. Contrast that with the 16 behind schedule in the inherited cases.

These figures should give assurance to the Department of Defense procurement officers that they may rely on action taken by the Small Business Administration and we, of course, should continue to regard our power to issue certificates as a serious responsibility to be exercised only when we are informed and certain of all the facts in each particular case.

Negotiations have recently been concluded with the Department of Defense making it mandatory for contracting officers to indicate those situations where a certificate of competency application would be in order.

JOINT DETERMINATION PROGRAM

Under our joint determination program with the Department of Defense more than \$360 million in Government contracts have been reserved for exclusive award to small firms. More than 2,300 individual contracts, totaling \$160 million already have been awarded to small firms as a result of representations made by employees of the Small Business Administration to the Department of Defense. The tremendous total of more than 150,000 notifications to small contract

firms of Government bidding opportunities has been made by offices of our agency.

In addition each month our field offices have made approximately 1,000 referrals to small firms of opportunities for subcontracts. It is difficult to measure what this means in increased employment and greater business volume, but we can be certain that this work has kept many small firms active and in a healthy condition and has brought pay checks to many thousands of American workers.

PRODUCTS ASSISTANCE

Through our products assistance program, we have been able to assist several hundred firms which are turning from defense work to the production of civilian products and in many cases this provides as much opportunity for a small firm as does a defense contract.

PRINTED AIDS

The Small Business Administration management publications are reaching a wider circle of small businessmen each month.

By the close of 1954, 262,832 copies of the 16 titles in the small business management series, were sold by the Government Printing Office. During the past 6 months, 112,608 copies were sold. Most popular titles were "Cost Accounting," "Cutting Office Costs," and "Human Relations."

Over 1,193,000 copies of management-aid leaflets have been distributed to date, more than 900,000 of them free of cost. Of the number, 314,000 were requested during the last 6 months of 1954. The most popular of the 57 titles are: "Loan Sources in the Federal Government," "How to Set Up Sales Territories," and "How Small Plants Can Sell to the Federal Government."

Distribution of technical aids on shop problems total 448,000 to date: 93,000 over the past 6 months. The most popular titles are "Sharpening of Drills, Lathes, Tools, and Milling Cutters," "Proper Alinement of Machine Tools," and "Precision Measurement of Work Pleces." The number of aids distributed does not tell the whole story, since many of them have been republished by trade associations, many of which regard this as one of the most helpful of our programs. Of the other publications which are sold at a small cost we have learned that more than 260,000 have been sold by the Government of Commerce offices. The proceeds of these sales have returned \$80,000 to the Treasury which has paid in full the cost of printing these publications.

MANAGEMENT COURSES

Following two successful experimental administrative management courses, held last spring at Richmond, Va., and University of Wisconsin at Milwaukee, Wis., 35 similar courses, cosponsored by the Small Business Administration are being offered this school year by 30 educational institutions ranging from Boston to Los Angeles and Chicago to Norman, Okla.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

A year ago we had 36 financial specialists and in 3 months had approved 26 business loans and 37 disaster loans for a total of 63. We had taken action on 89 cases. Twelve months later at the close of December 1954, we had staffed our offices with 180 financial specialists and during the calendar year had taken action on 4.104 cases.

We are now administering 5,341 loans amounting to \$80,125,405. We have approved 2,091 loans, which included 1,122 business loans for a total of \$59,400,433, of which more than two-thirds are in participation with banks.

We have also approved 969 disaster loans for a total of \$5,553,834. Of the total, the remaining 3,252 are disaster loans transferred to the Small Business Administration for collection.

SOUND LOANS

One of the most significant figures indicating the quality of the loans made during the past year is the record of delinquent loans. If a loan installment is not received within 3 days of the date the installment is due, we list it as delinquent. As of December 31, 1954, only a single borrower was more than 30 days delinquent in meeting his loan installment payments.

Of course, our experience in the collection field is still brief but when one realizes that every office in the country had to cooperate to compile this fine record of loan administration, one can feel a sense of pride in the work being done by all of the other offices.

BACKLOG REDUCED

You were asked to make every effort to get the loans in from the field by December 20 in order that we could clear up the backlog during the calendar year and end with the best possible record. You will be interested to know that after the loans came in from the field, the loan examiners in Washington and the review committee worked long and hard, even during the holiday season, to complete the job.

The result is shown in the figures given

above for the year 1954.

This record should be compared not with the last year of operation of the Reconstruc-

the last year of operation of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, during which many more employees were available than we have had, but with the first calendar year in which the Reconstruction Finance Corporation was authorized to make business loans.

In 1935 the Reconstruction Finance Corporation had 2,392 applications for business loans. In that year they approved 1,171 loan applications, of which direct loans were \$70,930.288 and the participation loans amounted to \$12,146,351.

Of course, there was no fixed limitation on the amount of loans, but it is apparent that approximately one-sixth were participation loans as compared with the two-thirds figure for the Small Business Administration loan program.

STILL ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT

In reciting some of the matters about which we can take pride, I do not mean to imply that there is not still room for improvement. We are working on improvements in each of our programs and should resolve to do an even more effective job during the coming year. I ask each of you to join with me in resolving that we will find improvement and ways to increase efficiency each in his own position during the ensuing year.

In closing, I once again want to thank

In closing. I once again want to thank you and each of your coworkers for the contribution you made to the accomplishments of our agency during the year 1954.

Sincerely.

WENDELL B. BARNES, Administrator.

Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, during the 83d Congress eight Republican and Democrat members of the Judiciary Subcommittee of the other body issued a unanimous report entitled "Interlocking Subversion in Government Departments." The document lifted the lid on over 20 years of Communist conspiracy inside our Government.

Inasmuch as there has been considerable wailing and weeping from certain quarters during the past few weeks relating to the conduct of the 1954 election campaign, I feel impelled to set before my colleagues a summary of the factual record as it was disclosed officially and unanimously by these Democrat and Republican Members of the other body.

This report reveals that previous administrations were guilty of laxity, evasion, and obstinacy in dealing with the issue of communism in government. When read in light of recent political exaggerations expressed by Democratic Party leaders of GOP campaign language, it most positively dispels their complaint that the Democratic Party was charged with disloyalty.

Contrarily, it fully substantiates the laxity, evasion, and obstinacy allegations that were the sum and substance of GOP charges.

The report begins by describing the activities of the Soviet conspirators in the following language:

When the principal concern of the Government was economic recovery, they were in the AAA, the NRA, and new sections of old departments. During the war they joined such wartime agencies as the Board of Economic Warfare, the Foreign Economic Administration, the OSS, and the like. Toward the end of the war and in the postwar period, they were operating in the foreign policy field. At the end of the war they gravitated toward the international agencies.

Speaking of Government employees involved in the conspiracy, the report says:

They colonized key committees of Congress, helped write the laws, conducted congressional hearings, and wrote congressional reports.

They advised Cabinet members, wrote epeeches for them, and represented them in Government conferences, staffed interdepartmental committees which prepared basic American and world policy.

They traveled to every continent as emissaries of the American people; attended virtually every international conference where statesmen met to shape the future, influenced the State Department with disastrous results.

There was an interlacing combination of these people in almost every agency which had to do with labor.

The Senators investigated how subversives got key Government posts and reported:

They used each other's names for references, hired each other, promoted each other, raised each other's salaries, transferred each other from bureau to bureau, department to department, assigned each other to international missions, vouched for each other's loyalty, protected each other when exposures were threatened.

The committee heard a former courier for the conspirators say:

We didn't have too much trouble (in moving agents). Two of our best (avenues for placing people in positions) were Harry Dexter White and Lauchlin Currie. Once we got one person in, he got others, and the whole process continued like that.

On the extent of this penetration into the United States Government, part of the report reads:

According to the evidence in our records, those involved in the secret Communist underground included an Executive Assistant the President of the United States (Lauchlin Currie), an Assistant Secretary of the Treasury (Harry Dexter White), a United States Treasury attaché in China (Solomon Adler), the Director of the Office of Special Political Affairs for the State Department (Alger Hiss), the Secretary of the Interna-tional Monetary Fund (Frank Coe), a member of the National Labor Relations Board (Edwin S. Smith), Secretary of the NLRB (Nathan Witt), chief counsel, Senate Subcommittee on Civil Liberties (John J. Abt), Treasury Department representative and adviser in Financial Control Division of North African Economic Board, in UNRRA and at meeting of the Council of Foreign Ministers in Moscow (Harold Glasser), Director, National Research Project of the Works Progress Administration (David Wein-

On the question of when the plot started, the Senators found:

The first organized subversion encountered was that accomplished by the Harold Ware underground cell of the Communist Party in the early 1930's. The subcommittee took testimony from two members of this cell. They were Whittaker Chambers and Na-thaniel Weyl. In setting forth the members of the Ware cell we are listing how they testified when they were subpensed: Nathan Witt (invoked constitutional privilege that he could not be compelled to bear witness against himself), Lee Pressman (admitted Communist membership before House Un-American Activities Committee), John J. Abt (invoked privilege), Charles Kramer (invoked privilege), Henry H. Collins, Jr. (invoked privilege), Victor Perlo (invoked privilege), Harold Ware (deceased), Alger Hiss (denied Communist Party membership before House Un-American Activities Com-

The report publishes for the first time part of a secret memo dated November 25, 1945, prepared by an intelligence agency of the Government, identifying other and later espionage groups. It reads in part:

The head of (one group) was N. Gregory Silvermaster, now connected with the United States Treasury. Another member is William L. Ullman, a major of the Air Force stationed at the Pentagon, who has been obtaining and photographing classified information regarding United States Government war plans and also reports of the FBI which had been furnished to G-2 of the Army. Other members of this group included A. George Silverman, a civilian employee of the War Department; Harry Dexter White, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury; Lauchlin Currie, Administrative Assistant to the President, and lesser figures.

The head of the next group of Soviet espionage agents was Victor Perlo, of the War Production Board. Members of this group were introduced to (Elizabeth) Bentley at the apartment of John Abt in New York City. The individuals in this group include Charles Kramer, an investigator for Senator Kilcore's committee; Henry Magdoff, of the War Production Board; Donald Wheeler, of the Office of Strategic Services. There were various other minor Government employees in this group, including employees of the UNRRA.

On the distribution of the above 1945 secret memo, page 1 of the report says:

(It) was circulated among several key Government agencies and made available to the President of the United States.

Assessing the damage done to our country by the operation of these conspiracies, the Senators wrote:

How many priceless American secrets have been conveyed to Moscow through the tunnels of the American Communist underground will never be known.

The report uses testimony of ex-Communists to show how American policy could be influenced from a key position. Example:

Question. What you say is that (the Morgenthau plan) was a Communist plan to destroy Germany, weaken her to where she could not help us?

Answer, That is correct. She could no longer be a barrier that would protect the West * * *

Question. You say that Harry Dexter White worked on that?

Answer. And on our instructions he pushed hard.

Question. And that Mr. Morgenthau, who was Secretary of the Treasury, was used by the Communist agents to promote that plot? Answer. I am afraid so; yes.

Question. He was unsuspectingly used? Answer. Of course, the way the whole principle works is like dropping a pebble into a pond and the ripples spread out, and that is the way we work.

Commenting on the activities of the FBI, the report carried these lines:

(The conspirators) stayed in their jobs, received promotion, and influenced policy for several years after impressive information had been marshaled.

The FBI cannot expose and cannot force action once it has reported the results of its investigation.

There is ample evidence that the FBI and other agencies learned the underlying facts of the Communist conspiracy and time and time again performed their duty and notified the proper administrative agencies.

The Senators sought to determine precisely what aspect of the loyalty machinery failed during these former years and concluded:

Primarily, the breakdown came in the failure on the part of the responsible executive agencies to act on the information which was available.

Describing its experience with witnesses, the committee had this to report:

In public session 36 persons about whom it had substantial evidence of membership in the Communist underground in Government [were examined]. All of them invoked the fifth amendment and refused to answer questions. Many refused even to acknowledge their own signatures on official Government documents in which they had sworn to nonmembership [in the Communist Party] in the past.

All who invoked the fifth amendment

All who invoked the fifth amendment were unyielding, uncooperative, and even abusive. All assumed a cloak of innocence that was inconsistent with the record and with their recusals to testify.

with their refusals to testify.

The record is replete with instances of identified Communists appearing who have sworn on Government applications they have never been members of the Communist Party. In many of the cases it was apparent there was false swearing when the oath was taken, but the statute of limitations provided that no action could be initiated after 3 years from that offense.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, let me admonish those guilty of misstatements about the 1954 campaign carefully to reread the foregoing and carefully to reread what was charged during the 1954 campaign by Vice President Nixon and others. Let them also contemplate the monstrous losses of life and substance America has suffered by reason of these recorded derelictions in dealing with the issue of communism in government.

The Tributes to Max Abelman on His Retirement From the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

or ohio

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Max Abelman, a man I have long known and admired for his selfless devotion to the field of health and welfare, recently retired as secretary to the president of the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn and as its director of public relations. For the past half century his creed, "Do something kind for somebody every day," has led him into farflung activities which have bettered the lot of people without regard to creed, color, race, or national origin. Several years ago I addressed the graduating class of the nursing school of Brooklyn Jewish Hospital, and will always remember the surge of hospitality reaching out to me from the large community audience gathered there.

Although Mr. Abelman has relinquished his formal ties with the hospital, he is still considered "Brooklyn's

ambassador of good will."

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting newspaper accounts of the dinner given on the occasion of his retirement and some of the messages of greeting he received:

[From the Brooklyn Eagle of October 9, 1954] A TRIBUTE TO MAX ABELMAN

A well-merited tribute was paid by the medical board of Jewish Hospital to Max Abelman, who has retired after many years as secretary to the president of the hospital

and as director of public relations for that fine institution.

It took the form of a dinner at the Unity Club and was attended by many prominent Brooklynites as well as officials of the hospital and the members of its staff. Halled as Brooklyn's ambassador of good will, Mr. Abelman was highly praised by many who know of the unselfish work he had done for the hospital through the years. Outstanding, however, were the letters of praise that were received and read to the gathering. Among others, those who wrote were Governor Dewey, Lord Halifax, Archbishop Molloy, Senator Lehman, Eleanor Roosevelt, Ralph J. Bunche, former Vice President Wallace and General Bradley. It was a most unusual occasion.

[From the Brooklyn Eagle of October 1, 1954] BOROUGH LEADERS PAY TRIEUTE TO ABELMAN

Some 150 of Brooklyn's leading citizens from all walks of life last night paid tribute to Max Abelman in recognition of his 50 years of humanitarian community service.

Sponsored by the medical board of Brooklyn Jewish Hospital, the dinner was held at the Unity Club, 101 Eighth Avenue.

Mr. Abelman, who has been called Brooklyn's ambassador of good will by Borough President Cashmore, recently resigned as public relations director of the hospital. He had been associated with the hospital since 1909, and had been named secretary to the president of the hospital in 1931.

Mr. Abelman was lauded as a nonpolitical, nonsectarian fund raiser who, through 14

years as executive director of the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities, did much to establish the principle of federation in collecting money for charities. He has been credited with voluntary fund raising of more than \$100 million in Brooklyn during the past 40 years.

Mention was also made that Mr. Abelman organized a dinner in 1941 at the Waldorf-Astoria for the Most Reverend Thomas E. Molloy, on this 20th anniversary as a Roman Catholic bishop of the diocese of Brooklyn.

Dr. Louis J. Morse, president of the medical board, presented Mr. Abelman with a scroll in recognition of his contributions to the growth of the Brooklyn institution, and said:

"Max, you have been an inspiration to all of us. You have never hesitated to help those of high or low estate. You have really lived your creed of 'Wherever there is a human being, there is an opportunity for human kindness'."

Mr. Abelman, in acknowledging the honors heaped upon him, paid tribute to Catholic, Protestant and Jewish religious leaders who, he said, had been an inspiration to him.

"I don't believe in talking tolerance, but in living it," he said, "and this I have tried my best to do."

Among the speakers were Council President Abe Stark, City Court Justice A. David Benjamin, Dr. Irving M. Pallin, secretarytreasurer of the medical board and dinner chairman; Dr. Lewis H. Baretz, vice president of the board and toastmaster; Dr. Adolph P. Raab, president of the Junior Staff Society of Jewish Hospital.

Also, Dr. John J. Masterson, former president of the Kings County and New State Medical Societies; Supreme Court Justice Maximilian Moss, Appellate Division Justice John MacCrate, Supreme Court Justice George A. Arkwright; Frank D. Schroth, Sr., publisher of the Brooklyn Eagle, and Victor F. Ridder, newspaper publisher; James G. McDonald, first United States Ambassador to Israel, and Dr. Frank Kingdon, radio and news columnist.

Also, former City Court Justice Jacob J. Schwartzwald, former Supreme Court Justice Emil N. Barr, a former president of the hospital; Isidore Leviton, president of the hospital; County Judge Hyman Barshay,

Congratulatory letters were received from Governor Dewey, Senator Herbert H. LEHMAN, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, Ralph Bunche, Gen. Omar Bradley, Carlos P. Romulo, Philippine Ambassador to the United States; Archbishop Molloy, Lord Halifax, Matthew Wohl, vice president of the AFL, and James A.

The following are some of the letters of greeting he received:

STATE OF NEW YORK, Albany, September 30, 1954.

DEAR MAX: I am delighted to add my voice to those of your associates and your many friends assembled on September 30 in your honor on the occasion of your retirement from the board of the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn.

I know of no person who more thoroughly deserves such a public expression of appreciation than yourself. For nearly 50 years you have devoted your energies, your time, and your efforts unstintingly for the good of your fellow men, regardless of race or creed.

Your activities for the benefit of the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn are beyond praise. It is most appropriate that the medical alumni of the hospital should name you as the first honorary member. You unquestionably have earned the title "Doctor of Humanity."

With warm regards and best wishes, Sincerely,

THOMAS E. DEWEY, Governor. CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Washington, D. C., September 24, 1954. MY DEAR MR. ABELMAN: Word comes to me that the medical board of Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn will give a dinner in your honor September 30 on the occasion of your retirement as director of public relations.

Half a century of faithful service. memories this must bring, and what joy in the knowledge of the good things that have come about through your efforts—not just to the hospital there in Brooklyn, but to the community as a whole. How far-reaching the blessings of the many Jewish philanthropies which have felt the touch of your tireless devotion.

I recall so vividly the delightful dinner we had together 2 years ago—you, the trustees and friends of Jewish Hospital—when I addressed the graduating class of young nurses. Hardly a department of that great institution which has not benefited from your energies as public relations director. I can un-derstand the reluctance of the hospital to part with your services, but know that it will always have your devotion as a friend of humanity.

May the years ahead be rich in blessings for you and yours.

Always with kindest regards.

Sincerely yours,
FRANCES P. BOLTON.

Los Angeles, Calif., September 25, 1954. DEAR MR. ABELMAN: As I am now living in California and have just returned from a long trip, I am unable to attend the dinner being given in your honor. This is a fit tribute to your long service to your fellow men. All best wishes.

Sincerely,

OMAR BRADLEY.

WASHINGTON, D. C., September 26, 1954.

DEAR MAX: I regret that I cannot attend the dinner to be given in your honor by the Jewish Hospital medical board on September 30

You have rendered your country a great service. You have really been an ambassador of good will of Brooklyn. You have extended your help and hospitality to many of my countrymen and I want you to know how grateful I am to you for your kindness.

With my best wishes for your continued good health, I am

Sincerely yours,

CARLOS P. ROMULO.

PEDERAL TRADE COMMISSION, Washington, September 24, 1954.

DEAR Max: I am going to be away from Washington the end of this month and therefore unable to attend your dinner. I can think of nothing which would please me more than to be on hand and to express in person the high regard I have held for you throughout the long years of our acquaintance.

The testimonial dinner is a fitting expression of the sentiment in the hearts of those who will gather together in your honor, and I want to add my congratulations and my continued good wishes.

Sincerely.

JAS. M. MEAD.

UNITED NATIONS, New York, September 23, 1954.

DEAR DR. ABELMAN: I deeply regret that a prior official commitment does not permit me to join with your many friends in paying well-deserved tribute to you on September 30.

May I take this occasion to express to you my admiration for you because of the generosity of your heart; your tireless efforts for more than a half century which have benefited countless thousands, irrespective of race, color, or national origin; the spirit of unfailing good will with which you have served your community.

In all that you have undertaken you have fed the steady flame of democracy and

brotherhood among your fellow men.

May the years ahead return to you in good measure the health and happiness which you have earned.

Sincerely yours,

RALPH J. BUNCHE. Director, Department of Trustecship.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., September 22, 1954. MY DEAR MR. ABELMAN: Permit me to assure you that I was delighted to learn regarding the coming fulfillment of a program of honorable recognition of your very worthy life and beneficent services in our midst particularly during the past 50 years.

Your most generous disposition to offer unselfishly and unstintingly your time, talent, and energies for the fulfillment of countless works of beneficence richly merits the impressive tribute of public acknowledgment and grateful appreciation.

You have given indeed a most impressive and edifying manifestation of your genuine love of your fellow human beings regardless

of race, color, or creed. I desire to offer to you an expression of well-merited commendation at this particularly happy and eventful period of your blessedly useful life and, at the same time, to express the hope that God will continue to grant you His most precious gifts for the welfare of yourself, your family, and the fortunate beneficiaries of your kindly interest and generous good will.

With cordial good wishes, I am Faithfully yours,

THOMAS MOLLOY. Bishop of Brooklyn.

THE SURGEON GENERAL OF THE NAVY, Washington, September 21, 1954.

DEAR MAX: I am reminded by my secretary of my tentative acceptance of an invitation to a party which is being tendered for you at the Waldorf on the night of September 30. In my response to your invita-tion, some doubt was voiced as to my ability to join you upon the occasion in point because the date falls within a period during which we had contemplated being on leave It so happens that the leave idea has gone by the board. However, I am obliged to remain in Washington on the night of the 30th because of the fact the season's Guest Lecture Series opens at Bethesda upon that night at which time a doctor from Stock-holm, Sweden, will speak and my presence there is strongly desired and I suppose distinctly indicated.

Anyway, Max, I will be with you in thought but will regret my inability to be there in person. It is not exactly clear to me from your letter what constitutes the occasion for the party in your honor, but regardless of whether it is to punctuate a birthday or just any day, I am highly in favor of it. If it measures up in quality, as I am sure it will, to the guy for whom it is being given, it should be a swell affair.

I think I could sum up my sentiments no better than by simply saying I kope your cup of pleasure will be filled to overflowing and that you will remain between those two eternities, "yesterday" and "tomorrow" for a long, long time during the entire dura-tion of which you may have what you like. Sincerely yours,

LAMONT PUGH.

GARROWEY, YORK, Scriember 21, 1954.

DEAR MR. ABELMAN: I am greatly obliged to you for your letter of September 14 and am very glad to learn that the medical board

of the Jewish Hospital is giving a dinner in your honor.

Your many friends will be happy to feel that your long and notable service, rendered over so wide a field, is thus recognized.

With all good wishes, and kindest regards,

Yours sincerely.

HALIFAX.

NEW YORK, N. Y., September 21, 1954. DEAR MR. ABELMAN: I wish I could attend the dinner in your honor on September 30 but I deeply regret I will be out West lecturing for the American Association for the U. N.

I would like to take this opportunity to send you my congratulations and respect for all you have done, and my warm good wishes for the future.

Very sincerely yours,

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT.

SEPTEMBER 15, 1954.

DEAR MAX: There has come to me the announcement from the medical board of our Jewish Hospital of the dinner that is being tendered in your honor on the night of September 30.

You, in the light of our long years of friendship are entitled to an explanation for what I know will be my enforced absence

from the dinner.

Quite some time ago I accepted the invitation of the Benjamin N. Cardozo Lodge of B'nai B'rith to be their guest speaker at their meeting on the night of September at the Plaza Hotel when they will honor Mr. Irving Engel, the president of the American Jewish Committee. Had it not been for this, Max, you may be assured that I would have been present at the dinner. You well deserve the tribute that the doctors purpose to pay to you in recognition of your many years of selfsacrificing labors for the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn.

Sadie and I join in the hope that you will have many years of health and happiness before you.

Cordially yours,

MEIER STEINBRINK.

SOUTH SALEM, N. Y., September 24, 1954.

DEAR Max: It was most thoughtful of the board of the Jewish Hospital of Brooklyn to ask me to the dinner given in your honor on Thursday, September 30. You are richly deserving of this honor and I know of no one serving in a capacity similar to yours who has made more friends among people of all faiths and all walks of life. The ca-pacity to make and hold friends, which is yours to an amazing degree, has greatly served the community which you have so deeply loved and helped build.

I do wish I could be with you and your dear friends at the Unity Club Thursday night but unexpected family events foreclose that possibility. If there should be any change I shall phone you at once.

With the very warmest personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

H. A. WALLACE.

DEPARTMENT OF THE ARMY. OFFICE OF THE SURGEON GENERAL. Washington, September 22, 1954.

DEAR MAX: Thank you very much for your invitation to be present at the dinner to be given by your friends in your honor on September 30, 1954, at the Unity Club of Brooklyn. I am sorry that a previous commitment of long standing precludes my attending.

Though I cannot be there in person, I should like to send my best wishes to be added to those of your associates on that occasion.

With warm wishes for a long and happy retirement, I am

Sincerely,

GEORGE E. ARMSTRONG. Major General. The Surgeon General.

McGILL UNIVERSITY.

Montreal, June 9, 1954. DEAR MAX ABELMAN: Thank you very much for your letter of May 31 and for the advance news of the dinner which will be given to you by all your colleagues at the Hospital on September 30 at the Waldorf-Astoria. Naturally, I am very happy, in-deed, at this additional honor which is to be shown you for your splendid work at the hospital by all your friends, and wish I could be there in person to add my felicitations.

Unfortunately, however, September 30 is the day that Dr. Radhakrishnan, the Vice President of India, arrives to be my guest and I could not possibly be absent from my desk at all during the 2 weeks of his visit. I am sorry.

With renewed good wishes to you as always, I remain

I remain Cordially yours, F. CYRIL JAMES, Principal and Vice Chancellor.

Truth Greatest Weapon Against Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RAY J. MADDEN

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. MADDEN. Mr. Speaker, when the Special Congressional Committee Investigating Communist Aggression held hearings in Europe last June, millions throughout the free countries and also behind the Iron Curtain received firsthand information from sworn testimony as to the real truth regarding Communist duplicity, deception, infiltration, tortures, mass murders, slave labor camps, and other barbarous methods used by the tyrants in the Kremlin to dominate the world. The final report of this committee will be off the press in a few days and should be read by every Member of Congress.

The following letter from Theodore C. Streibert, Director of the United States Information Agency, reveals the importance of the committee's report:

UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY. Washington, January 10, 1955. Hon. RAY J. MADDEN,

House of Representatives.

DEAR MR. MADDEN: I have read with deep interest the summary report of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression, and I should like to commend the members of the committee for the comprehensive and clear analysis that has been made of the motives, methods, and consequences of Communist domination of subject peoples. The report reflects the thorough, careful investigative work of the committee, and it is a document which could well be studied and restudied by peoples throughout the world.

The Agency is glad to have been able to render assistance to the committee and we appreciate the committee's acknowledgment of our work. As the report clearly indicates, the material compiled by the committee has been put to important use in our Voice of America broadcasts as well as in our library and press programs. We are planning a worldwide distribution of the report to our United States Information Service posts.

The Agency is particularly gratified at the committee's recognition of the effectiveness of the overseas information program and its recommendations for increased support of our operations. I wish to thank you as a member of the committee for the valuable contribution that has been made to promoting the objectives and mission of the United States Information Agency.

Sincerely yours,

THEODORE C. STREIBERT,
Director.

Not for Partisan Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH P. O'HARA

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Minnesota. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the New Ulm (Minn.) Daily Journal of November 22, 1954, entitled "Not for Partisan Politics":

The Minnesota Farm Union right now is making a lot of noise about the farm program, especially that portion of it that deals with supports. As there are people who hold with the union, so there are people who oppose what the union demands.

The American Farm Bureau Federation has been less vocal on the subject, apparently willing to sit back and see what Secretary Ezra Taft Benson's program will do for them, if permitted to continue to its conclusion.

Meanwhile, the farm program has been a political football between the Republicans and Democrats. During this time, there is one class of citizens—which includes Republicans, Democrats, DFLers and Independents—which has been largely overlooked. Perhaps it would be more appropriate to say they have overlooked themselves. They are the farmers.

Adoption and implementation of a workable farm program is not—at any rate should not—be a partisan affair. It should represent the best thought, the most sound and sensible program that can be devised by the combined presently contending forces.

One has but to drive through the Corn Belt for a few miles to be staggered at the sight of even more steel bins going up. Hundreds of millions of bushels are stored in Government bins today, where once it was held on the individual farms or at a few grain terminals. This is what is known as the "ever normal granary."

Since the ever normal granary program was inaugurated, new types of corn have been originated and developed. Production per acre has doubled and almost trebled, in face of the fact that demand has not trebled, nor even doubled. And still the contending political forces trying to woo the farm vote, seek more and more guarantees; the Government keeps on building more and more bins. Somewhere along the line the onward surge must come to a halt, and no one has a greater stake in the eventual outcome than does the farmer.

First problem to be solved, it would seem, is one concerning disposition of the present tremendous surpluses and to set up an effective control to prevent further increase in surplus. That, most certainly, will involve opening up the export field. It should be just as good business on the part of the Department of Agriculture to finance the purchase of corn and other farm products for export as it is for the United States to send billions of dollars to foreign governments which, in turn, send the money back here for munitions and armament.

The farm union, the farm bureau, Republicans and Democrats will never get anywhere pulling 40 separate ways from Sunday. The sensible thing, it would seem, would be for them to set up a joint committee, representing the best talent they can find, lock them in a conference room and hold the keys until they came out with a workable solution.

American agriculture is too important to continue as a political football. There is too much at stake. Farm prosperity is essential to the welfare of our Nation, quite as much as it is to the farmer.

Advancing Activities Which Will Make Our Civilization Endure and Flourish

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, many millions of dollars and much talent and shrewd organizing brains are going into the Russian propaganda drive to picture the citizens of our great country as gum-chewing, insensitive, materialistic barbarians, without souls.

It was pointed out in the report on the 14 cultural bills considered by the 83d Congress that—

One of the major ways in which we might turn reluctant and uneasy military alliesand the 800 million of uncommitted peopleinto friends would be to earn their respect for our own culture. It is obvious, however, that if we have no respect for and are officially indifferent to our own best cultural efforts, if we show no concern as a people and as a nation with our own contemporary culture and our living artists, then the peoples of other countries are hardly to be blamed if they ignore and underrate the cultural contributions which we have to give the peoples of the world. We have only our-selves to blame, for they take their cues from our own Federal Government. In this situation the Communist parties in the various countries and the Russians find it extremely easy to spread their lies that we are gumchewing, insensitive, materialistic

One place to begin righting things is in the Federal City which is singularly underprivileged regarding cultural matters as compared with other capital cities of the world and even as compared with most of the leading cities of the United States. We find W. M. Kiplinger reporting in his book, Washington Is Like That, published in 1942, for instance:

Despite the wealth of national tradition attached to Washington, there is very little

native culture. The city has never been a notable breeding place for art, or music, or literature. Unlike other great capitals of world thought, such as prewar London and Vienna and Paris, where the native-born leaders of the cities shaped the intellectual patterns which influenced the nation. Washington as a city has no homegrown culture. Its influence in cultural matters is not by Washington, but rather via Washington. Whatever culture there is here was started elsewhere and brought in and pasted on.

Some 10 Representatives and 6 Senators joined Congressman Charles R. Howell in presenting bills in the 83d Congress for a national cultural program including a cultural center in the Nation's Capital. Hearings were held on them, but they were rejected by the majority in a report that will surely go down in history as a classic example of disinterest in the cultural heritage of the West.

In a speech to the National Symphony Orchestra Association in September 1952, when he was given a testimonial scroll calling him the most musical President in the history of our country. former President Harry S. Truman said Washington should be developed into the greatest musical center in the history of the world. In urging an auditorium and opera house, Mr. Truman recalled that as a Senator he had twice helped to push through the Senate legislation providing such a building. But he said the bills had been murdered in the House by the efforts of lobbyists acting for cities around Washington. "They did not appreciate the fact that Washington was to be the capital of the world," he said.

Mr. Truman pointed out that he had seen show places in Mexico City, Paris, Rio de Janiero, and he remarked:

There isn't a reason in the world why Washington shouldn't have a place where the greatest symphony in the world can play for the public.

The gentleman from New York, EMAN-UEL CELLER; the gentleman from Montana, LEE METCALF; and the gentleman from Louisiana, James H. Morrison have joined me in introducing in the Congress H. R. 21, H. R. 630, H. R. 1822, and H. R. 1825, respectively—legislation "creating a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an inaugural hall of Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communica-tions center." Very broad support has been expressed for this legislation in principle by leaders in business, labor, education, recreation, city planning, libraries, and the fine arts generally. I cordially invite other Members of Congress, from both sides of the aisle, who may be interested in advancing the cultural status of our country, and our Nation's Capital as well, to join in sponsoring this legislation.

The bill would authorize an appropriation of \$25,000 for the commission whose members would serve without pay in considering a suitable site, procuring plans and designs, and formulating a method of financing the civic cultural center on a self-liquidating basis. The people of the District of Columbia pay more than \$170 million in Federal taxes and Con-

gress, in its role as the City Council of Washington, should sympathetically consider the city's need for a civic and cultural center. In this connection I would like to call to your attention the following splendid editorial which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 11, 1955:

ENCOURAGING THE ARTS

In the long view of history, a society is likely to be judged most definitively by its cultivation of the arts. American culture has frequently been criticized abroad-to a large extent unjustly and as a consequence shrewd Soviet propaganda-as materialistic; but increasingly American artists have been making significant contributions in music, literature, drama, painting, and sculpture. What is perhaps lacking in the United States is a diffusion of the arts to the people. And it was no doubt to remedy this lack as well as to counter some of the current misconceptions about American culture that President Eisenhower promised in his state of the Union message to "recommend the establishment of a Federal Advisory Commission of the Arts within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, to advise the Federal Government on ways to encourage artistic and cultural endeavor and appreciation."

Art is never likely to flourish under governmental direction. Nothing could be further from the American tradition, or from the thought in President Eisenhower's mind, we are sure, than the kind of Commissariat of Culture which operates in the Soviet Union to make art an instrumentality of the state. Artists cannot be mobilized. But they can be encouraged by recognition and appreciation of their work; they can be stimulated by increased public understanding of the arts and by expanded opportunities for the public to see and hear their work. In the promotion of popular interest in the arts, the Government can play a most helpful role.

We hope that the President will give consideration, in this connection, to the admirable proposal put forward sometime ago in a House bill by former Representative Charles Howell for the construction of an auditorium and art center in the Nation's Capital. There could scarcely be a more appropriate beginning for a Federal program to foster interest in the arts. Creation of the means through which music, drama, and pictorial art can be brought to the people is one important contribution which can be made by government. But the sine qua non, of course, is the propagation of an atmosphere in which innovation, experimentation, and unorthodoxy can find free expression.

A Great Big Hand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR.

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Rome Daily American dated January 1, 1955:

A GREAT BIG HAND

"How's Clare Boothe Luce doing?"
That's the first question usually asked by
a visiting American, and any summing up
of 1954 would be incomplete without an
answer to the question.

What do you expect from an Ambassador? Personality? The very fact that visiting Americans inquire with the familiar use of her name rather than her rank of Ambassador is a tribute to her personality, not a lack of respect to her position.

Diplomatic skill? In London recently a

Diplomatic skill? In London recently a veteran American newspaperman baited us with, "Don't tell me you think Mrs. Luce settled the Trieste problem?" Our answer was that so far as we know Mrs. Luce has never claimed credit for the settlement—but she certainly was on the team that solved that knotty problem, and was still on the scene when Italy voted smashing approval of the Paris accords.

Courage? During the tense pre-Trieste settlement days, a hostile crowd gathered in front of the American Embassy to shout its protests on the delay in carrying out the Anglo-American decision to turn back zone A to Italy. Some Embassy personnel avoided the main entrance to the Embassy that morning to minimize the possibility of ugly incidents. Mrs. Luce arrived, stepped from her car and walked calmly through the hushed crowd to the front gate.

Insight? She has consistently avoided the many traps set for her by the Communists. She has never worn her religion on her sleeve.

Inspiration? She has won the admiration and loyalty of her own staff, which is also a mark of leadership. She has gotten out of a sick bed to attend both American and Italian functions which demanded her presence, and she has set an example for her Foreign Service family by devoting endless hours of hard work to her job. She has been a good listener as well as a good talker, and has always shown willingness to heed the advice of experienced career diplomats.

Kindness? A generous portion of her own personal fortune has been quietly, never ostentatiously, distributed to various Italian charities and institutions. She has taken time from a filled calendar to greet the children of old friends passing through Rome. And her private parties have included Americans from all walks of life in Rome—not merely the bankers and the businessmen.

Pressed for an answer to the visitors' question we shall reply:

The lady is doing quite well, thank you.

Statehood Is the Answer

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, the case for Alaska statehood as the one way to solve the complex problems referred to in the state of the Union message could not be better or more concisely stated than in the editorial written for the Scripps-Howard newspapers which appeared in the Washington Daily News yesterday:

CHICKEN AND EGG

"As the complex problems of Alaska are resolved, that Territory should be expected to achieve statchood," said President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message.

That is somewhat like telling Alaskans that when they learn to swim they will be permitted to go into the water.

It ignores the overwhelming evidence that Alaska's "complex problems" are complex precisely because of the Federal Government's long neglect of the Territory and

refusal to give it control over its resources. In that respect the present administration's record is no better than that of its predecessors.

Alaskans have been hearing vague promises like this for many decades. It is high time they were offered the concrete action they deserve. And statehood is the only logical answer.

Why I Want a College Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OREN HARRIS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. HARRIS. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following essay written by John H. Henry, of El Dorado, Ark. John's essay on Why I Want a College Education was chosen as the best of hundreds entered in a contest zone embracing Arkansas and a portion of Texas. He was presented a \$1,000 Lion Oil college scholarship, after winning first place in a Lion Oil scholarship fund essay contest. John is now a senior in the El Dorado, Ark., High School.

Under leave granted to extend my remarks, I include the essay:

WHY I WANT A COLLEGE EDUCATION (By John H. Henry)

The old master worked continually and tirelessly on a rare but beautiful old vase. His strokes were firm but kind, for to him is was something of great value. Passers-by often inquired why he spent hours working only on that vase, hours of engraving and seemingly useless hours of shining it. The old man always replied that it takes years to perfect a masterpiece, to bring out its beauty, and to give it a dark and lustrous pollsh. What could deserve the painstaking polishing and delicate engraving more than life itself? Is it not a thing of great value?

A college education offers ample opportunity to polish, to engrave, and to bring out the abilities and beauties of nature that give meaning to life. The desired design and true tone of life can best be attained in a university that provides a broad and firm foundation on which to build. This is best provided by liberal arts courses. Such courses as languages, literature, history, philosophy, fine arts, mathematics, natural sciences, economics, government, and sociology give one a clearer view of the present by providing generous information of the trends of the past.

What is common to these subjects that makes it proper to group them together? They have a common alm. In contrast to the technical subjects, which are the acquisition of some specific skills, the liberal courses present an understanding of human nature and of the environment in which man lives. Their aim is to throw light upon the greater problems that confront mankind today. In our age the world demands young men and young women, who possess something of that understanding of man's world. It calls for young people who have been in contact with these liberalizing subjects, and which it is the business of the college to teach. I, therefore, choose a college education in favor of a technical school.

A college education is also essential in that it will help me to prepare for a career and to seek certain characteristics of life that I shall always endeavor to possess. First of all,

the ability to earn a living is important to the individual and to society. Thus, I must learn to fill some position with credit. The world today needs skilled and trained workers, and I want to be one of them. The second of the desired characteristics of life is that nothing is so significant as a clear conscious view of my own opinions and judgments. Third, education will help me to influence people, to come to an understanding with them, and to bear with them. I feel that these characteristics will give depths of tone and polish to my life.

It will take years of preparation, hard work, and painstaking thought to develop the intellect in order to prepare for an education for life. I shall always strive to live up to the old master's theory that it takes years to perfect a masterpiece, to bring out its beauty, and to engrave upon it the most desirable principles and ideals, that masterpiece being life itself.

How To Lose Friends and Customers for American Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include 2 articles, 1 from the Christian Science Monitor for December 29, and another from Barron's Financial Weekly, for November 1, reflecting disturbing reports from a country which has long been one of America's good customers. It is still not too late to remedy the harmful results of administration action in this field:

[From the Christian Science Monitor of December 29, 1954]

TARIFF AND ANTITRUST ACTION—SWISS SEE UNITED STATES IN ATTACK ON TRADE

(By Olwen Williams)

GENEVA.—The Swiss people and Government are still deeply disturbed by what they consider a United States attack on the Swiss watch industry.

When the United States, last July, increased its watch tariff by 50 percent, it was a hard blow for a people dependent for its economic existence on export. But, it was argued, the tariff weapon is one that must be faced in international trade.

The recent action of the United States Department of Justice, however, indicting a number of Swiss watch firms and several United States importers of Swiss watches and watch parts for violation of the antitrust law, has aroused a storm of protest from every section of the population. The indictment has been looked upon, with almost complete unanimity, as an attack on the commercial honor of Switzerland, and even possibly an attempt at interfering with Swiss sovereignty.

To understand this strong reaction, one must remember that the Swiss are proud of their watch industry. More than all other branches of industry, it is felt to typify the genius and efficiency of a people without natural resources or any other advantages than those derived from the character and diligence of its people.

HARD TIMES RECALLED

The Swiss watch industry has had its hard times before, especially between wars. Its postwar comeback owes much to the United

States market. Today, the industry is strong and more consolidated than ever before. But, the Swiss do not forget the hard times and are determined to protect their best export business as far as possible against any future large-scale slumps.

The Swiss, therefore, look upon it as natural that their government and the representatives of the industry should have worked out measures for protecting the quality of the Swiss product, and for safeguarding the accepted watch producers from undercutting by irresponsible firms. The restrictions on new firms, agreements on costs, etc., in this highly organized, rationalized industry are thus within Swiss law, and are welcomed by all concerned.

Attacks in the United States press on the Switch watch industry for alleged underpaying of workers, exploitation and so on, are usually dismissed as an expression of hostility from certain sections, since the watch industry is among the best paid in this country.

PRESS INDIGNANT

It is unusual in a country that prides itself on its restraint and impartial comment to find the press almost unanimous in its indignant comment on the action of the United States Department of Justice.

An economic correspondent in the Gazette de Lausanne writes, for example: "The United States authorities, doubtless maneuvered by groups of interests, are going all out against the Swiss watch industry, which has the serious defect in their eyes of working at lower prices, but for equal quality, with the national product. After having had recourse of a few weeks ago to the customs weapon, they now seize the judicial weapon. In both cases, the arguments advanced seem very artificial, to say the least."

Statements have been issued not only from the Association of Watch Producers, and the Federal Government, but also from the Federation of Workers in Metals and Watches. There is a remarkable unanimity of views in all the statements.

STRANGE DISCOVERY

Maurice Vaucher, the president of the Association of Watch Manufacturers, representing some 550 independent firms, whose activities are strictly limited by Swiss law, asked the following question: "How can the United States continue to preach free enterprise, lowering tariffs, and so on, when it attacks the industry of a small democracy's vital industry? If the sovereign law of the United States is in conflict with that of Switzerland, it is strange that this is only now being discovered, since for the past 18 years Swiss practice has not varied, nor has it been challenged since 1936, the date of the last trade agreement with the United States."

M. Vaucher also made the point that legal action could have been avoided in the anti-trust issue by negotiation out of court, in which the Swiss watch industry would have cooperated. This view is strengthened by the fact that the affair will, in any case be terminated by negotiations, and the signing of a "consent decree," embodying the new conditions for future trade exchanges,

OFFICIAL COMMENTS

Usually, the Swiss Government leaves all comment on disputed issues to its legation on the spot. This time, however, the issue was considered so important that the head of the Federal Foreign Affairs Department, Max Petitpierre, felt it called for a Government declaration.

For the moment, while Swiss legal experts are still studying the questions involved, he restricted himself to an interim statement, and mentioned the Government's strong views on the matter to the United States Minister in Berne, Miss Frances Wilson. The Federal Government also reserved the right to lodge a formal protest later.

[On December 22, Swiss President Rubattel told Parliament that the United States Justice Department's antitrust action against the watch industry was a violation of Swiss sovereignty and an interference in Switzerland's internal affairs, the Associated Press said.]

M. Petitplerre especially emphasized the bad effects of the latest United States move on the whole of United States-Swiss relations and hinted at the possibility of an appeal to international law.

AGREEMENTS HELD LEGAL

The central committee of the Federation of Swiss Workers in Metal and Watches also reacted strongly to the United States move. They summarized their views as follows:

1. The agreements criticized by the United

1. The agreements criticized by the United States Department of Justice are quite legal in Switzerland. They have not harmed either the United States manufacturer or the consumer. On the contrary, these agreements have laid down the conditions of loyal competition, so that the quality of the product is not lowered.

2. The agreements made by common consent between Swiss manufacturers and United States importers have not resulted in high prices for the United States consumer. The proof of this is found in the fact that President Eisenhower found Swiss watch prices too low, compared with the home produced article—hence the 50 percent tariff increase.

From Government officials down to workers committees, the conclusion has been reached that whatever United States delegates may say at international trade conferences, the real attitude of the United States Government is shifting toward increased trade barriers.

[From Barron's Financial Weekly of November 1, 1954]

ECONOMIC WAR?—THE SWISS PREPARE TO FIGHT BACK AT UNITED STATES WATCH POLICY

(By John Crider)

Washington.—No enemy nation could do more to convince Uncle Sam's friends abroad that the United States does not practice what it preaches than did the White House and the Justice Department when they ganged up on the Swiss watch industry. Now the peaceful Swiss, who have fought no military wars in the century and a half since Napoleon trampled their soil, are pondering the pros and cons of economic warfare against the United States. Meanwhile, they are hoping the White House palace guard will finally awake to the global implications of the watch dispute.

Acting entirely from military considerations, the President first slightly raised the tariff on Swiss watch imports. Then, only a few months later, the Justice Department last week filed antitrust suits against the biggest importers and assemblers of Swiss watch movements. Altogether, 24 United States and Swiss concerns were sued for price fixing and restriction of markets. purpose of the double-barreled action was solely to preserve the watchmaking skills of this country's three jeweled-watch manufacuring concerns, even though the State Department itself in past years had argued that this type of skill was amply present in the new aircraft precision instrument industries. Since that argument was made, however, the Eisenhower administration has given the three watch companies vital defense work to do. So the old argument now faces a fait accompli.

Nevertheless, the 2 United States actions, coming so closely together, left no doubt among the Swiss that the 3 United States watch companies had enlarged their influence over our Government and were intent upon crushing the Swiss watch industry which, for many years, has led the world in the manufacture and development of fine

watches. Consequently, Swiss consumers have recently been boycotting United States products, and American manufacturers have been complaining to the Swiss Legation here.

Although the Swiss Government denies having anything to do with the boycotting, there is no mistaking the fact that the American actions have created a major political, as well as economic, problem for the Swiss. This follows from the fact that 58,000 Swiss workers, I out of 10 in the little country's labor force, are employed in the more than 400 small factories scattered throughout the Jura Mountain district, where the watches are made. Moreover, about a third of all Swiss watch exports come to this country.

Among the many aspects of the current situation which perplex the Swiss, a practical-minded people, is the apparent failure of the United States Government to appreciate the profit derived by America from the Swiss watch trade. About two-thirds of all Swiss watch imports are in the form of movements which are assembled into watches by United States workmen. So much is added here in terms of value, moreover, that only about 15 cents out of every dollar spent for so-called Swiss watches in the United States gets back to Switzerland. Some 35,000 United States jewelers sell Swiss watches, and hundreds of our merchants are engaged in their importation and distribution.

Even more baffling to the Swiss is that Americans should expect every other government to have trade laws and habits like The reason for the organization their own. of Swiss watchmakers under their national laws happens to have been just the opposite to the reasoning behind United States antitrust laws. While the latter were addressed to the problem of undue industrial concentration, Swiss law undertook to deal undue dispersion of industry. watch factories were many and scattered, so that to capitalize upon this national skill there had to be an organization. And, for selfish commercial reasons, there had to be rules for foreign operations which would assure Swiss watches as much foreign-market domination as possible. It is, indeed, an industry almost wholly dependent on international trade, since about 95 percent of the output is exported.

All of this was undoubtedly known to the Eisenhower administration when it decreed that Swiss imports should be limited to around 75 percent of our market. But in so ruling for military reasons, it made our foreign friends (who seem also to have had some military value) look at United States in such terms as the following:

1. The competitive philosophy of the Sherman antitrust law has been preached by United States missions all over the world, but just let a better product at a lower price reach United States shores and the benevolent Uncle lets out a scream.

2. The United States has loaned and given billions of dollars to underdeveloped countries in the hope that they would become self-sufficient like Switzerland. But if we treat the economically exemplary and self-sufficient Swiss the way we do, what profit, these countries must be asking, is there in following the Swiss example?

3. The mere matter of relative size holds universal interest. To many foreign head-line writers it must have been a temptation to write "North American Colossus Sits on Little Swiss for Competing." After all, they had been led to believe there was nothing Americans respected more than "the little guy who manages to get along."

4. The Americans apparently can't do business with countries whose industrial organi-

zation or trust laws are different from their own, but what about the United States oil companies and Iranian oil? About the time the Justice Department was winking at the domestic oil companies' joint venture with foreign interests in the Middle East, Attorney General Brownell said:

"For example, high on the priority list of problems demanding prompt solution is the entire problem of the extraterritorial application of the antitrust laws. This is a provocative subject, particularly in view of the oil case. * * As has been well pointed out, if the rule be that American courts have jurisdiction over every action in the world that affects us, why does not every other nation have jurisdiction over our actions which affect them?"

Confused GOP Playing Dangerous Game in Decision To Cut Military Manpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial from the January 8 edition of the Charleston (W. Va.) Gazette. This editorial reflects the questions that are being raised in the minds of people throughout the country in the wake of the proposed cut in military manpower. The proposal not only leaves this Nation wondering, but it also has elicited the raising of an eyebrow among our allies. The New York Times on January 9 stated the feeling of the British in these words:

The planned cut-down in American ground strength now and the reliance on baby atomic bombs to smash any Communist rush, if it starts, has the British worried.

It is interesting to note what Korean leaders are thinking about the announced step, and this is clearly brought out by the same edition of the Times. The excerpt is herewith included:

Authoritative sources reported that the Korean leaders were deeply concerned about the apparent tendency of the United States to reduce the number of ground troops while placing greater reliance on the Air Force and atomic power. They are said to fear that this trend of thought is about to reach Korea despite the continuous Communist buildup in the North.

The semioficial Government newspaper Korean Republic today editorially criticized the United States policy of massive retaliation and the newly announced cutbacks in the United States Army's strength.

"This sharp reduction in divisional strength may leave the United States without the power to follow up any advantages it may gain through employment of less conventional weapons," the paper said.

Mr. Speaker, this is a matter of importance. History having taught the tragedy of meeting an enemy with too little and too late, let us hope that in the days before us we shall refuse to be stampeded into weakness, and that we shall never put dollars and cents or

political expediency above national security and safety. Let us ever be prompted by the question, "Where is duty at this moment?"

The Gazette editorial follows:

CONFUSED GOP PLAYING DANGEROUS GAME IN DECISION TO CUT MILITARY MANPOWER

The announced cut in military manpower cannot but leave the Nation wondering just what is going on in the Government's program of defense.

First, comes the question of why the decision. Secretary of State Dulles, our expert on diplomacy, says that it is made possible by the improved weapons possessed by the military while the Secretary of Defense Mr. Wilson, our expert in defense, reports that it is made possible by the receding threat of war. Thus, the diplomat credits it to defense, while defense credits it to diplomacy. Could it be that neither one of them is very proud of this large scale cut in our defense potential at the present time and that both hope to disown it if it doesn't work out?

Is the administration thinking of returning to the policy of massive retaliation that seemed to have gone down the drain along with Dien Bien Phu, Hanoi, and the rest of northern Indochina in that memorable flasco in the Orient? Surely that has been tried too often and falled too often for the administration to attempt a return to it now. Or is this a desperate and reckless attempt to balance the budget?

Obviously Gen. Matthew Ridgway has falled to convince the powers that be that war cannot be an "immaculate war" but must be a war fought out by men in the mud. General Ridgway tried hard and may have convinced some folks, but not those who do the top planning about this Nation's defense.

Result, the Army is to be sacrificed. It doesn't seem possible that to obtain this a reduction will be made in our overseas forces because if it is done, there it would spell appeasement to both friend and foe. It must be that the cut is to be made in the continental United States and carried out among the half strength divisions, the paper divisions, and the divisions whose units are scattered from Alaska to Puerto Rico and which constitute our only reserve or pretense of a reserve.

It is to be hoped that General Ridgway made an impression on the gentlemen in Congress and that when this new proposal to reduce the defenses of the country come before them they will take a long look at it before deciding to risk this country's safety on some new concept of defense. They must remember the Nation can and will pay for the defense it needs.

Federal Regulation of Production and Gathering of Natural Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I wish to comment concerning the fine address presented yesterday in the House by my colleague from Texas IMr. IKARD], who speaks with authority and accuracy in outlining the danger we are facing today in gas production. I join him in deep concern and recognize the need for legislation correcting the present interpretation of the Natural Gas Act. I wish to commend him for his presentation of the facts and his making clear the need for legislative action. I hope to join my colleague from Texas, as well as others, in this effort.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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[Mr. Ikard], who speaks with authority LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof, (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUS-

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

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- 3. Return of manuscript.—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.
- 4. Tabular matter.—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.
- 5. Proof furnished.—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

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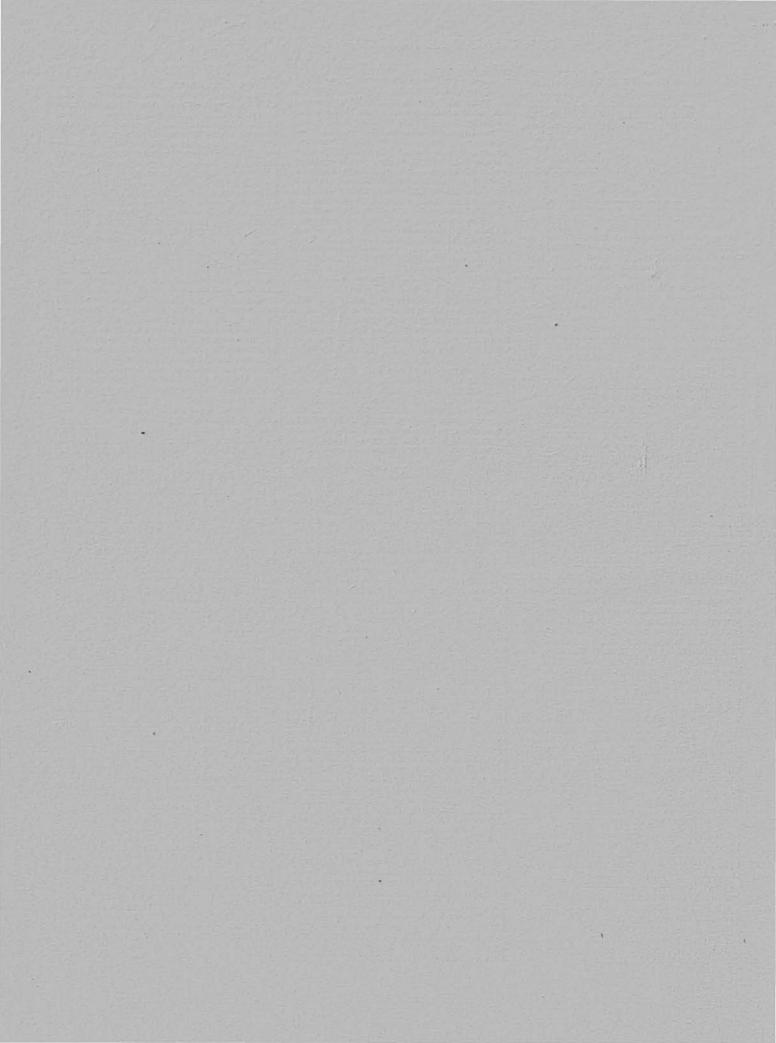
9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. Official reporters.—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

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Appendix

Proposed Trade Agreement Negotiations With Japan and Other Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record. I include the following statement of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers:

STATEMENT OF THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COTTON MANUFACTURERS BEFORE THE UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION IN THE MATTER OF INVESTIGATION NO. 2 AND PUBLIC HEARING IN CONNECTION WITH PROPOSED TRADE AGREEMENT NEGOTIATIONS WITH JAPAN AND OTHER COUNTRIES

This statement is filed pursuant to the United States Tariff Commission's public notice, issued November 13, 1954, of investigation No. 2 and public hearing under section 3 of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1951, as amended, and section 332 of the Tariff Act of 1930, in connection with proposed trade agreement negotiations with Japan and other countries.

Included in the President's list of articles imported into the United States proposed for consideration in trade agreement negotiations with Japan and other countries there are:

Schedule 9: 1 Cotton manufactures.

Schedule 11: 1 Wool and manufactures of. Schedule 12: 1 Silk manufactures.

Schedule 13: 1 Manufactures of rayon or other synthetic textiles.

Because of the complexity of the textile industry and the competitive interrelationship among various fibers and fabrics, the position taken by the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers is applicable to all textile items included under the schedules listed above.

The National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, founded in 1854, represents northern cotton and manmade fiber textile mills, located predominantly in New England. Cotton mills in this group generally manufacture fine combed cotton fabrics others produce carded goods, manmade fiber textiles, and silk textiles. New England mills also produce velveteens, blankets, bedspreads, towels, sheets, and pillow cases, yarn for gloves, and cloth for wearing apparel as well as miscellaneous other uses.

POSITION

The New England mills are opposed to any reduction in the present tariff rates on the items of textile manufactures specified on page 1 of this statement. The association also endorses the request of the domestic velveteen manufacturers for an increase in the dutles on velveteens. Our mills are opposed to the invasion of the American market by Japanese or other imported cotton textiles. Present duties may not be high

enough to prevent such an occurrence, but a further lowering of duties to permit entry of more textiles from Japan and other nations would result in the displacement of American fabrics, unemployment, and heavy losses to investors and to those dependent upon the industry as a source of income.

TRENDS OF DOMESTIC PRODUCTION AND SALES

1. Present conditions

The American market for cotton textiles is and has been in a depressed condition. Examination of the industry's economic indicators shows only too well the difficult conditions which have been experienced by the entire United States textile industry and which have been even more marked in New England.

Cotton consumption has shown the following declines:

	United States	New England	South		
	Average per working day in actual number of bales				
1951—January 1953—September 1954—September	42, 746 36, 022 33, 278	3, 341 2, 180 1, 709	38, 705 33, 523 31, 336		
	Pe	reent chang	res		
September 1954 from— 1951—January 1953—September	-22.2 -7.6	-48.9 -21.6	-19.0 -6.5		

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Facts for Industry,

Spindle activity of mills consuming 100 percent cotton fiber has dropped as follows:

	United States	New Eng- land	South
	A verage l	hours per wo in millions	rking day
1951—January 1953—September 1954—September	508, 5 463, 7 426, 7	71. 9 51. 0 37. 9	430. 8 410. 9 387. 7
	P	ercent chang	(68
September 1954 from— 1951—January 1953—September	-16.1 -8.0	-47.3 -25.7	-10.0 -5.6

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Facts for Industry.

Production of both cotton and manmade fiberbroad woven goods has declined significantly during the first half of this year as shown below:

	Cetton broad woven goods (all, except tire fabrics)	Fine cotton goods	Synthetic fabrics
	Millions	yards	
1951—1st quarter 1953—ist quarter 2d quarter 3d quarter 4th quarter 1954—1st quarter 2d quarter	2, 835 2, 611 2, 606 2, 414 2, 540 2, 480 2, 451	350 331 325 311 333 221 311	70.5 620 629 585 566 537 626

	Cotton broad woven goods (all, except tire fabrics)	Fine cotton goods	Synthetic fabrics	
	Percent changes			
2d quarter 1954 from— 1951—1st quarter 1953—2d quarter 1954—1st quarter	-13, 6 -6, 0 -1, 0	-11.2 -4.3 -3.1	-25.4 -16.4 -2.0	

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commicree, "Facts For Industry."

Manufacturers' sales of broad woven fabrics (cotton, manmade fiber and wool) have dropped considerably as shown in the following table:

All United States

	Sales	Inventories
		ly adjusted in s of dollars
1951—January 1953—August 1964—January February March April May June July August	503 508 531 576 516	1, 706 1, 491 1, 385 1, 389 1, 396 1, 376 1, 374 1, 306 1, 354
	Percei	nt changes
August 1954 from— 1951—January 1953—August	-30.5 -4.4	-20, 6 -9, 1

Source: Office of Business Economics, U. S. Department of Commerce, "Industry Survey, Manufacturers' Sales and Inventories."

Mill margins, the difference between cloth prices and prices for the average qualities of cotton used in the manufacture of the cloth, have been declining steadily for the past 2 years, and are now 9 percent below a year ago and 46 percent below January 1951. The following table shows that the drop in mill margins was caused by the combination of a decline in cloth prices and an increase in the cost of raw cotton to the manufacturer.

Indexes of cloth prices, cotton prices, and mill margins, 1953 and 1954

[January 1951 equals 100]

		Cloth prices					Mill margins	
	1953	1954	1953	1954	1953	1954		
January February March April May June July August September	72.5 72.5 71.4 70.6 70.8 71.7 71.7 71.7	67, 2 66, 6 66, 3 66, 0 65, 8 65, 8 66, 1 66, 1 66, 2	76.8 77.9 78.8 78.1 78.8 79.4 78.5 77.6	78, 7 80, 7 80, 8 80, 3 80, 9 80, 4 81, 1 81, 1 82, 4	69. 2 68. 3 65. 5 64. 4 64. 4 65. 1 65. 6 66. 4 65. 9	57. 5 54. 7 54. 0 53. 8 52. 9 58. 4 58. 2		

Footnotes at end of table.

As shown in Tariff Act of 1930, title I, dutiable list.

Indexes of cloth prices, cotton prices, and Cotton and synthetic textile mills (broad mill margins, 1953 and 1954—Continued

[January	1951	equal	s	100

	Cloth prices				Mill margins	
	1963	1954	1953	1954	1953	1954
November	67.8 67.2	66. 2	77.8 77.6	80. 5	59. 6 58. 6	54.0

Note.—Indexes based on following prices: Average cloth price of 17 constructions, and average price for the average qualities of cotton used in the 17 constructions as reported by the U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Source: Agricultural Marketing Service, U. S. Department of Agriculture, Cotton Price Statistics.

Of additional importance in evaluating the conditions of the industry is the decline which has taken place in the per capita consumption of textiles in the United States since 1950, as shown below:

Per capita consumption

[In pounds]

Year	Total	Man- made	Wool	Cotton
1950	40. 3 32. 0	9.1 7.5	4.4 2.6	26. 8 21. 9
Percent decline.	20.6	17.6	40.9	18.3

Source: Textile Organon, vol. XXV, No. 9, Septe mber 1954.

2. Measures of injury

In order to measure the extent of the damage which has already been done to the cotton and manmade fiber textile industry as the result of depressed conditions and as an indication of the even more serious damage which would result from a lowering of textile tariffs, it is necessary to examine the losses to employees, communities, and investors. One of the chief characteristics of the industry is the fact that it is composed of thousands of small- and medium-sized establishments with heavy employment concentrations in local areas. This characteristic magnifies the severity of losses to this industry.

The textile industry's present condition has resulted in a decline in employment of 268,000 jobs and in the cotton and manmade fiber textile industry of over 60,000 jobs since January 1951. In New England alone employment has fallen by 48 percent since 1951, and by 26.7 percent since September a year ago, in the cotton and manmade fiber textile mills.

Employment-Textile mill products

	United States	New England	South 1
	1	n thousand	
1951—January 1953—September 1954—September	1,348 1,196 1,080	574 553 533	
	Pe	ercent chang	gea
September 1954 from: 1951—January 1953—September	-19.9 -9.7	-38. 2 -20. 3	-7. 2 -3. 6

¹ Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor for United States and New England data; State departments of labor for southern data.

woven fabrics)

	New England t	South 1
1951—January 1953—September 1954—September	74, 515 52, 674 38, 600	322, 300 312, 100 297, 600
	Percent	change
September 1955 from: 1951—January 1953—September	-48, 2 -26, 7	-7.7 -4.6

¹ Sample of New England mills reporting to the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and does not represent total New England employment.

² Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.

Source: State departments of labor for southern data and the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers for New England data.

The textile industry is currently capable of not only supplying the full domestic demand and maintaining exports, but of increasing its output within a few months by an additional 15 percent as it did under the stimulus of the Korean war in 1950.

Unlike a growing industry which might be able to share its growth with others, the cotton and synthetic textile industry of the United States has no growing market to partition. It would be forced to give up a market which is not big enough for its present capacity. This condition is due in large measure to the expansion of capacity and output which took place to meet war and immediate postwar needs.

(a) Unemployment: A substitution of foreign for American cloth would increase current unemployment to an extent which no agency of the Government should recomor sanction. The decline in employment in New England cotton and synthetic textile mills since January 1951, over onehalf of which has occurred since September 1953, has left a serious unemployment prob-In addition, many mills are operating and have been operating on a short-time basis of 3 or 4 days a week with temporary shutdowns of a week or more at a time.

The impact and extent of unemployment in textiles is severe because the industry is composed of a large number of small- and medium-sized establishments employing over 350,000 workers with heavy employment con-centrations in local areas. The average number of employees in textile mills in the United States is low in all regions and all branches of the industry.

Employees per establishment

	United States	New Eng- land	Mid- Atlantic	South
1. Cotton and related broad woven				
fabries	401	469	81	688
2. Yarn and thread mills except wool	188	212	74	250
Rayon and relat- ed broad woven.	193	257	73	615
4. Woolen and wor- sted manufac- tures	217	249	173	305

Source: Report of the committee appointed by the New England Governors, 1952.

The textile industry, in addition to being one of the largest employers of American labor, is characterized by the fact that mills employ a relatively high proportion of the workers in the labor-market areas where they are located. Hundreds of mills are situated in small towns where they provide either the sole or principal source of income to their community. Other mills are located in textile centers such as Fall River and Lowell, Mass., where they represent a large proportion of the total manufacturing employment in the area.

In New England 1 out of 6 manufacturing jobs is in textiles; in Massachusetts, 1 out of 7; and in Rhode Island 30 percent of all manufacturing employees are employed in textile manufacturing. (See tables I and II attached, for the relative importance of the textile industry in our national and regional economy.)

The following table shows the concentration of cotton and synthetic-textile employment in typical New England textile commu-

Textile employment 1 as a percent of manufacturing employment

Massachusetts:	Percent
Adams	81.5
North Adams	
Fall River	40.8
Holyoke	14 2
Lowell	37.1
New Bedford	25.9
Connecticut:	
Baltic	40 2
Stonington	26.8
Maine:	20.0
Lewiston	42.9
Sanford	50.0
Biddeford-Saco	38.3
New Hampshire: Manchester	24.0
Rhode Island:	01.0
Albion and Lonsdale	
Anthony	
Ashton	83. 6
Warren	
Warwick	31.5

Predominantly cotton and synthetic textiles.

As the industry is made up of many independent units and is the principal source of employment in communities, unemployment causes unusual hardships. Textile workers displaced by foreign or domestic competition either remain unemployed or are forced to take lower paying jobs. Experience has proven that so-called growth industries do not absorb such workers. A study of 1,705 displaced New England textile workers recently completed by the Bureau of Business and Economic Research of Northeastern University shows that less than half the workers were reemployed, and of this number two-thirds were earning less pay. Other textile mills provided the chief source of reemployment, a situation which makes the problem more acute if textile closings were to become widespread. The study concludes that "workers displaced * * * are not being absorbed in large numbers by the industries which have been expanding in this area."

(b) Loss to communities and areas: An area or community stranded by the loss of one of its principal industries does not attract other industries. In New England the textile-mill industry is still the largest manufacturing employer with 173,000 jobs. In each of the States in the area it is an important factor. The cotton and synthetic mills in the area annually provide a payroll in excess of \$200 million a year, produce goods valued at \$590 million, pay taxes of many millions, purchase supplies in the amount of \$24.4 million per year in their own com-munities and \$48.9 million in New England. In addition, New England cotton and rayon mills spent \$185 million in modernizing plant and equipment between 1946 and 1953.

The impact of increased unemployment in this region would be increased sixfold in other areas of the country where the industry is larger and even more concentrated. It is no exaggeration to say that one textile job lost and not replaced means a loss to the community of twice the textile wages cut off." (Report of the committee appointed by the Conference of New England Governors.)

Many other New England industries, such as trucking, railroads, textile machinery, utilities, and the innumerable suppliers of goods and services, are dependent upon the well-being of the New England cotton and man-made textile industry for their health. Each year the New England mills support the region's railroads to the extent of nearly \$2 million, and buy over one-half million bales of cotton.

(c) Loss to investors: Investment of over \$8.2 billion in textile mills would be jeopardized by a lowering of textile tariffs. Investment in New England is estimated at \$1.5 billion and replacement at \$2.7 billion. opening of our home market for textiles to the competition of low-cost Japanese mills would subject this investment to serious losses because textile-mill properties and equipment could not be profitably liquidated under such circumstances.

Cotton-textile concerns cannot long operate at a loss. Low-priced foreign goods even though not imported initially in large quantitles nevertheless so curtail sales and depress prices that operations soon become unprofitable. In such a situation textilemill managements have little choice but to cease operations altogether. This situation aggravates the losses out of proportion to the actual volume of imports and in turn creates a situation favorable to more imports.

(d) Unemployment losses will progress rapidly: Because of the nature of the industry overall and of the fine-combed goods industry in particular (50 percent of which is located in New England), the substitution of imported fabrics for our own will accelerate at a rapid pace. The industry is noted for the severity of its price competition. It is estimated that over 90 percent of American production of cloth is in staple items. Industries of other countries can and do produce these staple goods and will compete on a price basis with United States fabrics. Differences in cost of production and resulting level of prices which a producer can offer control the volume of his sales.

COMPETITIVE STRENGTH OF JAPANESE COTTON TEXTILES AND IMPORTS BY THE UNITED BTATES

1. Competitive strength

The competitive characteristics of the cotton textile industry are basically the same throughout the world. Japan has access to the same raw materials, machinery, and techniques which are available to the American industry and has had years of textile experience.

According to the Mitsubishi Economic Research Institute of Tokyo, in its Survey of Economic Conditions in Japan, September 1954, "The Japanese cotton industry . . . is again competitive in overseas markets through the modernization of equipment and the process of rationalization. The reduction in costs through the use of raw cotton imported with low-interest American credit is also noteworthy." In the fine goods field, which uses Egyptian cotton, American manufacturers have to contend with a quota and duty on imported Egyptian cotton.

It is estimated that over 90 percent of American production of cloth is in staple items. The Japanese cotton textile industry can and does produce these staple goods and compete on a price basis with United States fabrics. Differences in cost of production and resulting level of prices which a producer can offer control the volume of his

The cotton textile industry is a labor oriented industry in that it has a relatively high percentage of labor costs to other costs. This is particularly true of the fine combed cotton industry in which New England mills specialize.

(a) Wages: Wages and other forms of compensation are the most important factor in measuring the cost of producing fine combed cotton goods. In such goods, it is estimated that labor equals 43 percent, raw materials equals 40 percent, all others equals 17 percent.

A comparison of our wages with those of other major textile producing countries emphasizes the rapidity with which the American industry would be undermined by these enormous differentials.

Textile industry wage data-United States and principal textile-producing countries

Country	Gross hourly earnings	Percent United States exceeds	Percent Northern States exceed
France. Great Britain Germany (West). India Italy Japan Switzerland All United States 2. Northern States 2.	\$0, 393 .454 .305 .094 .240 .119 .495 1, 28 1, 41	226 182 320 1, 262 433 976 158	259 210 362 1, 400 488 1, 085 185

¹ Data for foreign countries as of most recent months available in 1954 (some for 1953) except India where latest available data are for 1949.

2 United States and northern earnings for July 1954. Sources: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, and Daily News Record of Oct. 5, 1954.

(b) Productivity and capacity: Productivity in Japan has been increasing steadily since the end of World War II and the index prepared by the Mitsubishi Economic Research Institute of Tokyo in its survey of economic conditions in Japan shows the following:

April 1950 equals 100. June 1954 equals 224.5.

This index shows that productivity in Japan has increased by almost 125 percent since early in 1950.

Further affirmation of marked gains in productivity is found in the quantity of new machinery installed in Japanese mills and by the fact that the present rate of production in Japan is almost equal to prewar production, but with only two-thirds of the number of spindles in operation prior to the

The testimony, statement, and exhibits presented by Mr. N. M. Mitchell and Mr. Gilbert Van Blarcom, expert textile engineers, demonstrate the relatively high level of Japanese machine efficiencies and work assignments and further show that the large wage differentials between United States and Japanese mills far outweigh differences in productivity.

Since the bulk of Japan's old textile equipment and machinery was destroyed during World War II, relatively all of the current machinery is new and modern.

Operable machinery and production of fabrics, Japan's cotton textile industry

	Spindles 1	Production (thousands of square yards)
1037	11, 889, 256 2, 899, 306 3, 376, 372 3, 700, 964 4, 341, 196 6, 306, 501 7, 451, 957 7, 663, 487 7, 879, 910	* 3, 297, 000 * 337, 872 920, 634 981, 653 1, 517, 869 2, 077, 931 2, 188, 000 2, 709, 197 4 3, 187, 050

1 As of December in each year except as of August in

1 As of December in each year 1904.
2 For 1938.
3 Cotton spinners only, data from Independent Weav-ers not available.
4 Estimated on basis of rate of production during January-June, 1954.

Sources: (1) Quarterly Review of Japanese Cotton Textile Industry (August 1952 and May 1954), Statistics of Japanese Cotton Textile Industry (September 1954) published by All Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, Osaka, Japan; (2) Industrial and Financial Statistics (June 1954) published by the Industrial Bank of Japan, Ltd.

The rate of increase in production during the past few years has been tremendously rapid, as shown in the preceding table. By 1952 production had increased 42 percent over 1950, and was equal to 65 percent of prewar production; by 1954, production reached 110 percent above that of 1950, and about equals prewar production. There is no indication that Japan's rapid expansion is going to halt.

2. Imports of Japanese cotton textiles

The experience of the American cotton textile industry with Japanese imports during the years 1934 through 1937 indicates quite clearly the ability of the Japanese textile industry to flood our country with imports as a result of the lowering of tariffs on such goods. The quantity of imports jumped from 1.1 million in 1933 to 77 mil-lion yards in 1936, and reached a high of 106 million yards in 1937.

United States imports of cotton textile fabrics from Japan, 1931-38

(Thousands of square yards)	
1931	782
1932	792
1933	1,100
1934	7, 286
1935	36, 441
1936	77, 015
1937	106, 214
1938	33, 533

Source: Textile Division, U. S. Tariff Commission.

Even under our present tariff rates, the quantity of imports of cotton textiles from Japan has been increasing with alarming rapidity during 1954. Imports of certain cotton fabrics during a 16-week period from the week ending September 1 through December 15, 1954, of approximately 28.7 million square yards exceeded total imports dur-ing the first 8 months of 1954 by 33 percent. and were only 1.9 million yards or 6 percent lower than total imports during the entire year of 1953.

United States imports of cotton textile fabrics from Japan, 1952-54

(Thousands of square yards)	
1952	1,772
1953	30, 665
1954	50, 265
January-August	21,564
September 12	28, 701

111% months.

* Week ending September 1.

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Deeartment of Commerce, and Weekly Import Bulletin of the Journal of Commerce.

Many of the items which have been imported from Japan during the 16-week period cited above are combed goods of high quality which are being brought into this country at prices lower, duty paid, than those of American mills. Broadcloth, ginghams, and lenos are among such fabrics now being sold in New York. Between the week ending September 1 and December 15 of this year, a portion of the 28.7 million yards of cloth imported from Japan was made up of the following items which are directly competitive with the products of New England mills.

Imports from Japan (Thousands of square yards 1)

Gray broadcloth	5, 487
Gray shirting	3,538
Gray poplin	1,917
Handkerchief cloth	304
Gingham	994
Combed gingham	662
Velveteens	2,647

1 Reported in bales and cases and were converted to yards by following factors: 1 bale equals 1,400 yards and 1 case equals 1,200 yards.

Source: Weekly Import Bulletin of the Journal of Commerce.

(For recent imports of additional fabrics,

see table III attached.)

New England mills, which produce the higher grade cloths, are even more vulnerable to further reduction of duties because "On fine cotton cloths made of combed yarns, particularly those cloths made of imported long-staple cotton, the degree of protection is much less" than on other fabrics. (U. S. Tariff Commission Summaries of Tariff Information, vol. 9, p. 41.) Duties on higher grade cloths were reduced in 1939 with Great Britain, and confirmed and reduced further at Geneva and Annecy. These new rates are now being subjected to the test of competition for the first time, and the rate at which Japanese goods have been entering this country during the past few months tends to indicate that the rates are too low to offset the low-wage costs of Japan.

Although we have so far been unable to secure accurate information on the extent of Japanese production and capacity in combed and higher count goods, it is certain that she is now producing such goods, that her spindles spinning Egyptian cotton have increased 54 percent between January 1953 and January 1954 (United States declined 17 percent), and that at the beginning of this year Japan had almost one-half million spindles spinning Egyptian cotton. The Kureha Textile Review, published in Tokyo stated in 1953 that "We must endeavor to manufacture cotton goods of higher process as well as cotton of finer qualities together with devicing to make novel cotton textiles blended with other manmade fibers domestically produced."

Japan's production of carded and combed

yains, 1949-	14	
	Carded	Combed
	Metric tons	
Monthly averages: 1949. 1950. 1951. 1952. 1953. Monthly totals: 1954—January. February. March.	12, 570 18, 922 28, 009 27, 560 31, 351 33, 724 36, 212	504 627 834 729 1, 207 1, 456 1, 695 1, 643
	Percent	
Percent increase: March 1954 from— 1949 1953	177. 3 11. 2	225, 0 36, 1

Source: Economic Counsel Board, Japanese Govern-

CONCLUSION

It is our belief that a reduction of tariffs would stimulate an ever-increasing acceleration of Japanese imports. Our reasons for this are based not only on the character of the industry and the depressed conditions in the United States but also on the experience of the New England mills with the shift of the industry from that region to the Southeast.

"The major explanation of the New England decline in textiles is the large differential between wage costs" in that area and other parts of the United States. "In highly competitive markets an addition of a few cents a yard in the cost of producing cloth in any one area eventually means loss of sales and brings on operating deficits and resultant loss of employment." "Industries in which labor costs are an important part of total costs will gravitate where wages are low and labor productivity high. Labor costs are the most important costs in the textile industry other than raw-materials costs, the latter relatively not subject to revision, and the differentials in the cost of labor more than any other factor account for the threat to the New England textile industry."

The significance of the enormous wage differentials between our American cotton textile industry and that of Japan and other textile exporting countries is emphasized by the fact that our own industry shifted in response to wage differentials of much smaller amounts. Compare wage and compensation differentials within the country, which have varied from 20 to 30 percent, with foreign differentials of 200 to 1,200 percent. This loss happened to the largest employer in an industrially mature and competent region (New England) simply because wages were significantly higher than those in an area which was predominantly agricultural.

With differentials of 20 to 30 percent, the loss of New England textiles has been so great as to cause chronic unemployment in the area and a continued legacy of hardship to workers, communities, and stockholders. A flow of Japanese or other foreign textiles into this country would bring about an even more rapid liquidation of the American cotton textile industry than that which has occurred in New England.

A policy of encouraging Japanese imports would be a policy of encouraging production in low-wage areas. Government encourage-ment of low wages will retard improvement in technology and productivity and will foster low standards of living. A worldwide competitive struggle based on lower wages and lower standards of living in textile industries will only damage the United States and the free world.

The New England Governors have stated: "In view of the concentration of the industry in this country, in view of the overcapacity and frequent depression periods in the industry, and in view of the peculiar problems of New England, we urge the Government to concentrate tariff concessions on other products and, above all, to withhold concessions in this industry when unemployment prevails."

Respectfully submitted.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COTTON MANUFACTURERS. WILLIAM F. SULLIVAN. President.

Table I.—Position of textile industry in national industrial structure, 1952 1

	Value added	Employment	Payroll
All industries Nondurable goods. Fextile-mills products Cotton and synthetic textile mills. Percent of all industries represented by textile-mill products. Percent of nondurable goods represented by textile-mill products. Percent of textile mill products represented by ootton and synthetic textile mills, Rank of textile mill products in all industries. Rank of textile mill products in nondurable goods. Rank of otton and synthetic textile mills in textile mill products.	Thousands of dollars 108,477,364 46,090,911 5,256,507 1,712,354 5 9th 4th 15th 15th 15th 15th 15th 15th 15th 15	15,944,379 6,640,378 1,134,680 420,372 7 17 37 6th 3d 1st	Thousands 9 dollars 60,659,211, 22,940,439, 3,342,647, 1,146,953, 5, 15, 34, 6th. 2d. 1st.

1 Most recent year for which data are available.

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1952 Annual Survey of Manufactures.

Table II.—Position of textile industry in New England's industrial structure, 1952 1

	Value added	Employment	Payroll
All industries Nondurable goods Textile mill products Cotton and synthetic textile mills Percent of all industries represented by textile mill products. Percent of nondurable goods represented by textile mill products. Percent of textile mill products represented by cotton and synthetic textile mills. Rank of textile mill products in all industries. Rank of textile mill products in nondurable goods.	Thousands of dollars 8,988,857 3,690,652 1,153,935 295,560 113 31 26 2d 1st.	1,497,026 676,825 222,142 70,000 15 33 32 1st 1st	Thousands of dollars 5,372,606, 2,219,722, 7750,048, 200,340, 14, 34, 27, 2d, 1st.

1 Most recent year for which data are available.

Note.—Rank of cotton and synthetic textile mills not shown due to lack of data for other elements in textile

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1952 Annual Survey of Manufactures, except that data for cotton and synthetic textile mills were estimated by the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers.

TABLE III .- United States imports of cotton textiles and products from Japan-week ending Sept. 1, through Dec. 15, 1954 (16week period)

COTTON TEXTILES

[Thousands of square yards 1] Grey broadcloth 5, 487 Grey print cloth 2, 825 Grey shirting 3, 538 Grey lens shirting 344 Grey poplin 1, 917

TABLE III .- United States imports of cotton textiles and products from Japan—week ending Sept. 1, through Dec. 15, 1954 (16-week period)—Continued

COLLON LEXITIES—COULINGED		
Grey sheeting	4, 013 994	
Combed ginghams	662 85	
Piece goods (waterproofed)	107	

TABLE III .- United States imports of cotton textiles and products from Japan-week ending Sept. 1, through Dec. 15, 1954 (16week period)-Continued

COTTON TEXTILES—continued

Cotton velveteens; Grey Dyed-waterproofed Conduray Seersucker-populins Handkerchlef cloth Printed percele Printel sheeting Textiles unclassified	652 1, 992 12 66 304 146 276 4, 998
Total	28, 701

¹ Reported in bales and cases. Converted into square yards by applying factors of 1,400 yards per bale and 1,000 yards per case.

COTTON TEXTILE PRODUCTS 2

	Bales	Cases	Cartons
Drawnwork		17	
Stenelled piece goods		58	
Handkerchiefs	292	283	
Dish towels	1,061	102	
l'illow cases	167	188	
Leno shirts		98	
Facecloth	20	******	
T-shirts	7	116	
Cotton-rayon bedspreads	189		
Cotton-rayon damask table			-
cloth	192	3, 592	60
Gingham shirts and blouses		679	154
Broadcloth blouses		116	123
Printed flannel shirts			1, 401
Corduroy shirts		405	
Gingham blouses			44

2 Conversion factors, to secure yardage, not available. Source: Weekly Import Bulletin of the Journal of

Luzerne County, Pa.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following article which appeared in Business Week of January 8, 1955:

Luzerne County, Pa., is typical only of a very small section of the United States. Other areas with which it may be compared are likely to be, as Luzerne is, richly endowed with coal deposits. Yet even so, because Luzerne's hills are seamed with anthracite, its hardships are extreme. . The depression that has afflicted the coal industry generally since 1948 has had a longer history and taken a sharper bite in anthracite.

Thus the anthracite towns have had bitter and protracted experience with unemployment. Its impact on the communitiessocial, economic, and political—has been profound. And just as important, though less well known, has been its impact on traditional folkways and patterns of family life. What has happened in a Luzerne County town such as Plymouth, scene of these pictures, suggests what might occur in places elsewhere that have to adjust to large-scale male unemployment as the long-term prevailing norm.

One of the most striking developments in Plymouth has been the reversal of male and female roles. Many wives of unemployed miners have found jobs in the needle shops that have migrated from New York.

Like many another miner's wife and mother, Marian Narcum is now her family's

only breadwinner. Her husband, Walter, has had to take over her home responsibilities. The pictures on these and the following pages tell their story. (Pictures are omitted.)

The pictures on these pages show what can happen to a man, his family, and his community when the industry in which they have built their lives gets into trouble.

Coal ran into trouble after World War II-trouble largely in the form of competition from oil and gas. Today, coal towns in Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Ohio, Illinois, and Kentucky are struggling with unemployment. Hit hardest is the anthracite area in northeast Pennsylvania, centering around Scranton and Wilkes-Barre. Higher production costs of anthracite have made the bite even deeper in this area than in the bituminous regions.

Hard-coal mines have been shutting down steadily since the end of World War II. Anthracite production has slipped from a high of 62.1 million tons in 1944 to 43 million tons in 1950, 29.7 million tons in 1953. Estimated production for 1954 is between 20 million and 22 million tons.

And the bottom has not yet been reached. Francis O. Case, president of Glen Alden Coal Co., estimates the industry will stabilize at between 15 million and 17 million tons.

COURTING INDUSTRY

There is hope in sight, however. Efforts are being made to soften the economic impact on the hard-coal counties of Lackawanna, Luzerne, Schuylkill, Carbon, and Northumberland. These counties all have heavy unemployment—running to 15 percent of the total labor force.

The problem is that these counties have little industry to sop up the surplus male labor. The lack of industrial opportunity for men in the area is laid at the door of the coal companies—many of which, until recent years, opposed bringing in industries that would compete for manpower.

Now, industry is being courted. So far, however, that hasn't provided jobs for the 16,800 unemployed men in, for instance, Luzerne County.

THE WIVES

Job opportunities for women in the area have softened the unemployment blow and can be credited with preventing a repeat of 1939, when the relief load in the county was \$1 million a week. Today the relief load in Luzerne is running at a rate of \$458,-000 a month. One big difference is that when the husband loses his job in the mines, his wife is often able to find work in an apparel or textile plant. Such is the case with Walter Narcum and his wife.

This is possible because of the fact that while industry using male workers was being discouraged, plants using primarily female labor were attracted into the area, Lackawanna County has 136 apparel plants, employing 9,750-roughly 90 percent women. In Luzerne, 14,100 women work in over 100 apparel plants, 3,200 in textiles.

ROLES

With the wife the breadwinner, what happens to the unemployed husband?

In countless instances he has had to take over the woman's role in the home, as Walter Narcum has.

It's a role the man-heavy on Old World traits and used to being the boss-doesn't particularly like. But there is little he can do about it.

If he has worked in the mines for as long as 20 years, his chances of getting satisfactory employment are almost nil. The available industrial work goes to younger men.

If the unemployed man has silicosis (miner's asthma) -and most miners do have it in varying stages-he is a marked man, and no other industry will touch him. But

he can't collect disability unless he is flat on his back. So few miners—even with third-degree silicosis—collect disability while they are alive.

LIFE

What's left for the unemployed miner?

He keeps paying his union dues into the United Mine Workers-\$1 a month if unemployed-in hopes of collecting pension benefits at age 60. But the hard-coal miners are getting disillusioned about their pensionsoriginally \$100 a month, but now cut to \$50.

He registers at his local United States Employment Service office for work. Barre last month had 17,826 people hunting jobs. He can collect unemployment compensation for roughly 6 months. Then his only hope for income is odd jobs. So the miner with a wife or daughter who can get a dress-factory job at forty-odd dollars a week considers himself lucky.

TENSIONS

What's the sociological impact of this reversal of roles?

Raymond Bartow, director of the Luzerne County public assistance program, says it magnifies discord, creates tensions, and is breeding a second generation of public reliefers.

Mrs. Min Matheson, manager of the two International Ladies Garment Workers Union locals in Luzerne, says it is too early to measure the long-term consequences. But one consequence is already apparent, she says: "It's demoralizing to the man, leads to more drinking."

It's rough on the children, too, They are confused by the reversed roles of their parents, begin to wonder who is the "daddy" of the family. The reversal breeds delinquency; the father often doesn't keep the children in line so well as the mother. And

it puts a brake on family growth.

The woman has become more and more independent. She is becoming the dominant force in the home. And she is playing a bigger role in community affairs. But it is an independence she doesn't relish.

"It's one thing to have an independent income if your husband is working," said an ILGWU chairlady (equivalent of a shop steward), but it is no fun being the breadwinner."

REMEDIES

Many coal communities are doing their best to reverse this trend. One town, Wilkes-Barre, has launched what it calls operation jobs. It is spearheaded by a civicminded committee of 100, which concerns itself with trying to attract industry to the

Its biggest lure is Crestwood Industrial Park, a 1,500-acre site located 8 miles from the heart of Wilkes-Barre.

Two companies have located in Crestwood since 1952: Foster Wheeler Corp., employing 350 men; and King Fifth Wheel Co., construction for which began last spring, and which will employ 150. Some 1,200 acres of industrial sites are left.

A half dozen more nationally known firms have moved into other locations in the Wilkes-Barre area since 1952, bringing new jobs to around 4,000.

In Scranton, U. S. Hoffman Machinery Corp. began making shell cases for the military in September. It employs 800 now, hopes to reach 1,500 eventually. Also new in the Scranton area: Daystrom Instrument Co., specializing in gunfire control equipment for the Navy, employing 1,000; W. L. Maxson Corp., making calibrating machinery for the military, employing 1,000.

KING

But even with diversified industry, coal still is king in the area. It provides 40 per-cent of payroll in Luzerne County. There can be no real comeback until anthracite gets up off the floor.

Mining Usage of Public Lands

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to insert therein two editorials from the Bakersfield Californian, a newspaper published in my district and possessed of a very learned editorial writer. These writings deal very competently with the subject of mining usage of public lands and the confusion existing in the present law with respect thereto.

I also wish to insert an article appearing in the same paper which was written by the kindly lady who is the president of the company which publishes the Californian. This article deals with the subject, I Am An American in a most inspirational manner.

The matters follow:

[From the Bakersfield Californian of December 27, 1954]

More on MINING LAND PROBLEM

Conflict of interests on public lands is not new, but there is a greater awareness in the Nation concerning the need for more equitable laws or revision of the present laws to govern the proper use of the land, and to enable those who are charged by statute with the administration of these lands to accomplish their mission with more enlightened guidance and authority.

ened guidance and authority.

In Kern County, this problem is being encountered with greater frequency now that the rush for uranium has opened the way for the filing of thousands of mining claims that have sequestered a large amount of the land that had formerly been used for grazing and recreation and other purposes.

At a recent meeting, Forest Service officials reminded sportsmen and others who had raised some question regarding the claims and the possibility of interference with other users that the mining laws, while antiquated, are still in force and, until they are changed, the multiple use of the forests will continue to be hampered by unscrupulous employment of these laws in many cases to obtain land.

Throughout the country this situation has attracted considerable attention and one or two bills introduced in Congress to correct it, but so far this legislation has not made any progress, although the corrections are designed to protect the public interest and the legitimate miners.

The Forest Service has repeatedly pointed out that it can investigate only a fraction of the claims filed, and take action only on a few, since it does not have the manpower or the money available to do this. Therefore, choice homesites, cabin and retaurant and service station and other locations are established under the guise of mining claims, and the public loses. The multiple use theory of forest management is rendered impotent in the face of this condition.

An example of this trouble was cited recently by the San Francisco Chronicle, involving 40 acres of national forest land close to Lake Tahoe, which was claimed as a sand and gravel mine.

The Wildlife Management Institute comments on the case as follows:

"In successfully contesting this patent application, the United States Forest Service asserted that the land is far more valuable

as a public recreation area than it would be as a mine. Despite the claimholder's statement that the mine was a paying proposition, a construction agent who leases a portion said that he "would go broke" if he had to depend on the operation for his sole income. Forest Service experts testified also that the sand obtained from the mine was substandard for construction and was of slight commercial value.

"Once a claim is staked, and after the claimant performs a minimal amount of development and proving work, application can be made to bring the land to patent. Once a claim is patented, the land surface and its products as well as the mineral beneath it are owned outright. The timber can be cut and sold and the land used for homesites or any other purpose.

"Had this patent application been approved, the claimants, for an outlay of \$110, would have gained title to land worth from \$8,000 to \$9,000 bearing \$3,500 worth of timber and Christmas trees."

These and other instances should compel attention to the need for corrective legislation in the Nation's mining statutes. The forthcoming session of Congress should prove to be an excellent opportunity to accomplish something in this direction.

[From the Bakersfield Californian of December 20, 1954]

PROTESTS MAY BECOME LOUDER

At a meeting conducted at Isabella recently, Federal officials heard complaints registered by hunters and fishermen and others that the great influx of persons interested in mining has created a problem due to the disappearance of land available for recreational purposes. This complaint is likely to become fairly common in the months to come, when the sportsmen who use the Kern Mountains for hunting and fishing and camping really begin to realize the extent to which the uranium boom has reduced the recreation areas.

There has been and undoubtedly will be more posting of land against hunting and trespassing in the Kern Mountains, because thousands of acres that formerly were open to hunters and campers and hikers have been taken over by prospectors and others seeking uranium riches, and under the mining laws of the country, the rights on these claims are closely akin to the property rights on land everywhere else.

The sportsmen will also find, when they

The sportsmen will also find, when they conduct their searches for fish and game, that with the large area taken over in mining claims, the prospect for recreational projects will be greatly limited, and this will have a definite effect on the future of Kerns Mountain areas as a tourist and sports attraction.

The reservation, by mining claims, of so large an acreage in the mountains will also have some effect on the cattle business in the county, because just as the claim owner may post his area against hikers and hunters, he can fence it against cattle, and according to location notices on file, much of the best rangeland in the Kern Mountains has been covered by mining claims in the current uranium rush.

It is possible, also, that some timber operations may be affected by the transfer of land into mining purposes, because the law as it now stands fails to separate surface and subsurface rights. This may prove somewhat of a headaches later as more intensive efforts are made to develop the timber resources of this area.

Apparently, in the Kernville-Isabella district, the clash of interests has begun to be noticeable, and the meeting to air the differences brought little satisfaction from the authorities, according to reports from the session. The laws are not subject to the sort of interpretation that would benefit the

sportsmen, and this fact is becoming painfully apparent as the amount of land available for recreational purposes diminishes.

The subject of mining claims being used as subterfuges for the establishment of installations having little or nothing to do with mining has been discussed often, and the United States Forest Service has pointed out many times the need for a change in the mining laws to prevent this. Legitimate mining men are in favor of this change also. Yet the present laws have permitted the possession of thousands of acres to pass to individuals who have no intention to develop mineral workings on these acres in spite of the fact that they were acquired as mining claims.

From the report of the meeting at Isabella, this matter has come into the area of discussion in the Kern County mountains, and those interested in the subject were given good advice by Supervisor Eldon Ball of the Sequoia National Forest, who recommended a thorough study of the mining laws as they exist today. When these laws are examined, and the abuses permissible under them appreciated, there will be a more concerted movement for reform in these laws, so that corrective action may be taken.

It is probable that the meeting at Isabella is the first of many to be conducted on the subject of the proper apportioning of land uses in the mountain areas, a situation thrown into considerable confusion by the sudden and extensive rush to stake out mining claims in the region that has also such heavy use by cattle for grazing, sportsmen and campers and fishermen for recreation and is beginning to contribute to the timber wealth of the county.

wealth of the county.

Perhaps a greater understanding of the laws governing the lands and the uses thereof, together with a better appreciation of the proper priority to be assigned, will help solve what seems now to be a grave problem.

WHAT DO YOU THINK?—I AM AN AMERICAN (By Bernice Harrell Chipman)

When the foreign-born within our boundaries become citizens by naturalization they do it surrounded by some ceremony. The importance of the occasion is made clear to them, they have successfully passed a certain amount of instruction, they are congratulated and wished well, and their new status is emphasized as one of dignity and importance.

It seems to me that we who are born into our citizenship should at times give some thought to our enviable position, bestowed on us as a free gift of fortune, that of being members of the most wonderful country in the world. And what day better than New Year's Day to consider these circumstances, and to make the first of our New Year's resolutions that of serving our country as our place in life makes possible, and to give solemn consideration to some of those things which make the United States preeminent as a nation.

That this is a land of freedom should be our first reason for self-congratulation, no purges after elections, no coups d'etat, no military government, no imprisonment without trial, and no suppression of free speech. Let us keep it that way and with all of our powers fight any efforts to change this happy way of life and to regiment us into one mold.

That this is the land of opportunity is shown by more instances than one can cite. I know the children of an ignorant immigrant woman, five of them, all supported by her by cleaning by the day, who are in one generation all attractive, educated persons, all in prosperous businesses, with homes of their own, and each with a fine, hearty brood of young Americans coming along. I know a foreign couple who, coming to this country with nothing, and ignorant of the lan-

guage are now able to retire to a place in the country, living on the income they have accumulated. These examples are repeated all over this broad land in thousands upon thousands of cases.

A few days before Christmas I heard carols sung by a vested choir of young boys—all clean and shining in their white robes—all singing "Noel, Noel," in those wonderful boy soprano voices, and at least 10 of these happy youngsters were black, their eager eyes shining as the holy words came from their tuneful throats, and several were Chinese and 1 or 2 Filipinos. What a fine sight—and what a fine sound—just before that season which proclaims all men are brothers.

When we hear complaints by carpers that we have racial prejudice, let us look at the gains that have been made and hold firmly that we are a tolerant country bent and determined on solving the problem of minority groups. And let us give a thought to some of the individuals of these minorities who stand out as examples of the best of their group, and let us consider that they are honored and respected as here all men are honored who have won respect through character and achievement.

And if any of these same carpers should say the opportunities in America are in the past and there is now no such chance to get on in the world as there was for our forebears, I will give you a young man who but a brief few years ago, starting with a modest capital of \$7,000 has, through industry and vision, worked up a business bringing in \$20 million a year—and he is still a young man.

We live in a country where such things happen so often that they are hardly noticeable, a country where these successes are possible to those with will and intelligenceand industry. We have the greatest material prosperity in the world. But we do not live by bread alone. Let us not forget that we have, as well, a great reservoir of mutual helpfulness. Let anyone be in poverty or sickness or distress, and, if it be known, people everywhere will raily round with money and glits and aid. Everyday deeds of helpfulness and charity are done for the less fortunate and there are scores of agencies that exist solely to do good to others.

And we may be proud that it is the policy of our Government that none shall suffer an old age deprived of the necessities of life, and that needy children are the responsibility of the State, and that the unemployed shall not become destitute. All these things, and so many more are the things to think of on New Year's Day. Let us resolve to let none decry our country. Let none say we are crass, ignorant, uncultured, material, without our taking our stand strongly that we are a part of the best the world knows. Let us also resolve to do our mite to correct what is not good, so that in 1955 we can be increasingly proud of our heritage.

Happy New Year. May it be for all of us an "I am an American day."

The Late Dwight F. Rogers

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, the State of Florida and the Nation have suffered a great loss in the passing of our colleague, Dwight F. Rogers. I shall personally miss Congressman Rogers every time I attend a session of Congress as he was always present at practically every session of Congress since he was first elected to represent the great State of Florida in the National House of Representatives.

I certainly join with the Members of his fine family in mourning his untimely passing.

Congressman Rocers was always interested in every piece of legislation pending before the House that had for its purpose the preservation of our Constitution and the betterment of the people of this country in general.

Again let me state that this Nation can ill afford to lose men of Congressman Rogers' character and ability during these critical times.

Timepieces and Tariffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON, HERMAN P. EBERHARTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article from the Christian Science Monitor of Wednesday, December 15, 1954, entitled "Timepieces and Tariffs," by Mary Hornaday:

SAGE FROM NEW YORK (By Mary Hornaday)

NEW YORK.—When the alarm on President Eisenhower's wristwatch went off during a press conference the other day, it was a happy moment for the peace-loving Swiss people, many of whom believe the United States has recently declared economic war on them.

Inadvertently, the President advertised the fact that, though he recently adopted a recommendation of the Federal Tariff Commission for a 50-percent increase in duties on Swiss watches and watch movements, and his administration launched an antitrust suit against Americans cooperating with the Swiss watch Industry, he still wears a watch that only the skill of the Swiss has achieved thus far.

Newspaper reports from Switzerland since the administration action have been full of reports of watchworkers' mass meetings and proposed boycotts of American products.

This uneasiness has spread to other parts of Europe, too. On a recent Edward R. Murrow TV program, when Senator Margarer Chase Smith, Republican, of Maine, asked a German industrialist whether he was trading with the East, he retorted: "Yes. Look what you have done to Switzerland. How can I feel sure about putting all my eggs in the West's basket?"

At the annual American Swiss Friendship dinner held in New York, the recently created economic tension between the two nations was uppermost in speakers' minds, with former Ambassador to Switzerland, Richard C. Patterson, urging patience and Swiss Ambassador to Washington, Charles Bruggmann, picturing the United States as a big Nation of unlimited and diverse possibilities bearing down mercilessly on a have-not country where large sections of the population and whole towns such as

Bienne and Solothurn are dependent on this one industry.

It is evident from today's friction between Switzerland and the United States that these two "most private enterprise countries in the world" need to understand more about each other's watch industries and their significance in the divided world of today. Involved in the differences are not only national traditions toward jobs but attitudes toward war and peace.

Compared with Switzerland's 600 watch manufacturers, the United States today has dwindled down to 4, located 1 each in Pennsylvania, Illinois, Massachusetts, and New York. For 160 million Americans, their domestic industry turns out 1,700,000 watches a year at the present time, while for 4,500,000 Swiss, the Swiss watchmakers turn out 25 million a year which means most of the output must be exported—chiefly to Americans who have the wherewithal to buy them.

But the United States, at this point, is particularly interested in building up the precision know-how for western defense. Into this picture enters the whole Swiss tradition of neutrality and also the question whether its impressive Alpine redoubts can withstand the nuclear weapons of today.

The antitrust suit brought by the United States Department of Justice against 20 importers of Swiss watch parts is ironic in the fact that the very practices it complains of are ones the Swiss Government has built up over the years to keep its watch industry strong and healthy. Briefly, they are comparable to the help given industry in the United States to help it expand at the outset of World War II.

What can be done now to prevent such international jolts between two old friends in the future? That is what businessmen and international friendship groups are asking here. Citizen education can play a part. One importer answered: "We would like to

One importer answered: "We would like to know if, when the American manufacturers reach the 2-million-watch-output-per-year 'defense potential' figure, the preferential tariff will be removed and free enterprise come into play again."

The Swiss, too, are doing some national soul-searching on the problem. They think perhaps that in their political neutrality they have been too aloof from other nations economically. They have a feeling that membership in GATT, for instance, might have made United States action against them more difficult.

Today the first flurries of angry reaction are over; certain American political figures with watchmaking constituents have been reelected, and the time seems ripe to begin to rebuild Swiss-American friendship fences.

Russia Rearms Germany Plus Its Former Axis Allies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an article written by C. L. Sulzberger, appearing in the New York Times of January 12, 1955, giving important information in relation to the increase of the military forces and power of the Soviet Union and its satellites. This information is only a part of the

tremendous military machine of the Soviet Union and its satellites:

FOREIGN AFFAIRS—RUSSIA REARMS GERMANY
PLUS ITS FORMER AXIS ALLIES

(By C. L. Sulzberger)

VIENNA, January 11.—While complaining about West Germany's rearmament Moscow is unilaterally violating four international agreements restricting military forces. The Soviet Union has already created an East German army of 7 divisions, 3 of them mechanized. Thus it has long ignored quadripartite bans on German remilitarization. Likewise it encouraged Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria to create armies vastly in excess of peace treaty limitations. These three satellites were members of the defeated Axis alliance.

Hungary's army is now considerably more than twice the maximum specified in treaties signed 8 years ago. Bulgaria's forces are nearly three times the permitted size. Rumania's are roughly 75 percent above the figure agreed to by Moscow as well as Washington, London, and Paris. But the most blatantly cynical comparison between the U.S. S. R.'s peaceful declarations and belligerent activities remains in Germany itself.

Soviet propaganda argues that giving guns to Germans is both illegal and a threat to world peace. The Adenauer government patiently awaits ratification of the Paris accords before even allotting funds for training cadres. Yet, across the Iron Curtain in the Soviet Zone, 100,000 German soldiers formed into regular army units already parade under the not very convincing camouflage of garrison police.

This so-called K. V. P. was first formed in 1951. Supposedly a volunteer force, probably only at most 15 percent are genuine volunteers. The rest were blackmailed into enlisting by Communist authorities. As a result morale is bad. About 1 percent of total effectives succeed in escaping to the West each year. Many others try. If Moscow counters West German rearmament by East German conscription the defection rate will be enormous.

SOVIET STRENGTH IN EUROPE

It is clear why the West resolved to rearm Bonn when one analyzes the Soviet military establishment in Europe. This includes 30 Russian divisions: 22 in Germany and 2 each in Austria, Hungary, Poland, and Rumania. It also includes approximately 82 satellite divisions, of which 18 are armored. The equipment of satellite units is Soviet—not the most modern but efficient. The puppets' forces are being increasingly motorized. The process has been virtually completed in Hungary and is well underway in Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia and East Germany.

The best satellite army is Bulgaria's. This is extremely well trained. Morale is excellent. Five years ago Sofia began to call up reservists twice or thrice yearly for maneuvers on a war footing. Mobilization plans are well prepared and many classes are available to add to the existing 12 infantry and 2 armored divisions. Exercises have been held on divisional, corps, and army levels. Hungary and Czechoslovakia probably have the next best armies in terms of training. Poland's force is still rather mediocre. There the Russians have placed Soviet officers in all high command positions, in the War Ministry and general headquarters. Elsewhere in the satellite world Moscow's military missions supervise but don't hold active commands.

These armies, backed up by the powerful Russian force already west of the Soviet border, menace the free world. The Bulgarians and Hungarians are already capable—in terms of training, morale, and equipment—of offensive operations. The rest could beemployed defensively or sandwiched into Soviet corps. Only the Rumanian and Albanian divisions are still largely useless.

EFFECT OF AN EASTERN NATO

By now the satellite officers corps is limited to men loyal to Moscow. Many commanders are former partisans or veterans of Spain's international brigades. They are being constantly trained in Soviet military schools. The satellites have a combined tactical air force totaling 2.500 planes, mostly Russian MIG 15's. Czechoslovakia now manufactures these jet fighters. About 100 first-class airfields with long concrete runways have been constructed in East Europe.

This force has been developed by Soviet officers while Soviet diplomats have been screaming against Western rearmament. If Moscow decides to devise its own treaty organization as a counterpoise to NATO, the move will have little more than propaganda value. The armies already exist; they are politically and militarily coordinated with Russia; their weapons and plans have been standardized. An Eastern NATO might afford an excuse to announce conscription in East Germany—risky because of morale. It could serve Moscow as a pretext for establishing Soviet garrisons in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria, where there now are none. But obviously the Kremlin doesn't require any such permission.

The elaborate Communist military establishment has been developing for a long time. It is no diplomatic secret that Soviet Germany started rearming 4 years ago and that Hungary, Rumania, and Bulgaria are unabashedly violating their peace treaties at Moscow's behest. The only extraordinary thing is that Allied propaganda has remained so much on the defensive when discussing Bonn's remilitarization. The world should be referred to the facts that made this necessary.

Veterans' Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, on January 3, 1955, the President announced the issuance of a proclamation setting January 31, 1955, as the end of the period of eligibility for certain veterans' benefits of the Korean conflict administered by the Veterans' Administration and other Federal agencies.

However, on my own part, so long as the Government faces the necessity for drafting our young men for service in this country or overseas, I will favor full veterans' benefits for these men and their dependents, regardless of whether or not this country is actively engaged in war.

The issue is a moral one. So long as the Government asserts the right to draft young men for military service, I feel that it assumes, at the same time, sizable responsibilities for their future welfare. No one can tell what effect will be had upon the life of a young man, often less than 21 years of age, who has his normal life disrupted, and his own personal wishes and plans completely changed.

With many other Members of Congress, I am sure a majority, I deeply regret the necessity for drafting these young men, but in view of the present world situation, I do not see any workable alternative.

With this in mind, I shall do what I can to see that all veterans' benefits are continued on the present basis so long as men continue to be drafted.

Fight for Worker Over 45

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, on January 5, the opening day of the 84th Congress, I introduced House Resolution 54, which has as its purpose the creation of a select committee to investigate discrimination based on age by employers against those citizens who are between the ages of 40 and 65 years.

To me, Mr. Speaker, there is no more important employment discrimination problem in the Nation today and it is my hope that the Rules Committee will promptly and favorably report House Resolution 54. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the Record an article from the Newark (N. J.) Evening News of Tuesday, January 11, 1955, on this subject:

FIGHT FOR WORKER OVER 45—STATISTICS SHOW MANY FALSE—OFFICIALS ATTACK OLD PREJ-UDICES

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The Department of Labor and State labor departments, in areas where unemployment is serious, are giving special attention to the man past 45 who cannot land a job because he is "too old." The following article describes how "age prejudice" afflicts our senior citizens.)

New York.—"First to be fired, last to be hired."

So goes the bitter refrain of the middleaged and older worker in a world that places a premium on youth.

His lament is only partly true. Through union activity and industry's recognition of seniority rights, a man getting along in years has less reason today to fear he will be among the first to be laid off if his company tightens its belt during a recession.

"Job engineering," the shifting of an aging

"Job engineering," the shifting of an aging worker to a job of slower pace, also is helping keep older workers employed.

But the deck is still stacked against the man past 45, and the woman over 35, who walk into an employment office looking for a job.

As many as 80 percent of the jobs listed in employment bureaus carry a specific age maximum. The United States Department of Labor says 1 out of 7 placements involves this age group.

AGE PREJUDICE

Except in a tight labor market, when employers are grubbing for help, the older worker may indeed find himself last to be hired.

Employment service officials believe age prejudice is responsible for much of the reluctance to put older men and women to work. Employers rattle off stock arguments to justify their policies. But placement officials argue right back. Examples:

"Older people are more likely to get hurt on the job."

The Bureau of Labor Statistics surveyed 18,000 workers in 109 plants and found that disabling accidents involved as many men in the 25-35-age bracket as in the 45-plus bracket. The highest rate was among men between 35 and 45.

'Absenteeism is greater among older work-

The same Federal survey showed absenteeism is lowest among workers 55 to 65, highest in the under-30 group.

If a man is unemployed at 45 he is probably a job-hopper and wouldn't work for us

long anyhow.

Labor surveys show job-hopping is more prevalent among younger workers, who have less family responsibility and are more restless and ambitious.

As a man gets older he produces less.

Statistics aren't available to prove or disprove this, but such a generalization is defied every day in factories where haired men keep up with assembly lines as easily as their sons.

MEAL VERSUS WISDOM

"We want young men with zeal and energy."

Energetic young men often do not have the sober judgment, wisdom, and experience that comes with age.

Another argument, not based on prejudice, involves pensions. Some companies say they cannot afford to put a new employee over 40 on the payroll without upsetting their pension program. He would be eligible for retirement too soon.

In some quarters it is suggested that compulsory retirement be done away with. Medical science has Increased the life span to the point where 60 to 65 is no longer a realis-

tic age to force a man to retire.

The problem of the older worker is being pressed home to industry and labor leaders—and political leaders—by the fact that increased longevity means the forty-five-plus group will make up half of America's adult population by 1975.

Reserve Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES A. HALEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the RECORD a copy of an address made by Lt. Col. Bolton S. Pierce, United States Army, before the 10th anniversary of the national convention of AMVETS in convention at Miami, Fla.

In light of recent events and the obvious decisions to be made in the 84th Congress on our national defense effort, I think this address is very pertinent, and, under permission heretofore granted. I include it here so that my colleagues may have the benefit of Colonel Pierce's views on this important subject.

His address follows:

THE COMMUNITY AND NATIONAL DEFENSE

Ladies and gentlemen, knowing of the prominent speakers who have been addressing this convention and those who are yet come, I feel highly privileged to be able to spend this time to bring you a message I think is of utmost importance to our country at this moment. I would like to call it the Community and National Defense.

Having a representative-type government, a democracy, I think that we are inclined at times to feel that all functions of government are to be carried on by our elected representatives. We sometimes fail to realize that there are certain functions of government which we can only perform ourselves, as individuals. You are all acquainted, am sure, with the old saying that has come down through the ages and as long as we have had a civilization, that the only positive thing about life is death and taxes. with our type of government the two things that are required of the citizens, as an individual participation, is the payment of his taxes and serving when needed in the defense of his country.

You are all acquainted with the incidents of past years in which history has thrust this country into a position of world leadership, and you all know that at present we are faced with worldwide Communist aggression. I think that General Ridgway, Army Chief of Staff, has well pinpointed what we face when he said, "The real issue is whether the rule of men who shoot their prisoners. enslave their citizens, and deride the dignity of man shall displace the rule of those to whom the individual and his individual rights are sacred; whether we are to survive with God's hand to guide us and lead us, or to perish in the dead existence of a godless world."

We have been fortunate, as compared to many other nations of the world, in that we have never, during this era of total war, had the mainland of our country under devastating attack, nor have we suffered too heavily in casualties in the wars in which we have been engaged throughout our history. not necessary to add that war with its at-tendant misery is studiously avoided by all thinking people. It is also possible that we might have avoided some of the wars in which we have been engaged if we had followed more closely the advice of our first President, George Washington, who cautioned, "that to be prepared for war is one of the most effectual means of preserving peace.'

Today we are heeding that advice, and to the limits of our economy, we are maintaining large, well-trained, well-equipped defense forces. However, our economy cannot stand the size forces, on full-time basis, that would be indicated by the size of the forces arrayed against us. To draw the parallel, it is estimated that Russia and her satellites have equipped and under arms approximately 4 million men in their ground forces alone. At the present time it is estimated that we have in our Army approximately I might also add that the 1.200,000 men. number of men needed to support one frontline combat soldier is appreciably less in the forces of the Communists.

Our economy cannot only not afford the expense of the added manpower, but our industry could not stand the withdrawal of manpower from that field. The solution to this problem is the maintenance of a strong. well-trained Reserve.

Is is here that I would like to go back to my previous statement that national de fense is one of the individual acts required of the citizen and, as such, it is a munity problem that affects us all. We cannot dismiss this responsibility nor can we push it on to our elected representatives, except that they shall provide the organization and implementation.

We have to build up a new patriotic awareness among our people, particularly among our young people. We are a healthy, wellfed, well-educated nation, and as such any statement that we are becoming soft as a nation is ridiculous. However, it is possible that some of our thinking may be soft in that we feel that upon any aggression we can all spring to arms and win a resounding victory. Ladies and gentlemen, it takes 3,000 hours of training to prepare an infantry division for combat; this is approximately 1 year. Manpower is precious to this country,

not only in individual lives but also as a commodity for defense. We are approxi-mately 160 million strong today, and the population of the countries arrayed against us totals over 1 billion. Coupled with their disregard for human lives it is more for-

The education of our people I believe is a project in all communities that you are a part. The part-time soldier in the various State National Guards, the units of United States Army Reserve, and our institutional military units of the Reserve Officers Training Corps in our high schools and colleges, are a necessity to our survival. I know that you may point out that the annual amount of training received by these men does not even approximate that amount of time that it is required to place a fighting force in the field; but military training is one thing, one type of education that a little is better than nothing. Rifle marksmanship, unit and in-dividual tactical training, working as a team; for even a short period of time pays off when these men are needed. Encouragement and support of these activities also build better citizens, and instills and maintains that patriotic awareness that this country must have toward their national defense. are acquainted with our present selective service system, by which after 2 years of training in the Regular Army our young men are released to their homes and kept for an additional 6 years in a reserve status. These men are vitally needed not only to maintain their trained status through participation in our Reserve programs, but they are also needed to train the younger men who can be encouraged to join these units. Since this selective service system has been in effect we have had released from service approximately 1 million men, of this number only a little better than 4 percent have performed their service obligation by joining a Reserve unit. Of course there are certain discomfitures in connection with military life, but life in any phase has its discomfitures. young people of military age have not fully realized that at the time they are called for service, and it is for you more mature veterans to assist in an early development of this wisdom that comes with years.

I recently had the pleasure of making an inspection tour of a number of our highschool ROTC units in the southeastern United States. As you know, these highschool students receive approximately hours of military training per week. That amount of time neither adequately trains a man, nor is it of an amount that we have to worry about developing what has been termed as a "military mind." It was revealing to find that in exposing these young people, starting at 14 years of age, to military training, that they were enthusiastic about it. To those not previously exposed, the college group are less enthusiastic, and again. the group at the 191/2- and 20-year-old level, who are inducted under selective service are the least enthusiastic. It is this attitude toward service for our country that has to be combated in the community. can draft our young men for service during peacetime, as we are doing. It is indicated that we may have to take action to make compulsory some type of reserve service so that we may have that strong reserve which is mandatory, but we cannot make them like it. This citizen duty should be considered privilege, instead of a chore. Although funds are not available at this time for the expansion of the ROTC program with fulltime Army personnel as instructors, there is a type of ROTC which is supervised by the Army known as the 55C program, named after that paragraph in the National Defense Act, wherein equipment and training aids and texts are furnished by the services, and uniforms and instructors are furnished by the schools. I urge you all to investigate this program for your own communities. Those of you who have high-school ROTO programs in your communities, I urge you to become acquainted with what they are doing; community recognition of this training will go far toward developing a proper attitude of citizenship among our young

As General of the Army Omar Bradley observed in 1949, "We have neglected to tell our young people that democracy is a twoway street-that with its benefits comes the

necessity for also giving service."

Many of our country's leaders in the past have indicated the things that we should do in order to preserve the democracy that we all enjoy; they are as pertinent today as they were the time they were made. I would like to leave you with a quotation from the Star Spangled Banner, written by Francis Scott Key in 1814; and found in the first lines of the fourth and last stanza of our national anthem:

"Oh! Thus be it ever, when free men shall stand

Between their loved homes and war's desolation!"

Thank you.

Greenwood Men in Hall of Fame

EXTENSION OF REMARKS - OF

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker. at an interesting meeting of the Greenwood (S. C.) Chamber of Commerce held on January 4, citations to two new Members of the Hall of Fame for the Living were presented to Messrs. Dewey H. Johnson and F. E. Grier.

A report of the annual meeting of the chamber and of the presentation of the two citations were carried in the January 5 issue of the Anderson (S. C.) Independent. Under unanimous consent previously granted, I insert this news-

paper story herewith:

GREENWOOD MEN IN HALL OF FAME (By Jim Blessing)

GREENWOOD, January 4.—Deserved honors showered tonight on two eminent leaders of Greenwood-citizens whose careers since days of youth have been marked by hard work, the will to succeed, and an unselfish spirit of cooperation with and faith in their fellowman.

Named to the South's "Hall of Fame for the Living" and presented plaques during the annual Chamber of Commerce banquet were: F. E. Grier, 55, Carolinas and Mississippi textile executive, and Dewey H. Johnson, banking and business wizard of the Carolinas and Georgia.

Hubert F. Lee, of Atlanta, editor and founder of the Dixle Business magazine which sponsors the awards, presented the handsome plaques to J. C. Self, Sr., of Green-wood, a member of the "Hall" and 1952 man of the South, who in turn presented them to Johnson and Grier.

Wives of the recipients were among the capacity gathering attending the program at Oregon Hotel, which also featured an address by Dr. R. S. C. Young, widely known educator of Atlanta.

Grier, a native of Due West, is president and treasurer of Abney Mills chain and chairman of the board of Erwin Mills, in North Carolina. The industrialist holds numerous positions of leadership in industry and community life. A native of Due West, in Abbeville County, he has resided in Greenwood since 1930. Former president of the Bank of Greenwood, he has been president of Abney Mills since 1942. He is treasurer of Erskine College, his alma mater, and a trustee of Lander Foundation.

Johnson, a native of Aiken County, entered the banking field as a messenger runner after graduating from high school in 1917. After 24 years with Citizens and Southern Bank in Alken, climbing to the vice presidency, he went with Auto Finance Co., and in 1943 acquired interest in the Bank of Greenwood, serving as its president since. Under his leadership the bank has established branches in Aiken, Ninety Six, Ware Shoals, New Ellenton, and Harris and Mathews communities here. He serves as an officer or director of several successful insurance companies in the Southeast, and is a member of the South Carolina Education. Finance Commission, which approves all new school buildings. He has long promoted the livestock industry in South Carolina and Georgia.

The chamber of commerce body heaped commendation on retiring President S. Whit-field Perry, who has led the trade body through a fruitful 1954 for the entire community. Gifts were presented to him and to Mrs. Perry by Nat Watson, retiring first vice president of the chamber.

R. B. Curry, Jr., was introduced by Perry, who served as master of ceremonies, as 1955 chamber president. Other new officers and directors introduced included J. W. Bradford, Jr., first vice president; G. E. Moore, second vice president; John B. Sloan, treasurer; and E. A. Baumel, general manager.

Directors include Julian Bolton, Howard Burns, R. B. Curry, Jr., D. Wellsman Johnson, G. E. Moore, Charles R. Walters, W. D. Wilkinson, Alex Woodle, C. B. Barksdale, J. Bradford, Jr., George H. Davis, F. E. Grier, Dewey H. Johnson, Ernest R. Rosenberg, J. C. Self, Jr., John S. Sloan, and S. W. Perry.

Dr. Young, director of admissions at the University of Georgia's Atlanta D spoke on "Why I Am an American." of Georgia's Atlanta Division, tive of Scotland who came to this country as a young man after World War I, reminded the 250 attending the meeting of their rich heritage and deep obligation for the privileges and opportunities of their country.

We are in danger of losing these wonderful things-our freedom, our opportunities, our national character-unless we teach our children to appreciate, respect and revere them," he said, pointing out that adults have a tendency to enjoy these marvelous advantages while taking them for granted and doing little to promote or preserve them.

"America was built," Dr. Young told the group of industrialists, businessmen and civic leaders, "by men and women who asked for nothing but elbow room—men and women who weren't afraid to work hard."

"Today," he lamented, "too many people are asking for 'pensions' instead of opportunities to work." He criticized sharply the educators and others who tell young dents that "they're entitled to something." Such a philosophy, breaking down the time-honored pattern of work and its rewards, can wreck the American way of life, he con-tended. "The curse of our age," he contended. "The curse of our age," he con-tinued "is the easy money given to people who don't work for it."

One of the most striking characteristics of Americans, Dr. Young said he discovered when he came to this country, is the consistent willingness of persons to help others.

Other highlights of the program, which climaxed a year of unusual achievement for the chamber, included invocation by the Reverend J. A. Bowers, pastor of Greenwood First Baptist Church and dinner music by

Mrs. Carolyn Rhodes with a vocal solo by Miss Evelyn Martin.

Distinguished guests introduced by retiring President Perry early in the program included A. D. Asbury of Greenville, president of the South Carolina State Chamber of Commerce; Dr. and Mrs. R. C. Grier of Greenville; Mr. and Mrs. Wilton E. Hall, of Anderson; Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Self, Sr.; Greenwood Mayor and Mrs. R. E. McCaslan, United States Representative and Mrs. Bryan Dorn, State Senator G. P. Calliso.

Basque Shepherds Prosper on United States Ranches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article written by Lawrence E. Davies, which appeared in the January 9 issue of the New York Sunday Times. This article contains implicit praise for the California Range Association and for John Bidegaray and Robert Franklin, of Fresno, Calif., both of whom are friends of mine. The discourse should be interesting to all Members of this body because it lays to rest many of the fears expressed by some Members of this body with respect to the admission of Basque sheepherders to this country. It is apparent from this factual article that such immigrants are well treated and make a major contribution to the economic life of this country.

The article follows:

LONELY BASQUE SHEPHERDS PROSPER ON BIG UNITED STATES RANCHES-MEN LIVE FOR MONTHS IN SOLITUDE CARING FOR GREAT FLOCKS-RIGHT TO BRING MORE HERDERS FROM SPAIN SOUGHT IN WEST

(By Lawrence E. Davies)

FRESNO, CALIF., January 1.-Pedro Azcarate, as he herded a few sheep in the Pyrenees near his home in the Spanish Province of Navarre,

dreamed of coming to the United States.

He dreamed about it "because I know I could earn money here and live the right way." The dream persisted while he served his hitch in the Spanish Army.

Back at his sheepherding occupation last September, at the age of 26, the friendly, black-haired young Basque got a call from an airline representative. Three weeks later he reported at Bilbao and was questioned by the American consul about his experience and skills. A Spanish doctor gave him a physical examination.

Pedro went home to await developments, On October 27, he left Paris by plane and 3 days later was herding a band of 1,000 sheep in California's San Joaquin Valley.

His case is illustrative of those of hundreds of young Basques who are being brought into this country under special legislation designed to give the American wool industry help by furnishing skilled labor to increase production.

M'CARRAN SPONSORED BILLS

The late Senator Pat McCarran, Democrat. of Nevada, sponsored a series of special lawsaside from the McCarran-Walker Immigration and Nationality Act itself-under which

the importation of a total of 1,135 skilled sheepherders has been authorized since 1950.

The wool industry is hopeful of getting an adjustment in legislation at the forthcoming session of Congress so that out of Spain's annual quota of 250 immigrants, about 100 would be skilled sheepherders. Under the immigration law the first 50 percent of the quota of any country is available for first preference to persons whose skills are needed.

That would enable up to 125 sheepherders to be brought in from Spain every year. But under the special legislation of 1950 and 1952, half of the 750 sheepherders authorized to be imported in those years were borrowed against Spain's quota in future years.

As the statutes now stand, this debt cannot be wiped out until the late 1950's. The industry, however, would like to have the loan canceled by the 84th Congress.

Sheepmen blame the lack of skilled herders for a substantial part of the production slump since the early part of World War II.

The number of stock sheep on western ranges and farms was down this year to about 27 million head from 53 million in 1942.

Basque herders are especially prized because they are contented for long periods with only a band of sheep for company, and because of their intelligent and sympathetic regard for the welfare of their sheep.

The wages paid the Basque sheepherders are the prevailing wages collected by Americans or others doing the same jobs. Sheepmen say they have had cordial relationships with labor union officials because sheepherding is not attractive to American union members.

The average American assertedly does not care to live the lonely simple life of a sheep-herder, with responsibility for perhaps 1,000 sheep on a 24-hours-a-day, 7-days-a-week (including holidays) basis.

Sheep herding is considered a demanding occupation, calling for skills usually attributed only to veterinarians. There are predatory animals ready to devour sheep. The herder must be on the alert for noxious grasses and weeds. Many lambs and ewes are lost with improper handling of ewes by un-

skilled sheepherders at lambing time.
When the 1950 legislation, authorizing the importation of 250 sheepherders, was passed each grower in the west had to bring in his own herders, through travel agents, attorneys, and other media. Soon the industry sought a better method.

In December 1951, the California Range Association, which was formed the year before to meet the labor needs of sheep growers in this State, was designated to do the job nationally.

nationally.

Its president, John Bidegaray, himself a Basque, has two Basque partners, Ray and Mike Segardia, both of whom formerly were sheepherders. They have one of the large operations in the San Joaquin Valley, with 25 herders on the payroll and with present holdings of about 12,000 ewes and 15,000 lambs.

Mr. Bidegaray flys over to Spain as the association's unpaid president with the association's secretary, Robert Franklin, whenever it is necessary to iron out problems.

There are no recruitment drives and no contracts, as in the case of Mexican nationals who are brought into the country to harvest crops. The program works like this:

RANCHER PICKS HERDER

A sheep rancher who wishes to become a member of the association—there are now about 350, representing an estimated 70 to 75 percent of the lamb and wool production—pays annual dues of \$25. When he needs one or more sheepherders and cannot find competent help through State employment services, he notifies Mr. Franklin and designates, by name, the herder he wants.

Almost invariably this herder has a brother, an uncle, or a friend already herding sheep in America, and he himself has been aching to get over here. The association asks State wool grower associations to look into the asserted need of the grower for additional sheepherders.

Once satisfied, Mr. Franklin applies to the Immigration and Naturalization Service for permission to bring in the specific herder requested or a skilled substitute. When clearance is granted, one of the two airlines, Pan American and Trans-World, with which the association contracts to fly the herders by coach plane over the Atlantic, is notified. Its agents in Spain contact the herder and look after the clearance details there.

Meanwhile, the sponsor has deposited with the association a total of \$711.10 for each herder. Of this, \$561.10 covers the cost of transportation and \$150 takes care of expenses of the procurement, taxes, and so on.

The herder is to pay back to his employer this total sum out of his earnings, which range from \$185 a month in California up to \$225 in the more rugged Idaho terrain. He also gets his "found," that is, his food and lodging, and, except on his annual vacation, if he takes one, he has no places to spend his money.

"One of my herders, who has been here 7 years, has more than \$12,000 in the bank," Mr. Bidegaray said.

"His uncle, an old retired sheepherder, asked that the boy be brought over. The uncle himself still lives in a cookshack, though he is well to do. Many of these herders hope to have their own bands of sheep some day. Usually they send some of their money back to their families."

The average San Joaquin Valley sheep-herder's trailer, not dissimilar from those elsewhere in the West, is 8 by 18 feet, has a cot, a two-burner gasoline stove, cupboards, and radio. The invariable goatskin filled with wine hangs by his table. The herder has a dog or two, usually "Basque-speaking" Australian shepherds in this area.

Those who are admitted for the sheepherding jobs come on a permanent basis. So far, according to Mr. Franklin, about enough have come in on the present program to herd 1 million sheep.

A cooperative investigation by the association and the Immigration and Naturalization Service indicates, it was estimated, that not more than 5 percent leave the herding jobs for other occupations. Yet the wool industry, it was contended, will need at least 100 or so additional herders every year for an indefinite period to keep going.

The association is trying to figure out a way for the new sheepherders, out on their lonely vigils, to learn English and study for citizenship.

A United States Academy of Foreign Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a bill calling for a school for the training of the diplomatic corps of the Nation.

The purpose of the bill will be "to promote peace, greater understanding, and good will throughout the world, and to provide for a trained force for the Foreign Service of the United States."

We have schools for training our future Army, Navy, and Air Force leaders, but we leave to chance the training of our diplomatic corps personnel who must skillfully deal with representatives of all other nations of the world.

The United States Academy of Foreign Service, title of the proposed school, would be located in the Washington area, and entrance would be by competitive examination, with students chosen according to a system of State allocation.

In addition to intensive instruction in Government, the curriculum would include select liberal arts offerings, studies in comparative culture, and military and naval observation. Graduates would be required to spend a year of in-service training in a foreign country,

A Question of Good Faith

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I urge upon every Member of this body to read the following editorial in the Chicago Daily News of January 10, 1955, and to join in mobilizing the full strength of decency to the end that faith shall be kept by the Congress and the Government with the men and women in the armed services:

A QUESTION OF GOOD FAITH—UNITED STATES SHOULD NOT CUT OFF GI RIGHTS OF MEN SERVING NOW

In the announcement at Washington of a Presidential proclamation a week ago, there was a big bungle. It spread confusion in Veterans' Administration offices, recruiting offices, and among young men of military age pondering whether to enlist or to wait and be drafted later.

This proclamation terminated on January 31, the period of eligibility for certain veterans' benefits under the Korean war GI bill.

The Government spokesman said that those who enlisted or were inducted before February 1 would get all the customary rights under the GI bill.

The confusion arose with regard to education benefits. The announcement was widely interpreted to mean that those entering the armed services up to January 31 would be able to get up to 36 months of college training at Government expense after leaving the service.

Within the 36-month limit, the training time has been accumulated on the basis of 1½ days of education for each day of service. To be eligible at all, the veteran would have to have at least 90 days of active service.

Believing the plan would be in full effect for those entering by January 31, a good many youngsters rushed to enlist in one of the services or another. They thought they were safeguarding an educational benefit worth thousands of dollars. It was not until Friday that the Veterans'

It was not until Friday that the Veterans' Administration office here and the several recruiting offices received an authoritative interpretation of the proclamation.

It then turned out that those who had rushed in to hold down the educational bonanza had been deceived. The period for accumulating days useful in calculating educational benefits ends January 31, under the President's proclamation.

What could be accumulated in the remainder of the month would, actually, be of negligible effect, certainly not enough, by itself, to give much incentive for hastening induction.

Not only were last week's enlisters deceived, but so (in varying measure) was anybody who enlisted in recent months.

There is no way of telling how many of them had been led by recruiting officers to believe that they would have the privilege of accumulating educational benefits up to the maximum throughout their whole service. Whether they got that idea spontaneously, or were persuaded by Government agents, most of them certainly had it.

The same idea assuredly prevailed among men who were drafted, too, though they had waived their option to pick the time of

entry.

Recent inductees will share in the disappointment, notwithstanding the fact that they had relied on no specific Government by the state of t

promise except a promise to put them in juli if they did not show up at the appointed hour.

Those who have entered or do enter on or before January 31 will get, under the President's order, certain GI benefits not available afterward. We recommend that young men confronting the big decision seek a detailed explanation. We would not venture a guess as to how great an incentive the young men will find in these other benefits.

One example: The man in service before January 31 will be eligible for home, farm, or business loans partially guaranteed by the Government after he leaves service; the man who enters service afterward will not.

It may be doubted whether the prospect of a slight interest saving on a loan years hence will motivate many enlistments. But the educational provisions have been a powerful incentive.

The Government ought not to leave any of the men in its armed services suffering from a feeling that the Government has deceived or defrauded them.

Therefore, it should permit anybody now in service to accumulate the full potential of 36 months of educational benefits, even if the days on which the computation is based are served after January 31.

Because of the confusion about the new order, still not quite dispelled, this privilege ought to be extended in full to anybody, drafted or enlisted, entering the service prior to February 1.

We hope that Congress will promptly enact

legislation so providing.

It may be that the Government has been too generous with its educational benefits all along. It may be proper to curtail them or to eliminate them entirely (after proper notice) with respect to men entering the service hereafter.

But the Government should never misrepresent to its soldiers and sailors and airmen the terms on which it is dealing with

If Congress does not modify the effect of the Presidential proclamation, a very large proportion of them will have been deceived.

The Late John G. Cooper

SPEECH

OF

HON. OLIVER P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. OLIVER P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I join my colleagues in an expression of respect and regret at the passing of the Honorable John Gordon Cooper, who served in this body with

honor and distinction for nearly a quarter of a century. He had been a member of this body for 14 years when my father began his first term here. As dean of the Ohio delegation, John Cooper was looked up to by the younger members for his fairness, fatherly counsel, and kindliness. He represented his district for a total of 22 years until 1936, yet there are many, many of my constituents in the counties of Ashtabula and Trumbull who still have close personal remembrances of him, their last Republican representative for 16 years. I extend to his family my sympathy for their loss, but they can be proud, I know, of the mark he made in his four score years of devoted service to his country in these halls.

A Veteran Thanks America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a letter from Mr. Louis Teplitsky showing his faith in America. I hope that many may have the opportunity to read it.

The letter follows:

A VETERAN THANKS AMERICA

"I am a disabled, honorably discharged veteran of World War II. A concert tenor by profession, due to a disability caused by the war my career was interrupted.

"However, I have now recovered and am about to resume my singing career.

"I wish to state that I am deeply grateful to the Veterans' Administration for the excellent care I was given in the form of treatment and training. I am also thankful to the people of the United States who made it possible. There is no country in the world that has contributed as much to the welfare of veterans as did the United States. I am proud to be a United States citizen for the justice, liberty, and freedom I have enjoyed all these years since I came to the United States from Russia in 1930. I wish from the bottom of my heart the people of the United States health, happiness, peace, and prosperity. A Merry Christmas and a very Happy New Year. May God bless our country and its people.

"Louis Teplitsky.

"BRONK, N. Y."

My Fellow Citizens: This ad appeared in the New York Times December 22, 1954.

I have received numerous letters, telephone calls, and telegrams from American citizens who have read my message. Many commented that this message of faith in America ought to be reported by the press and broadcast over the radio and television to our people all over the United States and by the Voice of America throughout the world. I was so deeply touched and inspired by their remarks that I have reproduced this message.

I have worked thirty 10-hour days of labor to pay for this message at a cost of \$211.68. It is the best investment I have ever made. It has brought me much happiness, as I love our beloved country, and this is only a small token in comparison with what America has done for me. I am proud of my adopted country and its people, who have contributed so much to the world with their lives, their wealth, science, medicine, culture, literature, art, and music for the betterment of mankind and for freedom everywhere.

I left Communist Russia because of tyranny, brutality, slavery, and persecution. America gave me a home when I was homeless; I was given food when I was hungry; I was given medical attention when I was sick; and I was given freedom to worship my religion. For all this I am very grateful. I pray to God that this small effort on my part for my country, which has done so much for me, may inspire us to think and search within ourselves so as to reinforce our faith in America, and make us happier as individuals and happier as a nation. May God bless you all.

Sincerely yours,

LOUIS TEPLITSKY.

Rev. Dr. David M. Cory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct attention to Brooklyn's Man of the Week, Rev. Dr. David M. Cory, as chosen by the Brooklyn Daily Eagle on January 9, 1955.

The article is as follows:

BROOKLYN'S MAN OF THE WEEK—PROTESTANT COUNCIL CHIEF URGES THE FORWARD LOOK IN RELIGION

(By Beatrice Jones)

When the Reverend Dr. David M. Cory, minister of the Cuyler Presbyterian Church, formerly assumed, as of January 1, the post of executive secretary of the Brooklyn division of the Protestant Council of the City of New York, it involved just a move across the hall into more spacious quarters. For Dr. Cory has been performing many of the duties of that office at 252 Fulton Street ever since his election last October at a meeting of the board of directors of the council.

The appointment was made necessary by the death of the Reverend Dr. J. Henry Carpenter, his predecessor, last June 17. At that time, the Reverend Dr. J. Blaine Fister, director of Christian education of the division, was made interim staff executive, filling in until the board meeting.

No stranger to the community, having been pastor of the Cuyler Church since 1926, Dr. Cory is well acquainted with the problems of the borough's changing population and has definite ideas on how the church can meet its challenge.

DEPLORES BACKWARD THINKING

Deploring backward, nostalgic thoughts of old Brooklyn in church matters, Dr. Cory urges that leaders and congregation members of churches look ahead to the opportunities of the present and future.

"Instead of looking back to the good old days, the aim should be," he points out, "to look forward to the opportunities of the present to serve the in-migrants who have come to the community in the last 2 decades. Many of our fine old churches have a unique opportunity in this changing pattern of life to administer to the needs of new groups who have moved into the old areas of the city, and the effective city church must slant its program to meet the need of the people living in its natural area.

"This can be done in many cases by existing local churches and in other instances on an interdenominational basis by the opening of community churches," he declared, citing the Church of the Open Door in the civic center area as a fine example. In his own parish, Dr. Cory and the officers of the church have developed an inclusive program to meet the needs of a changing community.

FORESEES PROTESTANT EXPANSION

In listing favorable factors for Protestant expansion in the borough, Dr. Cory names four groups of what he terms "in-migrants": southern Negroes, who are traditionally Protestant; West Indian Negroes, who are largely Protestant; Puerto Ricans, whose traditional background is Catholic, but who reveal a large number of Protestant followers (about one-third), and displaced persons, mainly from the Baltic countries, Hungary and Germany, who are largely Protestant.

and Germany, who are largely Protestant.

As executive secretary of the council's Brooklyn division, which is a clearing house and voice for the Protestant groups of the borough, Dr. Cory plans emphasis on a program which will strengthen the work and leadership among these new Protestant groups.

LIKE DAD, HE'S INTERESTED IN INDIANS

Dr. Cory, who was born in Manhattan on February 10, 1903, is the son of Mr. and Mrs. David Cory. His father is the well-known children's author, whose books on Sioux Indian life, The Little Indian series, have proven popular through the years. Dr. Cory has followed his father's interest in Indians and when several hundreds of Mohawks moved into the neighborhood of Cuyler church from the Canadian reservation, Caughnawaga, about 20 years ago, he planned a program to meet their needs.

Monthly services were held at the church in Iroquis, a language which Dr. Cory learned to read and speak, as he puts it, "after a fashion."

HARDY MEMBER OF ICEBERG ATHLETIC CLUB

He still finds time to be involved in many other activities, calling himself "chief trucking man" at the council's office, personally performing the duty of picking up dolls and other toys contributed for church collections for children.

Surprisingly, Dr. Cory is also a vice president of the Iceberg Athletic Club, a brave group which finds great pleasure in dipping into the Coney Island surf all the year around. He has not missed a weekly dip in 8 years and semetimes has had 2 icy plunges a week to "cool him off."

Next June he and his wife, Mina, an enthusiastic worker at the council's office, will observe their 26th wedding anniversary. Their children, David H., a second officer with the United States Lines; Mina E., a secretary with WNBT; Daniel T. and John M., both pupils at Friends School, will help them celebrate.

The Late Senator Burnet R. Maybank

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN L. McMILLAN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. McMILLAN. Mr. Speaker, South Carolina and the Nation have just lost one of its greatest citizens in the passing of Senator Burnet R. Maybank, of Charleston, S. C. I, with 2 million other South Carolinians, mourn the passing of this great American. Senator Maybank was a statesman and gained the respect of all his colleagues in the Senate and

every other person privileged with his acquaintance.

I became acquainted with Senator MAYBANK while he was serving as mayor of the city of Charleston, S. C. I watched his career very closely from that time until his untimely passing. Senator MAYBANK made South Carolina one of its ablest governors and since that time has served with distinction as a Member of the United States Senate.

I wish that every person in the State of South Carolina had been privileged to know the late Senator Maybank as intimately as I was privileged to know him. He was a man with high principles, a heart of gold and a character of steel. He would never compromise any principle.

I shall greatly miss Senator Maybank as we assisted each other on numerous occasions in solving mutual problems. I remember very distinctly having Senator Maybank accompany me through the Pentagon Building on 2 or 3 distinct occasions in connection with securing an Army airbase for Florence, S. C., and Myrtle Beach, S. C., during World War II. He was also of great assistance to me in securing a Marine base at Georgetown, S. C., and in solving numerous other problems affecting the people of my District.

Senator Maybank called on me to assist him on a number of problems affecting our State and Nation. We usually saw eye to eye on the majority of the problems affecting our State and country. Our State and Nation can ill afford to lose many men of Senator Maybank's character and ability. I feel extremely honored to have been considered one of Senator Maybank's friends.

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH

HON. PAUL BROWN

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. BROWN of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, in the passing of our colleague, DWIGHT L. ROGERS, his district, his State, and the Nation lost a valuable public servant.

He was honest and honorable and highly respected by Members on both sides of the aisle. I do not think he had an enemy anywhere. He loved people. Nothing gave him more pleasure than to help someone.

He was born and reared in the State of Georgia, and graduated from the University of Georgia. A young man in his teens when he entered the university, he was admired by all and was elected president of the freshman class. Following his graduation at the university he practiced his profession for many years in Ocilla, Ga. He was a brilliant lawyer and highly esteemed by the judges and the lawyers.

His life was not a life spent in a mad struggle for material wealth. He pos-

sessed dignity without arrogance, and firmness without intolerance.

DWIGHT ROGERS will be greatly missed by all who knew him. I feel that I have lost one of my dearest friends. He always looked for the best in man and found it. Throughout his wonderful career I have never heard anyone speak ill of him.

I think every Member of this Chamber who knew Dwight Rogers loved him and feels a great loss in his passing.

I extend my deepest sympathy to his beloved wife and children.

Christians in Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the men of my hometown, Bryan, Tex., conduct what is called the layman's prayer meeting, which is a 45-minute devotional held every Friday morning in a local meeting place. It is composed of men from all walks of life and from all religious denominations. The various denominations take turns in conducting a 15-minute devotional period and program.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the REORD, I wish to include a paper entitled "Christians in Politics," prepared and read at one of these meetings by a young friend of mine, the Honorable Brownrigg H. Dewey, Jr., who at the present time is a member of the Texas State Legislature, representing my hometown. Brownrigg is an exceptional and able legislator, and I feel the following article is indicative of the honest and sincere feelings which this young man harbors with respect to his position. Who can fear for the future of America when we have young men of this caliber in public life. I commend the article to each and every Member of this body:

CHRISTIANS IN POLITICS—GOD-FEARING PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT

It is a pleasure for me to be here this morning and to talk to you a few minutes on Christians in politics or God-fearing people in government.

Each one of us has his own definition of a Christian. Mine is, a Christian is one that believes in Jesus Christ, that he died for our sins and that anyone who really believes in Him shall have everlasting life. Of course we know of our Jewish friends' belief in God. In this great country of ours we really have freedom of religion, and we each worship our God as we please.

Of course, our definitions of politics are many and varied. A law dictionary says "politics is a science of government, the art of practicing or administering public affairs." A science of civil government. We have what we call political sentiments, political law, political questions all dealing with politics. We think of campaigning, voting, and paying our poll tax as politics.

In America we have the greatest democracy

In America we have the greatest democracy in the world, and it has been said that the soul of a democracy is the Christian religion. Democracy is a reality for us and a vague dream for others. No people can be free who do not maintain the privilege of paying their own bills.

Plutarch on Socrates said "They are wrong who think that politics is like an ocean voyage or a military campaign, something to be done with some particular end in view. Something which leaves off as soon as that end is reached. It is not a public chore to be got over with. It is a way of life. Politics and philosophy are alike, all your life, all the time, in everything you do, whatever you are doing, it is the time for philosophy. And so, also, it is of politics."

Why is it that a Christian is called to be a politician? We live in a time when many moral issues are won or lost in the arena of politics. It is our responsibility. not run away from politics, it is immoral to do so. We have a tendency to forget or deny that all men are of sacred worth and that all are sinful. We must be humble and be concerned for others. The test, of course, is supreme loyalty to God and not to party. The independent voter counts only once in November, but a party voter counts twice, once in the primary and once in November.

Someone has said our most potent weapons are the BB's of Christian democracy:

Bibles, backbone, brains, and ballots. Probably the reason America has done so well is that we have used our Bibles and ballots.

We are always saying that there are not enough hours in the day to get our work done and hardly enough money in the paycheck to give 20 to 35 percent to Caesar and 10 percent to God, and when we are needed in a meeting of the city council, school board, as well as in prayer meeting, it is hard for a Christian to draw the line between his duty to Caesar and his duty to God. We have a duty to both.

More than 700 years ago the Italian poet Dante said: "The hottest places in hell are reserved for those who, in a period of moral crisis, maintain their neutrality."

We talk a lot about Communists in Government and we should be worried about the number of Christians in Government.

We are in for many an ethical dilemma where either choice means compromising some important value. Someone said, "What is wanted is an ethical sense of timing coupled with the capacity to work with practical politicians without being taken in by them.'

Jesus used three figures of speech to describe the influence of Christians in society. He said, "They are like salt, preserving it from decay, (2) like light driving out the darkness of ignorance and sin, (3) like leaven pervading the whole mass, giving moral tone to all human relationships."

If Christians are to be effective in these ways, they must surely accept the responsibility of Christian citizenship.

We must realize that we are all politicians of one kind or another. One who abstains from taking part in the running of his country is simply an ineffective politician. He is a tool of all who would use politics for evil ends, the bosses, the peddlers of influence, the criminal element who live upon corruption in politics. You can be influential for good or bad, but you cannot avoid being influential. You may make little effort to know the issues and conditions and do something about them, but regardless of whether you make any effort or not you are bound to be affected by the state of things which prevail in your community.

Indifference to wrongdoing is still another attitude that keeps us from being Christian citizens. We are so engrossed in our own affairs and desires and ambitions that we do not make the problems of the city and the State and the Nation our concern.

Another reason for being a Christian citizen is that our public officials need your help. Most of them are inherently decent people. They would like to do a better job, and would if only the general public showed more positive interest in government and gave them year-round support. A question for us in what can the Christian citizen do?

1. He can understand that one person can be crucial in the democratic processes of government. One vote is important.

2. He can work in his local precinct and

bring his sense of Christian spirit to these meetings.

3. He can study the issues and try to understand the problems of the day.

4. He can vote and get others to vote. You can learn to distinguish propaganda which is inspired by hate, vindictiveness, narrowness, suspicion, and fear from the real facts and information.

When we speak of politics, we think about getting elected, campaigning, voting, passing special legislation, and keeping before the public. Anything you do to help yourself, some people say, is politics.

What are the essentials of a democracy?

1. Belief in work of the individual.

2. Democracy rests on the foundation of no class distinction.

3. Characteristic freedoms: freedom of opinion, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly, academic freedom, and freedom of religious faith.

4. Democracy relies on tolerance.

Democracy means hard work.

6. Democracy believes that governments determine their powers from the government.

7. Democracy consists of an indefinable spirit. It is a spirit of give and take, of live and let live. Fight for the candidate of your choice and accept the elected opponent.

Government is your job to make it good. One of our late Presidents said, "We must not be confused about the issue which confronts the world today. That issue is as old as recorded history. It is tyranny versus freedom. Tyranny has, throughout history, assumed many disguises, and has relied on many false philosophies to justify its attack on human freedom. Communism masquerades as the doctrine of progress. It is nothing of the kind. It is, on the contrary, a movement of reaction. It denies that man is master of his fate, and consequently denies man's right to govern himself. And even worse, communism denies the very existence of God. Religion is persecuted because it stands for freedom under God. This threat to our liberty and to our fate must be faced by each of us."

The Gallup poll says that 67 percent of American parents do not want their children to go into politics. One of the reasons being that the whole field of politics is bad. However, 81 percent of those parents held that unless people with good ideas do go into politics and into government "democ-racy will die." Today we face the problem of driving Communists out of Texas and the United States, and the question is whether you believe in human freedom or whether

you believe in a police state. How can we make ourselves better Chris-

tians in politics? 1. Know your officials, city commissioners, county commissioners, etc.

 Know your Congressmen.
 Follow the voting records of your Congressmen, legislators, and commissioners. Keep abreast of the issues before your local, State, and National Government. groups, register and vote. Encourage people to be interested in Government. Be interested yourself.

What are some of the National Christian political issues?

- 1. Unemployment.
- Social security.
- Soil conservation.
- Slums. 4.
- 5 Old-age assistance

6.

Health and accident insurance. Simple honesty in Government. A political issue surely.

8. War or peace. World law or world

anarchy, or world dictator.

Henry Clay once said: "Government is a trust and the officers of government trustees. and both the trust and the trustees are created for the benefit of the people." This idea represents the hope and aspiration of all people who believe in a government of, by, and for the people. In government we always have the conflict between public and private interest, and, as Herbert Hoover puts integrity, truth, and honesty in public officials."

We know that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. Thomas Jefferson said, "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind

Britain's Catholic historian, Lord Acta, said: "Power tends to corrupt and absolute power currupts absolutely." I would like to give you Bible of Americanism by Dr. Daniel L. Marty, former president of Boston University, which he calls the American canon:

1. The Mayflower Compact-our genesis. 2. The Declaration of Independence-our exodus.

3. Constitution of the United States-our book of law.

4. George Washington's Farewell Addressthe greatest of our major and minor prophe-

5. The Star-Spangled Banner-a national psalm.

6. Abraham Lincoln's Inaugural Address

the gospel of true Americanism.
7. Woodrow Wilson's last article, The Road Away From Revolution—the greatest of our

I would like to close with reading a prayer that was made by George Washington many years ago which is very applicable to this

day and time.
"Almighty God, who has given us this good land for our heritage, we humbly beseech Thee that we may always prove ourselves a people mindful of Th; favor and glad to do Thy will. Bless our land with honorable industry, sound learning, and pure manners.

"Save us from violence, discord, and confusion; from pride and arrogance, and from

every evil way.
"Defend our liberties and fashion into one united people the multitudes brought out of many kindreds and tongues.

"Endure with the spirit of wisdom those whom in Thy name we entrust the authority of government, that there may be peace and justice at home and that through obedience to Thy law, we may show forth Thy praise among the nations of the earth.

"In the time of prosperity, fill our hearts with thankfulness, and in the day of trouble suffer not our trust in Thee to fail. All of which we ask through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen."

I challenge each of you to be better Christian citizens and take more interest in your government-local, State, and nationalyour church.

JANUARY 7, 1955.

Four Days Is Short Notice for California Witnesses on H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN PHILLIPS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. PHILLIPS. Mr. Speaker, I rise today, under unanimous consent, to insert in the Congressional Record two telegrams which were received in my office this morning, protesting the scheduling of hearings on the proposed reciprocal trade agreements, and H. R. 1, to begin next Monday the 17th. That is only 4 days away, which is hardly time to get Californians to Washington, let alone to prepare themselves adequately for the hearing.

I have written the chairman of the committee, the gentleman from Tennessee [Mr. Cooper], calling his attention to this situation, which I am sure was unintentional. I know that the hearings will be extended to give an opportunity for our people to prepare themselves and appear. The situation will affect various commodity groups in California, although the walnutgrowers and the almondgrowers are the only two from whom I have as yet received wires:

Los Angeles, Calif., January 13, 1955.

Hon. John Phillips,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C .:

Vigorously protest hasty scheduling of hearings by Ways and Means Committee on reciprocal-trade agreements, H. R. 1, beginning next Monday, because does not allow interested parties adequate time to prepare presentations. Tree-nut industries constantly endangered by excessive import competition, and believe committee exhibits prejudice against our viewpoint.

CALIFORNIA WALNUT GROWERS
ASSOCIATION.

SACRAMENTO, CALIF., January 13, 1955. Hon. John Phillips,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Rush hearings on H. R. 1 as set for January 17 are indicative of attempt to railroad measure seeking to dissipate existing congressional tariff authority. We earnestly urge you exert your fullest possible opposition to such steamroller tactics. Letter follows.

D. R. BAILEY, General Manager, California Almond Growers Exchange.

A Program of Financial Aid to Students in Higher Education and the Crisis in Western Leadership

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I am joining with the distinguished gentleman from Alabama, Carl Elliott, in sponsoring a bill to establish a program of financial aid to students in higher education. This bill was first developed by the United States Office of Education about 2 years ago in cooperation with some 30 leading national organizations in the field of education.

The Federal Government has now, as it has had in the past, an active responsibility for the education of our youth. This means not only institutional support as under the Morrill Land-Grant College and University Act of 1862, and special programs on a regional basis in such fields as public health

and veterinary medicine, but also a concern for the post-high-school education of this Nation's students, who are not able, otherwise, to continue their formal schooling. The Federal Government's responsibility is not merely residual, as has been maintained by some who have held important national positions during the past 2 years but must, for the good of the Nation, be conceived of as a dynamic one where the national interest is directly involved. Federal funds should be available for this purpose where State and local support is lacking in view of the fact of the high percentage of young people who, though qualified in all other respects, are financially unable to continue their education. active participation of the Federal Government may be needed in a variety of ways, for instance, to assist in identifying needy students who should be

It should be obvious to everyone that the minimum need for this Nation in the world of today is to hold its own in all ways against Russian communism and to attempt to win friends in other countries. These efforts must include all fields of knowledge such as the natural and social sciences and the humanities.

In 1900 the United States spent \$2 per capita on general governmental tasks as compared to \$1 per capita on education. In 1953 the Federal educational effort was \$76 per capita while general Federal expenditures, including defense, was \$467 per capita. In other words, the ratio of educational to general Federal expenditures, which in 1900 was 1 to 2, had declined, in the intervening 50 years, to a radio of 1 to 6. This has taken place at a time when Russian communism has risen to commanding power leading a totalitarian power bloc of hundreds of millions of people. The correlation between these facts seems fairly evident.

It is very important that we develop ways and means to bring to the hundreds of millions of people who are still free and who look to us for leadership a true picture of our form of government so that in the struggle that is going on for the loyalty, the minds, the hearts, and the souls of men throughout the world they will turn to us rather than to the Russians. Strong and courageous leadership is needed. This bill will assist in the development of the kind of leadership without which we may well lose the cold war. A short summary of the provisions of the bill I am sponsoring follows:

SUMMARY OF THE PROPOSED STUDENT AID ACT OF 1955

Under the bill, Federal aid would be made available to selected students in higher education in the form of scholarship stipends. The bill would also provide for Federal insurance of loans to students made by institutions of higher education. The institution, however, could assign its rights under such insurance to a financial institution as security to obtain funds for making loans to students.

Any high-school graduate would be eligible to apply for a scholarship. From

among those applying, those showing greatest promise would be granted certificates showing that they are American scholars. Stipends would be granted to the needlest among these scholars, the amount of the stipdend varying with the demonstrated need of the recipient, but not exceeding \$800 per acedemic year. The recipient could attend any bona fide college or university of his choice which admits him; and so long as he continued in good standing at the educational institution, his stipend would be paid directly to him in installments suited to the demands of the academic year.

During a time of active hostilities or when found by the President to be necessary in the interest of national defense, at least 60 percent of the stipdends must go to students engaging in studies which are determined in a manner prescribed by the President to be related to the national defense or defense-supporting activities. Scholars receiving stipends thus earmarked must, in general, continue their studies in the designated fields if they wish to continue receiving stipends.

The stipends are subject to annual renewal for the normal course of time necessary to complete the work for the first posthigh-chool degree, the amount of the stipend being fixed each year in terms of the financial need of each student.

The bill would authorize appropriations not exceeding \$32 million for scholarship stipends for the fiscal year 1956, \$64 million for the next year, \$96 million for the third year, and \$128 million thereafter. Each State would be allotted a proportionate share of the funds available each year, the amount being based on the number of high school graduates in the State and the number of youths between the ages of 18 and 21. The number of persons aided would depend on the amount of money appropriated by Congress; but the bill con-templates that when the program is in full operation approximately 50,000 to 60,000 men and women will enter college or university each year with the aid of Federal stipends of varying amounts.

Scholarship commissions in each State would receive applications from students, conduct the objective examinations to select the abler among the applicants, assess the financial need of those qualifying as scholars, and certify to the Commissioner of Education the persons eligible to be certified as scholars and those among the able whose financial need justifies the payment of a stipend, with the amount of the stipend in each case.

A national council on student aid, composed of 12 persons representative of individual, organizational, and professional interests in education and of the public, would advise and assist the Commissioner in the development of principles to guide the State commissions in the selection of persons for scholarship certificates and stipends, and on other important policy matters arising in the administration of the act. Provision is also made for consultation between the Office of Education and the

various Federal agencies, such as the Atomic Energy Commission, the National Science Foundation, and the Department of Defense, which operate special programs of aid to undergraduate and graduate students. The bill is so drawn as to assure full coordination of the Federal scholarship program with other federally supported programs which aid students in higher education.

The loan insurance program would eventually be self-financing, with the participating colleges and universities paying insurance premiums in to a revolving fund established in the United States Treasury, out of which 80 percent of the loss on each insured student loan would be paid. The interest rate charged the student would be geared to the average interest paid on marketable United States Treasury obligations. The institution would be permitted to charge the student this rate plus an additional amount of not more than 1 percent, plus the insurance premium charged by the Federal Government.

The student would not have to start repaying the principal of his loan until 4 years after he completes his education, and then would be given an additional 6 years to repay it. The institution could charge an additional 1 percent interest beginning at the time payments on the

principal become due.

With their losses thus insured by the Federal Government, it is expected that the educational institutions would have no difficulty in borrowing money from banks or other financial institutions with which to make loans to students. They could, if they wished, use their own funds or student loan funds over which they have control.

Any student would be permitted to borrow from educational institutions up to \$600 a year and up to \$2,400 in the aggregate. The total principal amount of new loans to students covered by insurance under the act in any fiscal year would be limited to \$10 million.

Mack Resubmits Moro Vets Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RUSSELL V. MACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article which appeared in the National Tribune-the Stars and Stripes, of January 13, 1955, entitled "Mack Resubmits Moro Vets Bill:

MACK RESUBMITS MORO VETS BILL—WOULD PENSION THOSE WHO FOUGHT TO 1914— IDENTICAL MEASURES DROPPED IN HOPPER

A new version of the Moro-Leyte-Samar veterans' bill, House Joint Resolution 65, was introduced in the House of Representatives on January 5 by Representative Russell V. Mack, World War I veteran, of Washington. Identical bills were also introduced by Representatives George S. Long, of Louisiana; Barratt O'Hara, Spanish War veteran, of Illinois; Roy W. Wirk, World War I veterans.

eran, of Minnesota, and Edith Nourse Rogers of Massachusetts.

The new bill, according to Jack Kyle, national legislative representative of the 1902-14 Philippine Command Committee, is designed to overcome numerous objections to similar bills in previous Congresses. old bills, Kyle said, undertook to write a new principle into veterans' legislation. Under their provisions, he said, pension payments would have been limited to those who could clearly establish combat service. Kyle pointed out that no such restriction or limitation is contained in the Spanish-American War Service Pension Act which House Joint Resolution 65 would extend to all who served in the Moro Province and in the islands of Leyte and Samar after July 4, 1902, and prior to the day following the last armed engagement in the province or islands in which they served, but no pension would be payable for any service after December 31, 1913.

The insular forces of the Philippines—the Philippine Constabulary and the Philippine Scouts—are specifically included in House Joint Resolution 65, but there was considerable doubt in the minds of many that they were covered in most of the bills in earlier Congresses.

MACK ISSUES STATEMENT

Congressman Mack issued a brief statement when he introduced his legislation which would grant to some 500 veterans of the Philippine Insurrection and an estimated 300 dependents the same benefits as are now available to Spanish war veterans.

"This legislation would apply to those members of the Armed Forces who served in the Moro Province, including Mindanao, or in the Islands of Leyte and Samar between July 4, 1902, and January 1, 1914," he said.

"Similar bills have been approved on four occasions by the House Veterans' Affairs Committee. On two occasions the House of Representatives has passed similar legislation. During the 78th Congress, such a bill was also passed by the Senate but vetoed by President Roosevelt.

"The Philippine Insurrection, which fol-

"The Philippine Insurrection, which followed the war with Spain, was officially terminated by Presidential proclamation on July 4, 1902. The actual fighting continued, however, and between that time and January 1914 some 103 engagements were fought. The intensity and extent of the fighting is indicated by the fact that the Army awarded 11 Congressional Medals of Honor to members of the armed services for service. In this area during this period. The number of casualties during the same period was about equal to those of the Spanish-American War itself."

A similar bill, H. R. 5380, was unanimously reported by the Committee on Veterans' Affairs in the 83d Congress, but was killed in the House Rules Committee.

TEXT OF RESOLUTION

House Joint Resolution 65 reads as follows:

"Whereas the Philippine Insurrection was ended by the Presidential proclamation of July 4, 1902, in all parts of the Philippine Archipelago except in the country inhabited by the Moro tribes, to which the proclamation did not apply; and

"Whereas it was necessary for the Government of the United States to employ its Armed Forces, including insular forces, against numerous inhabitants of the country inhabited by the Moro tribes who were in armed insurrection against the authority of the United States and/or political subdivisions thereof until in the year of 1913; and

"Whereas notwithstanding the aforementioned proclamation, armed hostilities did continue in the Islands of Leyte and Samar after July 4, 1902, necessitating the employment of the Armed Forces of the United

States, including insular forces, against numerous inhabitants of the said islands who were also in armed insurrection against the authority of the United States and/or political subdivisions thereof; and

"Whereas it has ever been the policy of the Congress to enact uniform and all inclusive pension legislation for the relief of former members of the Armed Forces who were employed in upholding and/or enforcing the authority of the United States and its political subdivisions in the States, Territories and insular possessions thereof: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, etc., That any person who served in the Armed Forces of the United States in the Moro Province, including Mindanao, or in the Islands of Leyte and Samar, after July 4, 1902, and prior to the first day following the last armed engagement between the Armed Forces of the United States and inhabitants of the Philippine Islands in the province or island in which he served, and who was honorably discharged from the enlistment in which such service occurred, and the surviving unremarried widow, child, or children of such person shall be entitled to pension under the conditions and at the rates prescribed by the laws reenacted by Public Law 269, 74th Congress, as now or hereafter amended: Provided, That no such pension shall be paid for service after December 31, 1913.

ber 31, 1913.

"SEC. 2. For the purpose of this act, the Armed Forces of the United States shall include the Armed Forces of the insular Government of the Philippine Islands.

"SEC. 3. This act shall be effective on the first day of the calendar month in which it is approved."

Coexistence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I enclose an editorial appearing in the December 31, 1954 issue of the Catholic Standard, the official publication of the archdiocese of Washington. The editorial is a well considered and prepared one, expressing views worthy of deep consideration, particularly by Members of Congress:

COEXISTENCE

The dedication of the past Sunday, the feast of St. Stephen, as a special day of prayer for the persecuted, presents more than a solemn reminder to Christians of their duty to pray for those who are following the glorius example of St. Stephen. It also presents to Christians still free the problem of coexistence with this evil, communism.

Communism has proclaimed to the world its essential evil in a repetitious, ghastly pattern: the 10,000 Polish officers and priests slain like cattle at Katyn; the murder of Jews in Russia under the new crime called cosmopolitanism; the torture of American Protestant missionaries in China to extort accusations against their fellow prisoners; the shooting of manacled American prisoners of war in Korea; the clubbing of men, the snatching of babies from mothers in Vietnam, despite a solemn agreement in Geneva a few days previous, to prevent their seeking freedom in South Vietnam; the mass deportations that have terrorized and depopulated Esthonia, Latvia, Lithuania; the imprisonment of the cardinal primates of two great

Christian nations, Poland and Hungary, one cardinal being imprisoned immediately after his elevation so that the red hat became a symbol of his destiny. These are a few, but typical, glimpses of the horrifying and stupendous evil that has condemned to slave camps 15 million souls and has throttled the freedom of 800 million people living in nationwide prisons.

CHARACTER OF COMMUNISM

Look where we may at communism throughout the world, it presents the continuing denial of God's existence and His image in the sacred character of human personality. It could not be otherwise, communism is complete materialism and matter yields only to force; it recognizes no rights except those granted exclusively by the state.

So long as these realities persist, we must remain skeptical when we hear that the new rulers of Russia are reasonable men whose only aim is peaceful coexistence. The acid test for such assertions was given years ago by our Divine Savior, "By their fruits you shall know them." In this spirit, our own President asked for deeds, not words, as evidence of change of attitude. (November 23,

1954, press conference.)

We do not deny that some apparent changes have occurred. Only recently pow-erful leaders of the Presidium of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union rebuked their followers for intemperate attacks upon religion. The secretary of the party addressed friendly words to a Catholic priest who spoke to him on the subject of religious persecution. In area after area, there are carefully planted hints that a new regime is now in power and that moderation, peace, and friendliness will now be the order of the day. The lion shows no change in his nature, but he is now ready to coexist with the lamb. Peace is to reign in the world again.

MEANING OF TRUE PEACE

Peace is a word that we all welcome. are followers of Him who is called the Prince of Peace. The angels who greeted His coming promised peace to men of good will. Yet our Divine Savior did not embrace the idea of peace at any price. At one time He even said, when a conflict of principle was involved, "Do not think that I came to send peace upon the earth; I have come to bring a sword, not peace. For I have come to set a man at variance with his father, and a daughter with her mother * * * and a man's enemies will be those of his own household." (St. Matthew 34-36.) Of course, we know that our Lord does not desire war or discord. But He does place principle above mere harmony. Those who follow Him must at times accept strife, even death, rather than deny the high ideals He has given them.

We pray for peace. But our prayer is for the real peace of Christ, not the conformity that rules within prison walls or the cowed submission of a weakling in the face of the attacks of a bully. Our peace is one of honor, of justice, of strength. As our President, speaking for our country, said before Christmas, "She speaks for peace based upon decency and human rights. But let no man think that we want peace at any price; that we shall forsake principle in resigned tolerance of obviolus evil; that we may pawn our honor for transitory concession."

These thoughts we must remember in the months ahead, as leaders of the world debate the thorny question of coexistence. They will need our prayers in this difficult task. But more than that, they will need the guidance of religious men everywhere, to encourage them to live up to high principle and not to sell the priceless heritage of man's freedom for honeyed words and empty promises.

MEANINGS OF COEXISTENCE

Coexistence, by itself, is a term of many meanings. It can be used to mean some-

thing beneficent, such as the harmonious living together of many different strains and cultures in the unity of our great Nation. We live and work together, Protestant, Jew, and Catholic: immigrants and descendants of the pioneer settlers; men and women of many races, all united in the knowledge that our democracy respects man's God-given

But coexistence could also mean another Munich, appeasement of the dictator in the hope of buying him off at the expense of helpless peoples. It could mean trades and deals that practically recognize the ruthless regimes of communism, thus defiling our honor and betraying the hopes that untold millions have placed in us. It could involve acceptance of words instead of deeds, a grasping at a temporary peace that could lead to our certain ultimate destruction. Let us always have the wisdom to look behind the label and see precisely what is the meaning of this term we use so glibly.

CONDITIONS FOR NEGOTIATION

To safeguard ourselves from the acceptance of a ruinous coexistence which means, in practice, denial of principle, we should insist on the fulfillment of the following conditions during any negotiations with the Communists:

First, that we continue to negotiate on the basis of principle, not appeasement; of strength, not weakness. We do not seek war nor welcome it, but we would rather undergo war than become slaves to a godless dictatorship. We will not buy peace at the price of slavery.

Second, that any program of peace and disarmament consider all forms of war and all causes of war. Military conquest is not the sole means of enslaving peoples today, nor are conventional or atomic arms the only ways of conquest. Intrigue, subversion, propaganda and economic pressure are also weapons in the struggle of our age. They are weapons which have been used to diabolical perfection by the enemy of God and man. We must insist, therefore, not only that disarmament be carried out by them as a condition for disarmament by us but that they also desist from the nefarious means they have used to subvert and conquer nations.

Third, that no agreement be reached at the price of sanctioning past, present, or future injustice. We may not, short of war, be able to correct the gross injustice visited upon many peoples in the last decade. We may feel that the evils of such a war would be greater than the good it might accomplish greater than the good it might accomplish in liberating the oppressed. But, as the President said, "we dare not forget crimes against justice, denial of mercy, violation of human dignity. To forget is to condone and to provoke new outrage." We should at least unleash the moral strength of the world by calling tyranny and oppression by its right name.

Fourth, that any relaxation of barriers be truly reciprocal. If we are to lift restraints upon dealings behind the Iron Curtain and give even greater freedom to the emissaries of communism, we should in turn demand equal rights to meet freely with the oppressed peoples and to tell them of our ideals and practices. We need not fear any such exchange. We may hope that it may lead to a gradual removal of the shackles which now bind these hapless victims or the curtain which hides their plight.

Fifth, that we who believe in God and honor His name should cautiously await to see if the words of the Soviet promising religious toleration are matched by deeds. When freedom is given equally to all faiths in all parts of the Soviet empire, when ministers of religion may teach the children as well as hold services for adults, when they are allowed to speak freely the word of God, when they may communicate without re-straint with other believers throughout the world—Jew with Jew, Protestant with Protestant, Orthodox with Orthodox, and Catholic with Catholic—then only can we believe that there is reality behind the honeyed words of Mr. Krushchev.

CORRECT ATTITUDE AND OBLIGATION

Only if these conditions are fulfilled, can we hopefully accept coexistence with the Communist world, whether Soviet or Yugoslav. We can tolerate present coexistence as an alternative to the unlimited destruction of modern war, fearing that possibly total war may bring an increased evil, not its alleviation. We cannot admit the present coexistence as an acceptable, correct political arrangement in the same sense that democracies accept coexistence with principled monarchies or other legitimate governments. We should not live with communism on its own terms. We should never condone warlike actions as peace; tyranny as a people's democracy; injustice as right; or falsehood as truth. Men sometimes are helpless before brute force, but those who are free should never hesitate to speak the truth.

Now is the time for this Nation to offer moral leadership to the world, as it already enjoys political, economic, and military preeminence. The ultimate battle in our struggle with communism is in the realm of the spirit. We face a conflict for men's minds and men's souls. Too often we have lost segments of this war by default. We have seemed to other peoples to be a materialist, godless, undisciplined, and sensual nation.

MEANS OF MEETING OBLIGATION

Against this distorted view, alas not wholly false, let us first affirm the spiritual foundations of our democracy. Let God and His law be honored and effective in our political life, in our schools and universities, and in the great media which mold public opinion here and throughout the world. Surely all of us, of all religious faiths, can increase our efforts in this regard. Fruitful beginnings of such action, seen in a national conference held in this city last month, should be an encouragement to even more ambitious achievement. Religious leaders of all faiths here found a ground for harmonious discussion and a field for united action.

As the practical application of this truth, we must keep before our eyes and proclaim fearlessly the God who made us. We must not only pray to God, we must carry prayer into action. The Holy Father emphasized this need in his impassioned plea at Christmas, "Lastly, to all peoples, to their rulers, to those who bear the responsibility of the world's destinies, may the message of goodness and peace of the Son of God made man reach out—and be welcomed in the sincerity of deeds." This is a duty at any time; its fulfillment is more urgent now. In the words of a noted international authority, "What disturbs the Communist rulers is not the phraseology of religion, the lip service may be paid to it, or the speeches and declarations made in its favor. They are apprehensive before the profound social consequences of a religion that is carried into practice." Our own Benjamin Franklin stated this truth more succinctly, "He who shall introduce into public affairs the principles of primitive Christianity, will change the face of the earth."

Further, we must reaffirm the spiritual nature of our struggle against communism. Surely if God-fearing men throughout the world realized the real nature of this menace there would be no neutrality in the present world crisis. Men might still disagree about the wisdom of particular political, military, or economic measures. But they would be united in their determina-tion to stand firm against this godless tide. Here also is a cause in which we can stand together, regardless of differences in our religious beliefs.

Therefore, we must avoid as self-defeating the use of Communist terminology and

thought in combating communism. When the sufferings of large groups of persons become an impersonal problem, when we enlist the selfish interest of certain blocs of society, or even use religion as a military auxiliary in the fight against communism we have lost sight of the real conflict. Communism is not wrong simply because it will confiscate the fortunes of the wealthy or because its industrial system produces less goods—it is wrong because it denies man's freedom, man's will, man's soul.

Finally, let us be patient and understanding with those who must deal with other nations in making the momentous decisions of our time. The pace of international progress may be too slow in the judgment of many of us, but we should not overlook the fearful responsibility thrust upon the leaders of state at this hour. Allies may seem to disappoint us; the work of the United Nations may appear less effective than we hoped; the urge for simple, dramatic, and drastic decisions may be strong. But the stakes are high in the fateful decisions of Decisions reached may literally be world-shaking. Let not lack of decisive progress impel us to intemperate and ill-considered action. Above all, let us avoid strife and political aggrandizement at home that puts party or personal advantage above national interest.

PRAYER NEEDED

We face difficult years ahead. But all things are possible to those who believe and pray and carry prayer into action. As we face the challenge of moral leadership let us pray in the spirit of Archbishop Carroll, who invoked God's blessing upon our beloved country:

"We pray Thee, O God of might, wisdom, and justice, through Whom authority is rightly administered, laws are enacted, and judgment decreed, assist, with Thy Holy Spirit of counsel and fortitude, the President of these United States, that his administration may be conducted in righteousness and be eminently useful to Thy people over

whom he presides.

"Let the light of Thy divine wisdom direct the deliberations of the Congress, and shine forth in all the proceedings and laws framed for our rule and Government; so that they may tend to the preservation of peace, the promotion of national happiness, the increase of industry, sobriety, and useful knowledge, and may perpetuate to us the blessings of equal liberty.

"We recommend likewise to Thy unbounded mercy all our brethren and fellow citizens, throughout the United States, that they may be blessed in the knowledge and sanctified in the observance of Thy most holy law; that they may be preserved in union and in that peace which the world cannot give; and, after enjoying the blessings of this life, be admitted to those which are eternal."

New Front in the Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to insert the following article from the December 13 issue of Time magazine which carries some pungent comment on our search for a workable foreign economic policy:

New Front in the Cold War—The United States Searches for a World Economic Policy

The United States is preparing to open a new front in the cold war—an economic front. On presidential instructions, former Budget Director Joseph M. Dodge hastened back to Washington from his Detroit bank to undertake a sweeping review of "the entire field of cold war economic strategy." Secretary of State Dulles is pressing for a huge expansion of United States investments abroad; Foreign Operations Director Harold Stassen, whose department is slated to go out of business next summer, has proposed an ambitious scheme which is already being called a Marshall Plan for Asia.

The air is full of plans, but they have yet to undergo a purification by budget. Secre-tary of the Treasury George Humphrey, a hard man with a dollar and a weighty man in the Cabinet, is against any large-scale foreign spending; banker Dodge thinks Harold Stassen's plans are dangerously dreamy. The foreign aid enthusiasts think Humphrey and Dodge are dangerously unimaginative. But despite individual differences, the Cabinet is unanimous in its belief that the character of the cold war is changing, and that the United States urgently needs to reshape its foreign policy. The objective is to shift the emphasis of United States world strategy away from military containment, which leaves the initiative with the Communists closer to economic "liberation," with the emphasis on advance.

PAX ATOMICA

Currently, United States policy suffers from what one State Department man calls a heavy military bias. Too many United States officials have fallen into the habit of measuring progress or security exclusively by the number of nuclear explosions, the number of divisions mobilized. The result is that the United States is stuck with a war-like vocabulary (e. g., "massive retaliation"), while the Communists, who continue to aggress, have stolen the words of peace (e. g., "coexistence").

President Eisenhower is convinced that there is no longer any alternative to peace. The British believe that the world is entering a period of pax atomica, based on a recognition by both sides of a nuclear standoff. The new phrase spreading in both London and Washington is competitive coexistence.

In the next 10 years, warned the State Department last week, the main cold-war battleground may well be economic. "The leaders of the Soviet Union," said one of its experts, "are apparently proceeding on the theory that economics is the Achilles heel of the West." To meet this challenge, which in a period of cold peace might prove more dangerous than all the fleets and armies of Moscow and Peking, the United States needs to prove that democracy and capitalism have more to offer—in terms of freedom, justice, and plenty—than the Communists ever can. What is needed is no less than a new world economic policy.

The challenge is immense; it conjurs up a vision of United States capital and skill flowing out to far-off lands to dam great rivers, dig new mines, so that millions who know only hunger may share in the freedom and plenty that Americans take for granted. But the businessmen in the Eisenhower Cabinet are not interested in a return to expensive giveaway programs. Their WEP is based on spreading abroad the practices and philosophy that have made the United States the wealthlest, most progressive nation in history. Foreign investment is to the advantage of other nations who lack the capital to develop their resources; it is also to the advantage of the United States.

FOUR MILLION DEPENDENTS

With but 6 percent of the population, the United States produces and consumes almost 50 percent of the world's annual output of goods and services. Yet if Americans tried to make do without foreign trade, their standard of living would dwindle overnight. There would be no coffee, tea, or bananas in the United States shops; sugar and pineapples would be priced sky-high. Telephones (which need 48 different materials from 18 foreign countries), automobiles (300 items from 56 foreign countries) and shoe polish (8 items from abroad) would be scarce and more expensive. Said Harold Stassen last year: "The United States depends on the outside world for 100 percent of its tin, mica, asbestos, and chrome, for 99 percent of its nickel, 95 percent of its manganese, 93 percent of its cobalt, 67 percent of its wool, 65 percent of its bauxite, 55 percent of its lead, 42 percent of its copper."
Still more does United States prosperity

Still more does United States prosperity depend on export markets. Four million Americans work directly for overseas customers. In 1952 United States foreign sales of earth-grading machinery were equal to 30 percent of production; tractors, 23 percent; textile machinery, 22 percent; type-writers, 19 percent; trucks and buses, 16 percent; refrigerators, 13 percent; cotton textiles, 9 percent. United States farmers exported the produce of 40 million acres of land—between one-quarter and one-half of all their cotton, tobacco, corn, and wheat, About 30 percent of all United States farm marketings are dependent on foreign buyers, and in 1951 farm-export income, divided evenly among United States farmers, equaled \$1,100 per farm.

OFF THE UNITED STATES DOLE

Every year, still more Americans become dependent on foreign trade. United States productive capacity is outrunning United States domestic demand, and the result is that thousands of businessmen are seeking bigger outlets abroad. But if overseas customers are to buy more United States goods, providing more jobs for United States workers, they must obtain the dollars with which to pay for them. In the years after World War II, United States foreign-aid programs helped provide these dollars, 35 billion of them, not counting military spending. But the era of donation diplomacy is past. world must soon stand on its own feet," says Clarence B. Randall, chairman of the United States Commission on Foreign Economic Policy. "It must come off the American Policy. dole, as it wants to do, and earn its own way, as it is determined to do."

To help the rest of the world stand on its own feet, against poverty and communism, is the principal objective of a world-economic policy. Such a policy requires two simultaneous economic offensives: (1) a vigorous expansion of free-world trade; (2) a drive to raise living standards in the underdeveloped lands of Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

EXPANDING WORLD TRADE

Since 1939, world trade has been out of joint. Buffeted by war and cold war, it limps along a narrow defile between the face of the Iron Curtain and the perils of the "dollar gap." This year there has been marked improvement. Europe is back on its feet (Time, November 29), and 11 of its trading nations, accounting for three-quarters of its imports from North America, are quietly dismantling their restrictions on free trade. In some cases (e. g., Benelux) controls have been removed on almost 90 percent of all dollar imports. The vast sterling area, which accounts for 40 percent of all world trade, is slowly and cautiously approaching the day when the pound (and with it, most other currencies) will be declared freely convertible into dollars.

What happens next rests squarely with the United States. "As the strongest economic power," said the influential Committee for Economic Development last month "the direction which our tariff policy takes will * * * determine whether the free world moves ahead to widening markets and expanding production."

CHEESE AND SCARVES

Many United States tariff policies are still geared to the outdated habits of a nation trying to get onto its economic feet. Others are contradictory, and even self-defeating. Examples:

United States Marshall plan experts helped the Danes expand their blue-cheese industry, so that Denmark could earn the dollars it needed to buy United States goods. But when the Danes started selling their cheese, the United States imposed a quota to keep all but a sliver of foreign blue cheese out.

The United States lays great stress on the 1921 Anti-Dumping Act, which protects domestic markets from the unfair competition of foreign products sold below cost. Yet under the burden of its surpluses, the United States is peddling abroad \$1.4 billion worth of food, some of it in 6 million Christmas parcels to be distributed free by United States troops, much more at cut-rate prices that undermine its allies' markets.

Complaints about these, and countless other anomalies, pour into Washington each week. Last month 33 out of the 34 members of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) censured the United States for restricting dairy imports by quota. The London Economist wrote: "The United States is seeking two worlds—one where it can sell its surpluses freely, and another where no other country can sell farm products freely to it." Said a Japanese businessman: "The Americans tell us not to trade with the Communists, then they turn around and raise their duties on silk scarves. It doesn't make sense."

. Foreign businessmen consider these the biggest United States obstacles to expanding world trade.

The United States tariff wall. Yearly, the United States imports about \$11 billion worth of goods: of these, half enter duty free, and two-fifths pay duties of less than 30 percent. Yet cheap sun glasses pay 335.7 percent ad valorem, pocket knives with folding blades 89.5 percent, concentrated lemon juice 85 percent.

The Buy American Act, which prohibits the United States Government from buying foreign products unless the equivalent United States product costs at least 25 percent higher. Cost to the United States taxpayer in unnecessary Federal expenditures: \$100 million per year. Already, in individual cases, the Eisenhower administration is seeking ways to get around this depression measure.

United States customs procedure. "Many goods take longer to pass through customs than it took Columbus to discover America," said a 1953 United States Government report. There are 20 different chargeable rates on fine animal hair; half a dozen for leather gloves, depending on whether the seam is sewn by hand or by machine. Charges often vary as much as 25 percent between New York and New Orleans, and at the end of 1953 there were some 750,000 unsettled customs entries—the equivalent of a full year's work—pending on inspectors' desks.

ADVICE TO CONGRESS

To remedy the worst of these abuses, the Randall Commission proposed a cautious middle-of-the-road program (Time, Feb. 1). It advised Congress to:

Extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements
Act for at least 3 years.

Empower the President to cut all tariff

Empower the President to cut all tariff rates by 5 percent each year over a period of 3 years.

Authorize the President to slash existing tariffs to not more than 50 percent ad valorem at his discretion.

Simplify tariff classifications and customs procedures.

Change the Buy American Act to permit foreign companies to bid on United States Government contracts without discrimination.

The timidity of the Randall Commission's recommendations was rooted in the notion that a bolder program could not get past high-tariff Republicans in Congress. President Eisenhower did not back the Randall proposals with his full prestige, and protectionists in Congress killed the program anyway. But Ike has decided to try again in January, and he should have more luck, since low-tariff Democrats will occupy the key committee chairmanships in both House and Senate.

RAISING LIVING STANDARDS

What Europe needs is trade; what Asia, Latin America, and Africa need is capital and know-how. Perhaps 1 billion people in these continents are experiencing what economists call a revolution of expectations. A fairly simple western notion-that poverty, disease, and illiteracy are not inevitable-is spreading like flery crosses among folk who for centuries have remained apathetic to advance. Having emancipated themselves from colonialism, millions of human beings are consumed by an aching need to pull from economic servitude. themselves up They look to industrialization as a magic panacea.

This blind and touching belief, and the rising expectations that impel it, have been seized upon by the Communists as a powerful lever of influence. From Moscow and Peking, communism is held out as a shortcut to material progress. Recently John Foster Dulles warned Americans that the Communists' "cruel system * * * does have a certain fascination for the peoples of underdeveloped countries who feel that their own economies are standing still." The danger is that those who compulsively hunger for economic advance will opt for the Communist alternative, if democracy's methods are too slow.

PARTNERSHIP FOR GROWTH

To meet this need and challenge, the Elsenhower administration is considering an imaginative proposal originally offered to the Government by MIT's Center for International Studies. Backed by a powerful segment of the State Department and by FOA's Harold Stassen, it calls on the United States to launch and lead a free world partnership for economic growth.

To start it going, the United States would earmark between \$2 and \$3 billion a year (about one-fifteenth of its arms budget) for the next 5 years, to provide an investment fund for underdeveloped nations. Britain and other industrial nations would be asked to supply additional billions; private investors, most of them Americans, would be encouraged to add to the kitty. Loans from this giant fund would be made available to the have-not nations without military or political strings, but each borrower would be expected to concentrate on those industries for which climate and resources best fitted it: there would be no partnership money to set up uncompetitive prestige industries, which might require high-tariff protection.

FAVORABLE BATTLEGROUND

Partnership protagonists in Washington expect to avoid the big error of the Marshall plan—that of handing over United States

aid on a government-to-government basis, As soon as the pumps are primed, partnership loans to governments would be quickly tapered off, and the building of dams and factories left to private capital, operating for profit. The partnership would also provide United States and European technicians, to teach Indians, Bolivians, Egyptians, how modern industry is run. United States experts believe that atomic-energy reactors might be used efficaciously to provide some of the power for industries in fuel-scarce areas.

State Department planners have accepted as a target MIT's cautious estimate that, once started World Partnership for Growth would make possible an overall 1 percent annual increase in income per capita for the underdeveloped nations of the world. Considering the poverity and vast size of the populations involved, this is no mean target. But it is easily within the giant capabilities of the United States.

Together with the President's program for expanding world trade, some such world-investment program is indispensable to (1) the security, and (2) the future prosperity of the United States. For if the West loses the struggle for one billion in-betweens, on three continents, the balance of world power may go in favor of communism.

There will be resistance to a world economic policy—at home and abroad. But economics, a field in which Americans excel, is a battleground which the United States might gladly choose to fight on.

Max Abelman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following articles from the Brooklyn Eagle of June 5, 1954, and June 6, 1954, and the Jewish Daily Forward of June 26, 1954, which are a fine tribute to a distinguished Brooklynite, Max Abelman:

[From the Brooklyn Eagle of June 5, 1954] ABELMAN IN NEW ROLE, SALVAGING MARRIAGES

Max Abelman, long identified with philanthropic and hospital work in Brooklyn, has set his sights on another of the borough's—and for that matter the Nation's problems—effecting reconciliation of couples about to terminate their marriages in the courts.

The public-relations wizard, who recently retired as secretary of the board of Jewish Hospital and long a leading figure in many other charitable causes, volunteered his services to Supreme Court Justice Maximilian Moss. The latter is currently sitting in the matrimonial part of Brooklyn Supreme Court.

Since he began his work about 2 weeks ago, Abelman has effected three reconciliations of couples about to be divorced or legally separated.

He has also managed to prevent several drawn-out court battles by conciliating differences about alimony, property rights, etc., even though the marriage itself was beyond repair.

Justice Moss explained that he, like other furists, asks the lawyers in each case if there is any chance of reconciliation and, if there is, he talks to the couple privately without their lawyers.

¹ As of September 30, the United States was holding history's greatest hoard of unsold food and fibers: \$6.4 billion worth, including 277 million pounds of butter, 550 million pounds of cottonseed oil, 743 million bushels of wheat, 2 million pounds of tobacco.

However, these conferences frequently delay the trial of other cases, so Justice Moss asked Abelman to preside over a reconciliation conference. Abelman's success and en-thusiasm for the job prompted the jurist to ask him to continue.

As a result, the 67-year-old fund raiser has been spending several hours a day for the past 2 weeks in Justice Moss' chambers attempting to patch up marriages.

[From the Brooklyn Eagle of June 6, 1954] ONE MAN SAYS

(By Robert M. Grannis)

Months ago, when Max Abelman retired as public-relations director of the Jewish Hospital, I had a feeling that this great humanitarian was incapable of calling it a day. As long as there is life and a will and such devotion to the community, the final curtain on a busy life cannot descend. And it was no surprise to me at all when I learned that my good friend for so many years was lendhis services to Supreme Court Justice Moss in the needed work of attempting to patch up broken marriages. And he has done well in this volunteer role because Max is a gentle guy who understands people and their problems, and to him I say "Bless you, their problems, and to him I say Kid, and stay active," because there are too few Abelmans on the scene and none can be spared.

[From the Jewish Daily Forward of June 26, 1954]

MAX ABELMAN HELPS BRING TOGETHER COUPLES WHO HAVE QUARRELED

(EDTTOR'S NOTE.-The Brooklyn Jew who helps a supreme court judge smooth out family quarrels—his name is Max Abelman, and they call him the Ambassador From Brooklyn. He spent 50 years in community work; in 40 years he raised \$100 million for the Government and for Jewish organizations, and now for a talk with him.)

(By S. Regensberg; translated by Sylvia Haironson)

In Brooklyn supreme court sat the Jewish judge, Maximilian Moss, the former president of the board of education, worried. Couples who have quarreled are brought before the judge, fathers and mothers of children, who are unfriendly toward each other. The judge doesn't want to help them part. He asks the lawvers on both sides if there is a hope that the couple will make up. If the lawyers say "Yes" he leaves them in the court, and has a session with the couple privately. Such a procedure, however, delays the progress of other cases. Several weeks ago, the supreme court judge noticed a friend of his, Max Abelman, with whom he worked for many years in various organizations, sitting in his court. He called him over and invited him to sit down near him on the bench. Just then they brought in a couple who had quarreled. The judge's urging that the man and wife make up because of their children did not help and he turned to his friend and said. "Max, take this couple into my private chambers and see what you can do with them." In a half hour, the couple came out of the judge's office, smiling, arm in arm. Since then. Max Abelman, who is thought of as the unofficial ambassador of Brooklyn, every day sits by the side of the judge, whom he helped to reconcile many couples.

Who is this Max Abelman, who has a more convincing influence than the judge and the lawyers? Max (Melech) Abelman is 67 years old. He devoted 50 years to doing good. He didn't save up any money from his work, but he possesses good friends among whom are most prominent Jewish and American personalitics.

His parents brought him to America from Jassy, Rumania, when he was 5 years old. For many years, Max Abelman has been thought of as an expert fund raiser. In 40 years, he collected \$100 million, almost half for Uncle Sam in Liberty bonds in the Pirst World War. Jewish charity organizations in York and other cities in the country ask his advice on how to raise money for their organizations. He helped not only Jewish, but also Protestant and Catholic organizations, and through this became so beloved in the Jewish and Christian worlds that he was given the name "Good Will Ambassador of Brooklyn." Mr. Abelman came to America 62 years ago. His father, Abram, brickmason, and he wrote some shows for the Jewish theater, a number of which were actually produced. In 1916 his father died and he had to help his mother. five years ago, Max Abelman came to Brook-He went to Abraham Abraham, the founder of Abraham & Straus. There was no job for him there, but Abraham sent to Nathan S. Jonas, president of the then Citizens Trust Co., which later became part of the Manufacturers Trust Co. Jonas also had no job for him, but advised him to work for the Brooklyn Federation of Jewish Charities, the first charity federation in Brooklyn, which was being organized. Abelman took on a position as clerk in this charity organization, and remained there for 14 years. He worked out so well in this position that Felix Warburg invited him to help organize the New York charity organization. In 1920, Mr. Abelman told the writer, leaders of the Brooklyn charity federation needed \$1 million for a special building program. They didn't think they could support a new drive, so they wanted, since Mr. Abelman already had experience along these lines, that he give them advice. When Mr. Abelman said it was nothing to raise \$1 million, and that it could be raised in one night, they thought he was joking. They nodded their heads and complimented him by saying that if he said it could be done, it probably could. Mr. Abelman rolled up sleeves, and arranged a big dinner, at which \$1 million was raised. That same year, Abelman called together a conference of bankers and in one night sold them \$25 million of Liberty bonds. This was the largest sum sold in the country. Several years later, he called 44 bankers to a dinner and in one night sold them \$49 million of bonds.

Between Mr. Jonas and Mr. Abelman, there developed such a strong friendship that when the Abelmans had a son, they named him after Jonas, the man who gave Max his first chance and who later wrote a book Through the Years in which he praised Abelman highly. For 10 years, Abelman held an important post in the Manufacturers Trust Co. When he left for the charity federation, they gave him a dinner, at which were present judges, rabbis, and priests. 1932, Jonas influenced Abelman to go to the Brooklyn Jewish Hospital, and there as assistant to the president, and secretary to the board of directors, he performed wonders. One day, passing through the children's wards of the hospital, he noticed the children laying there, looking at the bare walls, in a very melancholy way. He went home and thought all night about this. Looking at the bare walls of his room, he too became melancholy. He decided to do something about He went to the artist, Albert brother of bandleader Xavier Cugat, and told him the story. Cugat came to the hospital and on the walls of the 16 children's wards painted 16 murals of characters in children's stories, such as Snow White, Pinocchio, Goldilocks, Red Riding Hood, Alice in Wonderland, Humpty-Dumpty, and others, which gave the children much joy. When the mu-rals were done, Abelman invited several famous personalities to visit the children's wards and autograph the murals. There Eleanor Roosevelt, General Carlos P. Romulo, General Marshall, General Bradley, Eddie Cantor, James Farley, Ralph Bunche, other diplomats, movie stars and opera singers. With every prominent per-

sonality that came to the hospital, there followed reporters, writers, etc. The hospital made a name for itself all over America, and bathed in money, and grew larger and larger. Soon the personnel of the Jewish Hospital will give Max Abelman a testimonial dinner. He will receive from the hospital a life pension, but a testimonial dinner is nothing new to Mr. Abelman. He would rather they would let him make banquets for others. has done for hundreds of famous Jewish and American people. The writer asked him which of the banquets he made stands out in his memory. He said that 12 years ago, he arranged a banquet for the Roman Catholic Bishop Molloy in Brooklyn. There came to the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel Jewish, Catholic, and Protestant guests. Abelman feels that he not only preached tolerance, but practiced it his whole life, and as a result he showed that Jews and Christians can live together as friends and work together for worthy causes.

Mr. Abelman, who feels that Brooklyn should not be a borough, but a city in itself, showed the writer a whole batch of articles about him which were written into the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD. The former first American Ambassador to Israel, James G. MacDonald, is one of his most intimate friends. His popularity in Brooklyn is so great, that he can run for any office and he would be elected. But Abelman is not in-terested in politics. He regrets that he allowed himself to be retired. He is now writing a book about fund-raising for philanthropic causes.

To the writer's question as to whether there has been any follow-up in this new undertaking in which Judge Moss gave the role of peacemaker, Abelman smiled and said, "Today, I am meeting with a wellknown psychologist, who charges his patients large fees. He is having family difficulties, and having read the newspapers about my work with Judge Moss, he made an appointment with me. Maybe I'll be able to help him also. I hope so, because I consider saving a life as though you're saving the world."

A Veteran Thanks America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES A. BUCKLEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BUCKLEY. Mr. Speaker, I include in my extension the following ad which appeared in the New York Times of December 22, 1954, and paid for by one of my constituents, Mr. Louis Teplitsky, of 3181 Rochambeau Avenue, Bronx, N. Y., as an expression of his appreciation for benefits received from the Veterans' Administration. Mr. Teplitsky is a naturalized citizen and his expression of gratitude for favors received from his adopted country is most commendable. This is his message of thanks:

A VETERAN THANKS AMERICA

I am a disabled, honorably discharged veteran of World War II. A concert tenor by profession, due to a disability caused by the war, my career was interrupted.

However, I have now recovered and am about to resume my singing career.

I wish to state that I am deeply grateful to the Veterans' Administration for the excellent care I was given in the form of treatment and training. I am also thankful to the people of the United States who made it possible. There is no country in the world that has contributed as much to the welfare of veterans as did the United States. I am proud to be a United States citizen for the justice, liberty, and freedom I have enjoyed all these years since I came to the United States from Russia in 1930. I wish from the bottom of my heart the people of the United States health, happiness, peace, and prosperity. A merry Christmas and a very happy new year. May God bless our country and its people.

LOUIS TEPLITSKY.

Our Merchant Marine: Is It Adequate for Defense?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, an excellent and timely article by Helen M. Gibbs appeared in the July-August 1954 issue of the National Defense Transportation Journal. Miss Gibbs is an authority on ship transportation and is coauthor of a book entitled "Ocean Transportation." Her article merits the attention of every Member of Congress who is interested in the problems of national defense, and I insert it in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD in order that it may be made available to them.

The article follows:

OUR MERCHANT MARINE: IS IT ADEQUATE FOR DEFENSE?

(By Helen M. Gibbs, research consultant and author)

In two world wars, this Nation was singularly dependent upon merchant shipping to transport men and materials to the combat areas overseas. The enemy, well aware of this, did all that could be done to destroy the United States merchant marine.

During the Battle of Norway, Winston Churchill declared: "It is no use thinking of this war in terms of the last war." To think of a future war in terms of the last one would prove equally futile. However, certain lessons concerning wartime employment of merchant ships can be learned from experience.

For months after the United States entered World War-II, production of war materials ran well ahead of the ability to move them. President Roosevelt summed up the situation in a 1942 message to Congress on lend-lease: "With available cargoes in excess of available ships, loading and routing become matters of strategic selection among conflicting needs."

In his report covering combat operations up to March 1944. Adm. Ernest J. King specially stated that even if the Nation had not suffered such severe losses at Pearl Harbor, it still would not have been possible to proceed to Manila, as many people supposed, because we did not have the means—the merchant ships—to carry out the undertaking. The Navy alone could not carry the war to the enemy.

During 1943 and 1944, United States ship-yards delivered over 3,400 ships—sufficient to carry the war to the enemy. In the latter part of 1944, the United States was supplying forces that had landed in Europe in June and building up for the assault on the Philippines. During this same period, nearly 3.5 million tons of lend-lease cargo was shipped from the United States to the Russian Army

on the eastern front, where it bolstered the successful winter campaign.

Even during the latter stages of the war, there was never a surplus of merchant tonnage, so great are the demands of modern overseas campaigns. One example will tell why: In the center of the great amphibious force that bore toward Okinawa were 1,213 vessels carrying 182,000 assault troops and their gear of war.

THE FLEET TODAY AND ITS ADEQUACY

On March 31, 1954, according to the Marltime Administration, the United States merchant marine consisted of 3,349 ships of over 36 million deadweight tons. Although an appreciable drop from the 5,529 ships in the fleet on January 1, 1946, when approximately 62 percent of the world's merchant tonnage was under the Stars and Stripes, it is still the largest fleet under the flag of any nation, representing roughly 25 percent of the world's ships and 30 percent of the tonnage.

This fleet in reality is two fleets: One of 1,157 ships and 14 million deadweight tons that is active and in operation, and a Government-owned fleet of 2,192 ships and roughly 22 million deadweight tons, most of which is in mothballs.

In any attempt to measure the adequacy of the two segments of the composite fleet as an instrument of national defense, one question always arises: "To what extent can the United States depend on American-owned foreign-flag tonnage?"

As all the world knows, considerable vessel tonnage under foreign flags is owned by American citizens or American companies. To secure exact figures is difficult, but at the end of 1952, American oil companies or their affiliates owned 342 tankers totaling 4.5 million deadweight tons registered under more than a dozen foreign flags. For the most part, this tonnage is registered under the laws of sovereign powers that will definitely want to control their merchant fleets during war or emergency.

The experience of World War II supports this. Only 145 foreign-flag ships were available for use by the United States through requisition, title, purchase, or charter.

Only the American-owned tonnage registered under the flags of Panama, Liberia, Venezuela, and Honduras is considered to fall in the category of shipping termed "effective United States control." On December 31, 1952, the total considered available consisted of 45 freighters and 137 tankers.

Cooperation among allies is another matter. During World War II, the position of a ship rather than the flag was the determining factor in vessel employment, and hundreds of thousands of American troops moved overseas in the Queen Elizabeth and Queen Mary.

In the tally of assistance among allied nations, however, the United States furnished more than was received. Throughout World War II, our allies furnished us 715,000 gross tons of shipping, against 5.5 million that was furnished them. The U. S. S. R. still has 83 ships of 785,000 deadweight tons furnished under lend-lease.

Korea furnishes further evidence that, in times of war or emergency, our allies are far more likely to be dependent upon us than we on them. True, many of the 700 ships withdrawn from the back channel following United Nations intervention in Korea were employed between the United States and the Far East, where the United States was furnishing the bulk of the men and material and the ships to transport them. But a substantial number of reactivated ships were employed in the direct interests of our friends and allies. At one time during the winter of 1951–52, a 10,000-ton coal ship left the United States every 2 hours day and night for Europe. Other ships were utilized to carry grain to Europe and India and also ores from Africa to the British Isles.

The Department of Defense holds that the combined fleet of roughly 3,350 ships is close to adequate to meet initial defense require-

ments insofar as number of ships is concerned but gravely deficient in other respects. In a statement made a year ago before a congressional committee investigating the merchant marine, Rear Adm. R. E. Wilson, Deputy Commander and Chief of Staff, Military Sea Transportation Service, said: "While the total national-defense fleet (active and reserve) is deficient only to a minor degree to meet initial defense requirements from a quantitative point of view, there is a serious deficiency from a qualitative point of view."

RESERVE FLEET

The principal deficiency of the national defense reserve fleet, which is entirely Government owned, lies in its composition. Out of some 2,000 ships, more than 1,500 are slow 10-knot Libertys.

A second deficiency concerns condition. Ships reactivated underwent voyage repairs before they were returned to reserve. If these vessels were again required for service, little or no delay would be encountered. But, according to the Maritime Administration, the custodian of the fleet:

tion, the custodian of the fleet:

"The remainder * * * are in various conditions of repair. During the first 2 or 3 years following World War II, voyage repairs (other than to insure watertight integrity) were not made at the time vessels entered the reserve fleet as it appeared that there might be as many as 1,000 to 1,200 ships in excess of the requirements for national defense. It was not then considered justifiable to expend funds for repair while there existed the probability that many of the ships would be scrapped."

Recently, there have been proposals for use of a limited number of these vessels. Early this year, the Maritime Administration called for bids to place a gas turbine engine in one of the Libertys to test the feasibility of modernizing and speeding up the slow-moving ships for future emergency.

The reserve fleet needs to be viewed realistically. The country should not feel that it is adequately taken care of because it has a fleet of old red-leaded ships. On the other hand, it has been deemed wise to hang onto the bulk of them until better ships are available.

ACTIVE OPERATING FLEET

The active operating fleet is facing block obsolescence. In the main, this is a privately owned fleet (1,047 ships out of the total of 1,157). Most of the ships owned by the steamship lines before the war were either worn out in war service or lost, and American owners replenished their fleets by purchasing from the Government's war-built fleet. As a result, the bulk of the active fleet has passed the halfway mark of its life.

Moreover, the Department of Defense has indicated that it considers the active operating fleet deficient in the following respects: 261 notional dry-cargo freighters of 10,000 cargo-measurement tons and 10 knots; 26 notional tankers of 16,500 deadweight tons and 15 knots; and 8 passenger ships of the Independence type.

The notional ship is, in reality, only a convenient term for the discussion of ship needs, and does not represent what the Department of Defense wants. The national freighter is approximately equal to the Liberty, and Defense has been most specific that it wishes "no truck" with the Liberty or any other 10-knot ship. For national-defense purposes, freighters should have speeds of at least 18 knots, tankers at least 20 knots, and passenger ships (troop ships) at least 24 knots.

Defense has a reason for being particularly interested in the active fleet and its expansion. All planning asumes that, if war comes, it will be precipitated by an act of aggression without warning from the enemy nation or nations. Hence, few if any of the reserve ships will have been reactivated in anticipation of the outbreak.

Almost immediately, there will be demands on ship repair facilities and manpower (1) to service United States active ships both merchant and naval, (2) to service allied ships, (3) to repair damage resulting from enemy action, (4) to reactivate laid-up naval ships, and (5) to reactivate laid-up merchant ships. Circumstances will undoubtedly determine priority.

From the joint of view of national defense, it is highly desirable that the United States have as large an active fleet as possible. This poses a problem that can be summarized in two words—more cargo.

NEEDED-MORE CARGO

For a number of years after the war, American-flag ships encountered little or no difficulty in keeping busy. Recently, trade conditions have changed.

Government-financed cargoes, 50 percent of which are required by law to move in American-flag ships, have shrunk to a fraction of their former level. This includes out-bound shipments of coal and wheat, which provided hundreds of cargoes. They have dwindled to a trickle. In addition, American-flag ships are encountering tough competition from ships of foreign countries that have been rapidly rebuilding their merchant marines with competitive ships.

Signs of the trend are numerous. During the first 3 months of this year 21 Government-owned and 56 privately owned ships were withdrawn from active service. By the end of March 192 privately owned ships were dide. Since no charters have been forthcoming for the Mariners delivered recently, MSTS is operating them to meet the 6 months' operating provision of the construction contract. In June, one of the larger steamship companies applied for permission to enter the intercoastal trade, and it was reported that the company was doing so in an effort to keep its ships busy.

In view of declining cargoes, the addition of large, fast, and expensive ships suitable for defense employment becomes a tough problem. It has been suggested that the Government construct the desired ships and stockpile them. That virtually is what is now happening with the mariners.

Mariners. When the first of the 36 Mariners, built at a cost of \$350 million, were delivered, they entered active service under charter arrangements. The first of them to enter the reserve fleet went in early this year. By June, 12 were in mothballs, with 14 more scheduled to go.

These ships are the only freighters built in the United States since the war. So far 1 company his signed with the Maritime Administration to purchase 3 still under construction, and other companies are expected to purchase Mariners to meet requirements of their agreements with the Government. The adjusted sales price has been announced at between \$4.1 and \$5 million.

For national-defense purposes these are our best freighters. With speeds of 20 knots, they are fast enough to travel out of convoy during wartime, they can be mass produced, and need no conversion for wartime employment. Vice Adm. E. L. Cochrane, Maritime Administrator, at the time the building program was initiated, has said of their military use:

"The advantage of the speed of the Mariners is that if you plan to arrive on an enemy coast at dawn, which is the usual thing then the width of the darkness zone that you have to make the final approach on is much quicker in a 20-knot ship—twice as much—as in a 10-knot ship. You are out that much farther and have that much more security against the enemy."

A 60 SHIPS A YEAR PROGRAM

In April the Maritime Administration in the Department of Commerce announced a shipbuilding program calling for the construction of 60 ships a year over the next 20 years. This is a step in the right direction. In the planning of the program not only the ships were considered but also its effect on the shipbuilding industry.

Shipbuilding: Maritime has determined that 60 ships a year will provide work for 36,000 shipyard workers, a number judged sufficient to provide a nucleus work force capable of expansion to meet estimated wartime mobilization requirements of around 430,000 workers. Plans call for construction in yards on all three coasts—Atlantic, Gulf, and Pacific.

The industry is definitely in need of orders if it is to be preserved as a nucleus for possible wartime construction. Since the war it has literally survived by constructing three passenger liners (the Constitution, Independence, and United States), the Mariners, tankers, and a few seatrains. The only ships now under construction are the last of the Mariners and tankers. Unless orders are forthcoming, the Maritime Administration estimates that employment in our coastal shipyards will drop to 1,200 workers by 1955.

Experience should have taught us that a far more active industry is needed as a nucleus for expansion for wartime construction. Although the Maritime Commission had been building ships at the rate of 1 every 2 days before we entered the war and there were over 770 ships either delivered or on the ways in October 1941, great difficulty was encountered in stepping up production to the 4½ ship per day rate maintained throughout 1943 and 1944.

The ships: The 1,200 ships produced over the 20-year period will be sufficient to replace virtually the entire active fleet of the present time. It is planned that the program works something like this:

New ships will replace active ships which, traded in, can take the place of some poorer ships in the reserve fleet which, in turn, will provide scrap for the construction of new ships.

The program, properly implemented, can go a considerable way toward: (1) breaking the bottleneck of block obsolescence in both the active and reserve fleets. (2) replacing currently operating ships such as the present 14-16½ knot freighters with ships which are faster, more modern, and more adequate to national defense, and (3) upgrading the reserve fleet.

This is not to say that there will not be knotty details to work out. The Maritime Administration recognizes the crucial period through 1965, which is really two crucial perriods.

Between 1955 and 1962, roughly 175 ships now operating will reach the ripe age of 20 years. If the first ships are delivered in 1956 (which is probably too soon for construction), ship production will run 420 ships. Hence, to get the new ships into active service—into the hands of private operators—it will be necessary to induce shipowners to turn in some of these ships, say 12-year-old or older ones, on new ships.

During the 3 years 1963 through 1965, nearly 900 ships will be 20 years old. If all of them are replaced during that period, a new block of obsolescence will be created to plague the merchant marine during the 1980's.

Even if construction is maintained at a 60-ship-a-year level 1956 through 1965, production will run to only 600 ships, whereas a total of close to 1,100 of the ships now operating will become obsolescent between 1955 and the close of 1965. Unless some adjustment is made, the fleet of 1966 could include roughly 500 slow and obsolescent ships.

Cost is going to be an item in the disposition of ships to private operators. In this respect, two classes or groups of shipowners need to be considered. (Incidentally, it is assumed that the Government will build the ships under much the same arrangement as that employed in the mariner pregram.)

Under the law now in effect, the Government can sell ships to all shipowners operating in our foreign trade, including tanker owners, at what is called an adjusted price. In essence, that price is the cost of construction in a foreign yard, minus the cost of national-defense features.

The 17 steamship companies operating on what are called United States essential trade routes have entered into agreements with the Maritime Administration that require them to utilize ships not more than 20 years old. These companies can be and are required to replace obsolescent ships. However, this provision does not apply to the nonsubsidized operators offering service in foreign commerce.

The second group of shipowners are those whose ships operate in the domestic trades, coastwise, intercoastal, and to noncontiguous territories. These shipowners are not at present eligible for assistance in acquiring new ships.

Shipowners operating domestically have, in general, been hard pushed, and the oldest operator completely withdrew from the intercoastal trade about a year ago. Since most of these shipowners are having difficulty operating ships that cost between \$600,000 (the statutory sales price for the Liberty) to around \$1 million to \$1.2 million (the cost of C-type vessels), one can only wonder how the domestic fleet can absorb its share of the 1,200 ships and remain in operation.

The problems of modernizing and of maintaining an American merchant marine adequate to national defense are knotty ones. But they are not insoluble if they are recognized frankly and if the shipping industry and the Government cooperate for the best interests and safety of the Nation.

The Congressman's Congressman: Mr. Sam Rayburn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARLAN HAGEN

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. HAGEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include two outstanding journalistic comments about the personality and accomplishments of our very able, beloved, and humane Speaker.

The first is an editorial from the Fresno (Calif.) Bee of December 27, and the second an article from the January issue of the Democratic Digest. I am certain that nearly every Member of this body will recognize and applaud the deserved praise stated therein.

The articles follow:

[From the Fresno (Calif.) Bee of December 27, 1954]

A 1913 Texas Freshman Has Come a Long Way

March 4, 1913, was a gala day for the Nation's Democrats. Woodrow Wilson, the second Democratic President since 1857, was inaugurated.

And the political upturn of the preceding November had sent a lot of new and unknown men to the Congress, especially the House of Representatives. One of these was a soft-spoken Texan.

Of the 96 Members of the Scnate and the 417 Members of the House present on that far-off occasion, only he has the distinction of still being a Member of Congress.

In the Senate his closest competitor in length of service is WALTER F. GEORGE, of Georgia, sworn in on November 8, 1922.

This veteran legislator is Sam Rayburn, soon again to become Speaker of the House, an office in which he already has served longer than any man in American history.

Before being elected to Congress he had won the distinction of being the youngest man ever elected Speaker of the lower house of the Texas Legislature.

And the national speakership being what it is RAYBURN will become in January one of the most influential men in Washington

for the next 2 years.

Often called the greatest compromiser since the days of another famous Speaker, Henry Clay, of Kentucky, RAYBURN likes nothing better than to work quietly behind the scenes in shaping legislative history.

A whispered conversation here, a bit of personal counsel there or a quiet word where he thinks it will do the most good—for these he is best known.

Although his own speeches in the House are a rarity, he started the custom of letting Members speak for 1 minute before the House gets down to its regular business. That permits them to get the always popular extension of remarks printed in the Congressional Record. Said Rayburn:

"A politician has to have publicity to live."
Perhaps this incident helps to explain RayBURN's eminence in Washington and also
why he never has been the center of any
fierce personal struggle. He is beloved by
Republicans as well as Democrats.

It takes a man of exceptional character to play the stellar role without exciting either the envy or the jealousy of those cast in the lesser roles, especially on the political stage. What memories Raysuan must have as

he looks back through the years.

[From the Democratic Digest of January 1955]

THE CONGRESSMAN'S CONGRESSMAN: Mr. SAM RAYBURN

(By Eric Sevareid)

After January the American Congress will continue to be very evenly divided; no strong philosophy can dominate, but strong personalities can. There is no longer a Taft or a Vandenberg in the Senate, and after January, most surely, the single most dominating personality will be "Mister Sam," Mr. Sam Rayburn, once again Speaker of the House, who has already broken Henry Clay's record of tenure in that powerful office. If anyone around the Congress feels any regret at the reaccession of Mister Sam, it will be only because Speaker Joe Martin must step down—a man so much like Rayburn, not only in his bachelorhood, but in his plain, old-fashioned honesty, as unpretentious as the leather and horsehair furniture of his office.

The people and page 1 will be getting reacquainted with Mister Sam, and if those not yet acquainted wonder what it is in this small, stocky Texan with the strong, sad face that has made him an institution in our parliament, I can do no better, perhaps, than to repeat some former words on this

welcome subject:

"It comes down to the ultimate test, which politics, like all forms of social life, makes in the end—the test of character. men have learned to love Sam RAYBURN, many like him; all have learned to respect They respect him for his absolute fairness, his patience, his mastery of his job. But there is more to it than that-when they come to know him even a little, they sense in this homespun man a deep, inexpressible faith in other men, an unarticulated love of his country, in its past and its present and a natural, unquestioning belief in its fu-ture. Most men are a little bit lost, most men of present politics are confused, in this time of high-pressure techniques, of showmanship, of fear and witty disbelief, and they sense in this man RAYBURN something firm and clear, something that one can cling to.

"It occurs to no one to call RAYBURN a conservative or a liberal. He meets the test of no handy label, because he is not a man of political theory and doctrine at all. He follows the facts, wherever they may lead. But because he feels that too many men live too meager a life, the facts generally lead him to conclusions that are liberal, in the best, the moral sense of that word.

"His friend, David Cohn, once wrote of Mister Sam: 'When pressed to define his political and economic convictions * * * this small man with the sad, shrewd face * * is likely to say, without any touch of fraudulent plety, "Well, a little applied Christianity wouldn't hurt anybody."' Cohn describes a gathering in which somebody complained that hard-up farmers were riding around in cars. Rayburn said, 'Many a time when I was a child and lived way out in the country, I'd sit on the fence and wish to God that somebody would drive by in a buggy; just anything to relieve my loneliness. Loneliness consumes people. It kills 'em eventually, God help the lonely. I'm glad to see farmers have cars and use 'em.'

"RAYBURN was lonely and wretchedly poor, and he has not forgotten what that is like. And if anybody called his attitude New Dealism or socialism or do-goodism, he wouldn't know what they were talking about. As Cohn wrote, "RAYBURN was born on the farm in the prepackaging era, when folks got their cheese off the big round and their crackers out of the barrel and so * * he clings to the outmoded concept that the contents are more important than the package." His voice doesn't quaver when he speaks about 'the people,' said Cohn. 'He doesn't bait labor or capital, quote the Bible, or call the farmer nature's nobleman * * he doesn't think that a man is a saint because he wears overalls and chews Brown Mule, or that another is a devil because he is tailored by Savile Row and smokes coronas.'

"If SAM RAYBURN shares none of the contemporary hypocrisy about classes of men, it may be because, as a man, he is in a kind of class by himself."

Address by National Commander Seaborn Collins, American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include a copy of the address made by National Commander Seaborn Collins of the American Legion before the house of delegates of the American Medical Association at the McAllister Hotel, Miami, Fla., November 29, 1954.

The address follows:

I am grateful for the courtesy which you extended to the 4 million members of the American Legion and its auxiliary in extending me an invitation to address your meeting.

In recent years, any meeting between the American Legion and the American Medical Association has revolved around one paramount issue. Before offering my considered remarks on this important subject I would like to point out that in many other important areas the resources, experience and

abilities of our separate organizations are committed as they should be, to the common objectives of strengthening the security of our Nation and the welfare of all of our people.

Too often we're inclined to forget this fact. And, truly, we can't afford the luxury of such forgetfulness. At this critical time when the security of our Nation, internally and externally, demands the united, dedicated efforts of all of us, we must emphasize those things which bring and keep us together.

National defense, Americanism, child welfare, increased religious devotion—these are goals that command our common allegiance and dedication. Certainly, our separate efforts contribute toward the attainment of

these common objectives.

I think it appropriate to mention, too, another area in which the principles and objectives of the American Legion coincide with those of the American Medical Association. You know, the American Legion's membership encompasses every shade of political and religious conviction and all strata of our economic life. We hold two things common to all our members—honorable service to country in war and stanch Americanism in the basic sense of that word—connotating the right and duty of every man to stand on his own feet and make his own way.

Legionnaires as a group measure up to the best traditions of rugged individualism. And it is, I believe, because of this tradition of self-reliance that the American Legion through the years has consistently assumed a position of firm opposition to any program that could be considered akin to socialized medicine. I would venture to say that the Legion's record on this subject has been as firm and uncompromising as that of the medical profession. The American Legion, by its very nature, sustains the principle of the right of the individual to choose his own physician in his own way and to his own satisfaction.

I believe the American Legion will continue to be found standing firmly on this principle. I would ask the medical profession to remember the value of having a strong lay organization allied with it in warding off periodic attempts to folst this evil scheme to the American people.

I want to emphasize, in my concluding remarks, those essential areas in which your efforts parallel and complement ours. Immediately, however, I would like to mention briefly that subject on which the American Legion and the American Medical Association have not yet reached agreement.

I use the words "not yet" deliberately because I, for one, am hopeful that the practice of exchanging views between our organizations, initiated with such high purpose and aspirations nearly two decades ago, may yet

lead to agreement.

It seems to me that informed, reasonable men should be able to sit down around the conference table on any issue as long as there remains the need for understanding. Let me assure you that the American Legion is ready, and will remain so, to discuss with the American Mcdical Association and with any other interested group the system of hospital care for our Nation's war veterans.

May I try to formulate for you in a few words the position of the American Legion today on this subject?

The American Legion, because it is what it is—an organization of war veterans—bears a fundamental obligation to consider, study, and protect the welfare of our disabled comrades. Let me say, parenthetically, that I use the word "comrade" in its true meaning, and that we of the Legion refuse to surrender this fine old English word to the distortion of our Communist enemies. I am sure you can see and accept this obligation as ours, just as we accept your responsibility to study and to represent, as far as any group can, the needs and interests of the medical pro-

fession, and through them the betterment of our country and all of its people. Through the groups we represent, therefore, we both seek the betterment of America. In short, we are citizens first and doctors and veterans second.

Now the American Legion believes that both the obligation of the country, and the wishes of the American people for the Nation's war veterans, are fairly expressed in the provisions of Public Law 2, 73d Congress, as amended by Public Law 312 of the 74th Congress. The legislation provides:

"Any veteran of any war who was not dishonorably discharged, suffering from disability, disease, or defect, who is in need of hospitalization or domiciliary care and is unable to defray the necessary expenses thereforshall be furnished necessary hospitalization or domiciliary care in any Veterans' Administration facility, within the limitations existing in such facilities, irrespective of whether the disability, disease, or defect was due to service."

The American Legion neither expects nor wants the Government to give carte blanche entitlement to medical care to all veterans. We have not asked for it. The Veterans' Administration's goal now is 128,000 beds—for more than 20 million veterans. We are not seeking any major increase in this goal.

At the same time, the American Legion does not want to see any war veteran who is sick and in need go without proper treatment. We know the medical profession doesn't either. Further, we believe that the war veteran with honorable service has earned such necessary treatment from the Government he served.

We believe that the obligation to pear arms in defense of the Nation is a basic obligation of citizenship—and we believe this obligation begets an equal obligation on the part of the Nation to protect the welfare of the citizens who have defended it.

You know, as do I, that most of our veterans—and most Legionnaires—pay their own way and meet their own expenses, medical and otherwise. This is the American way, and this is why our country is morally and economically sound.

But gentlemen, you also know, as do I, that a percentage of our citizens must inevitably ask for help—because of disaster, misfortune, and other circumstances beyond their control. Every doctor gives part of his time to charitable practice. It is an accepted phase of the pursuit of his noble profession. The American Legion simply believes that this percentage of our citizens, when they are honorably discharged war veterans, have earned the necessary care as beneficiaries of the Federal Government.

We believe that the American people have accepted, approved, and activated that philosophy through legislation enacted by the Congress. We further believe that the country does not want or expect its veterans to impoverish themselves beyond possibility of economic recovery before seeking needed medical care through the Veterans' Administration.

This, very simply, gentlemen, is the position of the American Legion. We hold that it is reasonable. Please accept my profound declaration of our sincerity. We are genuinely sincere in dedicating ourselves to the welfare within the structure of our economy as it is is now constituted. We offer as proof, if proof is needed, the fact that the Nation's veterans are the backbone of that structure, that we fought to preserve it as it is, and that we have the most to lose should it be threatened.

At the same time, we acknowledge the sincerity and honesty of approach of the American Medical Association in its evaluation of this subject. So do we respect the right of the American Medical Association to develop and present its opinion on this subject. After all, gentlemen, the reason we American Medical Association to develop and present its opinion on this subject.

cans fought a war was to sustain your right and mine to differences of opinion.

We of the Legion do not like to see hospitalized veterans made the victims of a controversy which casts unnecessary and unfounded suspicions upon their entitlement to hospital care. You do not like that either, you couldn't, and still honor your obligation to comfort and heal the sick.

If we agree on that point, then we ought to try in all sincerity to broaden the agreement—and remove this particular controversy from the area of name calling and propaganda.

It takes two to make an agreement. For my part, I am prepared to appoint a special committee of American Legion representatives who know the background and facts surrounding veterans' hospitalization to meet with a similar committee of your choosing and work toward a better mutual understanding of the problem. I earnestly hope that you will see fit to participate in such an undertaking.

If our two groups approach the subject of medical care for veterans in this sincere, honest, and reasonable fashion, I believe that we can resolve our differences or at least achieve an understanding of each other's position which will permit us to continue to collaborate and cooperate in those fields where we do agree.

As I have already indicated, I believe those fields are substantial.

Communism thrives on disunity and dissension. It makes no difference what causes Americans to be divided. It matters not that we may be united in our opposition to communism and to everything for which it stands, if other issues keep us apart.

As Americans, we have the obligation to recognize the other fellow's right to disagree—and to try to understand his view-point and sincerity. Today, more than before, we need also to strengthen our interest and active cooperation in behalf of the security of our beloved country.

The American Legion and the American Medical Association are united in our separate determination to protect this Nation from the insidious, destructive forces of communism. We are united in our determination to secure for America an adequate, economical program of national defense. We are united in our determination to imbue our citizens with a fierce love of their country and an abiding faith and confidence in the imperishable principles that are our heritage.

Let us make certain that nothing ever comes between us to imperil this essential unity of purpose and action.

Democrats Blast Nixon Because He Is Effective

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH F. HOLT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to an article from the Washington Evening Star of January 11, 1955, that I believe is very worthwhile reading in light of recent, unfair, purely political criticism of our outstanding and very capable Vice President, RICHARD M. NIXON.

The article follows:

DEMOCRATS BLAST NIXON BECAUSE HE IS EF-FECTIVE—SNIPING AT VICE PRESIDENT ALSO AIMED AT EISENHOWER

(By Gould Lincoln)

The concentrated Democratic attack on Vice President Nixon, which began immediately after the 1954 campaign and is now continuing with almost daily sniping, apparently has two basic and impelling reasons. The first is to rid the Democratic Party of the Communist issue—the Red issue—which has plagued the Democrats for years and has hurt them in a number of States. The second is to strike at the man closest to the White House and President Eisenhower himself—the Vice President of the United States.

So, beginning with former Democratic National Chairman Stephen A. Mitchell and continued by Adlai Stevenson, Speaker Sam Rayburn, Senator Richard L. Neuberger, and by other freshman Democrats in Congress, the drive is on to picture the Vice President as merely a smear artist and, as such, entirely unworthy, a man who hits below the belt. Their theme song is that he made the Democrats out to be a parcel of traitors over the last score of years, and disloyal at the very least.

CHARGED STUPIDITY

The facts in the case, as revealed by a perusal of the Vice President's campaign speeches, are that the Vice President did no such thing. What he did was to accuse the Democrats of stupidity because they did not recognize the Communist menace; that they did not take the steps necessary to check infiltration of the Reds, and that when cases were called to their attention they did nothing about them. For example, the case of Alger Hiss and Harry Dexter White.

The Vice President said repeatedly that communism should not be a political issue, and that there was no difference the loyalty of Democrats and Republicansbut he added some misguided officials of the Truman administration were blind or in-different to the danger from the Communists. That is the kind of criticism which hurt-and which was effective against the Democrats in the 1950, 1952, and 1954 campaign. The Democrats don't want any more of it. They have, they think, disposed of Senator Joe McCarthy, of Wisconsin, in such a way that he will not be effective in his attacks on them. He took no real part in the last campaign. Now they have turned on Mr. Nixon-who made effective use of the Red issue and is capable of doing so again. They picture him as a character assassin, the lowest kind of politician. They hope to get away with it, by a consistent campaign, of attack upon him.

NEUBERGER VERSUS NIXON

Senator Neuserger, without mentioning the Vice President by name but plainly indicating Mr. Nixon was his target, recently criticized the latter's campaign against him, Senator Neuberger. As a matter of fact, Senator Neuberger was 1 of the 5 leftwing Democratic candidates singled out by Mr. Nixon in his Pocatello, Idaho, address on October 25, 1954, when the Vice President asserted that the gains that the Democrats would make, if they took over the 84th Congress, inevitably would come from the ADA left wing of the party. The other 4 were Glenn Taylor, of Idaho, who ran for Vice President on the Henry Wallace ticket in 1948; former Representative John Carroll, of Colorado; Senator O'Mahoney, of Wyo-ming, and former Representative Yorty, of California. "The people," Mr. Nixon said, "do not want to go back to the Truman policies which mean war, corruption, toleration of communism, and economic policies which were never able in 20 years to provide prosperity except during wartime and which were inevitably leading the Nation down the road to socialism." Whether it was Mr. Nixon's

campaigning or not, 3 out of these 5 Democrats were defeated in their races for the Senate.

NIXON HOLDS HIS FIRE

Mr. Nixon is for the present, at least, holding his own fire. His defense is being made by other Republicans, among them Republican National Chairman Leonard W. Hall. Mr. Hall said it should be clear to everyone who reads the papers and hears the TV and radio that there is now underway a "highly-organized campaign to besmirch the Vice President. The technique is to smear him by faisely accusing him of smearing others. This is one of the lowest tricks in politics and in this instance destructive only to its perpetrators. Dick Nixon is one of the most effective campaigners in history. It is because he tells the truth and is effective that he is under attack."

But should Mr. Nixon find it necessary to reply, he is quite capable. Further, he knows a lot more about the Communist activities in this country than do his detractors. He was mainly responsible for the conviction of Alger Hiss. No one is going to say to him "You never got a Communist."

Nor can the Democrats get away from the fact they were blind to what was going on when Hiss and White and others were active in the Government.

Costa Rica

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT P. MORANO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a telegram I dispatched on January 12, 1955, to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and a copy of a press release which I prepared in connection therewith. They follow:

JANUARY 12, 1955.

Hon. John Foster Dulles, Secretary of State, Department of State, Washington, D. C

Washington, D. C.:
Grave situation in Costa Rica constitutes serious menace to the peace and security of the Panama Canal and of the entire Western Hemisphere. I respectfully urge immediate and vigorous action by the United States under your personal direction within the framework of the Organization of American States to bring about cessation of hostilities and needless bloodshed.

ALBERT P. MORANO, Member of Congress.

Representative ALEERT P. MORANO, Republican, of Connecticut, a member of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, has called upon Secretary of State John Foster Dulles to intervene in the grave Costa Rica situation to end a serious menace to the peace and security of the Panama Canal and the entire Western Hemisphere.

Morano's message to Dulles said, "Grave situation in Costa Rica constitutes serious menace to the peace and security of the Panama Canal and the entire Western Hemisphere. I respectfully urge immediate and vigorous action by the United States under your personal direction within the framework of the Organization of American States to bring about cessation of hostilities and needless bloodshed."

Elaborating on his message, Morano said, "The sending of a peace observation com-

mission by the OAS is a good, positive first step. We must have the facts. However, all immediate steps must be taken to insure that the increasingly bitter struggle does not further expand into a major holocaust which will endanger the peace of the Western Hemisphere.

"I am in hopes that the situation can be settled swiftly through OAS action under the direction of our able Secretary of State."

The Southern Democrat Now Takes Over

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ROBERT W. KEAN

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. KEAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article by William S. White from the New York Times Magazine of January 9, 1955:

THE SOUTHERN DEMOCRAT NOW TAKES OVER (By William S. White)

Washington.—The southern Democrat—and the genus will here be rather arbitrarily described as though it were one man—has returned to a place of unsurpassed power in the life of the United States. He bestrides the new Democratic Congress as so often, minority man though he is in his party, he bestrode Democratic Congresses in the past.

He has come back with the quiet, softvoiced self-deprecation with which he is pleased to fool himself but not others; the others in politics have been on to him for a long time. They know that in political action he is as gentle as a paratrooper and that he is separated from his perquisites as easily as is a dowager from her duly appointed place at table.

He cannot run a national convention of the Democratic Party, but he can run the party in Congress and therefore to a considerable extent Congress itself when his party is in the majority. He cannot win a presidential nomination, but he can very nearly select, or at least hedge about, his party's presidential nominee. He cannot himself win a Congress, but when the dust and the smoke have cleared away, who is sitting at the top of Congress? The southern Democrat.

He is the Democratic boss in both Chambers of the new Congress. His face in the House of Representatives is the strong, lined, somewhat saturnine countenance of Sam Rayburn, of Texas, who is now the Speaker. His face in the Senate is the broader, more amiable mien of Senator Lyndon B. Johnson, also of Texas.

The Rayburn-Johnson Texan, however, is not altogether the Southern Democrat. The southern Democrat. The southern Democrat is also the patriarchal Senator Walter F. George, of Georgia; the gloomy, attenuated Representative Howard W. Smith, of Virginia; the aloof, patrician Senator Richard B. Russell, of Georgia; the boomingly extroverted Senator John Sparkman, of Alabama, a brilliant son of a share-cropper. And so on through a long list of men who vary much and yet, in another sense, vary not at all.

Some have said in acidulous jest that in Congress the South takes a recurrent and unending revenge in behalf of the long-dead Lee for Gettysburg. Those who say this are more often than not the frequently bewildered and sometimes frustrated Democrats of the other, or northern, breed. But the jest is not really the story. For in the last emergency—when the common Republican en-

emy's face is at length clear in the campaign gunsight—a George, of Georgia, will be found intoning the gravely considered view that a Senator Hubert Humphrey, of Minnesota, who drew angry southern blood in 1948 by stampeding the Democratic convention for a compulsory civil-rights program, is a very sound young man; very sound, indeed, and worthy of every ally.

The southern Democrat is, in fact, actually

The southern Democrat is, in fact, actually a forgiving chap but for one thing, and this thing is an offense against personal manners. A RAYBURN will reach the point of livid fury when, for example, he hears it said by a Republican speaker that the Democratic Party represents "20 years of treason." But he will not necessarily sustain this anger forever, while his anger at a personal slur may

stay with him to the grave.

It is this quality in the southerner—this and the sometimes unpredictable way in which he may define personal insult—that helps to keep him something of an enigma to his northern associates and to the Republicans as well. Equally, his political philosophy causes a good deal of trouble—this and the fact that, again in the last extremity, he will rarely permit that philosophy alone really to separate him from other southerners, no matter how heretical their political views. Often he thinks he will accept the final separation, but rarely will he really do so.

To describe the southern Democrat's philosophy, it is necessary first to subdivide both that term and him. For present purposes the collective southern Democrat will be defined by creating a photomontage absent from which will be all men like Senator LISTER HILL, of Alabama (much too liberal for this image) and Senator JAMES O. EASTLAND, of Mississippi (much too conservative).

Mississippi (much too conservative).

On the other hand, Mr. RAYBURN is too liberal, too (he still unashamedly loves Harry S. Truman), but he must be, irrationally, included. He must be included because he is, like Texas at the start of the War Between the States, almost an independent republic but in spirit and in strength a part inseparable from the whole. This is not clear? Very well, put RAYBURN in anyhow, and say only that the rule must have its indispensable exception.

Now, the southern Democrat, corporeally, has been subdivided down to where there is in him little or nothing of Hill on the left or of EASTLAND on the right. But when it comes to subdividing the philosophy one must nevertheless bring in a little of Hill and a little of EASTLAND, too.

For the southern Democrat, as here in part defined, likes public housing, and so does Hill. He likes public power, and so does Hill. The truth is, he likes, in spite of himself, a good deal more of the welfare state than he likes to admit, even to himself. He is, up to this point, the most practically effective liberal in the Congress of the United States—and the most liberal, too, in the purely material sense of that word, in dealing with the allies abroad and in general, with "such as have none to pray for them."

But the southern Democrat, as here in part defined, deeply dislikes all Federal interventions into intimately social relationships, he will, beyond question, maintain so long as it may remotely be in his power such highly controversial concepts as racial segregation and the limited southern ballot. And so will EASTLAND.

The southern Democrat deeply and genuinely resents the Supreme Court decision in the school-segregation case; he is in great fear that the Court is becoming emotional and subjective in dealing with the race question in general. And, like him or not, and like his determination or not, he will, as time goes on, go pretty far to alter the atmosphere in that Court. He will not, however, go so far as to attempt to pack the Court. Here, and here alone, is where he

really first left the man who had been his greatest idol since Woodrow Wilson—Frank-lin D. Roosevelt.

He will not attempt to pack the Court, or otherwise violently intrude upon it, simply because, unlike all other politicians, he regards the Court as a higher place even than the White House and, in his heart, considers the law to be the only acceptable profession, except the more dignified pulpits of the land. As to business life, he puts plantation-owning first, even though he is as ready as the next man to smile at the sentimentalities of the magnolia tradition. Second in his regard is the brokerage trade—especially in commodities such as cotton and tobacco.

His whole political life and his whole political creed suffer from a split personality for which he is not himself responsible but which he stoutly fosters and rationalizes with great skill. It is not, intellectually, a tidy thing genuinely to support public housing and also to object to whites and Negroes living side by side in those houses built by tax money from both races. But there it is, and there he stands. It is not, intellectually, a tidy thing to have a genuine world view, a genuine concern for the success of such enterprises as the United Nations, and yet to live in a tradition that compartmentalizes a single country. But there it is, and there he stands.

Nor is it logical to dislike certain advanced liberals as much as he does and yet go with and beyond these same advanced liberals in attacking, at the end, such manifestations as what it is called McCarthyism. But there he is, and there he stands.

The southern Democrat, as he has here been brought together, believes: in internationalism; in the most scrupulous observance of the Bill of Rights save in what he considers to be the debatable area of civil rights; in Federal subsidies in aid of nearly all who really need them; in strict national observance of good order (no one could more hate lynching, of any sort); in something approaching free trade in the world; and, finally, in the Democratic Party—if it is patterned more or less in his own image.

He does not, however, truly understand certain of the practical necessities of that party and because he has so long and on the whole so faithfully (even, possibly, blindly) supported it, he feels remarkably free to denounce it and, when the spirit moves him, even to bolt it. Because there is no genuine party discipline locally in the South—and need not be—he has little instinctive grasp of the absolute requirement for such discipline in the inherited two-party system which, like all traditions, he consciously venerates so much but sometimes serves so poorly.

He has, on the other hand, an almost dynastic hereditary political skill (it is commonplace among congressional correspondents that the most hostile observers eventually discover this with great wonder). In consequence, he actually can deal more successfully, and more comfortably, with Northern political bosses than can many of the elected colleagues of those same bosses. A HARRY BYRD and a Jim Farley, for example, will understand each other a great deal better than might be supposed, for all that Mr. BYRD operates from a colonnaded ancestral seat in Virginia while Mr. Parley frequents the terrifying canyons of Manhattan.

The southern Democrat differs, in Congress, from his northern colleague in narrow, but very important, areas. The two, of course, are profoundly apart on civil rights but aside from this they are more apart on customs. The southerner as a practicing congressional politician alternates between a serene silence, in which he leaves the distinct impression that the matters at hand are for lesser men than he, and a vehement

voice in debate that leaves his vis-a-vis all but windblown.

He expects people (meaning in practice the northern Democrats, for he has an uncomprehending tolerance and even affection for the Republicans as men from whom it would be foolish to expect much of anything) to understand certain political habits and prejudices that to the eye are rather complex. If he is a member of the party leadership—and, of course, he is—he assumes, for example, that others will instantly sense when he is speaking for the party hierarchy; when, again, he is speaking for himself, and, finally, when he is only speaking.

Because he has an almost tactile sense of the proper parliamentary procedure in a given circumstance, he is much put out when his northern colleagues act unsubtly. Sometimes he so far forgets himself and the amenities, which on the whole he himself so devotedly fosters, as to suggest to a nonsoutherner that it would be well if he just sat down.

He would never think of tolerating such a suggestion if made to himself—unless, perhaps, it came from a southerner senior to him. He is, in short, remarkably clannish and his unofficial caucuses, from which non-typical southerners are excluded by means as airy as a cloud but as cold as sleet, are like nothing so much as the far-spaced reunions of a large family of highly individualistic members who are nevertheless bound by the one bond.

Has Cousin Robert entered upon an unsuitable life (or got too close, say, to the CIO)? Well, this is deeply regrettable; but, after all, he is Cousin Robert. To break the clan spirit is the one thing Cousin Robert cannot do, just as it is the one thing a southern Democrat will not forget in another.

Senator Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee was defeated for the 1952 Democratic presidential nomination most of all because of a more powerful aspirant named Adlai E. Stevenson. It is a fact, however, that the literally implacable hostility of the southerners at the convention probably would have barred Mr. Kefauver in any event. What they held against him was no sort of even alleged crime, but to them it was unforgivable.

He had, first and most important, as a southerner taken what thye regarded as positions opposed to the sacred fillbuster right. He had, secondarily, made crime investigations in Illinois at a time when the non-southern but popular Scott W. Lucas of that State, then Democratic Senate leader, was up for reelection. Mr. Lucas was defeated. Finally, Mr. Kefauver took unsouthern positions at the convention itself.

All this might suggest that our southern Democrat is a haughty type and perhaps too sure of his own ideas and dignity. Such a notion would be less than fair. For the same man who feels free to offer suggestions that he would not care himself to receive is also the man who over and over in the daily free-for-all in Congress will make gestures of the greatest generosity to his opposition and will stoically sit on to hear them with suitable deference while other men have thankfully fled to the cloakrooms. And it is this man, almost invariably, who is the private hero of nearly every Senate employee, of whatever personal political view.

In short, from his lofty seats of power (most of the committee chairmanships, which he holds because he has been here longer) the southern Democrat will run an 84th Congress of many mixed characteristics. It will not please a good many people; certainly that is so. But it will have a certain grace about it. And for all true watchers of the political drama it will be a show of the greatest professional virtuosity. These, indeed, are the pros' pros.

The Nation's Oldest Attorney Is Called by Death—Distinguished American Barrister Passes at Age 103

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Congressional Record, I would like to insert a memorial address given by the Honorable J. G. Waskom, of Marked Tree, Ark., honoring the late J. J. Mardis, of Harrisburg, Ark.

The address by Judge Waskom was given at memorial services held at the opening day of civil circuit court on December 13, 1954, with the Honorable Charles Light, of Paragould, presiding.

I have inquired of the records of the American Bar Association and with the Law Library of the Library of Congress, and it appears that Senator Mardis was the oldest practicing attorney in the Nation at the time of his death. J. J. Mardis was engaged in the active practice of law at the ripe age of 103 when death called him away from his duties.

Judge Waskom told the court at the time of the memorial services:

J. J. Mardis was born 3½ miles south of where Harrisburg is located. The county scat was then Boliver, the old site of which is a few miles north of Harrisburg. His father died when he was 5 years of age and he was reared by a widowed mother. He spent his early life working on the farm and raising stock. All the literary education he acquired was in going to the Farm Hill log schoolhouse some 2 or 3 months a year. After he finished school he borrowed law books and read at night by candlelight until he was admitted to the bar in 1882. When he was born on November 18, 1850, Millard Fillmore was President of the United States, who was succeeded by Franklin Pierce, who was succeeded by James Buchanan, who was succeeded by Abraham Lincoln.

When J. J. Mardis was born there were only 3 members of the Arkansas Supreme Court and Volume No. 10 of the Supreme Court reports had just been issued. Now there are 221. Mr. Mardis did not have the opportunity of attending a law school or studying in a law office but he knew the history of legislation, the principles that have been settled upon the field of war. He new the maxims-those crystallizations of commonsense, those hand grenades of argument. He was not a case lawyer-a decision index or an echo. He was original and thoughtful, with breadth and scope, resource and logic, and above all a sense of justice. He was painstaking and conscientious, anxious to know the facts-prepared for every attack, ready for every defense. He rested only when the end was reached. During the contest he neither sent or received a flag of truce. He was true to his clients, making their case his. He knew the boundaries of State and Federal jurisdiction and was familiar with those great decisions that are the peaks and promontories, the headlands and beacons of the law.

Mr. Mardis lived a long, long life, more than 103 years. He witnessed the greatest period of material development and progress in all human history. When he was born there were no matches—fire banks were kept; no cigarettes, no cigars, but clay pipes; no heating stoves, but open fireplaces; no mowers, no reapers, no thrashers, but cradle scythes and fialls; no educational institution in Arkansas except the schoolhouses; no telephones and telegraphy was in its infancy; no cotton gins except those operated by animal power; there was not a railroad in Arkansas; there were no typewriters, no electric lights, no conveyances except wagons and stagecoaches; no dynamos, no internal combustion engines, no photography, no airplanes, no atomic power.

Such were some of the conditions under which Mr. Mardis fought the battle of most of his early life, but by diligence and perseverence he contributed his part to his family, to his city, to his county, to his State, and to the maintenance of our matchless free Republic. He heard Lincoln's great proclamation and saw great numbers of slaves rove with joy the fenceless fields of freedom. He gave to every human being every right that he claimed for himself. He followed the golden mean between the two extremes. He fought the battle of life without bowing to place or power, with enmity toward none and charity to all.

On June 4, 1954, after a life well spent, with his every duty faithfully performed, the soul of J. J. Mardis, like a great and peaceful river, between green and shaded banks, flowed into the waveless ocean of eternal peace.

Mr. Speaker, the eloquence of Judge Waskom bespeaks his own great heritage of knowledge and the law, and indicates the love and the admiration he feels for the late Senator Mardis. Such men—both Senator Mardis and Judge Waskom—are a part of the great tradition of America—dedicated men to the operation of society along established rules of procedures to insure the greatest liberty for our citizens—zealous guardians of the power of the law.

Such men are inspirations to us all.

MRA Merits Admiration and Support

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to join in the sentiments expressed by the gentleman from California [Mr. Sheppard] and others with respect to MRA and wish to commend all of them for their statements. It has been my privilege to attend several MRA sessions and plays. To say that they have been most worthwhile is to state it mildly.

We live in a critical era—in a world filled with tensions and problems. People all over the world are seeking solutions to those problems which exist in almost endless number and in varying degrees of magnitude. We find nation pitted against nation, race against race, and class against class. Solutions must be found if civilization is to endure with a maximum of freedom and liberty for all people. But those solutions will be difficult, if not on occasion impossible, to find if our objectives are not higher than

the mere material. The objectives must involve that of which our President spoke in his State of the Union message when he said "man is a little lower than the angels—holding dominion over the works of his Creator."

MRA points up the need of such objectives, and seeks to show contending forces how those objectives might but be achieved. MRA has accomplished what may be termed wonders throughout the world. It is an organization which merits the admiration and support of all of us.

Address of Hon. Francis B. Sayre in Tribute to Dr. John A. Mackay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BROOKS HAYS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, on September 30, 1954, the beloved president of Princeton Theological Seminary, Dr. John A. Mackay, was the honoree at the Upper Room annual citation dinner at the National Press Club. On that occasion Hon. Francis B. Sayre was the principal speaker, and his tribute to Dr. Mackay and his analysis of world conditions constituted a significant statement. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Mr. Sayre's address, as follows:

I feel very grateful for the privilege accorded me by Dr. Potts of being present at this gathering of friends of the Upper Room. The Upper Room has come to mean so much in the lives of thousands and thousands of Christians all over the world that I should like, if I may, on behalf of its readers and admirers, to express our debt and our profound appreciation to Dr. Potts and to his coworkers of the upper room for their unique contribution to the cause of Christianity.

Tonight we are gathered to do special honor to one of the great leaders of our generation. It is a joy to share in this outpouring of tribute to him. He has truly sensed the nature of the critical need of our present tortured world and the one direction in which to turn for effective help. All his days he has followed the Vision and has brightened it for us. He has not been content merely to pray "Thy Kingdom come," but has devoted the whole of his working life to the active building of that Kingdom. John Mackay is one of Christianity's great apostles to our generation.

I think of John Mackay, leader in so many areas of the church's outreach into our world, as a symbol of the kind of work that God is calling all of us in our generation to achieve. First, he has comprehended with clarity the present world need; next, with power he has set about influencing and shaping other lives so as to help effectively to meet that need. Bearing him in mind, I want for a few minutes this evening, if I may, to sketch in some of the stark realities of this international picture as I have seen it from many different fronts across the world.

Mankind today is harried with fear. The 19th century sense of security and prevailing optimism is shattered. Two world wars have wrecked many of our settled beliefs and cherished institutions. The world is filled with false creeds and lying propaganda. Mankind, disillusioned and frustrated, is groping for help. In which direction shall

the hungering millions turn?

One of these false creeds, which in large areas of the world is eclipsing Christianity, is communism as taught and practiced by Russia today. While Russian communism preaches a better life for all mankind, it places all its faith in the supreme power of material force. It refuses to be bound or limited in the gaining of its materialistic ends by moral restraints. It ignores the fundamental God-given rights of individual men and women. It scoffs at the supremacy of spiritual and religious values. It laughs at any idea of an overruling God. There can be no possible reconciliation between the ideologies of Russian communism and Christianity.

The Soviet Union is like a great reservoir.

piping out streams of contaminating communism throughout Asia. China has already become engulfed with it. India, with its backbreaking problems of poverty and ignorance and religious hatreds will remain an uncertain factor in Asia for years to come. But Japan with her great industrial potentialities, her strategic geographic position on the eastern seaboard of Asia and her hardworking, self-disciplined people, intensely loval to such ideals as have been implanted in their hearts, is yet a power to be reckoned with. In many ways it is one of the most strategic spots in the world today. Will it be able to withstand the highpowered Communist propaganda which is flooding the countryside?

During the past year which I have been spending in Japan I have felt sometimes as if I were standing on a mighty battleground, watching God making history. A Christian Japan could turn the tide of history in Asia.

Can the mass of Japanese farmers and fishermen and city dwellers, be brought, before it is too late to understand and believe in the great teachings and concepts of Jesus Christ? That is the supreme question in the Asia of our generation.

In these fateful days we are watching the forces of communism sweeping across Vietnam. If Indochina falls, there will be but slender hope of saving Thailand; and from there direct routes lead south to strategic Singapore, northwestward into Burma and southwest into Indonesia.

Communism has engulfed already a third of all the people of the world. It is strongly advancing. Its banners fly the emblems of peace but its peace is only that of gaining world mastery through war and the denial of human rights.

Surely the forces of Christianity throughout the world must unite to fight, not the people of Russia, to whom we shall want some day to turn for comradeship and help, but the evil ideology which has gripped the Russian people and is threatening in Asia to eclipse Christianity. The forces of evil are compelling us these days to build military defenses to protect our lives; but these alone cannot conquer communism. Communism in the last analysis can be downed only by ideas, and these must be the ultimately conquering ideas and teachings of Jesus Christ. Nothing else can save.

That is one of the supreme things John Mackay is giving his life to teach.

We must not suppose that the conquest of communism will bring peace to mankind. Other profound issues and epochal changes are also convulsing our twentieth century world; these it would be fatal to forget or ignore because of our present acute struggie against communism.

One of these is the worldwide revolt against inhuman poverty. In most of Europe and America we have for centuries ignored the conditions of appalling human need which exist in the greater part of Asia and Africa. In many areas of these, life expectancy at birth is only 32 years. One out of every three babies dies before reaching its first birthday. Those suffering from malaria in Asia today equal the total population of the Western Hemisphere—and every year some 3 million of these sufferers die. More people in Asia and Africa are unable to read a word from a printed book than inhabit the whole of Europe and of the United States.

The United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organization has just submitted its report. "Fully half the world's people," says the report, "are still inadequately housed, clothed, and nourished."

We must see this portentous situation in its historical setting. Blighting poverty and need have in fact been the lot of all human beings except a very few in every age and in almost every society. Now in this epochal 20th century, with its unprecedented ad-vances in scientific invention, in international communication and trade and travel, for the first time it has become possible significantly to raise the living standards of the vast majority of the world's people. And for the first time they are becoming aware that they need not continue in utter destitution and want. Something tremendous and withal essentially desirable is taking place. If the world of those who already possess can but give to these awakening people the Christian answer, the outcome can be mag-nificent. But if Christianity does not play its part now in effective movements for raising among many suffering peoples economic social and educational standards through brotherly assistance of many varied kinds, most of Asia and Africa may rise in powerful revolt to overthrow existing governments and political systems. The resulting struggle could be more ominous and threatening even than our battle against communism today. Whether or not the world is to have peace during the 21st century depends in large measure upon how effective ly we can at this critical juncture of world history bring into effective play the forces of Christianity before the chance has passed—in assisting the needy people of the arth to lift themselves out of the bondage of poverty, ignorance, and disease.

IV

A third profound issue which confronts our political world today is the revolt against racial discrimination and exploitation. building up of materal power for a Nation's selfish ends through the exploitation of other peoples or the draining away of their natural resources will always lead to slow-burning resentment and world instability. So far as 19th century colonialism meant the exploitation of other peoples for material and selfish gain, it was bound ultimately to prove disastrous and self-defeating. Today in many parts of the world we are paying the dreadful price for our past sins of racial exploitation. In some future day the Russian people also will pay the price for their present exploitation of satellite and other Asian peoples.

The easy but superficial answer is prompt independence for all. But is this the Christian answer?

Genuine freedom cannot be achieved by a mere political grant or by a military victory. Freedom comes only as adequate political, economic, social, and educatoinal foundations can be prepared. Men can be as effectively manacled by economic and social forms of servitude as by political oppression. The real tragedy of Indochina today is that its people are not yet prepared and able to govern or to defend themselves. Through past decades there has been an unforgivable lack of educational and economic upbuilding.

The Christian answer to the problem of colonialism and alien rule must be based upon recognition of the inherent right of every people to freedom and thus to eventual

independent or self-government. But Christianity demands far more than political independence. Christianity demands the active assistance of every underdeveloped people to build up the social and economic and educational foundations necessary for meeting the responsibilities of independence. It is a task of vast proportions to be carried on along innumerable fronts over a period of many years. It demands unbounded faith and perserverance and understanding kindliness. But its ultimate reward is peace and definite progress along the pathway to the coming of God's Kingdom. Christians must urgently be about these God-given tasks.

Communism, the present-day revolt against centuries-old poverty and colonialism or other forms of human exploitation, are not the only deep-seated causes making for catastrophic, revolutionary changes in 20th century life—changes which almost inevitably produce struggle and warfare. Another profound cause of present-day strife is the breakdown of the system of nationalism.

The political state in its modern form has slowly been evolving and building up power since the 13th century. Vast concentrations of power in the hands of certain peoples have resulted. Unhappily this power has been too often used, not for the welfare and advancement of the peoples of the world but for selfish national ends. Too often power corrupts.

The climax was reached by the end of the 19th century with the full-blown evils of emperialism and colonisism.

But as a result of our 20th century developments of international trade and travel, of mass production and the resulting dependence of almost every people upon foreign raw materials and world markets, of the cost and destructive power of modern armament, nationalism can no longer offer security to any people. Internationalism has become the price of survival. No nation single-handed and without allies and friends can possibly defend itself in any war of world consequence today.

True Christians must know that, whatever its value under bygone conditions, the self-seeking nationalism of the past cannot serve our basic needs because we are under God one human family. All barriers of nationality, of race, of color, must go. Together we must plan and build and if necessary fight for the fundamental rights of human brotherhood.

Just as in prior centuries the allegiance of men and women to their clans and city states had to yield to an allegiance to the nation, so today the allegiance to the nation must come to yield to an allegiance to the cause of all humanity.

We must more convincingly help the peo-

We must more convincingly help the peoples of Asia and of Africa to feel themselves an integral part of the free world. The price of survival in our shrunken, interdependent world of today is a brotherhood of all free peoples.

Here is a prodigious new development in the slow advance of human thinking. Either men and women must now adopt the Christian teaching of world brotherhood must unite to support such organizations as the United Nations, representing all humanity—or with the development of the atom and the hydrogen bomb be snuffed out.

VI

Along what lines can these explosive new world forces be wisely met? How are communism, the world-wide revolt against inhuman poverty, and the far-flung rebellion against human exploitation, the breakdown of a world built upon self-seeking national-ism—how are these to be countered so that mankind may go forward?

In our fight against communism the issues were defined 2,000 years ago. Jesus Christ

taught that belief in the ultimate supremacy of material force leads only to disaster. He based the very essence of his teachings upon the transcendance of spiritual and moral values over purely material ones. And it is only by this faith that communism can be effectively conquered.

Concerning human poverty and need, also, Jesus' teaching took very definite form. To suffering humanity he gave the parable of the good Samaritan. He taught that the supreme values in the world are individual, human personalities. Only when welcomed in such a faith can the present worldwide revolt against debasing poverty be transmuted from a struggle of evil threatening disaster into an epochal step forward in human progress.

Jesus taught the equality of all men under God and the sacredness of each individual personality. How else can the evil of 19th century colonialism and present day forms of human exploitation be fought?

Jesus taught the eternal brotherhood of all men under God. Until we can replace the self-secking, narrow nationalism of former days by the determination to achieve international brotherhood, how can we go forward?

Years of struggle on the front line of international politics and diplomacy have taught me and countless others that there can be no solution of the problems and successive crises which crowd upon us in the political arenas of the world except those based upon the teachings of Jesus Christ. His teaching points the only possible pathway to human progress, to world peace, to the ultimate satisfaction of the most profound instincts and yearnings of the human heart.

Are we beginning to sense the crucial significance and need of spreading throughout the world in these critical days before destruction is upon us a comprehension and understanding of the great saving concepts taught by Jesus Christ—that upon them alone can human progress or lasting peace be built?

VII

In his realization and teaching of these profound truths we can sense something of the stature of John Mackay, modern apostle of Christianity. His lifelong work in colleges and universities in South and Central America, in Scotland and in numerous institutions and seminaries of the United States, has been spent in witness to their truth. Dr. Mackay with winning eloquence is calling men and women in every country of the world into the great fellowship of Jesus Christ. As he said in his pregnant book Heritage and Destiny: "God and His purposes stand above the Nation and the Nation's interests, and the highest role a nation can play is to reflect God's righteousness in national policy. * * *"

He sums up his teaching in what he has

He sums up his teaching in what he has written for the World Christian Fellowship Number of The Upper Room for Sunday, October 3: "Wide chasms divide men and nations. But on the horizon shines a star of hope. It is the existence of a worldwide fellowship of men and women who love and serve Jesus Christ."

In his potent work as president of the Princeton Theological Seminary, he is training and inspiring young men to go forth preaching the word with power. As chairman of the International Missionary Council, moderator of the general assembly of the Presbyterian Church and president of its board of foreign missions, and through his other missionary activities, he has strengthened immeasurably missionary work throughout the world and given new meaning to the words of Christ: "Go ye therefore and teach all nations, baptizing them.

• • • " (Math. 28:19). In his outstanding ecumenical work he has been drawing ever closer the bonds of Christian fellowship and

love and thereby with telling effect breaking down the barriers of misunderstanding and

of color and race prejudice.

I am convinced that the forces of Christianity today have it within their power with wise leadership and organized activity to play such a part in building for the coming Kingdom of God as Christian forces have never played before. If we, like John Mackay, but keep true to Jesus Christ, there can be no such thing as ultimate defeat. God is looking down upon us today with confidence and hope.

Are we ready to go forward?

Eisenhower Defends Nixon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the Record an article by Mr. David Lawrence in which he discusses the defense of Vice President Nixon against politically inspired smears which have been directed at the Vice President recently. This article which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune of January 13, 1955, and the President's statement should put at rest the unjustified attacks which have been perpetrated against Vice President Nixon. The article follows:

EISENHOWER WINS PRAISE FOR HIS DEFENSE OF NIXON

(By David Lawrence)

Washington, January 12.—President Eisenhower is beginning to get the feel of national politics and especially the way prejudices are built out of charges that have no foundation.

Instead of allowing his press conference to be used as a means of encouraging friction inside the Republican Party, the President answered firmly and courageously a question this week about Vice President Nixon's speeches which had been the subject of criticism by Speaker Raysuan and other Democratic leaders. Mr. Eisenhower made it clear that he didn't think Mr. Nixon had accused the Democratic Party of treason, as some Democrats tried to make it appear. By meeting this budding controversy in its inciplent stages, the President prevented the Democrats from maneuvering him into a battle inside his own political family.

ATTACKS ON NIXON

For several weeks now—in fact, ever since the November elections—various Democratic Party spokesmen have been saying over and over again that Vice President Nixon conducted an unfair campaign because of his references to the handling of Communists in Government by the Truman and Roosevelt administrations. The criticisms have been repeated often in Washington, where there still is a predisposition in some quarters to believe what Democratic politicians say without ferreting out the facts.

The President asked one of the reporters if he was inquiring about Mr. Nixon's speeches on the supposition that the Vice President had said what his critics claimed or on the basis of what Mr. Nixon really did say in the campaign. It tuned out that the query was based solely on the allegations of the Democrats.

PARTY OF TREASON

Mr. Eisenhower thereupon said he would give a few facts himself. First of all, he de-

clared that he didn't consider any political party in America to be a party of treason and that only the Communist Party could be held to be treasonable. At its last session Congress by statute declared the Communist Party subversive.

Next, the President said no such sweeping condemnation of any major party had been made by Mr. Nixon. Mr. Eisenhower revealed that he has been assured by the Vice President himself that never, even by implication, had he tried to condemn an entire party but that the speeches which had been criticized contained references only to individual cases and to the way they were handled administratively. Mr. Nixon, the President said, had questioned good judgment but never loyalty.

What the Democrats have employed recently is not, of course, a new device—to raise a smokescreen in rebutting a charge of administrative incompetence. When Attorney General Brownell made a speech in October 1953, criticizing former President Truman for having been lax in handling the case of Harry Dexter White after the FBI had made specific reports concerning White's role in a Communist ring, there was a hue and cry to the effect that Mr. Brownell had questioned the loyalty of Mr. Truman.

Despite Mr. Brownell's prompt disavowal of any such inference, the Democrats stuck to the accusation, and to this day their speakers repeat the canard that Mr. Brownell questioned the loyalty of the former President.

PROPAGANDA SCHEMES

Now it turns out that the same game is being played in an effort to discredit Vice President Nixon. In the past, such propaganda schemes have not been perceived by Mr. Eisenhower, and some of his answers at press conferences have been susceptible of an unfriendly interpretation with respect to members of his own official family.

By coming out flatly and demanding that the accusers of Mr. Nixon give chapter and verse to support their criticism, the President is well advised. It shows he is recognizing the importance of uniting the Republican Party and preventing political opponents from driving a wedge between him and other prominent Republicans.

If the Democrats think it politically desirable to pursue the controversy, they will in the long run be injuring themselves. For the last thing the Democrats should want to see happen is a rehash with kiefg lights of all the cases in which the Democratic administrations of the past were remiss in ferreting out Communists and security risks in government.

The President is acting more like the leader of his party, and it is a healthy sign, because in 1956 a united Republican Party is a prerequisite to victory.

With a Faith and a Flag They Called It America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BEN F. JENSEN

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. JENSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Record, I am proud to include a speech delivered by Mrs. Roland Walter, president of the Iowa Department of the American Legion Auxiliary at their 1954 conference held at Council Bluffs, Iowa:

WITH A FAITH AND A FLAG THEY CALLED IT AMERICA

(By Katherine Watter, Lenox Iowa)

"God built a continent and filled it with untold treasures. He bedecked it with soft rolling prairies and pillared it with sweetflowing fountains and long winding streams. He graced it with deep shadowed forests and filled the trees with songirds.

"These treasures would have meant little if hordes of people had not come to its shore, each bearing a gift and a hope. Our forefathers had a glow of adventure in their eyes, and the glory of hope in their souls. And out of them, fashloned a nation blessed with a purpose sublime. And they called it America."

Our forefathers worked hard to give us a land of plenty, a land of mechanical miracles and great scientific achievements. Our vast material blessings have no equal in the long turbulent history of civilization. We seem to be at the peak of our prosperity but we find ourselves beset with fears, doubts, and uncertainties. There are some things that we as Americans must labor to get back—habits of thrift and self-denial; courage to face new adventures; the serene faith that was ours in simple creeds and established traditions; the patriotism that has put America first; the unshaken belief that was ours in American institutions and American ideals. We must return to sturdy, clean, upstanding Americanism of our forefathers, who went forward with a faith and a flag.

Today we seem to be standing at the crossroads in the history of a great nation. In this crisis we have at our command the strength, the courage, and the inspiration of our forefathers. Faith in God, faith in ourselves, faith in our fellow men, faith in our freedom.

The men who signed the Constitution, the men who braved the prairies to pioneer the land, lived by these faiths.

Down through the ages faith in God has been an all-powerful force in the lives of men. When the Pilgrim fathers waded onto the shores of New England, there was no government to give them aid and comfort or support. All they had to sustain them was a deep and abiding faith.

Throughout civilization faith has persisted and is woven into the foundation and uprights of our Nation. It has given us strength when we have faltered. Recognition of a Supreme Power and the dependence upon that Power for guidance is contained in the Declaration of Independence, in our National and State Constitutions. So strong was that faith that on our coins the words, "In God we trust," is stamped.

Faith in ourselves: Each of us can revive the spirit which built our country, by renewing this faith in ourselves. We know it has paid off in richer, happier, and fuller lives for us. We know it has brought us the greatest outpouring of goods and services the world has ever known. We know, too, it can bring peace and security for us. The history of our country is a history of a people with faith in themselves.

In recent years we've lost some of that faith. We are leaning on the Government for assistance and for the solution of many of our personal and community problems.

Faith in our own ingenuity, our resourcefulness, and our ability to take care of our basic needs of life is essential to the preservation of human rights and personal liberties. Faith in ourselves—it is our responsibility to preserve it untarnished and undiminished.

Faith in our fellowmen: Our forefathers possessed this faith, too. They lived by it; fought for it; and died to foster it. They wrote it into the Declaration of Independence that all who followed would not forget these words, "With a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually

pledge our lives-our Fortunes-and our Sacred Honor.

Today, no less than years ago, we must lek the strength such faith in our fellowmen yields. The preservation of this basic -the foundation of brotherly love is

our duty. Faith in freedom: Personal freedom was believed in by our forefathers. It was not a dream. They believed that it was a Godgiven right and they believed it so deeply that they made freedom an established fact. That is why we have freedom. That is why we have been so richly blessed with the good things of life. Our Nation has become a land of plenty—in a world beset with pov-

erty, hunger, and suffering.

Down through the years we have been free to dream, free to explore, free to invent, free to work, to achieve, and to accumulate, free to venture, free to earn and save, free to climb from lowly beginnings to positions of

power, honor, and trust.

But as we enjoy these blessings, we should remember always that freedom can be lost and will be if we take it for granted. Freedom is a sacred trust which is ours to hand on to our children as a birthright.

Let us look at the letters in the word "free."

F-the faith to uphold the ideals upon which our country was founded.

R—the responsibility not to encroach upon

the rights of others.

E-education, for education is the cornerstone of the brotherhood of man.

E-the experience of faith from which there is no substitute.

Putting the meaning of these letters together, we can and we will preserve our heritage.

Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I am glad to have permission to extend my remarks to include testimonials to the untiring and intelligent work of Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, Chairman of the President's Committee on Employment of the Physically Handicapped.

The first article is an editorial entitled "Inspiring Courage." It appeared in the Bremerton Sun, of Bremerton, Wash., on October 8, 1954. The second is from the Sunday Pioneer Press of St. Paul, Minn., appearing December 5, 1954.

In conclusion, I want to add the very fine writeup by Robert E. Baker, staff reporter of the Washington Post and Times-Herald, on December 30, 1954. Mr. Baker has captured part of the enthusiasm my old friend and colleague displays when he talks about his main interest in life: Hiring the physically handicapped is just good business.

[From the Bremerton (Wash.) Sun of Octo-ber 8, 1954]

INSPIRING COURAGE

By word and by deed, a sightless war hero demonstrated during his visit here why he is the President's choice to head the Nation's program to hire the physically handicapped.

At two points in his tour of Puget Sound Naval Shipyard this week, Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas, United States Marine Reserve (retired), impressed his hosts.

Whe naccorded courtesy honors, General Maas moved briskly among the marines at attention as he had countless times in his military career. Stopping suddenly, he accepted an extended rifle and swung it skyward. His sightless eyes seemed to search the barrel. Aside, someone whispered, "He can smell a dirty rifle."

If General Maas' character flashed only briefly then, it was bared brightly in a naked moment aboard the U. S. S. Missouri. Because he had once visited aboard as a Minnesota congressman, Maas asked to be taken the Missouri's famed surrender deck. There, without prearrangement, he knelt to touch, like braille, the raised lettering on the bronze plaque.

To those privileged to witness the event, Maas symbolibzed mankind's humble beings who are great through human dignity in the face of adversity. Still later, Maas displayed another quality necessary in the conquering of physical handicaps. He joked about his.

Relating how an Army general had expressed surprise when he remained on active duty awhile after becoming blind, Maas said the officer commented he must be the first blind general to serve his country. Maas answer to the fellow officer was, "No, sir; just the first to admit he is blind." Then Maas, who had minimized his blindness, finally admitted he did have a handicap-false teeth.

By word and by deed. General Maas is doing a real job in job hunting for fellow Amer-He not only provides inspiration for his fellowman, he also demonstrates to employers that hiring the handicapped can, indeed, be good business.

[From the St. Paul (Minn.) Pioneer Press of December 5, 1954]

ST. PAULITE TO BE HONORED-SIGHTLESS MAAS AIDS HANDICAPPED

(By Walter T. Ridder)

Washington.-Maj. Gen. Melvin J. Maas is a man who practices what he preaches. The former St. Paul congressman spends his time these days roaming the United States of American and foreign nations, talking to all who will listen to the doctrine that the physically handicapped make fine employees

That Maas should have the interests of the physically handicapped close to his heart is not surprising. "Why, I'm physically handicapped myself," he will tell you with a broad grin. "I use false teeth."

Maas is returning to the Twin Citles this

weekend to be honored at a series of ceremonies. At the naval air station Saturday will be Mel Maas Day as the Marine Air Reserves salute him with mass formation of troops and a flyover of aircraft.

As father of Marine aviation in Minnesota, Maas organized the first Marine Squadron at the naval air station in 1931 and was its leader until 1940.

Civic and military leaders and a host of his friends will pay tribute to Maas Saturday night during a dinner in the Leamington Hotel, Minneapolis. Between 300 and 400 persons are expected to attend the func-

It is acceptance of physical disability with that kind of humor which Mass is con-stantly preaching, for in addition to the handicap of his false teeth, the St. Paulite in recent years has also lost his eyesight.

Three years ago, the light which had been fading, flickered out. To some, so stricken, the temptation might have been to call it a day and spend the rest of life being served and waited upon and making the darkness an excuse for doing nothing.

Not so Maas, who, one of his friends said, merely took a deep breath, reassessed his new position, and promptly lauched forth on a new career. As Maas himself recalls it: "I was so busy I never really thought about the blindness. I moved my tele-phone to the hospital and kept myself so busy that the question of how to readjust never came up.

Now as chairman of the President's Committee for Employment of the Handicapped, Maas argues that there is a definite relationship between being busy and adjusting oneself to physical handicap. "It shouldn't be just made-work," Maas says. "You've got to keep yourself busy on work which has a definite purpose."

The "definite purpose" to which Maas is now directing himself is trying to impress upon employers that the physically handicapped can pay their own way. "Why I've seen a blind man operate the most complex drill machine-and he can do it just as well and just as safely as the man with two good

In bringing his message to employers, Maas cresses two statistics. The first is that the stresses two statistics. The first is that the accident rate among the physically handicapped employed in factories is lower than that among so-called normal persons; the second, absenteeism is much lower among the handicapped than among their healthy co-workers.

Maas himself is an example of the independence with which a handicapped person can carry out his assignments. Since January, Maas has traveled over 70,000 miles, has ranged from the West coast to Vienna, Austria, and travels alone. "On my first trip as a handicapped person, I had an escort," he recalls with a chuckle, "but the guy became sick in the airplane and I had to take care of him the whole way. After that, I decided I could travel easier all by myself."

One of Maas' Washington friends remembers seeing the former Congressman dashing down one of this city's main boulevards, his cane uncannily picking his route, and huffing behind him was a lady. "I said to my-self," recalls the friend, "if she's his escort, she ain't doing him much good."

Nor is the job on behalf of the physically handicapped the only one to which Maas attends. Every three or four weeks he goes back on active duty with the United States Marine Corps. In his uniform of a major-general, he sits on the Reserve Forces policy board, an instrument of the Defense Department which advises and suggests on matters pertaining to America's reservists.

The Marine Corps has always been close to Maas' heart. He served in World War I as a marine flier and assiduously followed the Reserve training program in the years be-tween the wars, ultimately rising to the rank of colonel, at which rank he served during World War II. He was present at the battles of Guadalcanal and Milne Bay, and commanded two marine air bases on Okinawa.

His 14 years in the House of Representatives as Congressman from St. Paul gave him an opportunity to fight gallantly on behalf of the Marine Corps. As a ranking Republican member of the then House Naval Affairs Committee Maas was able to help beat off the oft-recurring suggestions that the Marine Corps be abolished.

The recent shooting of several Congressmen by Puerto Rican fanatics reminded Capitol historians that Maas had played the major role in a similar attempt back in 1932. A father, temporarily deranged by the problems of the depression, invaded the floor of Congress and, brandishing a revolver, threatened the Congressmen.

St. Paul's Congressman Maas approached the man, talked to him, and succeeded in disarming him before any damage had been done. For risking his own life on behalf of his colleagues Maas was awarded the Carnegle Silver Medal for heroism.

Defeated for reelection in the 1944 political campaign, Maas settled in Washington, living in Silver Spring, a Maryland suburb.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of December 30, 1954]

BLIND MEL MAAS, EX-CONGRESSMAN, TRAVELS 100,000 MILES IN YEAR—SAYS FALSE TEETH ARE HIS CHIEF HANDICAP

(By Robert E. Baker)

"I am very seriously handicapped," said Mel Maas. "I wear false teeth."

The totally blind 56-year-old retired marine major general and former Congressman was showing off his specially equipped study in the lower level of his Somerset, Md., rambler.

Arranged around the soundproofed room were a braille typewriter, a regular electric typewriter, a talking-record machine, and many file slots. Maas sat down on a stenographer's chair, equipped with casters, and pushed himself from place to place, showing his prowess.

Then he plumped comfortably in a contour chair in the corner with the talkingrecord machine.

"This is where I sit at night, after the family's gone to bed, with a Scotch in one hand, a cigar in the other. And I just listen to the best books there are."

That's about the only time this remarkable man is still.

During this year he has traveled 100,000 miles alone and has made 280 speeches. "Being an oldtime politician, that doesn't faze me," he said. He belongs to 72 duespaying organizations.

But his main interest these days concerns his job as chairman of the President's Committee on the Physically Handicapped. He

gets no pay.

"That's the way I want it," he said. "I don't want to upset my amateur standing, and I do want to be able to tell anybody to

go to hell if they're wrong."

Always known for his outspokenness, his

agility with a quip, and his all-out vigor, Maas hasn't changed a bit.

"I don't feel a bit older since my sight vanished in August 1951," he said. "Probably because I can't see myself in the mirror."

A native of Duluth, Minn., he attended public schools in St. Paul and St. Thomas College and the University of Minnesota. He recently received an honorary doctor of laws degree from St. Thomas. "But nobody will call me doctor," he lamented.

After college, he went to Texas into the oil business, joined the National Surety Corp. in 1920, set up the Dmyer-Maas Co. insurance agency in St. Paul in 1925.

A year later, he was elected to Congress at the age of 28, as Republican Representative from Minnesota, It wasn't long before he grew a moustache, and sported pince-nez, which had window-glass lenses.

"I got tired of being referred to as the baby Congressman," he said.

He was known as the Flying Congressman, too, in those days. Maas was a marine filer during World War I.

Once, he buzzed the Capitol during a joint session of Congress with President Hoover. Wishin; to show a plane could bomb the Capitol and wipe out the Government, he

succeeded in cracking the skylight glass and sending the officials scurrying.

Then, before returning to Bolling Field in his P-1 biplane, he buzzed the White House, zoomed low over Pennsylvania Avenue, and

thumbed his nose at policemen.
"I would have been sent to the penitentiary if I wasn't a Congressman," he said.

On December 13, 1932, a maniac flourished a loaded revolver in the House Gallery. Representatives dived for the nearest exit. Mass remained and explained to the youth it was against the rules to shoot a Representative.

The youngster tossed the weapon to Maas, who was awarded the Carnegie medal the next year.

During these years, Mass was a tireless advocate of bigger and better ships and guns. After World War II broke out, Mass raised a storm in November 1942, when he accused the Navy high command of concealing from the public that things weren't going right in the Pacific. Before his speech, a delegation of high officers visited him and applied pressure to at least tone it down.

"I told them where to go, of course," said Maas.

He got a leave of absence, served at Guadalcanal and New Guinea. In 1944, he was defeated for reelection, and promptly reported back to the Marines on Okinawa. After the war he was made special assistant to the board chairman of the Sperry Corp., and was with that firm when the Korean conflict broke out.

A severe critic of the Government's Reserve officer's programs, Maas was called back to work out a new program. His sight failed in August 1951, and he was retained on full active duty until his retirement in August 1952. Why blindness struck is unknown.

He had been serving on the President's Committee on the Physically Handicapped before his blindness. He sent in his resignation.

President Truman turned it down, saying: "Now you can get us inside information on the problem." Mass went into the work with customary vigor.

He reported to the Hines, Ill., Veterans Rehabilitation Center and learned how to get along without sight. He had company—Korean veterans. He's writing a book on this experience, called Soup With a Fork.

Maas is deadly serious when it comes to his job of trying to sweep away the prejudice and misunderstanding some employers have about employing handicapped persons. "We're getting more and more acceptance," he said, "but we've a long way to go."

Recently they held Mel Maas Day in St. Paul and Minneapolis. Dressed in uniform, Maas proceeded to troop two lines of a Marine honor guard at the Marine Air Reserve Training Station in Minneapolis.

Suddenly, Maas stopped in front of a marine in line, smartly yanked his rifle away and swung it skyward with his right hand. He held the barrel to his eye momentarily.

"It looks clean to me," he quipped, returning it to the marine.

National Affairs Platform of the American Veterans Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, there follows the national affairs platform adopted by the American Veterans Committee at the eighth annual convention held in December 1954, at Boston, Mass.:

NATIONAL AFFAIRS PLATFORM THE NATION'S PREEDOM

We reaffirm our belief in the traditional American freedoms embodied in the Bill of Rights. Legitimate measures designed to safeguard our national security and to combate espionage can be adopted, without permitting the erosion of our principles. These principles are the bulwark of our democracy and constitute our real strength and pride.

We oppose efforts to suppress criticism, dissent, and the freedom to read and think. We oppose censorship.

We deplore the present tendency to water down the safeguards of the present Bill of Rights. We reaffim the importance to all Americans of the right to counsel, to freedom from unlawful search and seizure, and to due process of law.

We oppose resort to the "test oath" which cannot prevent, detect, nor protect against disloyalty. We urge Congress to enact legislation giving to each person whose loyalty or integrity is attacked before a congressional committee the rights to a bill of particulars of the charges against him, to make a timely defense against the charges, and to confront and cross-examine witnesses.

We recognize the considerable gains that have been made in the last year in the field of civil rights of certain minority groups, particularly of nonwhite Americans. We are, however, aware that such gains have been greatly offset by the general curtailment of civil liberties, induced by fear of the Soviet Union and of the Communist conspiracy. We assert that an increase in equality in a steadily decreasing field of freedom must result eventually in the equal sharing of nothing. With this warning in mind, but recognizing that the drive for abolition of second-class citizenship must continue, we urge:

1. The elimination of all statutes, ordinances, or regulations, whether civil or military, which require, encourage, or condone discrimination in civil life or in the Armed Forces, by segregation or otherwise, on the basis of race, color, ancestry, national origin, or religion.

2. The enactment of legislation to prevent denial of equal opportunity in employment, in the use of public facilities and places of accommodation open to the general public, and in participation in public life and to prevent the denial of human rights when such denial is based on discrimination because of race, color, ancestry, national origin, or religion.

3. The enunciation and the implementation by the executive branch of the Government of all affirmative policy directing all executive departments and administrative agencies to carry out their functions, programs, and services in a manner calculated to eliminate discrimination, segregation, and inequality based on race, color, ancestry, national origin, or religion in all phases of activity upon which they can have a direct or indirect effect.

4. Revision of the immigration and naturalization laws to eliminate racial and religious discriminations, to reform the outdated national origins quota systems and to do away with unwarranted distinctions in the treatment of native-born and naturalized citizens which stamp the latter as second-class citizens.

THE NATION'S ECONOMY

We believe that under our private enterprise system in which business, labor, and agriculture cooperate, the Government has an overall responsibility to act in such a manner as to maintain the national economy at a high level of activity and full employment in line with an increasing population and a rising standard of living. opposed to any fiscal policy which in the political attempt to be all things to all people would purport to carry out the provedly incompatible policies of balancing the budget, cutting personal and corporate income tax, and maintaining an adequate national defense and other Government service at one and the same time. Such a policy can only lay the foundation for future catastrophe. We are opposed to any present reduction of tax revenues. As a sound fiscal policy consistent with full employment permits further reduction in taxes, priority should be given to the reduction of those taxes which fall most heavily upon the lower income groups rather than those taxes which are borne principally by the higher income groups or by corporations.

Labor policy

We urge that a new labor law be enacted at the forthcoming session of Congress eliminating those unrealistic and unreasonable

provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act in derogation of the right of labor to organize, and also providing protection of the public interest and of the personal freedom of union members.

We urge revision of the unemployment insurance, workman's compensation, and sickness disability laws to provide for improved benefits and greater uniformity of benefits among the States.

Credit and monopoly

We are disturbed by the resurgence of the trend toward monopoly in the Nation's business. We recognize that our increas-ingly complex technological, manufacturing and distributive processes encourage that trend. We believe, however, that a demo-cratic form of government is threatened as much by overconcentration of economic power in the hands of private individuals or corporations as it may be by overconcentra-tion in the hands of Government itself. It is the duty and responsibility of our Government, under both our general philosophy and under the antitrust and antimonopoly laws to guard; and maintain a truly competitive free-enterprise system and to use its legislative, legal enforcement and vast purchasing power to that end. We urge the Government particularly in this time of merger and of disappearance and difficulty of small businesses, to establish credit facilities for small and medium size businesses, to utilize its purchasing power not only for efficiency in governmental expenditure but also to maintain a healthy economy to which the participation of small business is essential, and to rigorously enforce the antitrust and antimonopoly laws.

Foreign-trade policy

We call for a realistic policy of trade, not aid through the encouragement of freer trade through low tariffs and a stable tariff program.

Natural resources

The utilization of natural resources should benefit the American people as a whole. The Federal Government must obviously play a prominent role in planning their conservation and development. We deplore the all too obvious trend to grant exploitation rights, frequently on a monopoly's basis, in our great natural resources to private enterprises, without any or insufficient Federal safeguards or control. We believe such a policy represents a shortsighted surrender to the powerful interests and lobbies of the present without true regard for its future impact upon the Nation's economy, welfare, and defense.

We call again for the establishment of regional river valley authorities since private interests and Federal and States agencies have not yet provided sound interstate development programs.

We oppose the drive to reverse national power policy by renouncing Federal responsibility for governmental power development and low-cost supply of federally produced power to Federal and domestic consumers. Public-power districts, cooperatives, and municipalities should be assisted in the distribution of power at low cost in the interest of the people of the area served.

THE NATION'S WELFARE

Education

We agree with the basic principles stated by the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools:

"The problem of its children's schools lies at the heart of a free society. None of man's public institutions has a deeper effect upon his conduct as a citizen, whether of the community, of the Nation, or of the world.

"The goal of our public schools should be to make the best in education available to every American child on completely equal terms. "Public-school education should be constantly reappraised and kept responsive both to our educational traditions and to the changing times."

We welcome the Supreme Court decision abolishing segregation in the schools, and pledge ourselves to work in our own communities to see to it not only that this decision is carried into effect but that every child, regardless of race, creed, or color, is given both the right and the opportunity to a first-rate education.

We deplore the lack of respect for the teaching profession, especially elementary and high school teaching, and urge increased remuneration for teachers corresponding to the important task which they fulfill, and greater recognition by the community of the teacher's status as a citizen and a free human hairs.

man being.

We urge the appropriation of State and local funds for public education, including the improvement and expansion of the over-taxed physical plant of America's public schools, for the granting of scholarships for both training and research, and for increasing teachers' salaries. We urge a program of Federal aid to education to assist in meeting these objectives.

We call upon Americans to participate actively in those organizations dedicated to the support and improvement of the Nation's public schools and to oppose the pressures upon schools and teachers by forces which seek to negate a basic principle upon which the American system of education is found-d—free inquiry into and the discussion of the controversial problems of our times.

Health

We urge the expansion of medical insurance and group medical-care plans. We urge adoption of a plan of national health insurance to assure a higher national standard of health which will enable our people effectively to meet the mounting demands and challenges of citizenship.

Housing

We deplore the utter failure of Congress to recognize the continuing existence of a grave shortage of low-rent and middleincome housing throughout the Nation. We believe that approximately 2 million units a year will be required for the next 10 years in order to meet urgent and minimum housing needs. We urge the immediate enactment of legislation authorizing construction of 200,000 units per year of low-rent public housing as a bare minimum program. We urge a realistic Federal program designed to encourage the construction of middle-income housing by fostering expansion of a genuine cooperative housing program, including provisions for a broad program of Government expert and technical assistance to cooperators. We commend the program to aid urban renewal and redevelopment embodied in the Housing Act and call for its expansion. We urge in this connection rigid and adequate safeguards for a realistic relocation program designed to prevent the creation of additional blighted or substand-

We endorse all the efforts of the Federal Government and State and local governments to provide assistance for low- and medium-priced rental housing and for home maintenance and renovation.

We urge, in the interests of a true slumclearance program, that a plan be adopted which will provide construction of an adequate number of units on vacant land in proportion to the number of units to be constructed on presently improved property.

THE NATION'S GOVERNMENT

This country's form of government has proved democratically responsive to modern needs. A strong executive has greatly contributed to its success. We deplore the growing tendency of Congress to usurp functions

which should properly be exercised by the executive branch of the Government. We oppose enactment of the Bricker amendment or of any substitute as contrary to the separation of governmental functions and as crippling the conduct of our foreign relations.

Congress

Experience since the adoption of the La-Foliette-Monroney Act demonstrates the need for further modernization of congressional procedures. We support especially the bipartisan effort to establish a code of ethics and procedures for congressional investigations. We reiterate our belief that the Senate rules must be amended to bring fillibusters under control and that the power of the House Rules Committee over legislation must be restricted.

Civil service

We are disturbed by recent evidences of a return to the spoils system in the field of Pederal Government employment. We warn against any use in a security system for Federal employees, of spurious categories of so-called policy-making positions, or of partisan methods of recruiting personnel which would destroy the hard-won merit system in our civil service and which would place partisanship before competency or the legitimate rights of tenure.

We urge the President to provide additional safeguards for the rights and reputations of Federal employees in the conduct of Federal security program, with particular reference to: the right to a fair, complete, and factual statement of charges, the right to confront and cross-examine witnesses, the right to subpena witnesses, the right to examine documentary evidence, the right to a reasonably speedy hearing at or near the employee's place of employment or residence before a hearing board untrammeled by extraneous political considerations. We urge the abolition of the present system of suspension without pay of Government employees pending final decision in security cases. We urge careful reconsideration and revision of the present standards established by the President's executive order for determination of security risk.

State and local government

We urge reapportionment of State legislatures to provide for representation based on current population distribution. We urge modernization of State and local governments to meet present day needs.

We warn against burdening the States with functions which they are not equipped to perform. Under no circumstances can we approve the excuse of States rights as a device for sloughing off the responsibilities of the Federal Government.

Proposed Tariff Reductions on Textile Goods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. FORRESTER

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, the Committee for Reciprocity Information has been conducting hearings concerning tariff reductions on textile goods to be brought into this country from Japan and other countries.

This is most alarming inasmuch as these tariffs have been steadily reduced during the years of reciprocal trade agreements, and this country is already flooded with goods manufactured in other countries.

To consider further tariff reductions on textile goods indicates that our leaders are not familiar with the fact that our American textile industries are already in a precarious condition and can be forced into bankruptcy.

In the district I represent there are many textile manufacturers and approximately 100,000 people earn their living by working in these factories. These mills are efficient and modern, but they made no money last year and they cannot stand more unfair competition from goods manufactured abroad by cheap labor. I am incorporating herein a letter written me by Hon. Henry W. Swift, executive vice president, Swift Spinning Mills, Inc., Columbus, Ga., who happens to be an outstanding textile man. That letter is completely sound and portrays eloquently the textile situation. The letter reads as follows:

SWIFT SPINNING MILLS, INC., Columbus, Ga., December 31, 1954. Hon. E. L. Forrester,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D.C.

DEAR Trc: I am quite sure that you are thoroughly familiar with the hearings now going on in Washington prior to the formal hearings to be held in Geneva in February of next year with respect to the overall tariff situation.

While there are always two sides to every question, I would like to tell you that in my personal opinion, anything that is done to hurt the textile business can very well be disastrous as we have been in a very serious recession for the past 18 months. You no doubt are familiar with the fact that Columbus is very dependent upon the textile industry and, as a matter of fact, there are over 100,000 people in the State of Georgia employed in the textile mills. Any downward revision of the present tariffs could have a very profound effect upon Georgia's overall economy.

The objective of these forthcoming tariff discussions is—and should be—to develop a sound world trade program and to strengthen the economy of our Allies. We in the cotton textile industry, far from having any quarrel with those objectives, are all for them.

But we do say that it would be the height of folly to take such steps as would undermine a large and important segment of our own economy and which, at the same time, would not accomplish the purpose for which they are designed.

The truth of the matter is that the American textile market already is the widest open of any great consumer market in the world. And that may not be generally recognized is that United States textile tariffs have been steadily reduced during the past 2 decades of reciprocal trade agreements.

Now what has been happening while we have been cutting our tariffs? Simply this: Every other country—with the important exception of Canada—has been violating the spirit and the ideal of reciprocity. Since the end of the last World War, many foreign countries have proceeded to impose import quotas, exchange controls, exorbitant tariffs, and numerous other artificial barriers to trade. And most of these actions have been aimed deliberately against the United States.

Now it seems to me that the objective of a sound foreign trade policy should be to correct this state of affairs—to induce these countries abroad to set their own economic houses in order. But instead of that, our policymakers seem determined to create an economic booby trap—a trap that will sacrifice our textile and apparel employees and workers in related industries, while actually benefiting nobody.

I don't want to bore you with figures, but figures prove beyond any doubt that the flood of Japanese cloth into this country is becoming increasingly great. Why can foreign cloth come into the United States and sell in the American market? For one reason and one reason only—because it is cheap. And why is it cheap? For one reason and one reason only—because it is made with cheap labor.

Our textile wage rates are 10 times those of Japan. Some folks may say: "Oh, well, the American industry can overcome this tremendous wage gap because its more efficient."

Let me say to that, that the Japanese textile industry has become a new textile industry since the war. The Japanese mills are modern in every respect. They are equipped or can be equipped with the same machines we have.

Far from being monopolistic, our textile industry is composed chiefly of small independent units which are highly competitive with one another. And we own no patents of any consequence. We have to be efficient—or we go out of business.

Compare this with our foreign competition, which operates under the cartel system or some system of State trading. The purpose of the cartel is usually to protect the least efficient of its members. And such systems facilitate the dumping of goods when and where the cartel or Government decides to dump them.

I say to you that if these proposed textile tariff reductions are put into effect, we here in the southeast will have to prepare ourselves for a catastrophe. Our mills will be forced out of business; our employees out of jobs, and our living standards and our economic strength will be lowered tragically.

And I say that instead of cutting further our already low tariffs, we ought to work for a positive foreign trade program that will eliminate artificial barriers and enable the underdeveloped countries to achieve a more abundant life.

This letter has been very lengthy; how-

This letter has been very lengthy; however, there was much ground to be covered, and I trust that you will do everything possible to look after our best interest.

With kindest personal regards and best wishes for the new year, I am,

Yours sincerely,

HENRY W. SWIFT.

Mr. Speaker, there is a limit to what we can do to build up other countries and we have reached that limit on textiles and on many other commodities. If further tariff reductions are ordered, Congress will have to correct the mistakes speedily, or witness the closing down of our textile mills with the textile laborers being without employment and suffering the humiliation of living off of Government doles.

As I understand the President's message on the state of the Union, the administration has envisioned that unemployment will result from tariff reductions, but that the unemployed will be given doles and handouts. That is tragic thinking and planning. I sincerely hope we will never do anything deliberately which will take work from our laboring masses on the theory that we can care for them through handouts.

A few days ago the United States Tariff Commission conducted hearings for the purpose of determining whether 200,000 tons of foreign peanuts would be brought into this country. If that permission is granted, it will be against the

will of the Congress and will annul the laws of Congress, and it will be the first time this Government has willfully and deliberately caused a surplus. There are enough peanuts now in this country to fill the demands of all legitimate consumption until the 1955 crop is harvested.

Mr. Speaker, if there are any further tariff reductions on textiles and agricultural products, such as peanuts, or any other agricultural product, and if these products are brought into this country to compete against our textile factories, textile laborers, and farmers, we can all be certain that the economy of this country will suffer irreparable damage.

Pope's Warning to the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following editorial from the New Orleans Item of January 10, 1955:

Pope's Warning to the World

Pope Pius XII is perhaps the first world leader to look as far into the future as the end of the era of peaceful coexistence—which we only now have begun to discuss.

The pontiff told the world January 3 that the present coexistence in fear has only two possible prospects before it—war, or a true peace following the terms of the Divine moral order.

So far, according to the Pope's interpretation, the fashioners of the cold peace have taken many steps that lead in the direction of war. The reason: Both camps in the great world struggle are making errors.

Not identical errors, since the principles of each camp are so different. But distinctly different errors about the same considerations: nationalistic politics; overdependence on economic solutions to human problems; false ideas about the routes to permanent peace.

It is seldom that the Western camp can get as neutral an appraisal of itself as presented in the Pope's message. The Roman Catholic pontiff, an Italian, is of the West. But, speaking as head of his church, his expressed concern is for all human beings in all parts of the world.

The Western camp was told this about its errors—

It musted the chance afforded by World War II to truly unify Europe. Instead, it revived nationalistic states, closed within themselves * * * unsettled * * * periled.

Many observers interpret this passage of the Pope's message as lamenting the failure of EDC, and the substituting of the more nationalistic West European Union.

Secondly, the West, so rich economically, has lost sight of all other means of preserving peace. Economic wealth has exercised a fascination superior to its potentialities for producing a firm peace.

While so fascinated, the West has, thirdly, forgotten that it already possesses an idea that is true and has been successfully tested in the past—the sanctity of human rights, as defined by the divine moral law.

Pius XII believes that the West's errors are far less grievous than the East's—and its contributions to a permanent peace immeasur-

ably greater.

He said that many government leaders in our camp have already recognized the errors and are moving away from them and toward truth.

The next step toward peace: Building a bridge of truth between East and West. The flow of truth across that bridge would dispel the mutual disillusionment between the two camps-the climate of fear in which one side tolerates the existence of the other because it does not wish itself to perish.

The whole world will benefit if the message of Pius XII is studied closely in both coexisting camps. It ranks among the most significant pronouncements of the pope's

16-year pontificate.

Beloved Man of God

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, ROBERT T. ASHMORE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, when a Carolina mountain preacher rises to the top of his profession, it is appropriate for all of us to pay him homage.

Seventy-three years ago, Dr. J. Dean Crain was born under the shadow of Glassy Mountain in Greenville County. S. C. He obtained an education largely through his iron will and determination. His call to the ministry was so strong that he could not resist, and for almost half a century he fought the sins of man in every State of the Southland.

Not only was he loved and esteemed by his fellow preachers, but by all who knew him, and many referred to him as a Baptist institution. Throughout his ministry he was an outstanding Christian leader and true servant of mankind. His faith in God and man was unshakable, and his character was as strong as the hills from whence he came.

His primary purpose was to save souls, but his interest in local, State, and National Government never lessened. realized a democracy is based on Christian principles. He was certain the strength of his country depended on the moral and spiritual strength of the individual citizen. He was a great minister of the gospel, but underneath it all. he was a great American.

I am including in my remarks an editorial from the Greenville News, January 11, 1955:

BELOVED MAN OF GOD

A long and useful life dedicated to the work of the church and to the cause of Christian education has come to its close in the death of the beloved Dr. J. Dean Crain.

Dr. Crain was a product of the hills of upper Greenville County. Public-school facilities were meager in his boyhood, but he took advantage of them and he was among the first students at what was then North Greenville Baptist Academy. After his graduation at Furman University in 1910 his active ministry began which was to last for more than half a century.

This man of God accepted every opportunity to serve that he could. He worked with his denomination's mission board to help Baptist schools, colleges, rural churches, and missions. He served for a time as head of North Greenville Baptist Academy which has become North Greenville Junior College. While serving as pastor in Columbia he also left the impress of his fine character on prisoners at the State penitentiary in the capacity of director of religious activities. For three decades he was a trustee of Furman University and he was active in the affairs of the State and Southern Baptist conventions for many years.

From 1930 until his retirement almost 3 years ago he was a valued member of the Greenville religious community in the capacity of pastor of one of the city's largest

churches, Pendleton Street.

It is the privilege of few men to be blessed with the rare good humor, love of his fellow man and implicit trust in his Maker that characterized the everyday life of Dr. Crain. He combined these gifts to lift the low in spirit and to inspire all with whom he came in contact. He served man and God with equal devotion. As he goes to his rich reward a host of men, women, and children whom he loved and pointed to a better life will remember him with grateful appreci-

Dean Crain, as he was affectionately known in his younger days, first saw the light in a mountain home on an October morning in 1881. It can be said in all truth that this man of God left the world better than he found it. And he leaves a leaven of inspiration and kindly humor to enrich the lives of thousands.

American Aid in Italy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the article I am placing in the RECORD at this point appeared on the front page of the New York Times of December 25, 1954.

The article tells a story that I hope will be read and carefully pondered by all Members of this House. It is the story of a man, a constituent of mine. Anthony Cucolo, who loves his fellow men and who uses his head as well as his heart in giving them the help they need.

We have gone all over the world giving away money, but we have done it impersonally and unintelligently, in most instances. This is amply proved by the results.

Here we see one man giving wisely, through the local officers of a village, giving the needful through the friends and neighbors who understand the problem. As a result, this small Italian village has turned away from the left and the blandishments of communism, more than any of its neighbors.

This one man has accomplished more than our Government, with all its wealth, has been able to do, in most of Italy.

We, as a people, must use our minds as well as our hearts if these programs are to succeed. Anyone who has been to Europe knows that much of our spending has brought only frustration and disappointment. Here is a real success story. Let us follow this path, spend far less and accomplish far more:

American's Aid to Town in Italy Wins 92-Percent Vote for Democracy—Govern-MENTS STUDY PLAN OF SUFFERN MAN THAT CURBED APPEAL OF THE REDS

SUFFERN, N. Y., December 24 .- Both the Italian and American Governments are studying a method for feeding poor people that has resulted in a trend away from leftwing tickets in recent elections in one Italian community.

The method was developed by Anthony Cucolo, roadbuilder and philanthropist of this community. It has been put into practice to feed the poor during the winter months in Summonte, Italy, for the last 5

Under the plan Mr. Cucolo sends about \$2,000 annually to a committee in Summonte made up of a physician, the mayor,

and another prominent citizen.

The committee purchases, locally, at low cost such staples as spaghetti, rice, potatoes, and sometimes meat. These foods are then distributed to those in need. Mr. Cucolo, who returned 2 weeks ago from Italy, discovered that his expenditures had resulted in a decisive result in the voting in Summonte. Premier Mario Scelba notified Mr. Cucolo this week that he had ordered the Director General to investigate the plan.

When Mr. Cucolo was told the leftwing groups were using propaganda to influence votes, and he, without any motive except philanthropy had won the people of Sum-monte over to the cause of democracy, he decided to get in touch with the Italian

Government

"Local officials in Summonte told me the feeding of these people had been the deciding factor in their attitude on life." Mr. Cucolo said. "The American Government could carry out a similar plan in all the 5,100 villages in Italy at a cost of about \$10 million annually.

"This has nothing to do with present State Department and Marshall plan expenditures, but I believe our American ideals could

be furthered greatly by using this method of direct philanthropy."

A check of the balloting in recent elections shows Summonte citizens voted 92 percent for the party representing democracy and only 8 percent for leftwing candidates. Within a 3-mile radius the citizens in Monteforte Irpino voted 29.7 leftwing, while in the adjacent villages of Mercogliano, Ospedaletto, St. Angelo a Scala, and Pietrastornina the votes ranged from 19 to 23 percent leftwing.

Mr. Cucolo, who built the Storm King bypass, is now constructing the bridge-deck roadway for the New York State Throughway 3-mile bridge across the Hudson River between Nyack and Tarrytown.

Mr. Cucolo was the founder of the Rockland Voluntary Aid, a local plan of taking care of persons in temporary need that has been copied in many places. This plan received national attention because, like Mr. Cucolo's operation in Italy, it brought relief to a community at a minimum of cost.

In 1949, on a visit to Summonte, he observed women carrying water from a trickling fountain to their homes. It took hours to get a supply for a day. Through a United States Government agency he obtained an appropriation of \$100,000 to build a water-

Ambassador Clare Boothe Luce told Mr. Cucolo on his recent visit she would attend the dedication of the Summonte waterworks on July 16.

Mr. Cucolo has two sons, both graduates of West Point, who served during the war. Belmonte is an engineer on the Florida Throughway and Anthony, Jr., who recently returned from Korea, is now associated with his father. Mr. Cucolo also has two daugh-

"If the spirit of Christmas could be exemplified all year round and directed to the people and international relations, I know we could accomplish more," Mr. Cucolo said, "I had no idea 5 years ago my small contribution to my village would have an influence on the people. I hope the American Government, at a small cost compared to the amount now being spent, will see the light."

The Dixon-Yates Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT E. JONES, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, I would like to invite the membership's attention to a recent newspaper article by Morris Cunningham, a prominent newspaper writer for the outstanding Commercial Appeal, Memphis, Tenn, and also to an editorial appearing in this paper concerning the Dixon-Yates contract and how it has been managed by the principals in the Atomic Energy Commission.

The article follows:

REPORT OF STRAUSS' SPEECH QUOTING UNITED STATES ENGINEERS ON DIXON-YATES FALSIFIED—OFFICIAL RECORD FAILS TO INCLUDE ENDORSEMENT AEC CHAIRMAN SAID CORPS HAD GIVEN TO WEST MEMPHIS POWERPLANT SITE

(By Morris Cunningham)

Washington, January 8.—By doctoring the transcript of a recent news conference the Atomic Energy Commission under Chairman Lewis L. Strauss has gone into the novel business of rewriting history.

The news conference was the one held by

The news conference was the one held by Admiral Strauss December 11 in which he said the Army Corps of Engineers had approved the site of the Dixon-Yates plant.

The statement was not true and it was not surprising that the Corps of Engineers reacted with strong protests after they read

published reports of it.

The surprising aspect was that a man in

such close communion with the Dixon-Yates deal as Admiral Strauss would offer the assertion to a roomful of newsmen as a state-

ment of fact in the first place.

But the surprises did not end there. The latest came this week when a printed copy of the stenographic transcript of the news conference was distributed to Washington newsmen. More about that in a moment.

The morning after Admiral Strauss' news conference, Maj. Gen. Bernard L. Robinson, of Washington, acting chief of the Corps of Engineers, telephoned the writer a categorical denial that Army engineers had approved the s. e.

This automatically raised a question of whether Admiral Strauss had been quoted accurately.

After a telephone call to Morse Salisbury, AEC Information Chief, the writer and Richard Dudman, a reporter for the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, taxied to the AEC offices and inspected a carbon copy of a transcript of the admiral's news conference.

The transcript was fresh from the typewriter of a stenographer and was made available by Mr. Salisbury.

STRAUSS NAILED

In the transcript the two reporters and Mr. Salisbury found this statement by Admiral Strauss, made, according to recollection, while the admiral was pointing to a chart: "There has been some discussion of whether it was wise to have put the plant there in the first place. The Corps of Engineers and engineers retained by the sponsoring companies have examined some 16 sites on the river and have selected this as the preferable one.

"This elevation here shows the maximum flood record in the river, the 1937 flood. I understand that records have been made since 1880, or thereabouts, some 74 years of record, and the plant has been located at what the Corps of Engineers feel is a safe place."

Mr. Salisbury, aware of the denial from the Corps of Engineers, admitted the statement was erroneous. He called it a "slip of the tongue."

This week—almost a month after the admiral's news conference—the AEC quietly distributed printed copies of what purports to be an accurate stenographic transcript of the conference.

RECORD IS TAMPERED

On page 10 of the printed version there is this carefully doctored version of what Admiral Strauss is purported to have said about the approval of the site.

"There has been some discussion of whether it was wise to have put the plant there in the first place. Engineers retained by the sponsoring companies have examined some 16 sites on the river and have selected this as the preferable one.

"This elevation here shows the maximum flood record in the river, the 1937 flood, I understand that records have been made since 1880 or thereabouts, some 74 years of record, and the plant has been located at what our AEC engineers, after discussions with the Memphis District Office, Corps of Engineers, and review of the data, feel is the best place."

The revised version eliminates Admiral Strauss' statement that the site was approved by the Corps of Engineers. And had not two reporters seen the original, unedited transcript and obtained a statement from Mr. Salisbury, a question would be raised as to whether Admiral Strauss ever said it in the first place.

The changes were made in the printed version without any footnotes or other indications of revision.

The incident smacks of the procedures outlined by George Orwell in his satirical novel on totalitarian government entitled "1984." In this fantasy history was rewritten at will to suit the circumstances.

The incident also sets a novel precedent for Washington news handling. Newsmen may have to be on guard in the future, lest their reports—though entirely accurate—be refuted later by a carefully revised stenographic transcript.

Admiral Strauss was not the first to say the Corps of Engineers had approved the site. Similar inferences previously had been drawn by E. H. Dixon, a principal to the contract, on the Meet the Press television program, and by R. W. Cook, Assistant AEC Manager, in sworn testimony before the Joint Atomic Energy Committee.

ENGINEERS NOT APPROACHED

The fact is that the Army Corps of Englneers not only has not approved the site, but in fact did not even receive an application for a permit for construction of the plant until this week.

The incident, however, is only one of several of similar nature that have occurred during the course of the AEC's all-out advocacy and defense of the half-billion dollar contract.

It was such incidents that last November prompted Senator LISTER HILL (Democrat, of Alabama), to charge before the Joint Committee that AEC Manager K. D. Nichols had made misleading statements and offered

incomplete data in the course of assaults upon TVA.

"General Nichols could have had only one purpose—to discredit the record of that fine agency which has done so much for AEC, to impugn the probity of the staff which had dared to question the basis for AEC's conclusions. Such reckless assaults are costly to the reputation of the public servants who launch them. I fear the AEC will pay a heavy price for its entanglement with Dixon-Yates."

Senator Hnl., who will head the Senate subcommittee that controls AEC and TVA pursestrings in the new Congress, also had a word about Admiral Strauss.

"As a consequence of his willingness to usurp the authority of another independent agency of the Government [TVA], the Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, representing only a minority viewpoint, has not only diverted the time and talent of his staff from the grave matters which are their concern, he has gravely damaged the prestige of the agency for which he has responsibility," Senator Hnl. told the joint committee.

QUESTIONS AEC'S VERACITY

"He has made us wonder if we can trust the AEC. We have learned that major members of his staff are careless with data, that their presentation of material is likely to be blased, that they are seemingly indifferent to the expenditure of millions of dollars a year.

"The Committee on Appropriations of the Senate, of which I am a member, must take on the burden of more careful analysis of every estimate, more skeptical appraisal of every argument.

"Before we can proceed in confidence that committee, and I am sure your committee and other committees, must determine why this Dixon-Yates proposal is advanced with such tenacity and stubbornness. What and who is behind it?"

This week, with the new Democratic-controlled Congress in session, Senator Hill and his fellow opponents to the half-billion-dollar deal were busily planning an investigation aimed at determining the answer to his question. Developments can be expected before the new Congress is much older.

AROUND THE HILL

Representative JERE COOPER, Democrat, of Tennessee, was 1 of 3 House Members picked to escort President Eisenhower to and from the rostrum for his state of the Union message this week. The others picked for the honor were House majority leader, JOHN W. McCORMACK, Democrat, of Massachusetts, and ex-Speaker Joseph W. Mar-TIN, Jr., Republican, of Massachusetts. The selection of Representative Cooper was a tribute to his power and influence in the new Congress. Newsmen must have special passes on the days the President addresses Congress. Police surround the Capitol and visitors have to pass through one cordon after another. Northern Democrats have decided to bypass another civil rights fight for the time being. Senator James O. EAST-LAND, Democrat, of Mississippi, is assured of the chairmanship of the important, Communist-hunting Senate Internal Security Subcommittee. Representative Jamie L. WHITTEN, Democrat, of Mississippi, won a victory when the Agriculture Department ordered a survey on the economic effect of cutbacks in cotton acreage. Representative J. PERCY PRIEST, Democrat, of Tennessee, has been named to the House Democratic steering committee. Tennessee's newest Congressman, Representative Ross Bass, of Pulaski, is trying for an assignment to the House Agriculture Committee. Representative James W. TRIMBLE, Democrat, of Arkansas, will be named to the House Rules Committee and will relinquish his post on the Public Works Committee. Representative

FRANK SMITH, Democrat, of Mississippi, will advance a notch on the Public Works Committee as a result. Chances appear good for favorable TVA representation on the Independent Offices Appropriations Subcommittees. Representative Tom Murray, Democrat, of Tennessee, chairman of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, will play an important role in such major activities as pay raises for Government employees, regulation, and the Democratic investigation of the administration's "numbers game" on the dismissal of subversives.

CHICANERY IN HIGH PLACES

On December 11, newspapermen heard Lewis L. Strauss. Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, say Army engineers have approved location of proposed Dixon-Yates power plant.

K. D. Nichols was present and kept silent as Mr. Strauss spoke. Mr. Nichols, now AEC manager, has been an Army engineer general. He must have known how extraordinary it would have been if the Army engineers had advised Dixon-Yates to build anything anywhere.

As a matter of plain fact, the Army engineers had neither approved nor been asked to approve the site. The first connection of the Corps of Engineers with Dixon-Yates came nearly a month after the Strauss Incident, when approval was asked for a part of the plans involving only the coal unloading and cooling water structures in the river.

Highest officials of the Engineer Corps pro-

tested strongly when they learned what Mr.

Strauss had said.

A stenographic transcript made by the AEC showed that Mr. Strauss had said the Corps of Engineers took part in selecting the site as the best of 16 examined. He went further, according to the stenographic record, to say that after looking at flood records the Corps of Engineers considered the site to be safe.

But the AEC has now published its record of what was said and the Corps of Engineers has strangely disappeared from the remarks about examining 16 sites and choosing the

west Memphis location. The record has been doctored.

Who did the doctoring?

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH

HON, EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, of few Members of this House could it be more truly said than of DWIGHT L. ROGERS that every colleague was his good friend. The late gentleman from Florida proffered his sterling friendship freely, and only a petrified heart could rebuff it. No matter how gray the day or grim the legislative task at hand, it seemed that he had always with him the essence of Florida sunshine to share with one and all.

Mr. Rogers came to this House with a fine background in the law and substantial experience as a State legislator. He applied himself conscientiously to the committee tasks assigned him, and he won quickly the respect and confidence of his colleagues here. It was my privilege to serve with him for a time on the great Committee on Interstate and Foreign

Commerce, and I profited from the association. I do not believe anyone could have failed to be the gainer from knowing DWIGHT ROCERS

In the committee room, in the House Chamber, wherever he was in these halls of Congress, there was the spirit of genuine friendliness. This is not to suggest that Mr. Rogers took his legislative labors lightly. He was a gentleman of natural dignity who demonstrated a deep consciousness of the honor and responsibility which were his as the Representative of the Sixth District of Florida.

The fine citizens who sent Dwight ROGERS to serve with us lost in his passing an earnest and effective legislator and a kindly and engaging ambassador of goodwill. All of us who knew and loved him were deeply saddened in the knowledge that we were to return to the Capitol and find him no longer here. Our sincere sympathy goes to his widow and sons

Pay Increase for Postal and Federal Employees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, one of my first duties after taking my oath of office as a Member of the 84th Congress was to introduce a bill to increase the salaries of all postal workers and Federal employees, including those in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the Government, as well as those employed by the Government of the District of Columbia.

My bill provides for a pay increase of \$1,000 per annum to all such employees; those who are employed on an hourly or part-time basis are to receive additional compensation at the rate of 50

cents per hour.

Mr. Speaker, the prime justification for this measure is to compensate the postal workers and Government employees for the inadequate salaries paid them in recent years. I have maintained all along that their salaries have never been adequately adjusted to meet the high cost of living, particularly since the war in Korea. This has resulted in real losses of actual earning capacity for them and caused great hardship to many of these employees who are unable to cope with such problems as the increased cost of food, higher rents, and other essentials.

During the past few years the salaries of postal and Federal employees have lagged behind those doing comparable work in private industry. Government employees in the lower income brackets are finding this situation almost intolerable as they struggle to maintain their family, upkeep of a household, education of their children. In many instances it was found that they had to supplement their income by part-time work outside the Government, or have their wives seek employment when they should give their full attention to the children and maintenance of the household.

I should like to call to the attention of my colleagues that unlike other workers in private industry, postal and Government workers are prohibited by law from engaging in political activity in order to improve their situation. Furthermore, long before the United States Government inserted no-strike provisions in the laws affecting Federal employees, the postal workers had voluntarily relinquished all rights to declare strikeswhich, as you well know, is one of labor's most potent weapons in its efforts to improve conditions for the laboring masses.

Mr. Speaker, I was extremely disappointed when the 83d Congress dragged out this issue until the very end of its second session and then adopted only a 5-percent increase in salaries, which was subsequently vetoed by the President. Surely, the 83d Congress could have taken earlier action in the matter and adopted a more adequate measure.

Postal workers and Federal employees are a conscientious and loyal group, hard working, industrious. They deserve full consideration. They deserve fair remuneration for the important services they perform to keep our Government functioning smoothly and efficiently. They should not be placed in a position of being forced to seek outside income to obtain the necessary essentials for themselves and their families. I want to stress as strongly as possible that the proposed pay increase will be used largely for meeting normal living expenses, and not for luxuries.

Mr. Speaker, we have started a new congressional session. Let us avoid the mistakes of the past by taking prompt and early action on this matter. Let it not be said of us that we ignore the postal and Federal workers whose pay increases are long overdue. Action today is worth more than all the promises for tomorrow.

House Resolution 18 To Establish a Select Committee To Investigate the Civil Aeronautics Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, last week I introduced House Resolution 18 to establish a Select Committee To Investigate the Civil Aeronautics Board. Such an investigation is desperately needed if American civilian aviation is to continue to advance.

In this connection I an enclosing herewith an editorial which appeared in American Aviation on December 20, 1954.

I will incorporate further information in the Congressional Record in the next few days.

PERSONAL VIEW
(By Wayne W. Parrish)
DETERIORATION

For those who have known the Civil Aeronautics Board best through the years since its creation in 1938, its steady deterioration especially during the past several years, has been the source of increasing alarm and concern. Unless there is a positive change of direction, there can be nothing but trouble ahead—trouble which will be to the detriment of the entire air transport industry.

The Eisenhower administration has been aware of this deterioration. Many promises of corrective action have been made. But so far nothing has happened to halt the decline of this vital five-man Board which was created in 1938 as a quasi-judicial agency.

The sad truth is that CAB is no longer functioning as a quasi-judicial body. It relies on expensive and painstakingly prepared records only to support language and points for decisions which, in many cases, have been made months before the cases were even formally submitted to it, and sometimes before cases have even begun.

One observer who knows the CAB intimately has this to say: "All five members appear to be caught in the tide of an intangible force which compels them to put their personal reasons, ambitions, antagonisms, and political alliances ahead of the judicial reasoning which the Civil Aeronautics Act requires. At the present time not one member of the Board is voting as an impartial judge."

Another close observer commented recently that every case before the Board is like a crackerjack box—"a prize in every package." Weighty problems are getting only cursory attention. No real thinking is going into the votes. It isn't crookedness that prevails—it's a shallowness arising from the weight of pressures, personal feelings, and politics. For the past 6 months the situation has become more embroiled than ever through the rivalries of the 3 Republican members, 1 wanting to be reappointed, and all 3 want-

Ing to be Chairman.

The airlines themselves are being criticized for the political and other pressures they're exerting on pending cases. Those who say they don't want to win cases by the back door insist they have to do so because their competitors do, so it's a matter of self-defense. There is considerable logic in the argument, for the Board itself has within its power the ability to stop backdoor maneuvering.

Those who want the Board to succeed and those who have watched it closely through the years are genuinely alarmed. Continuation of the present trend will lead to major trouble; the explosion won't be pleasant for anyone.

Hon. Pat McCarran

SPEECH

OF

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, it is very difficult for me to contemplate Congress divested of the presence of the Honorable Pat McCarran, of Nevada. With all deference to the other distinguished men who have been privileged to represent this great State of Nevada, it had seemed for more than 20 years that Nevada and

PAT McCARRAN were virtually synonymous in Washington. Nevada never had cause to complain that its interests were not being diligently and courageously represented. Senator McCarran was the vigilant sentry, the tenacious battler.

Coming to Washington with a distinguished background as lawyer and jurist, he soon demonstrated that he was, above all, a lawmaker of great craftsmanship. He abhorred careless legislating. He believed that the great body of the law could and should be shaped and reshaped to serve the changing requirements of an ever-growing Nation, but he demanded the painstaking approach. His resistance to legal tinkering and experimentation was prodigious.

Senator McCarran strove for orderliness in the complex of Federal statutes. His service as chairman of the Senate Committee on the Judiciary gave him countless opportunities to work for sensible legal reforms, and he welcomed them as a passionate believer in the importance of firm legal basis for every action of Government.

Few Members of the Congress have had the capacity for so wide a range of legislative interests. Among the measures in which his authorship loomed large were the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, the first Urban Redevelopment Act passed by Congress in 1944, the Reorganization Act of 1945, the Administrative Procedure Act of 1946, the Internal Security Act of 1951, and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952.

Senator McCarran was a dedicated patriot. He was born and reared among pioneers in a pioneering State. He knew from personal experience that the greatness of the United States of America was built by hard work. He could not abide apathy where the national interest was concerned. During most of his service in Congress, he lived and worked in an atmosphere of present or impending dangers.

He never underestimated the perverted skills of the agents of international communism, but he never doubted the ability of a republic to meet and best them without compromising its own liberties in the doing. Because he knew the measure of the Communist menace. Senator McCAR-RAN fought for the improvement of domestic legal weapons against its operatives. In the field of diplomacy, his views were equally realistic. Never a warmonger, he believed in preparation against the horrible worst, and he advocated seeking allies among those who not only said they opposed communism but also gave evidence of their willingness to take up arms against the evil movement, should eventualities dictate.

It was my privilege to enjoy the counsel of Senator McCarran on numerous occasions. As a fellow lawyer, I came to know and marvel at the breadth of his legal comprehension and the incisiveness of his thinking. His passing, an incalculable loss to the Nation and to his great State, represents a deep personal loss to me. My sympathy goes out to the fine family he left in moving on to his reward.

Saline Water Conversion Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing legislation to amend the Saline Water Act of 1952, to provide for its uninterrupted continuation and to enable the officials in charge of the program to have the advantage of a limited amount of technical assistance from existing Federal scientific facilities. I authored the 1952 legislation which initiated the saline water conversion program. This program, under the direction of the Department of the Interior, has the objective of developing economically feasible processes for converting saline water to fresh water. I am concerned at all times over our diminishing water supplies, both in this country and throughout the world. As the water needs of our country grow and our available supplies dwindle, the importance of water to our well being and to our overall national economy is impressed upon us more and more.

I have followed closely the program which has been conducted under the 1952 legislation. Much progress has been made and it now seems clear that the results of the research and the studies now under way will, if given time, result in large-scale conversion of salt water to fresh water for municipal and industrial purposes. It also seems clear that, in time, conversion of sea water as well as brackish water for agricultural purposes in certain areas will be achieved. Although it had been thought that the extension of the program should be made toward the close of the initial 5-year period progress now indicates clearly the desirability of assuring at this time continuity and some minor expansion of activity to accommodate and make full use of the initial results now flowing in. There should be no slowdown or interruption in the program, and both the Department and private industry, which has assisted in the research, should be given assurance by this Congress that the program will be continued. For these reasons, I am introducing legislation at this time.

The Secretary of the Interior has just transmitted to the Congress his third annual report covering this program, and I am pleased to report briefly to my colleagues upon the progress that has been made.

The Department of the Interior accomplishes this saline water conservation program by conducting scientific research and development through federally financed grants and contracts, encouraging such development by correlating and coordinating efforts in this field, and stimulating the interest of private and public organizations and individuals in the problem. Private development of processes is being encouraged, and a few industrial firms have

undertaken independent research in this field during the past year, and the Department has received wholehearted cooperation from several organizations now engaged in these activities.

At the beginning of the program, the cost of converting sea water to fresh water by the best processes in use was about \$400 to \$500 an acre-foot. cordingly, an arbitrary criterion was set for the intial phase of the program, for water for municipal and industrial purposes. This goal was \$125 per acrefoot-38 cents per 1,000 gallons-which was believed, on the basis of available data, to represent about the maximum that could be borne by these types of use. It was thought that if this goal could be approached during the initial phase, further reduction might be possible in a second phase.

The work accomplished so far indicates that attainment of the first goal of obtaining fresh water from sea water at a price which municipal users and some industries might pay, and the conversion of brackish water to irrigation uses, seems to be in sight although much work will be necessary before either can be brought to realization. The task of converting sea water for irrigation is more difficult but the researches continually produce new ideas and one of these may well point a way to its attainment.

Some of the investigations initiated earlier in this program have been completed and the results described. Other research investigations are being continued and many new research and development problems are being studied. All of these are described in some detail in the third annual report covering the program.

The report indicates that during the past year 39 proposals for research were evaluated formally and several dozen additional suggestions were considered. Eleven new research and development contracts were let. Work under 11 other research contracts initiated earlier was completed with affirmative results definitely justifying further research in 8. Two processes give promise of converting sea water at less than half present costs, and one for brackish water has reached pilot-plant stage and is being field tested. Information has been obtained and exchanged on developments in this field in the United States and more than a dozen other countries from Europe to Australia.

I am advised that progress during the year has demonstrated the need for a central governmental program of this nature having no interest in the development of one industrial process over another. Few industrial firms appear to feel justified in carrying the development of saline water conversion equipment further than improvements in present equipment. However, to reach the ultimate objective of the programdemineralized water in large quantities at a small fraction of present costs for the general economic benefit-more than minor improvements in processes are needed. The governmental program would assure that research and development would be continued persistently, including minor local improvements in processes, until in time, low-cost water in large quantities was made available to the general public.

The report indicates that, during 1954, new light has also been cast upon the direction which the program should take in the development of unconventional energy sources for demineralization. The energy required for extracting 1 acre-foot of fresh water from sea water is about 900 kilowatt-hours. From research under the program, it has been estimated that the minimum that might be reached in practice would probably be 4 to 5 times that quantity. energy cost alone would not be less than about \$20 per acre-foot at 5 mills per kilowatt-hour. The amortized cost of equipment and the cost of operation would probably at least equal the energy cost. This is for sea water, and the costs are generally less for brackish waters. Thus it becomes important that nonconventional low-cost energy such as solar energy, for example, be explored in connection with process development and use.

I am pleased to hear that the nine eminent members of educational, scientific, and industrial organizations who, at the beginning of the program, agreed to serve as advisers to the Secretary on broad policy matters, are all continuing to serve in this capacity and that they have provided some very substantial advice and assistance.

Lowering Our Tariffs on Japanese Goods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker. one of the reasons why the proposed extension of the President's authority to enter into trade agreements assumes such vital importance to the American people at this time is the pending agreement with Japan.

Trade negotiations with Japan are expected to get underway shortly. They may have already begun. Included among the hundreds of items with respect to which tariff concessions will be considered are the products of many American industries which are already feeling the devastating effect of foreign competition. These include chemicals, china and porcelainware, glassware, optical instruments, machinery, fish, and a wide variety of textile products. There are many others.

I believe that up-to-date information on the negotiations with Japan is essential to our enlightened understanding of the issues presented by current trade legislation. For that reason, I am pre-senting for the information of each member a list of the items announced by the State Department to be subject to negotiation with Japan:

LIST OF ARTICLES IMPORTED INTO THE UNITED STATES PROPOSED FOR CONSIDERATION IN TRADE AGREEMENT NEGOTIATIONS JAPAN AND OTHER COUNTRIES

TARIFF ACT OF 1930, TITLE I. DUTIABLE LIST Schedule 1. Chemicals, oils, and paints

Paragraph 5: Ajinomoto and other monosodium glutamate preparations.

Paragraph 27 (a) (1) (5): Acetanilide not suitable for medicinal use alphanaphthol. aminobenzoic acid, aminonaphthol, aminophenetole, aminophenol, aminosalicylic acid, aminoanthraquinone, aniline oil, aniline salt, anthraquinone, arsanilic acid, benzaldehyde not suitable for medicinal use, benzal chloride, benzanthrone, benzidine, benzidine sulfate, benzoic acid not sulfable for medicinal use, benzoquinone, benzoyl chloride, benzyl chloride, benzylethylaniline, beta-naphthol not suitable for medicinal use, bromobenzene, chlorobenzene, chlorophthalic acid, cinnamic acid, cumidine, dehydrothiotoluidine, diaminostilbene, di-anisidine, dichlorophthalic acid, dimethyl-aniline, dimethylaminophenol, dimethylphenylbenzylammonium hydroxide, dimethylphenylenediamine, dinitrobenzene, dinitrochlorobenzene, dinitronaphthalene, dinitrophenol, dinitrotoluene, dihyroxynaphthalene, diphenylamine, hydroxyphenylar-sinic acid, metanilic acid, methylanthraquinone, naphthylamine, naphthylamine, nitroaniline, nitroaniline, nitroanthraquinone, nitrobenzaldehyde, nitrobenzene, nitronaphthalene, nitrophenol, nitrophenylenediamine, nitrosodimethylaniline, nitrotoluene, nitrotoluylenediamine, phenylenediamine, phenylhydrazine, phenylnaphthylamine, phenylglycine, phenylglycinerotho-carboxylic acid, phthalic acid, phthalimide, quinaldine, quinoline, resorcinol not suitable for medicinal use, salicylic acid and its salts not suitable for medicinal use, sulfanilic acid, thiocarbanilide, thiosalicylic acid, tetra-chlorophthalic acid, tetramethyldiaminotetramethyldiaminodiphenbenzophenone. ylmethane, toluene sulfochloride, toluene sulfonamide, tribromophenol, toluidine, tolidine, tolylenediamine, xylidine, carbazole having a purity of 65 percent or more; all the foregoing products (not including phthalic anhydride, anthracene, or naphthalene) whether obtained, derived, or manufactured from coal tar or other source.

Paragraph 27 (a) (3) (5): All products (except products chiefly used as assistants in preparing or finishing textiles and except azo salts, fast-color bases, fast-color salts, naphthol AS and it derivatives), by whatever name known, which are similar to any of the products provided for in paragraph 27 or 1651, Tariff Act of 1930, and which are obtained, derived, or manufactured in whole or in part from any of the products provided

for in either of said paragraphs.

Paragraph 27 (a) (4) (5): All mixtures, including solutions, consisting in whole or in part of any of the products provided for in subdivision (1), (2), or (3) of paragraph (a), Tariff Act of 1930 (except sheep dip medicinal soaps, and except products chiefly use as assistants in preparing or fin-

ishing textiles).

Paragraph 41: Agar agar.

Paragraph 47: Licorice, extracts of, in pastes, rolls, or other forms.

Paragraph 51: Camphor, natural (crude and refined) and synthetic.

Paragraph 51: Menthol.

Paragraph 58: Oils, distilled or essential, not mixed or compounded with or containing alcohol: Sandalwood.

Paragraph 60: Safrol, not mixed or compounded, not containing more than 10 per-cent of alcohol, not marketable as cosmetics, perfumery, or toilet preparations, and not specially provided for.

Paragraph 66: Pigments, whether dry. mixed, or ground in or mixed with water, oil, or solutions other than oil, not specially provided for: Vandyke brown and Cassel earth.

Paragraph 67: Barytes ore, crude or unmanufactured, or ground or otherwise manufactured.

Paragraph 83: Potato starch.

Paragraph 84: Dextrine, not otherwise provided for (not including dextrine made from potato starch or potato flour), burnt starch or British gum, dextrine substitutes, and soluble or chemically treated starch.

Paragraph 87: Cerium nitrate, cerium fluoride, and other salts of cerium not

specially provided for.

Schedule 2. Earths, earthenware, and glassware

Paragraph 204: Dead burned and grain magnesite, and periclase, not suitable for manufacture into exychloride cements. Paragraph 206: Pumice stone, wholly or

partly manufactured.

Paragraph 210: Rockingham earthenware. Paragraph 211: Earthenware and crockery ware composed of a nonvitrified absorbent body, including white granite and semiporcelain earthenware, and cream-colored ware, terra cotta, and stoneware, including all articles wholly or in chief value of such ware; any of the foregoing which are tableware, kitchenware, or table or kitchen utensils, however provided for in paragraph 211, Tariff Act of 1930.

Paragraph 211: Articles, other than tableware, kitchenware, or table or kitchen utensils, however provided for in paragraph 211, Tariff Act of 1930, if valued under \$10 per

Paragraph 212: China, porcelain, and other vitrified wares, including chemical stone-ware (but not including chemical porcelain ware, sanitary ware and fittings and parts therefor, or electrical porcelain ware), com-posed of a vitrified nonabsorbent body which when broken shows a vitrified or vit reous, or semivitrified or semivitreous fracture, and all bisque and parian wares, including clock cases with or without move-ments, plaques, pill tiles, ornaments, charms, vases, statues, statuettes, mugs, cups, steins, lamps, and all other articles composed wholly or in chief value of such ware; all the foregoing, however provided for in paragraph 212, Tariff Act of 1930, not containing 25 percent or more of calcined bone. Paragraph 213: Graphite or plumbago,

crude, or refined: Amorphous (except arti-

Paragraph 218 (c): Illuminating articles of every description, finished or unfinished, wholly or in chief value of glass, for use in connection with artificial illumination:

Chimneys, globes, and shades, and parts thereof, wholly or in chief value of glass.

Paragraph 218 (f): Table and kitchen articles and utensils, and all articles of every description not specially provided for composed wholly or in chief value of glass, blown or partly blown in the mold or otherwise, or colored, cut, engraved, etched, frosted, gilded around (exc pt such grinding as is necessary for fitting st ppers or for purposes other than ornamentation), painted, printed in any manner, sand-blasted, silvered, stained, or decorated or ornamented in any manner, whether filled or unfilled, or whether their contents be dutiable or free:

Christmas tree ornaments valued under

\$7.50 per gross;

Other articles or utensils valued not over \$1.66% each (except articles or utensils commercially known as bubble glass, if produced otherwise than by automatic machine but not cut or engraved and valued at \$1 or more each, and except Christmas tree ornaments).

Paragraph 225; Spectacles, eyeglasses, and goggles, and frames for the same, and parts thereof, finished or unfinished, valued not over \$2.50 per dozen.

Paragraph 226: Lenses of glass or pebble, molded or pressed, or ground and polished

to a spherical, cylindrical, or prismatic form, and ground and polished plano or coquille glasses, wholly or partly manufactured; all the foregoing (except lighthouse lenses and except eyeglass and spectacle lenses with edges unground and value at \$10 or more per dozen pairs).

Paragraph 228 (a): Spectrographs, spectrometers, spectroscopes, refractometers, saccharimeters, colorimeters, cathetometers, interferometers, haemacytometers, polarimeters, polariscopes, photometers, ophthalmoscopes, slit lamps, corneal microscopes, optical measuring or optical testing instruments. testing or recording instruments for ophthalmological purposes, frames and mountings therefor, and parts of any of the foregoing. finished or unfinished.

Paragraph 228 (a): Prism binoculars having a magnification of 5 diameters or less and valued at not over \$12 each; frames and mountings therefor, and parts of any of the foregoing; all the foregoing, finished or un-

finished

Paragraph 228 (b): Opera or field glasses (not prism binoculars), frames and mountings therefor, and parts of any of the foregoing; all the foregoing, finished or unfinished, not specially provided for (except opera or field glasses valued over \$1 each).

Paragraphs 228 (b) and 1551: Photographic lenses, frames and mountings therefor, and parts of any of the foregoing; all the foregoing, finished or unfinished, not specially provided for (including cameras and parts of cameras of which a photographic lens is

the component of chief value).

Paragraph 228 (b): Telescopes, valued not over \$2 each; frames and mountings there for; parts of any of the foregoing, suitable in type and not excessive in quantity for use with, and imported in the same shipment with, telescopes valued not over \$2 each; frames and mountings for, and parts of telescopes and of frames and mountings therefor, imported separately; all the foregoing, finished or unfinished, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 228 (b): Azimuth mirrors, parabolic or mangin mirrors for searchlight reflectors, mirrors for optical, dental, or surgical purposes, projection lenses, sextants, octants, microscopes, all optical instruments (not including photographic lenses, opera or field glasses, and telescopes), frames and mountings therefor, and parts of any of the foregoing; all the foregoing, finished or unfinished, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 229: Incandescent electric-light

bulbs and lamps, with or without metal or

other filaments.

Paragraph 230 (b): Glass mirrors (except framed or cased mirrors in chief value of platinum, gold, or silver), not specially provided for, not exceeding in size 144 square inches, with or without frames or cases.

Paragraph 233: All articles composed wholly or in chief value of agate or other semiprecious stone (not including rock crystal), except such as are cut into shapes and forms fitting them expressly for use in the construction of jewelry, not specially provided for.

Schedule 3. Metals and manufactures of

Paragraph 301: Iron in pigs and iron kentledge, whether or not containing vanadium, tungsten, molybdenum, or chromium in quantities specified in paragraph 301, Tariff Act of 1930.

Paragraph 302 (c): Tungsten ore or con-

Paragraph 302 (d): Ferromanganese containing 4 percent or more of carbon.

Paragraph 302 (n) Titanium.

Paragraph 312: Sheet piling.

Paragraph 329: Chains of iron or steel, used for the transmission of power, of not more than 2-inch pitch and containing more than three parts per pitch, and parts thereof, finished or unfinished; and all other chains

used for the transmission of power, and parts thereof.

Paragraph 331: Upholsters' nails thumb tacks, of two or more pieces of iron or steel, finished or unfinished.

Paragraph 343: Needle cases or needle

books furnished with assortments of needles or combinations of needles and other articles.

Paragraph 343: Needles for knitting machines of every description, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 354. Cutcile knives, corn knives, nail files, tweezers, manicure or pedicure nippers, and parts thereof, finished or unfinished, by whatever name known.

Paragraph 359: Surgical instruments, and parts thereof (except hypodermic and other needles, but including hypodermic syringes and forceps), composed wholly or in part of iron, steel, copper, brass, nickel, aluminum, or other metal (but not in chief value of glass), finished or unfinished.

Paragraph 359: Dental instruments, and parts thereof, wholly or in part of iron, steel, copper, brass, nickel, aluminum, or metal, finished or unfinished: Dental burrs.

Paragraph 359: Surgical instruments and parts thereof and dental instruments and parts thereof, any of the foregoing in part of iron, steel, copper, brass, nickel, aluminum, or other metal, and in chief value of glass, finished or unfinished.

Paragraph 364: Bicycle, velocipede, and similar bells, finished or unfinished, and parts thereof.

Paragraph 365: Shotguns, valued over \$25 each.

Paragraph 365. Barrels for shotguns, further advanced in manufacture than rough bored only; stocks for shotguns, wholly or partly manufactured; parts of shotguns, and fittings for shotgun stocks or barrels, finished or unfinished; and shotgun barrels, in single tubes, forged, rough bored.

Paragraph 366: Pistols and revolvers, automatic, single-shot, magazine, or revolving,

valued not over \$8 each.

Paragraph 372: Sewing machines, specially provided for, valued over \$10 but not over \$75 each.

Paragraph 372: Parts of sewing machines, not specially provided for, wholly or in chief value of metal or porcelain.

Paragraph 372: Printing machinery; and parts of printing machinery, not specially provided for, wholly or in chief value of metal or porcelain: Duplicating machines (not including printing presses), and parts thereof.

Paragraph 372: Knitting machines (except full-fashioned hosiery and circular knitting machines), finished or unfinished, not specially provided for, and parts thereof, specially provided for, wholly or in chief value of metal or porcelain. Paragraph 382 (a): Aluminum foil less

than six one-thousandths of 1 inch in thick-

Paragraph 397: Articles or wares, not specially provided for, not plated with platinum (unless in chief value of platinum, gold, or silver, or colored with gold

whether partly or wholly manufactured.

Composed wholly or in chief value of lead.

Composed wholly or in chief value of base metal other than iron or steel: Screws, commonly called wood screws, having shanks not exceeding twelve-one-hundredths inch in diameter; and screws other than those commonly called wood screws, having shanks or threads not exceeding twenty-four-one hundredths inch in diameter.

Composed wholly or in chief value of plati-

Schedule 4. Wood and manufacture of

Paragraph 404: Japanese white oak and Japanese maple: In the form of sawed boards, planks, deals, and all other forms not manufactured than sawed, and further flooring.

Paragraph 409: Split bamboo.

Paragraph 409: All articles not specially provided for, wholly or partly manufactured of rattan, bamboo, osier or willow (except tennis-racket frames, valued at \$1,75 or more

Paragraph 410: Toothpicks of wood or

other vegetable substance.

Paragraph 411: Porch and window blinds, baskets, bags, chair seats, curtains, shades, or screens, any of the foregoing wholly or in chief value of bamboo, wood, straw, papiermache, palm leaf, or compositions of wood, not specially provided for (except baskets and bags wholly or in chief value of straw or willow or osier).

Paragraph 412: Bentwood furniture, wholly or partly finished, and parts thereof.

Paragraph 412: Folding rules, wholly or in chief value of wood, and not specially pro-

Paragraph 412: Manufactures of wood or bark or of which wood or bark is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for:

Brush backs.

Schedule 5. Sugar, molasses, and manufacture of

Paragraph 505: Levulose.

Schedule 7. Agricultural products and provisions

Paragraph 703: Hams and shoulders, prepared or preserved: If cooked and packed in air-tight containers, but not made into

Paragraph 710: Cheese, made from sheep's milk, in original loaves, not suitable for grating.

Paragraph 712: Birds, prepared or pre-served in any manner and not specially provided for (except chickens, prepared by removal of the feathers, heads, and all or part of the viscera, with or without removal of the feet, but not cooked or divided into portions).

Paragraph 713: Eggs of poultry (except of chickens), in the shell.

Paragraph 713: Dried egg albumen, whether or not sugar or other material is added. Paragraph 717 (b): Fish, fresh or frozen (whether or not packed in ice), filleted, skinned, boned, sliced, or divided into por-

tions, not specially provided for: Swordfish. Paragraph 717 (c): Pish, dried and unsalted (except cod, haddock, hake, pollock,

and cusk, and except shark fins).

Paragraph 718 (a): Fish, prepared or preserved in any manner, when packed in oil or in oil and other substances: Tuna.

Paragraph 718 (b): Fish, prepared or pre served in any manner, when packed in air-tight containers weighing with their con-tents not more than 15 pounds each (except fish packad in oil or in oil and other substances): Tuna.

Paragraph 721 (a): Crabmeat, fresh or frozen (whether or not packed in ice), or prepared or preserved in any manner, including crab paste and crab sauce.

Paragraph 721 (b): Clams other than

razor clams, and clams in combination with other substances (except clam chowder), packed in airtight containers.

Paragraph 721 (e): Oysters, oyster juice, or either in combination with other substances, packed in airtight containers.

Paragraph 727: Broken rice, which will pass readily through a metal sieve perforated with round holes five and one-half sixty-fourths of 1 inch in diameter.

Paragraph 730: Soy bean oil cake and soy bean oil-cake meal.

Paragraph 730: Vegetable oil cake and oilcake meal, not specially provided for: Coconut or copra, linseed.

Paragraph 736: Berries, edible (except blueberries), prepared or preserved (not including berries in brine, dried, desiccated, evaporated, or frozen), and not specially provided for.

Paragraph 738: Cider.

Paragraph 743: Oranges, Mandarin, packed in airtight containers.

Paragraph 748: Plums, prunes, and pru-

nelles, green, ripe, or in brine, Paragraph 753: Lily bulbs.

Paragraph 760: Walnuts of all kinds, shelled, or blanched, roasted, prepared, or preserved, including walnut paste.

Paragraph 761: Cashew nuts, shelled (including blanched) or unshelled.

Paragraph 763: Grass seeds and other forage crop seeds: Clover, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 764: Tree and shrub seeds, Paragraph 768: Mushroom, dried.

Paragraph 775: Vegetables (including horseradish), if cut, sliced, or otherwise reduced in size, or if reduced to flour, or if parched or roasted, or if packed in oil, or prepared or preserved in any other way and not specially provided for (not including dehydrated onions in any form of vegetables pickled, or packed in salt or in brine).

Paragraph 775. Soybeans, prepared or pre-

served in any manner.
Paragraph 775: Pastes, balls, puddings,

hash (except corned beef hash), and all similar forms, composed of vegetables, or of vegetables and meat or fish, or both, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 776: Chicory, crude (except endive), or ground or otherwise prepared.

Paragraph 779: Rice straw, and rice fiber. Paragraph 781: Curry and curry powder.

Schedule 8. Spirits, wines, and other beverages

Paragraph 804: Rice wine or sake.

Schedule 9. Cotton manufactures

Paragraph 904 (a) (b) (c) (d): Cotton cloth, however, provided for in paragraph 904, Tariff Act of 1930 (not including tire fabric or fabric for use in pneumatic tires)

Paragraph 905: Cloth, in chief value of cotton, containing silk, or rayon or other synthetic textile.

Paragraph 909: Pile fabrics (not including pile ribbons), cut or uncut, whether or not the pile covers the entire surface, wholly or in chief value of cotton, if velveteens.

Paragraph 910: Table damask, wholly or in chief value of cotton, and all articles, finished or unfinished, made or cut from such table damask.

Paragraph 911 (a): Blankets or blanket cloth, napped or unnapped, wholly or in chief value of cotton, whether in the piece or otherwise, if Jacquard-figured.

Paragraph 911 (a): Quilts or bedspreads,

wholly or in chief value of cotton, whether in the piece or otherwise, not Jacquard-figured, if block-printed by hand.

Paragraph 911 (a): Towels, other than pile fabrics, wholly or in chief value of cotton, whether in the piece or otherwise, and whether or not Jacquard-figured.

Paragraph 911 (b): Sheets and pillowcases, wholly or in chief value of cotton.

Paragraph 911 (b): Table and bureau covers, centerpieces, runners, scarfs, napkins, and doilies, made of plain-woven cotton cloth, and not specially provided for.

Paragraph 912: Boot, shoe, or corset

lacings, wholly or in chief value of cotton or other vegetable fiber.

Paragraph 915: Gloves and mittens, finished or unfinished, wholly or in chief value of cotton or other vegetable fiber, made of fabric knit or a warp-knitting or other machine.

Paragraph 917: Underwear, outerwear, and articles of all kinds, knit or crocheted, finished or unfinished, wholly or in chief value of cotton or other vegetable fiber, and not specially provided for (except knit underwear valued over \$1.75 per pound, and crocheted underwear).

Paragraph 919: Clothing and articles of wearing apparel of every description, manufactured wholly or in part, wholly or in chief value of cotton, and not specially provided for (except coats valued \$4 or more each; vests valued \$2 or more each; dressing gowns, including bath robes and beach robes, valued \$2.50 or more each; underwear valued 75 cents or more per separate piece; and except pajamas valued \$1.50 or more per suit).

Paragraph 921: Rag rugs, wholly or in chief value of cotton, of the type commonly known as hit-and-miss; chenille rugs, wholly or in chief value of cotton; and all other floor coverings, including carpets, carpeting, mats, and rugs, wholly or in chief value of cotton (except cut-pile and hand-hooked floor coverings and imitation oriental rugs).

Paragraph 922: Rags, including wiping rags, wholly or in chief value of cotton, except rags chiefly used in papermaking.

Paragraph 923: Manufactures, wholly or in chief value of cotton, not specially provided for (except articles of pile construction other than terry-woven towels, and except bougies, catheters, drains, explorateurs, instillateurs, probes, sondes, and other urologiinstruments, yarns containing wool molded, cotton and rubber packing, and printers' rubberized blanketing).

Schedule 10. Flax, hemp, jute, and manufactures of

Paragraph 1001: Flax, hackled, including dressed line.

Paragraph 1001: Flax, not hackled. Paragraph 1003: Jute yarns or roving, single; and jute sliver.

Paragraph 1006: Gill nettings, nets, webs, and seines, and other nets for fishing, wholly or in chief value of flax, hemp, or ramie, and not specially provided for.

Paragraph 1015: Fabrics with fast edges, not exceeding 12 inches in width, and articles made therefrom: Webbing wholly or in chief value of jute.

Paragraph 1019: Bagging for cotton, gunny cloth, and similar fabrics, suitable for covering cotton, composed of single varns made of jute, jute butts, or other vegetable fiber, not bleached, dyed, colored, stained, painted, or printed, not exceeding 16 threads to the square inch, counting the warp and filling, and weighing not less than 15 ounces nor more than 32 ounces per square yard.

Paragraph 1021: Common China, Japan, and India straw matting, and floor coverings made therefrom.

Paragraph 1021: Floor coverings not specially provided for: Grass or rice straw.

Paragraph 1022: Pile mats and floor coverings, wholly or in chief value of cocoa fiber

Schedule 11. Wool and manufactures of

Paragraph 1101 (a), (b): Hair of the camel, however provided for in paragraph 1101, Tariff Act of 1930.

Paragraph 1111: Blankets and similar articles (including carriage and automobile robes and steamer rugs), made as units or in the piece, finished or unfinished, wholly or in chief value of wool, not exceeding 3 yards in length.

Paragraph 1114 (b): Hose and half hose, finished or unfinished, wholly or in chief value of wool.

Paragraph 1114 (d): Outerwear and articles of all kinds, knit or crocheted, finished or unfinished, wholly or in chief value of wool, and not specially provided for:

Hats, bonnets, caps, berets, and similar articles (except infants' headwear), valued over \$2 per pound.

Other (except infants' headwear and other infants' outerwear).

Paragraph 1117 (c): Floor coverings, including mats and druggets, wholly or in chief value of wool, not specially provided for, valued over 40 cents per square foot (except such floor coverings wholly or in chief value of hair of the alpaca, guanaco, huarizo, llama, misti, suri, or a combination of the hair of two or more of these species, or wholly or in chief value of hair of the Angora goat).

Paragraph 1117 (c): Floor coverings, including mats and druggets, wholly or in chief walue of wool, not specially provided for:
Wholly or in chief value of hair of the

Angora goat.

Schedule 12. Silk manufactures

Paragraph 1201: Silk partially manufactured, including total or partial degumming other than in the reeling process, from raw silk, waste silk, or cocoons, and silk noils exceeding 2 inches in length; all the foregoing, if not twisted or spun.

Paragraph 1202: Spun silk or schappe silk yarn, or yarn of silk and rayon or other synthetic textile, and roving, whether or synthetic textile, and roving, whether or not bleached, dyed, colored, or plied. Paragraph 1205: Woven fabrics in the

piece, wholly or in chief value of silk, however provided for in paragraph 1205, Tariff Act of 1930 (except fabrics with fibers wholly of silk, not bleached, colored, dyed, or if Jacquard-figured; with fibers printed. chiefly but not wholly of silk, not bleached, colored, dyed, or printed, if Jacquard-figured, or bleached, colored, dyed, or printed, whether or not Jacquard-figured; and except

silk bolting cloth).
Paragraph 1208: Gloves and mittens, knit or crocheted, finished or unfinished, wholly

or in chief value of silk.

Schedule 13. Manufactures of rayon or other synthetic textile

Paragraph 1301: Yarns of rayon or other synthetic textile, singles or plied, not specially provided for (except single yarns weighing 150 deniers or more per length of 450 meters), and regardless of the number of turns twist per inch.

Paragraph 1302: Filaments of rayon or other synthetic textile, not exceeding 30 inches in length, other than waste, whether known as cut fiber, staple fiber, or by any other name.

Paragraph 1309: Gloves and mittens, knit or crocheted, finished or unfinished, wholly or in chief value of rayon or other synthetic textile, valued under \$1.50 per dozen pairs.

Schedule 14. Papers and books

Paragraph 1403: Masks composed of paper, pulp, or papier mache, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 1404: Papers commonly or commercially known as stereotype paper, copying paper, or bibulous paper, not specially vided for, colored or uncolored, white or printed, whether in sheets or any other form, and weighing less than 10 pounds to the ream.

Paragraph 1405: Bags and other articles, except printed matter, composed wholly or in chief value of any of the papers provided for in any of the provisions of paragraph 1405, Tariff Act of 1930, preceding the provision for bags, and not specially provided for (not including boxes of paper or papier mache or wood covered or lined with any such paper).

Paragraph 1405: Sensitized paper to be used in I lotography.

Paragraph 1409: Hanging paper, printed, lithographed, dyed, or colored.

Paragraph 1409: Papers, not specially provided for (except stencil paper, unmounted, and except strawboard and straw under 0.012 but not under 0.008 inch thick).

Paragraph 1410: Books, unbound or bound (except those bound wholly or in part in leather), and sheets or printed pages of books bound wholly or in part in leather, not specially provided for, if of bona fide foreign authorship: Prayer books and sheets or printed pages of prayer books.

Paragraph 1410: Blank books and slate

books: Diaries, notebooks, and address books.

Schedule 15. Sundries

Paragraph 1502: Baseballs, and balls wholly or in chief value of rubber (except golf and lawn-tennis balls), finished or unfinished, primarily designed for use in physi-

cal exercise (whether or not such exercise involves the element of sport), all the foregoing, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 1502: Tennis rackets.

Paragraph 1503: Beads of ivory; hollow or filled imitation pearl beads of all kinds and shapes, of whatever material composed; imitation solid pearl beads; and iridescent imitation solid pearl beads.

Paragraph 1504 (a): Braids, plaits, laces, and willow sheets or squares, composed wholly or in chief value of straw, chip, paper, grass, palm leaf, willow, osier, rattan, real horsehair, cuba bark, or manila hemp, and braids and plaits, wholly or in chief value of ramie, all the foregoing suitable for making bonnets, or hoods, ornamenting hats, whether or not bleached, dye, colored, or stained, and whether or not containing a substantial part of rayon or other synthetic textile (but not wholly or in chief value thereof), except any of the foregoing (other than willow sheets or squares) not containing a substantial part of rayon or other synthetic textile and not bleached, dyed, colored, or stained.

Paragraph 1504 (b) (1) (2): Hats, bonnets, and hoods, wholly or in chief value of chip, paper, grass, palm leaf, willow, osier, rattan, real horsehair, cuba bark, or manila hemp, whether wholly or partly manufactured, not blocked, trimmed, or sewed, whether or not bleached, dyed, colored, or stained (not including any of the foregoing known as harvest hats and valued under \$3 per dozen, or hats and hoods, not bleached, colored, dyed, or stained, wholly or in chief value of fiber of the carludovica palmata, commercially known as toquilla fiber or

Paragraph 1504 (b) (2) (4): Hats, bonnets, and hoods, whether wholly or partly man-ufactured: Wholly or in chief value of straw or ramie, bleached, dyed, colored, or stained, but not blocked, trimmed, or sewed; or wholly or in chief value of straw, if sewed (whether or not blocked, trimmed, bleached, dyed, colored, or stained).
Paragraph 1504 (b) (3): Hats, bonnets,

and hoods, composed wholly or in chief value of straw, chip, paper, grass, palm leaf, willow, osier, rattan, real horsehair, cuba bark, ramie, or manila hemp, whether wholly or partly manufactured, blocked or trimmed (whether or not bleached, dyed, colored, or stained).
Paragraph 1506: Toilet brushes (not in-

cluding tooth brushes), the handles or backs of which are composed wholly or in chief value of any product provided for in paragraph 31, Tariff Act of 1930.

Paragraph 1506: Handles and backs for tooth brushes and other toilet brushes, com-posed wholly or in chief value of any prod-uct provided for in paragraph 31, Tariff Act

Paragraph 1506: Hair pencils in quills or otherwise.

Paragraph 1506: Brushes, not specially provided for (except paint brushes).

Paragraph 1510: Buttons not specially provided for (except horn and composition horn buttons, buttons wholly or in chief value of any compound of casein and valued over 60 cents per gross, buttons wholly or in chief value of glass, buttons commonly known as Roman pearl, fancy buttons with a fish-scale or similar to fish-scale finish, buttons wholly or in chief value of wood, and buttons wholly or in part of textile material).

Paragraph 1511: Cork tile in the rough or wholly or partly finished.

Paragraph 1513: Dolls wholly or in chief value of china, porcelain, parian, bisque, earthenware, or stoneware, or wholly or in chief value of any product provided for in paragraph 31. Tariff Act of 1930, and parts of dolls (including clothing), and doll heads, however provided for in paragraph 1513, Tariff Act of 1930 (except dolls and doll clothing composed in any part, however small, of any of the laces, fabrics, embroideries, or

other materials or articles provided for in paragraph 1529 (a), Tariff Act of 1930).
Paragraph 1513: Toys, and parts of

(not including dolls or parts of dolls) composed wholly or in chief value of any product provided for in paragraph 31, Tariff Act of 1930.

Paragraph 1513: Toy games, toy containers, toy favors, toy souvenirs, of whatever materials composed; toy balloons; and toy books without reading matter (not counting as reading matter any printing on removable pages), other than letters, numerals, or descriptive words, bound or unbound, and parts thereof.

Paragraph 1513: Toys, not specially provided for:

Wholly or in chief value of china, porcelain, parian, bisque, earthenware, or stoneware.

Wholly or in chief value of rubber.

Toys having a spring mechanism (except figures or images of animate objects, wholly or in chief value of metal).

Stuffed animal figures not having a spring mechanism.

Paragraph 1513: Parts of toys, not spe-

cially provided for.
Paragraph 1515: Bombs, rockets, roman candles, and fireworks of all descriptions, not specially provided for (not including firecrackers).

Paragraph 1516: Matches, friction or lucifer, of all descriptions, in boxes containing

not over 100 matches per box.

Paragraph 1518: Artificial or ornamental fruits, vegetables, grasses, grains, leaves, flowers, stems, or parts thereof, composed wholly or in chief value of yarns, threads, filaments, tinsel wire, lame, bullions, metal threads, beads, bugles, spangles, or rayon or other synthetic textile, or composed wholly or in chief value of other materials (except feathers) and not specially provided for; and boas, boutonnieres, wreaths, and all articles not specially provided for, composed wholly or in chief value of any of the foregoing fruits, vegetables, grasses, grains, leaves, flowers, stems, or parts.

Paragraph 1523: Hair press cloth, not spe-

cially provided for.

Paragraph 1526 (a): Hats, caps, bonnets, and hoods, trimmed or untrimmed, including bodies, hoods, plateaux, forms, or shapes, for such hats or bonnets, composed wholly or in chief value of fur of the rabbit, beaver, or other animals, and valued over \$24 but not over \$48 per dozen.

Paragraph 1527 (a) (2): Jewelry, common-ly or commercially so known, finished or unthereof), finished (including parts whatever material composed (except jewelry and parts thereof composed wholly chief value of gold or platinum, or of which the metal part is wholly or in chief value of gold or platinum); all the foregoing valued over 20 cents but not over \$5 per dozen pieces.

Paragraph 1527 (c) (2): Articles valued above 20 cents per dozen pieces, designed to be worn on apparel or carried on or about or attached to the person, such as and including cardcases, chains, cigar cases, cigar cutters, cigar holders, cigar lighters, cigarette cases, cigarette holders, coin holders, combs, match boxes, mesh bags and purses, millinery, military and hair ornaments, pins, powder cases, stamp cases, vanity cases, watch bracelets, and like articles; all the foregoing and parts thereof, finished or unfinished, composed wholly or in chief value of metal other than gold or platinum (whether or not enameled, washed, covered, or plated, including rolled gold plate), or (if not composed in chief value of metal and if not dutiable under clause 1 of paragraph 1527 (c), Tariff Act of 1930) set with and in chief value of precious or semiprecious stones, pearls, cameos, coral, amber, imitation precious or semiprecious stones, or imitation pearls (except cigar and cigarette lighters and parts thereof, buckles, collar, cuff, and dress buttons, ladies' hand-

bags set with and in chief value of rhinestones, mesh bags and parts thereof, all the foregoing valued above 20 cents and not nbove \$5 per dozen pleces or parts; and except all articles and parts, other than cigar and cigarette lighters and parts, valued above \$5 per dozen pieces or parts).
Paragraph 1528: Diamonds, rubles, and

sapphires, cut but not set, and suitable for use in the manufacture of jewelry.

Paragraph 1528: Pearls and parts thereof, drilled or undrilled, but not set or strung (except temporarily), if cultured or cultivated; imitation half pearls, and hollow or filled imitation pearls of all shapes, without hole or with hole partly through only; imitation solid pearls and iridescent imitation solid pearls, unpierced, pierced or partially pierced, loose, or mounted, of whatever shape, color, or design.

Paragraph 1529 (a): Laces, lace fabrics, and lace articles, made wholly by hand and containing no machine-made material or article provided for in paragraph 1529 (a), Tariff Act of 1930, all the foregoing not wholly or in chief value of vegetable fiber other than cotton, if over 2 inches wide and valued not over \$50 per pound, or if not over

2 inches wide, regardless of value.
Paragraph 1529 (a): Fabrics and articles (not wearing apparel), in part but not wholly of handmade lace and containing no ma chine-made material or article provided for in paragraph 1529 (a), Tariff Act of 1930, if all or part of the lace is over 2 inches wide and the fabrics or articles are valued not over \$50 per pound, or if none of the lace is over 2 inches wide, regardless of the value of the fabrics or articles.

Paragraph 1529 (a): Fabrics and articles embroidered (whether or not the embroidery is on a scalloped edge), tamboured, appliqued, ornamented with beads, bugles, or spangles, or from which threads have been omitted, drawn, punched, or cut, and with threads introduced after weaving to finish or ornament the openwork, not including one row of straight hemstitching adjoining the hem; all the foregoing, and fabrics and articles wholly or in part thereof (not including fabrics and articles in any part of lace), however described in paragraph 1529 (a). Tariff Act of 1930; any of the foregoing if wholly or in chief value of cotton and included in subdivision [6] of paragraph 1529 (a) of "United States Import Duties (1952)" (but not including wearing apparel), or if included in subdivision [9] of paragraph 1529 (a) of said "United States Import Duties" (except gloves and mittens included in such subdivision [9] wholly or in chief value of wool and except other wearing apparel included in such subdivision [9] wholly or in chief value of cotton or other vegetable fiber or wholly or in chief value of rayon or other synthetic textile).

Paragraph 1529 (a): Bureau and table covers, centerpieces, dollies, napkins, run-ners, and scarfs, made of plain-woven cotton cloth, block printed by hand, and in part of fringe.

Paragraph 1529 (a): Quilts or bedspreads, wholly or in chief value of cotton, in the piece or otherwise, block printed by hand, and in part of fringe.

1530 (b): Upper leather made from calf or kip skins, rough, partly finished, or finished, but not cut or partly or wholly manufactured into uppers, vamps, or any forms or shapes suitable for conversion into boots. shoes, or footwear.

Paragraph 1530 (e): Boots, shoes, or other footwear, made wholly or in chief value of leather, not specially provided for: Slippers (for housewear).

Paragraph 1530 (e): Boots, shoes, or other footwear (including athletic or sporting boots and shoes), the uppers of which are composed wholly of in chief value of wool, cotton, ramie, animal hair, fiber, rayon or other synthetic textile, silk, or substitutes for any of the foregoing:

With soles wholly or in chief value of leather.

With soles wholly or in chief value of india rubber or substitutes for rubber.

With soles wholly or in chief value of other materials (except boots, shoes, or other footwear with uppers wholly or chief value of vegetable fiber other than cotton, or with uppers and soles both in chief value of wool felt, and except alpargatas with uppers wholly or in chief value of cotton).

Paragraph 1531: Bags, baskets, belts, satchels, cardcases, pocketbooks, jewel boxes, portfolios, and other boxes and cases, not jewelry, wholly or in chief value of leather or parchment, and manufactures of leather, rawhide, or parchment, or of which leather, rawhide, or parchment is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for (except straps and strops):

Belts and buckles designed to be worn on the person.

Coin purses, change purses, billfolds, bill cases, bill rolls, bill purses, banknote cases, currency cases, money cases, card cases, license cases, pass cases, passport cases, letter cases, and similar flat leather goods, not wholly or in chief value of reptile leather.

Women's and children's handbags or pocketbooks, not wholly or in chief value of reptile leather.

Leads, leashes, collars, muzzles, and sim-

ilar dog equipment. Wearing apparel (other than belts and buckles).

Bags, baskets, belts, satchels, pocketbooks, jewel boxes, portfolios, and boxes and cases, not jewelry (except articles named in any of the above subdivisions, whether or not wholly or in chief value of reptile leather).

Paragraph 1531: Articles provided for in paragraph 1531, Tariff Act of 1930, if wholly or in chief value of reptile leather and permanently fitted and furnished with traveling, bottle, drinking, dining or luncheon, sewing, manicure, or similar sets.

Paragraph 1532 (b): Gloves, wholly or in chief value of leather made from horsehides or cowhides (except calfskins), whether wholly or partly manufactured.

Paragraph 1535: Artificial flies, snelled hooks, leaders or casts, finished or unfinished; fishing rods, and parts thereof, finished or unfinished, not specially provided for; fishhooks, artificial baits, and all other fishing tackle and parts thereof, fly books, fly boxes, fishing baskets or creels, finished or unfinished, not specially provided for, except fishing lines, fishing nets, and seines (and not including fishing reels and parts thereof).

Paragraph 1536: Candles.

Paragraph 1536: Manufactures of amber or bladders or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for.
Paragraph 1537 (a): Manufactures of bone,

chip, grass, sea grass, horn, straw, weeds, or whalebone, or of which these substances or any of them is the component material

of chief value, not specially provided for. Paragraph 1537 (a): Manufactures of chip

Paragraph 1537 (b): Manufactures of india rubber or gutta-percha, or of which these substances or either of them is the component material of chief value, not specially provided for (including boots, shoes, or other footwear, wholly or in chief value of india rubber), except the following: Bougles, catheters, drains, sondes, and other urological instruments; gloves; gaskets, packing, and valves; golf-ball centers or cores, wound or unwound; nursing nipples or pacifiers; tires wholly or in chief value of india rubheels and soles for footwear wholly or in chief value of india rubber; hose and tubing; and other articles (not including

¹Listed subject to amendment of par. 1530 (e), Tariff Act of 1930, by Public Law 479, 83d Cong., approved July 8, 1954.

automobile, bicycle, or motorcycle tires), wholly or in chief value of gutta-percha

Paragraph 1537 (c): Combs of whatever material composed not specially provided for: Combs composed wholly of rubber or compounds of cellulose.

Paragraph 1541 (a): Musical instruments and parts thereof, not specially provided for: Stringed instruments (not including planos) and parts thereof (not including bows).

Paragraph 1541 (c): Carillons containing not over 34 bells, and parts thereof.

Paragraph 1549 (a): Pencils of paper, wood, or other material not metal, filled with lead or other material, and pencils of lead, not specially provided for.

Paragraph 1549 (a): Pencils stamped with

names other than the manufacturers' or the manufacturers' trade name or trade-mark.

Paragraph 1549 (a): Pencil point protectors, and clips, whether separate or attached to pencils

Paragraph 1550 (c): Mechanical pencils. Paragraph 1551: Photographic cameras and parts thereof, not specially provided for (except motion-picture cameras and parts thereof and cameras, other than fixed-focus, valued \$10 or over but not over \$50 each).

Paragraph 1551: Photographic dry plates,

not specially provided for. Paragraph 1552: Pouches for chewing or smoking tobacco, finished or partly finished (except pouches wholly or in chief value of leather).

Paragraph 1553: All thermostatic bottles, carafes, jars, jugs, and other thermostatic containers, or blanks and pistons of such articles, of whatever material composed, constructed with a vacuous or partially vacuous insulation space to maintain the temperature of the contents, whether imported, finished or unfinished, with or without a tacket or casing of metal or other material, and parts of any of the foregoing.
Paragraph 1554: Walking canes, finished

or unfinished.

Paragraph 1554: Handles and sticks for umbrellas, parasols, sunshades, and walking canes, wholly or in chief value of wood and valued under \$2.50 per dozen or wholly or in chief value of compounds of cellulose.

Paragraph 1558: Raw or unmanufactured articles not enumerated or provided for: Frogs (not including live frogs) and frog legs.

Paragraph 1558: Articles manufactured, in whole or in part, not specially provided for: Coconut shell char.

TARIFF ACT OF 1930, TITLE II, FREE LIST

Paragraph 1656: Coir yarn.

Paragraph 1677: Fish imported to be used for purposes other than human consumption: goldfish.

Paragraph 1686: Gums and resins: Kadaya.

Natural gums, natural gum resins, and natural resins, not specially provided for: Talka.

Paragraph 1688: Hair of horse, cattle, and other animals, cleaned or uncleaned, drawn or undrawn, but unmanufactured, not specially provided for: goat and kid hair (except dressed soft hair).

Paragraph 1703: Joss stick or joss light.

Paragraph 1705; Kelp.

Paragraph 1731: Oils, distilled or essential, not mixed or compounded with or containing alcohol: camphor.

Paragraph 1754: Santonin, and salts of.

Paragraph 1756: Tuna fish, fresh or frozen, whether or not packed in ice, and whether or not whole.

Paragraph 1761: Shellfish, fresh or frozen (whether or not packed in ice), or prepared or preserved in any manner (not including pastes and sauces) and not specially provided for (except shrimps, prawns, lobsters, crabs, clams, quahaugs, unfrozen fresh scallops, fresh or frozen oysters other than seed oysters, and abalone).

Paragraph 1762: Silk cocoons and silk waste.

Paragraph 1763: Silk, raw, in skeins reeled from the cocoon, or rereeled, but not wound, doubled, twisted, or advanced in manufacture in any way.

Paragraph 1768 (2): Spices and spice seed: Cardamom.

Paragraph 1796: Wax, vegetable, not specially provided for: Japan.

Paragraph 1803 (1): Sawed lumber and timber, not further manufactured than planed, and tongued and grooved, not specially prvoided for: Japanese white oak, Japanese maple, and teak.

The Late Senator Burnet R. Maybank

SPEECH

OF

HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, I shall long remember the morning of September 1, 1954. For some unknown reason, I had failed to turn on my radio to get the early news as I ate breakfast that morning. On my way to work one of my neighbors stopped me in the street and said, "Did you know BURNET MAYBANK died last night?" I replied, "Oh, no. You do not mean it."

This sad news was not only shocking to me, but to all the people of South Carolina. We knew we had lost a most worthy representative and a real statesman.

I first knew Burner Maybank when he ran for Governor of South Carolina. At our first meeting I was impressed with his abounding energy, strong personality, and firm, but friendly, handclasp. He never lost any of these attributes, but on the contrary, attained many more during his years of public service.

He gained new friends fast, because he knew how to be a friend.

Soon after coming to the United States Senate, it became evident to the people of South Carolina that Burnet Maybank was not only a man of ability, but also one of great influence. Although he represented a State solidly Democratic, some of his closest friends in the Senate and Nation were Republicans. They, like many of his own party, respected, admired, and esteemed him for his clear thinking, sound judgment, and complete integrity.

He was loved by all who knew him for his sincerity and devotion to duty. But of his many fine qualities I think his honesty stood out like a lighthouse to a struggling seaman. I am sure he never took a tainted dollar. He was absolutely honest, not merely in the business world, but honest in his political life as well. The spoils of high political office never infected his body or soul.

His willingness to accept responsibility and his capable and conscientious service to the people of South Carolina and the Nation made him almost invulnerable as a candidate in his home State. His constituents recognized him as the great Senator he was. In South Caro-

lina, it is almost unheard of for a United States Senator to be unopposed in a primary election. But Burner Maybank had just been accorded that honor a few weeks before his untimely death.

He loved his family deeply. Since I have been in Washington, he never saw me without inquiring about the welfare of his son who for several years has lived in my home city of Greenville.

The people of his State and Nation share with his family the loss of this great man.

A National Materials Handling Week

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I wish to direct my remarks in behalf of my resolution proclaiming a National Materials Handling Week. Many of you may not be familiar with the term "materials handling" and what it constitutes. Actually, materials handling is just what the words mean—the handling of materials. It represents much, if not most of the physical activity in any plant. From receiving yard to shipping dock, materials are unloaded, moved, stored for minutes, moved, stored for hours or days, and moved again into manufacturing. Thereafter, they are moved from one process to the next, and so on, for 10, 20, or 100 such processes, each followed by another movement and often by one or more temporary storages. And, finally, comes movement to inspection, to storage, to shipping dock, and to common carrier, at which point they enter the distribution cycle-and that is a series of moves and waits.

The story is the same in steel mills and dairies, department stores, machine-tool plants, in arsenals and tooth-paste factories. Handling materials is a large part, if not the major part, of the activity. It is large in man-hours absorbed and large in costs hidden in such things as inventory, space utilization, output per square foot of plant, and other such measures. It is the very heart of many industries, for example, mining, and the key to superiority in others, for example, automobile manufacturing.

During World War II, men engaged in this type of work were taken from industry and placed in positions where their all-round know-how of material handling, supply, warehousing, transportation and related operation and equipment, was utilized to great advantage in the battle of the supply lines. The familiar expression "get there fustes" with the mostes" is the epitome of materials handling during a national emergency. The Seabees carved the airfields out of the jungles of the Pacific Island with bulldozers, earthmovers and similar material handling devices. The derricks and cranes raised the

sunken ships at Pearl Harbor; the fork-lift trucks moved vast mountains of materials to and from ships at dock-side operations; the tractor-trailer trains serviced the bomb-loading operations at airfields. The entire supply line of our Armed Forces was dependent upon material handling and material handling devices. Anything moved in any direction, whether fluid or solid, whether the device used is a pipeline, freight car, pneumatic tube, elevator, forklift truck, or a hand truck is a material handling operation.

Great strides have been made in the last 25 years because of the developments brought forth by the material handling profession. In the constant battle against occupational hazards and diseases, material handling equipment has been the basic factor in reducing these hazards. Today one can see conveyors miles-long bringing ore, coal and slag from mines far underground to the surface without back-breaking labor. thousands of men of yesterday, old and broken before their time by exhaustive back-breaking labor, would be amazed today at the sight of a giant forklift truck moving through a steel mill carrying an 80,000-pound coil, with one man operating it as comfortably and effortlessly as the average man operates the family car.

Better methods of material handling have greatly benefited our way of life by adding to our comfort, well-being and leisure hours. As a matter of fact, the automobile, radio, television, electric refrigerator, washing machine and the supermarket are available to every individual in this country today because better methods of handling material have made them available.

Interchangeable parts manufacturing and mass production methods were used on the Springfield rifle during the Civil War. The punch press and automatic screw machine have been in existence for many years but the greatest strides in industry were not realized until better material handling methods were devised.

It is only since World War II that the materials-handling function has begun to get needed recognition. A few companies have made real progress and are reaping the benefits, and more companies have made a good start. The first independent technical group of its kind was organized in Pittsburgh in 1945 as the Material Handling Society. Another group was organized in 1946 as the Material Handling Society of Philadelphia and in 1947 the Indiana Material Handling Society was formed.

In 1947 the Material Handling Institute, an association of equipment manufacturers, helped to organize groups in various parts of the country. In the same year independent societies were organized in Boston and Cleveland. In 1948 other societies were organized in Chicago, Toledo, Detroit, Syracuse and Houston. An organization very similar in its aims and purposes, The Society of Industrial Packaging and Material Handling Engineers was incorporated and received its charter in June 1945 in the State of Illinois. The science of packaging is important to the handling of ma-

terial-consider the development of the waterproof package.

The American Society of Mechanical Engineers has a division devoted exclusively to material handling as does the Society for the Advancement of Management.

With the increasing interest in materials handling, it became evident that a national organization composed of local chapters was needed. So in January 1949, steps were taken to form the American Material Handling Society, Inc. A charter was obtained and temporary officers were elected. The first annual meeting was held in June 1949, and the society was formally organized and chapter charters were issued in Boston, Chicago, Detroit, Houston, Indianapolis, Louisville, Pittsburgh, and Syracuse. Chapters in many other cities across the country have since been added. As a matter of fact, since 1949 the society has grown to 34 chapters in the United States from coast to coast, and 5 chapters in Canada. It is expected that with the beginning of the New Year there will be a total of 45 chapters, one of which will be in Mexico City, Mexico.

The scope of interest in materials handling is today truly international. In January 1954, the society affiliated with the Institute of Material Handling of London, England, whose membership approximates our own in size. The British society includes 88 members at large

from 26 foreign countries.

The activities of the American Material Handling Society have included such things as the sponsorship of technical sessions at Material Handling Exhibi-tions in Cleveland, Philadelphia, and Chicago and regional conferences in every corner in the country. A national education committee and a college-industry committee cooperate with various colleges to increase the quality and scope of material handling education. For example, the New Jersey Chapter and Stevens Institute of Technology have cosponsored a forum for the past 3 years at Stevens Institute. The society has cooperated with the armed services to develop better material handling methods and personnel has been furnished to government agencies to assist them in specific investigations.

The aims and purposes of the American Material Handling Society, Inc., include: the advancement of the theory and practice of materials handling; the promotion of the welfare and future of the profession; keeping its members in touch with materials handling information and influence not ordinarily available through their individual occupations; conducting and promoting studies of the principles governing the art and science of materials handling; publishing technical, statistical and engineering data covering all phases of the profession; determining and encouraging the formation of operating and safety codes: cooperating with other engineering societies and educational institutions in furthering the interest of the engineering profession; and establishing a better understanding of the scope of the Materials Handling Engineers' field of operation.

Because materials handling is so basic to our whole economy, the economy of the greatest manufacturing country the world has ever known, the 4,000 members of this growing society and myself urge the enactment of this special legislation setting aside a "National Materials Handling Week", a week to pay tribute to the man who pushes the wheelbarrow and to all the men who contribute to our vast production lines. Each one of them is doing his share in making our life more comfortable and secure in peacetime and giving us greater protection in wartime.

Woodrow Wilson, by Bernard M. Baruch

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BURR P. HARRISON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD. I have the honor to include a timely and penetrating article from the January 2. 1955, issue of the New York Times magazine on the late great Woodrow Wilson. The article is written by that great American statesman and intimate associate of Wilson, Bernard M. Baruch. In a concise and interesting manner, Mr. Baruch emphasizes the greatness and genius of Wilson as a practical statesman and leader of men.

In 1956 we shall celebrate the 100th anniversary of President Wilson's birth in Staunton, Va., in the congressional district which I am honored to represent. For the appropriate observation of this anniversary, the Congress and the Commonwealth of Virginia have designated commissions, which, it is hoped, will soon be functioning in order that the Nation shall pay such tribute that the imprint of Woodrow Wilson on the pages of history justifies and requires.

The article by Mr. Baruch follows:

Like a mighty mountain, the figure of Woodrow Wilson, seen from the distance of a generation, is more impressive, more imposing than ever, towering over his time and casting his shadow down through the years.

Almost a century has passed since he was born-three decades since he was laid to rest. The world has changed greatly since his day, and, in many ways, regrettably, not at all. Perhaps in the thought and spirit of that singular man we can find the key to the problems, old and new, which confront usand at the same time replenish our minds and hearts.

Woodrow Wilson offers us the rare example of the practical dreamer. He, as much as any man in our history, epitomized the idealism upon which, for all our pragmatism and materialism, the American heritage rests. At the same time, he was endowed with a stern sense of realism.

Although more than half of Wilson's life was spent in the realm of scholarship, it was not confined to an ivory tower. As a student of government and politics, he was concerned not with the "abstract and occult." as he wrote, but with the "practical and suggestive." not alone with the theory of government but with its actual operation. too. He was interested in affairs, not doc-

Thus he was equipped, when he assumed public office, with a knowledge and an understanding of government which few Chief Executives have possessed. He knew the real workings, potentialities, limitations of government—and of men. He knew that hu-man affairs do not lend themselves to theories, no matter how persuasive they may appear in the solitude of the library.

"Life is a very complex thing," he said. "No theory I have ever heard will match its varied pattern, and the men who are dangerous are the men who are not content with understanding, but go on to propound theories * * * which will make a new pattern for society and a new model for the universe. Those are the men not to be trusted. Because, although you steer by the North Star, when you have lost the bearings on your compass you must nevertheless steer a pathway on the sea—you are not bound for the North Star."

Wilson indeed steered by the North Star, but his goal was not so distant. It lay al-ways within the grasp of men if they would but extend themselves. Of a well-known theorizer who sought to remake the world. Wilson once wrote, "I know of no man who has more perverted the thinking of the world than Karl Marx."

Wilson's goal was a better America, a better world, not a perfect one. He knew that men might achieve much, but not perfection. And he knew that progress comes by slow stages, that you cannot throw off the habits of society immediately any more than you can throw off the habits of an individual immediately. "You cannot in human experience rush into the light," he wrote. "You have to go through the twilight into the broadening light of day before the noon comes up and the full sun is upon the landscape."

He sought ever after the warm sun of peace, freedom and justice, and sought a place be-

neath its rays for all men.

As governor of New Jersey and as President. Wilson helped to clear away the rank growth of political inequality and economic and social injustice which was stifling American life, at the same time he prepared the ground for a new growth of opportunity and freedom, whose fruits we enjoy today. The best of contemporary American liberalism derives from him.

Despite the clamor raised against Wilson's program of tax, tariff and electoral reforms, of restraints against monopoly and irresponsible business practice, of concessions to labor and aid to agriculture, there was nothing radical in it. Wilson did not seek change for the sake of change or ride "booted and spurred * * * the wild horses of reform," to win the applause of the multitude.

Indeed, as with every true liberal, there was a deep conservative instinct in him. His reforms were not intended to remake the American political and economic system but to conserve its essence. They were designed to strengthen it, to preserve it, to protect it (from itself, in many respects) by correcting and eliminating abuses which had grown up about it. He sought new means to preserve old ends. "The New Freedom," as he said, "was only the old revived and clothed in the unconquerable strength of America."

Wilson devoted his life to preserving, strengthening and extending democracy. Democracy, he said, was the most difficult form of government, yet he knew that it was the best ever devised by the minds of men. knew that to survive, it must constantly adapt itself to changing circumstances. If it remained static it must wither and decay. and die under the impact of forces, destructive and disorganized, which would spring up. "Liberty is not something that can be laid away in a document, a completed work," he wrote, "Democratic institutions are never done—they are like the living tissue, always a-making."

The torch of liberty that burned so bright in Wilson made him a beacon to which men and nations turned their eyes. Passionately as he was devoted to it, he knew that liberty was not an end in itself. Rather it was the catalyst which released human energies, the key which unlocked the door of opportunity and thus permitted men to achieve their potentialities. He knew, too, that liberty, unrestrained by discipline and responsibility is anarchy. "Liberty," he said, "is not itself government. In the wrong hands—in hands unpracticed, undisciplined—it is incompatible with government."

The First World War transformed Wilson from an American leader into a world leader and he responded nobly to the challenge and the opportunity. Under his direction, America mobilized all her resources of men, material, and spirit and threw them into the conflict. He was an inspiring war leader, but he fought for peace, not military victory. And it is as a champion of internatonal peace and order that he reputation is most luminous.

The concept of an international organization to enforce peace was not original with Wilson. For centuries men had proposed it. He was the first to translate the idea into a reality. "What we seek," he said, "is the reign of law based on the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind."

He knew that without such a reign of law civilization itself might crash in ruins in another outburst of lawlessness. In the debate in the United States over the League of Nations, he said: "I can predict with absolute certainty that, within another generation, there will be another world war if the nations of the world do not concert the method by which to prevent it." How true that prophecy was we well know.

ecy was we well know.

Wilson's quest for a reign of law among nations failed. But the failure was not his. As the late Jan Christiaan Smuts said, the failure was humanity's. In the United States, partisanship, selfishness and blindness prevented our joining the League and doomed it to failure. Without the force of American example and leadership other nations gave only lip service to the principles of the League and pursued their separate ways which met finally in catastrophe. As Ray Stannard Baker said in the League Wilson gave the nations of the world an instrument for expressing good will, but he could not give them good will.

Critics of Wilson have charged him with responsibility for America's failure to join the League of Nations. They argue that had he been less stubborn he would have compromised with his opponents and accepted half a loaf.

This characterization of Wilson as dogmatic and uncompromising is wholly inaccurate. He compromised often and without embarrassment. Compromise is the essence of democracy. No man can lead a nation who canno' reconcile divergent views. The list of cor. promises he accepted in the Treaty of Versallies is long. But while he would compromise readily on detail, on method, on pace, he would not compromise on principle. And he was right.

The controversy over the treaty, in the last analysis, centered around article X which contained the pledge to preserve the territorial and political independence of all members of the League. This was the heart of the question. To abandon this article, as his opponents demanded, would have been to create a cardboard structure that would topple at the first thrust of an aggressor. The League, said Wilson, was the indispensable instrumentality of peace. It was necessary to guarantee that peace, Article X was the guaranty.

was the guaranty.

The very same issue confronts us today in the question of the control of atomic energy, disarmament and peace. There must

be a guaranty. Declarations of intent and good will are not enough. Agreements which fall to provide for direct and effective control of the atom and close supervision of disarmament are meaningless and worse, incalculably dangerous.

To enter such agreements while abandoning the principle of international inspection and control would mean the dismemberment of our strength, while other nations, without our moral compunction, could maintain, behind the cloak of duplicity, the strength to destroy us. We cannot gamble with our survival. As Wilson refused to compromise on the essence of the League, we must stand fast on the principle of effective atomic control. In that case and this, half a loaf is not better than none.

Wilson left the White House broken in body but not in spirit, his faith in men and in his own ideals untarnished. He did not live to see his somber prophecy fulfilled. But his principles were at last adopted. It is his spirit which animates the United Nations, and if we can recapture his spirit we can make that as yet imperfect instrument succeed.

Woodrow Wilson will be an example and an inspiration to men as long as we admire greatness. Greatness, he once observed, is a word which we Americans use loosely. Yet who deserves that accolade more than he. Gifted as few men are, the true source of his greatness lay not so much in his intellect, his eloquence, his courage, or in all the other qualities with which he was endowed. It lay in the fact that he devoted these qualities not to his own interest but to the interests of humanity.

We need men such as he; men devoted to democracy, who seek the sure road of progress while avoiding extremes; men who are ambitious to serve in government without serving themselves. We need men of courage and integrity, men who love humanity but understand it. We need men with vision enough to see the mountaintop and ability enough to lead us there.

For that is our goal—the mountaintop where men may breathe the clear, pure air of freedom and peace and justice. We will not reach it unless we link our arms together and pull together up the long, hard slope. Even if we ourselves do not reach that summit, we will, at least, have marked the way for others.

"All through the centuries," wrote Wilson, "there has been this slow, painful struggle forward, forward, up, up, a little at a time, along the entire incline, the interminable way. What difference does it make if we do not reach the uplands? We have given our lives to the enterprise, and that is richer and the moral is greater."

Export-Import Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I desire to call the attention of my colleagues to the address of Mr. O. R. Strackbein, chairman of Nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture, and Labor on Import-Export Policy, which appeared in the press recently.

Mr. Strackbein points out the danger of a further slash in our tariff rates and deals with the great disparity of employment caused by mounting imports and with the dangerous policy of American exporters to maintain their foreign markets in face of a decreasing demand for their products.

The address is as follows:

THE WAGE EARNER AND FOREIGN TRADE

What would be the consequence if we followed the clamor of the export interests and slashed our tariff still more? Or if we repealed the escape clause of the trade agreements law?

Mind you, there is no point in blaming the exporters for wanting to sell as much in overseas markets as they did when the whole world cried for their goods. Exports were profitable and they did provide em-ployment. But the situation has changed. Many of the foreign demands for our materials have been filled. The dollar gap is about gone. But for the shipment of military equipment to help arm Europe and other areas, the dollar gap is closed. tary shipments are not true exports in any They result from national defense policies and are no part of regular commerce. Yet our official export figures include these military shipments and create the impression that our total exports are much higher than our total imports. In 1953 our military exports amounted to \$3½ billion.
In order to keep exports sky high the de-

In order to keep exports sky high the demand from the export interests today is to increase imports to the level of total exports by cutting the tariff still more.

Once again it should be said that there would be nothing wrong with this if it simply meant benefiting our export interests, the automobile industry, manufacturers of office equipment, iron and steel, industrial machinery, etc., and the farm crops such as wheat, cotton, tobacco, and rice.

But it is not as simple as that. We are already letting in duty-free, noncompetitive products, accounting for over half of our imports and have already cut our tariff by an average of 75 percent on the goods that do carry a duty. Obviously what is involved in further tariff reductions is a very serious question of how much damage would be done as against any benefits that would come from increased exports.

WHAT THE SHOOTING IS ABOUT

Here we come down to brass tacks. Or to put it differently, this is what all the shooting is about.

Many industries can already tell you what happens when the tariff is cut too deeply. We have previously pointed out that the Swiss have captured and held over 80 percent of our total market for watches. Imports of apparel wool have taken more than 60 percent of our market. The number of sheep in this country has dropped to a point lower than at any previous time since the Civil War. New England cod and haddock fisheries have seen imports in a matter of a dozen years grow from 10 to 50 percent of the market. The tuna fisheries of the west coast have watched Japanese imports grow from less than 20 million pounds per year to over 100 million pounds. Lead and zinc producers, manufacturers of bicycles, and others can relate similar experiences.

There can be no question, after all the theorizing about how our higher productivity leads to lower costs of production, that where our tariff is not high enough or if we have no quota to limit imports, our producers see their market taken away from them before their very eyes. Each year imports take more of the market and there seems to be nothing to stop them.

Of course, there was a day when the employer could put up a notice telling his workers that sorry though he was, he found himself forced to cut wages 10 or 20 percent to meet import competition. Is that what the export interests are really after? Is that why

they are joined by so many people who have no direct interest at stake, no job in a plant hit by import competition or no money in any such enterprise? As a way of beating down wages no weapon is more powerful than competition with low-wage products.

Very well, imports could be increased through further tariff cuts.

Let me say categorically that more people, more workers, would be hurt in this way than would be benefited. Only a part of our export employment could be affected because about half of our total exports owe their existence to the dollars received by other countries for the goods that we import free of duty. No tariff cut could help them because there is no tariff to cut.

At the outside from 1,500,000 to 2,000,000 workers owe their jobs to making and servicing for export those goods that would benefit from further tariff cuts. The usual figure given is about twice that high; but those who use it overlook that part of our exports that arises from our duty-free imports. In other words, even if all our duties were so high as to exclude imports we would have enough imports under the free list to give rise to about half our exports.

HOW WOULD WORKERS BE AFFECTED?

Now, how many workers would stand to get hurt by taking off the tariff or cutting it sharply below present levels?

Some of the crystal gazers have guessed that only from 100,000 to 200,000 workers would lose their jobs if the tariff were taken off entirely and all import quotas were abolished.

Of course, no one is Solomon enough to forecast what would happen, except fessor type economists who thoroughly hedge what they prophesy; but ponder this:

The industries, mines, waters, forests, and farms whose products face import competition in varying degrees of severity employ directly 4,500,000 to 5,000,000 workers at production. These jobs give rise to twice as many who are indirectly employed in all service, professional, distributive, and other occupations—teachers, barbers, salesmen. bankers, insurance people, truckdrivers, railroad people, etc. That makes a total of some 10 million, which, if added to the 4½ to 5 million makes a total of nearly 15 million workers who stand to be hurt by increased imports resulting from any general tariff reduction. That compares with 11/2 to 2 million who now owe their employment, direct and indirect, to those of our exports not accounted for by our free-list imports. The ratio is nearly 10 to 1.

The History of a 55-Year Struggle by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States in Behalf of the Veteran and His Dependent

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the history of the Veterans of Foreign Wars is truly the history of a dramatic 55-year struggle to keep the American people conscious of their patriotic obligations to the Nation's welfare-and to the men who have risked their lives in defense of America in time of war.

This tabulation of VFW historical highlights accents only a few of the significant milestones in the progress of this organization as a national body. Unfortunately, it is impossible to point up the countless thousands of examples of great good that have been accomplished by VFW posts deeply concerned with the betterment of the communities in which they exist.

To the younger members of the VFWas well as to the old timers who have contributed so much personally to this glowing record of VFW achievementthis review of the past should serve as a magnificient inspiration—one that fully justifies continuous membership loyalty and support in the future.

Here is the record that gives millions of Americans good reason to say, "The

VFW is a good outfit."

Eighteen hundred and ninety-nine: Founding of the Colorado Society of the Army of the Philippines, the American Veterans of Foreign Service in Ohio, and a similar organization with the same name in Pennsylvania. Composed of veterans exclusively-these overseas three groups established the tradition that men who fought together overseas in time of war should join together in an organization dedicated to the service of their country, and to the needs of their less fortunate comrades.

Nineteen hundred and fourteen: The amalgamation of the above-named groups to form one single nationwide organization to be known henceforth as the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United

Nineteen hundred and seventeen: As urged by the VFW, Congress adopted the War Risk Insurance Act, under which compensation and pension benefits were created for World War I disabled veterans and the widows and dependents of the Nation's war dead.

Nineteen hundred and eighteen: Enactment of Public Law 178 marked achievement of another major VFW objective. For the first time in United States history, the Federal Government adopted the basic principle of vocational training for disabled veterans whose handicaps required special training for complete rehabilitation.

As advocated by the VFW, pensions were granted to widows and orphans of Spanish-American War veterans.

Nineteen hundred and twenty: Due primarily to the organized efforts of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Congress passed the first pension bill for Spanish-American War veterans. Representative Thomas Crago, of Pennsylvania, author of this pension bill, served as commander in chief of the VFW in 1914-15.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-one: In response to VFW pleadings, Congress adopted legislation creating an independent agency known as the Veterans Bureau for the handling of all veteran affairs pertaining to hospitalization, compensation, pensions, training, and so forth.

As forerunner of the present Loyalty Day program, the VFW designated April 27 to be observed each year as National Americanization Day-a counterdemonstration to Communist May Day rallies each year on May 1.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-two: The VFW became the first veteran organization to launch a nationwide sale of symbolic memorial flowers made by disabled Veterans-the VFW buddy poppy—as a means of raising funds for veteran welfare and relief purposes.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-three. National headquarters of the VFW, located at 32 Union Square, New York, N. Y., was transferred to Kansas City,

Kans.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-four: Enactment of the World War Veterans Act of 1924, as recommended by the VFW. authorized the establishment of approximately 100 regional offices of the Veterans Bureau throughout the country.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-five: The VFW national home for widows and orphans was founded at Eaton Rapids,

Nineteen hundred and twenty-six: At its 27th national encampment, El Paso, Tex., the Veterans of Foreign Wars became the first major veteran organization to adopt resolutions asking Congress to outlaw the operations of the Communist Party in the United States-and to establish a permanent system of universal military training.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-seven: Under VFW leadership, the national commanders of five major veteran organizations endorsed the following definition: "Americanism is an unfailing love of country; loyalty to its institutions and ideals; eagerness to defend it against all enemies: undivided allegiance to the flag: and a desire to secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity."

Nineteen hundred and twenty-nine: Vigorously urged by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Congress voted approval of a Gold Star Mothers' pilgrimage to the graves of World War I dead in France.

Nineteen hundred and thirty: As strongly recommended by the VFW, Congress authorized the consolidation of all Federal agencies handling matters pertaining to veterans under the control of one agency, the Veterans' Administra-

The offices of the National Headquarters in Kansas City, Kans., were moved to Broadway at 34th Street, Kansas City,

Despite opposition from other major veteran organizations, the VFW waged a single-handed victorious fight for the payment of disability allowances to nonservice-connected disabled veterans with permanent disabilities. Under this law, veterans suffering with disabilities ranging from 25 percent to 100 percent received pensions from \$12 to \$40 per month. Although only 100 percent totally and permanently disabled veterans are entitled to disability pensions under existing laws-the precedent of pension payments to non-service-connected disabled World War I veterans was established by this law—marking a significant achievement to the exclusive credit of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

The bodies of 86 American war dead buried in Russia were exhumed and returned to the United States for burial by a special VFW mission. In the absence of diplomatic relations between the United States of America and Russia, the project to retrieve these American war dead was sponsored exclusively by the Veterans of Foreign Wars. Nineteen bodies were shipped from Brooklyn to relatives in various States, with burial arrangements supervised by local VFW units; the bodies of 56 were shipped to Detroit, Mich., for burial under the auspices of VFW Polar Bear Post 436, Detroit, and the Polar Bear Association, Three of the bodies were buried in Arlington Cemetery, Washington, D. C., under VFW auspices.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-one: Climaxing an intensive Nationwide campaign conducted exclusively by the Veterans of Foreign Wars, Congress enacted legislation that made The Star Spangled Banner the official national anthem.

In response to VFW demands for cash payment of World War I veteran adjusted compensation certificates (the so-called bonus) Congress enacted legislation granting 50 percent payment.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-three: VFW achievements in veteran welfare suffered a severe blow when the National Economy Act became effective on Black Friday, June 30. This law nullified disability pensions for about 400,000 World War I veterans; pensions for 170,000 Spanish-American War veterans; hospitalization and domiciliary care for countless thousands.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-four: A long standing VFW objective was accomplished when Public Law 484 was adopted, granting outright pensions to the widows and children of deceased World War I veterans, regardless of service connection.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-six: Acting again in response to persistent VFW demands, Congress voted to pay World War I veterans the cash balance due on World War I bonus certificates.

Nineteen hundred and thirty-eight: VFW posts gathered millions of signatures in a nationwide campaign petitioning Congress to create a national-defense system strong enough to keep America out of war.

Nineteen hundred and forty: In December 1940 the VFW launched the Speak up for Democracy series of monthly Americanism talks, a project that continues to earn the cooperation of approximately 800 radio stations.

Nineteen hundred and forty-two: At the request of the War Department, the VFW promoted an intensive drive for Air Force recruits through the sponsorship of a nationwide air cadet scholastic training program designated to assist enlistees in meeting eligibility requirements. Within 1 year the War Department gave credit to the VFW for more than 42,000 recruits.

The VFW contributed \$150,000 to the War Department for the purchase of 15 trainer planes.

Nineteen hundred and forty-three: On March 17, 1943, Congress responded to VFW appeals for veteran-welfare justice by passing Public Law 10, creating benefits for World War II veterans and their dependents similar to those in force for World War I veterans. Nineteen hundred and forty-four: Adoption of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, the so-called GI bill of rights, incorporating most of the basic veteran-welfare principles advanced by the VFW ever since its founding in 1899.

Nineteen hundred and forty-five: With VFW representatives serving as consultants, the United Nations Conference on International Organization met in San Francisco to formulate the Charter of the United Nations.

Nineteen hundred and forty-six: The 12-story office building in which the national headquarters is located in Kansas City, Mo., was purchased by the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States.

For the first time in history, VFW membership passed the 1-million mark. Nineteen hundred and forty-seven: The first VFW national marble tournament was held in Boys Town, Nebr.

Endorsed by the VFW, Congress voted for immediate cash payment of World War II terminal-leave bonds; a 20-per cent increase in Spanish-American War veteran pensions; unification of the Armed Forces,

Nineteen hundred and forty-nine: In observance of the 50th anniversary of the founding in 1899, the period of April 3-9 was celebrated as Golden Jubilee Week. Highlight of the week was a special hour-long NBC radio network show featuring Bob Hope, Dinah Shore, and Janis Page.

Another VFW Golden Jubilee project enlisted the cooperation of 637 radio stations and 850 newspapers in advertising the free distribution of more than 300,-000 booklets listing the various benefits to which all veterans and their dependents were entitled under Federal laws.

Nineteen hundred and fifty: An organized American sovereignty campaign to combat the United World Federalist movement was launched by the VFW—a drive that has succeeded to date in persuading all but 3 of 21 State legislatures to rescind the adoption of favorable resolutions.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-one: With cash prizes valued at \$35,000 the VFW inaugurated the most intensive nationwide community service campaign ever sponsored by any organization—one that produced a total of 503,000 separate VFW community service projects during the year 1953-54.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-two: The tradition of annually observing National VFW Week during the last week of January was established.

Donald D. Dunn, World War II veteran and a victim of the 1951 floods in Kansas, was picked as the winner of a \$50,-000 farm in the Columbia Basin reclamation project, Washington. The big search for the Nation's most deserving veteran to receive this prize was conducted by the VFW in cooperation with the Columbia Basin donors.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-three: Heroic VFW efforts forced administration leaders to abandon a nearly successful effort to make drastic reductions in the VA budget for disabled veteran care. The proposed reductions threatened a repetition of the evil effects of the National Economy Act of 1933.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-four: In response to widespread VFW demands on the post, State and national levels, the administration gave approval to the passage of two measures granting a 5-percent increase in compensation and pension rates for all disabled veterans, and the widows and orphans of deceased veterans.

Congress adopted legislation designed to outlaw the Communist Party in the United States—an objective the VFW has recommended since 1926.

Closing of Deputy United States Marshal's Office in Helena, Mont.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, last month I was informed that the deputy United States marshal now stationed in Helena, Mont., had been transferred to Great Falls, Mont. After inquiry, I learned that it was proposed to close the deputy United States marshal's office in Helena and have the branch office in Great Falls, together with the main office in Butte, serve papers and perform other duties of the marshal's office for the people in and around Helena.

At that time I wrote Attorney General Brownell protesting closure of this office in the State capital. I was joined in this protest by members of the Helena Bar Association, the president of the Montana Bar Association, and others. It was urged that the office remain open in order that service to the State and Federal agencies located in the capital be most efficiently maintained.

As yet I have not received a reply to my letter of protest, and, as far as I know, the other interested organizations and individuals in Montana have received no response to their letters. They have written me requesting further information on this proposed transfer.

As a result, I have joined with Senator Mansfield in sending the following telegram to Attorney General Brownell:

Montana Bar Association, Helena, Mont., Chamber of Commerce, and local bar associations in Montana are continuing to press for your decision with respect to closing of the marshal's office in Helena, Mont., on February 1. May we have a reply to our letters of December 22, December 27, and January 10?

I have today introduced a bill to require the United States marshal to maintain an office in the State capital of every State so that in the future this situation cannot recur. Apparently only the passage of legislation can prevent arbitrary elimination of those needed facilities and require the Department of Justice to respond to the protests of the individuals and organizations such facilities are designed to serve.

No Coexistence of Religion and Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, we hear a great deal these days about coexistence of one sort or another. In the field of religion we all know that coexistence with communism is impossible because of the godless philosophy of communism.

This was the theme of my address last Sunday, January 9, 1955, at the Holy Family Church in my district in Brooklyn, popularly known as the Slovak Church, which is celebrating the 50th anniversary of its founding. I was privileged to be the guest speaker at this celebration, over which Auxiliary Bishop Raymond A. Kearney presided.

The text of my address follows:

SPEECH BY CONGRESSMAN VICTOR L. ANFUSO, ON SUNDAY, JANUARY 9, 1955, IN CELEBRATION OF 50TH ANNIVERSARY OF SLOVAK CHURCH

My fellow Americans, it is impossible for me-a Member of the Congress of the United States—to face this devoutly religious audience in this safe and free environment, and close my mind to the outrages that are being perpetrated, even as I speak, against the religious spirit of man wherever communism holds sway. For me the significance of the event we celebrate today—the 50th anniversary of this church—is symbolic of the eternal victory of the Christian Church that was born on the Rock of Peter. It is a manifestation of the challenge of the faithful to the enemies of Christendom, whose brutal strength in our day derives from the Communist total state. We here at this Communist total state. hour, in this church, in this community, are but a fragment-but I hope a potent oneof a monumental and historic world struggle. My assignment today in this celebration limits me to but a moment, and yet that moment will be rich in fruitfulness for the free religious world if I can associate this event, local as it is, with the holy cause into which world affairs have swept us all.

The cause of which I speak has to do with the religious soul of man and is not-for the moment-concerned with territorial aggres sion as such, with political or with economic considerations. And in that sphere-as perhaps in all spheres-let me make it plain, there can never be any coexistence of any kind, in any way, between the free and the slave world. The Communists themselves have thrown the gantlet into the face of God. Kopecky, the Iron Curtain's Minister of Information in Czechoslovakia, said in July 1952: "People who go to church demonstrate their opposition to the people's democ-(people's democracy is their word for the total state). He goes on: "They gain courage in church to invoke American imperialism." "In the struggle against such enemies," says Kopecky, "we stop at nothing." Stalin put it just as baldly: "Communism," he said, "will agitate against both Catholicism and Protestantism, and against orthodoxy in order to bring about the triumph of the socialistic-world outlook,"

To me, this church is one of the millions of fortresses against these openly declared enemies of God. I will not distress you with the antireligious tortures and the massacres and the purges, the confiscation of church property, and the deliberate, cunningly contrived misuse of the church itself, as an in-

strument of the total state. You know the cruelties that have been perpetrated upon Mindszenty in Hungary, upon Budkiewicz and Wyszynski in Poland, and upon saintly Slovak churchmen and Catholics generally beyond counting; in Czechoslovakia where the Catholics constitute 10 million out of a population of 12 million. Our job here is as plain as day. We must strengthen ourselves in our own faith. We must assure this religious edifice an enduring and a vital place as a voice in support of spiritual growth and freedom. The Slovak people have a long tradition of progress in architecture, in music, in literature, with which the whole of western civilization has enriched itself. And the very fiber and sinew of this great tradition of culture is the Catholic faith of the Slovak people.

The people of the Slovak racial strain are no newcomers to the struggle for liberty. When Czechoslovakia won its independence after the First World War, that struggle was part of a story that goes back to the Middle Ages, back to the ninth century even and to the great Moravian Empire. Masaryk and Benes carried in their hearts the fire of the ancients. You who know so well the story of Czechoslovakia's fight for independence in our own time, know also that much of the struggle was carried on here on this free American soil, so hospitable to human liberty everywhere. I urge you in the same way to let this church serve as a base for the strengthening of the faith. By paths that you know better than I, you must help the people of your racial strain in Czechoslovakia to surmount the crisis that now confronts them. They must feel confidence in your devotion to the altar of God at which in your hearts you both pray-you in freedom, they in slavery.

I hold that the degree of your devotion to the Roman Catholic faith is the degree of your weight and your valor in the fight against communism as, indeed, I believe it to be the degree of your faith in your country and your patriotism. For the 50 years of the existence of this church community are integrated into the 2,000 years of the existence of the Roman Catholic faith. And the Roman Catholic faith is beyond all peradventure of a doubt the most formidable weapon spiritually against the great antireligious conspiracy of communism. It is this conspiracy, which is indigenous to com-munism and to the total state, that points up the basic struggle between communism and religion. It makes what is called coexistence spiritually as impossible as it is incomprehensible. Communism and the church must remain forever mutually antag-

To put it in a word, communism—now that nazism has been whipped—is today's embodiment of the total state. It coils its poisonous tentacles from its center in the Kremlin beyond the borders of the Soviet Union into the heartland of Europe and the Far East. It represents a clear and present danger to civilization itself. This danger goes to the very roots of life. It is political. It is geographical. It is economic. It is personal, It affects every department of living.

For for us the danger is above all-spiritual.

In our form of government there is no conflict between God and loyalty to country. Our literature is replete with such expressions as "This Nation under God." The two—God and country—represent an amalgam of the spiritual and the political. Our system of government accepts the supremacy of God. The Soviet state does not. There is the underlying difference.

You can divide geographically. You can share economically. You can endure politically. But no system has yet been devised for cutting the human soul in twain and making it serve two masters. Our soul be-

longs to God—and only to God. The total state is the absolute state. It has no room for God. It cannot share its monolithic authority with any other institution. Its basic credo forbids it to accept the supremacy of the people in government or the principle of obedience to God. With diabolical cunning—especially in recent months—it seeks to subvert religion and God to a position of subordination to the state. By raw tyranny, by defection, it is reducing religion to the position of serving as a creature and utensil of the state.

This is the most wicked element of all in the total fraud that is the total state.

This calls for war against a devastating enemy on the spiritual plane.

In such a spiritual war none of us can afford to rest.

It is a war that will have to be fought in the Halls of the Congress of the United States. It will have to be fought—as indeed in many ways it is being fought—in the United Nations.

It will have to be fought—and the campaign will have to be sustained—in institutions like this church. By giving voice to your faith, by meeting the crisis when the hour of decision arrives, by offering succor to your friends and relatives abroad, you will, all of you—perhaps in our own time—bring about the doom of the enemies of God. You who are so loyally American and have contributed so much in life, in treasure, in culture, to the upbuilding of this country, will serve its free institutions best by giving yourselves to your God and your country in the next 50 years as you and your forebears gave yourselves in the 50 years we celebrate today.

We who have faith know that regardless of its temporary gains communism will be eventually defeated and destroyed because of its godless philosophy.

Trade Agreement Negotiations With Japan and Other Countries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following statement of the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers before the Committee for Reciprocity Information in the matter of public hearings in connection with proposed trade agreement negotiations with Japan and other countries:

The National Association of Cotton Manufacturers, founded in 1854, represents northern cotton and manmade fiber mills located predominantly in New England. Cotton mills in this group generally manufacture fine-combed cotton fabrics; others produce carded goods and manmade fiber textiles.

POSITION

The New England mills are opposed to the invasion of the American home market by Japanese or other imported cotton textiles. Present duties may not be high enough to prevent such an occurrence, but a further lowering of duties to permit entry of more Japanese textiles would result in the displacement of American fabrics, unemployment, and heavy losses to investors and to

those dependent upon the industry as a source of income.

Injury to the American textile industry would be an unwise method for the United States to pursue in connection with its policy toward Japan. The Trade Agreements Act of 1934 has among its purposes "restoring the American standard of living and overcoming domestic unemployment." Concessions on textiles to Japan would tend to lower the American standard of living and cause unemployment, a policy which our Government should not sanction, directly or indirectly. Maintenance of a healthy United States economy is of importance pot only to ourselves, but to other free nations as well. The British Economic Survey, 1954, states that in assessing the course of world trade in the immediate future. "* * the level of activity in the United States is likely to be the most decisive single factor. This is because the United States is such a large importer, and the changes in her demand for imports, which usually result from changes in industrial production, can have far-reaching effects on the export earnings of other countries, especially those which are mainly producers of food and raw materials."

UNEMPLOYMENT AND LOSSES

(a) Present conditions

Textile imports will displace American goods. The American market for cotton textiles is in a depressed condition. Cotton consumption has dropped 22 percent since January 1951, spindle activity has declined 16 percent, and production is off 13.6 percent. Production of broad woven synthetic goods has declined by over 25 percent in the same period. These declines have been even greater in New England where cotton consumption has declined 48.9 percent and spindle activity by 47.3 percent since January 1951. Synthetic broad woven production has dropped 41.4 percent since the first quarter of 1951. The past 12 months have contributed markedly to this decline. (See table I.)

Per capita consumption of textiles in the United States has declined by the following significant amounts since 1950:1

	Percent
Cotton Manmade Wool	* 1.0
American	20 6

Sales of broad woven goods have dropped 30.5 percent since January 1951, and since August 1953 have dropped 5.2 percent.

This depressed condition has brought

This depressed condition has brought about a decline in employment in the textile industry of 268,000 jobs and in the cotton and synthetic textile industry of over 60,000 jobs since January 1951. In New England alone employment has fallen by 48 percent since 1951 and by 26.7 percent since September a year ago in cotton and rayon mills. (See table I.)

The industry is currently capable of not only supplyin: the full domestic demand and maintaining exports, but of increasing its output within a few months by an additional 15 percent as it did under the stimulus of the Korean War in 1950.

Unlike a growing industry which might be able to share its growth with others, the cotton and synthetic textile industry of the United States has no growing market to partition. It would be forced to give up a market which is not big enough for its present capacity. This condition is due in large measure to the expansion of capacity and output which took place to meet war and immediate postwar needs.

The textile industry would be a most unfortunate choice to carry the burden of Japan's dollar shortage. Serious unemployment and losses to communities and regions, as well as stockholders, would follow with great rapidity.

Footnotes at end of speech.

(b) Unemployment

A substitution of foreign for American cloth would increase current unemployment to an extent which no agency of the Government should recommend or sanction. The decline in employment in New England cotton and synthetic textile mills since January 1951, over one-half of which has occurred since September 1953, has left a serious unemployment problem. In addition, many mills are operating and have been operating on a short-time basis of 3 or 4 days a week with temporary shutdowns of a week or more at a time.

The impact and extent of unemployment in textiles is severe because the industry is composed of a large number of small and medium-sized establishments employing over 350,000 workers with heavy employment concentrations in local areas. The average number of employees in textile mills in the United States is low in all regions and all branches of the industry.

Employees per establishment

	United States			South
1. Cotton and related broad woven fabrics	401	469	81	688
2. Yarn and thread mills, except wool	188	212	74	250
3. Rayon and related broad woven	193	257	73	615
. Woolen and worsted manufacturers	217	249	173	305

Source: Report of the committee appointed by the New England governors, 1952.

The textile industry, in addition to being one of the largest employers of American labor, is characterized by the fact that mills employ a relatively high proportion of the workers in the labor-market areas where they are located. Hundreds of mills are situated in small towns where they provide either the sole or principal source of income to their community. Other mills are located in "textile centers," such as Fall River and Lowell, Mass., where they represent a large proportion of the total manufacturing employment in the area. (See also tables II and III.)

In New England 1 out of 6 manufacturing jobs is in textiles; in Massachusetts, 1 out of 7; and in Rhode Island, 30 percent of all manufacturing employees are employed in textile manufacturing. The following table shows the concentration of cotton and synthetic-textile employment in typical New England textile communities:

Textile employment 1 as a percent of manufacturing employment

manufacturing confronting	
	rcent
AdamsNorth Adams	23 2
Fall River	40 8
Holyoke	14.2
Lowell	37.1
New Bedford	
Communitients	
Bultle	40.2
Baltie	26, 8
Maine:	
Lewiston	42.9
Biddeford-Suco	38.3
Sanford	50.0
New Hampshire: Manchester	34.0
The arts to the second	
Albion and Lonsdale	
Anthony	99.0
Ashton	83. 6
Warren	38.0
Wurwick	31.5
! Deadominantly satten and synthetic textiles	

1 Predominantly cotton and synthetic textiles.

As the industry is made up of many independent units and is the principal source of employment in communities, unemployment causes unusual hardships. Textile workers displaced by foreign or domestic competition either remain unemployed or are forced to take lower paying jobs. Experience has proven that so-called growth industries

do not absorb such workers. A study of 1,705 displaced New England textile workers recently completed by the Bureau of Business and Economic Research of Northeastern University shows that less than half the workers were reemployed, and of this number two-thirds were earning less pay. Other textile mills provided the chief source of reemployment, a situation which makes the problem more acute if textile closings were to become widespread. The study concludes that "workers displaced * * are not being absorbed in large numbers by the industries which have been expanding in this area."

(c) Loss to communities and areas

An area or community stranded by the loss of one of its principal industries does not attract other industries. In New England the textile mill industry is still the largest manufacturing employer with 173,000 jobs. In each of the States in the area it is an important factor. The cotton and synthetic mills in the area annually provide a payroll in excess of \$200 million a year, produce goods valued at \$590 million, pay taxes of many millions, purchase supplies in the amount of \$24.4 million per year in their own communities and \$48.9 million in New England. In addition, New England cotton and rayon mills spent \$185 million in modernizing plant and equipment between 1946 and 1953.

The impact of increased unemployment in this region would be increased sixfold in other areas of the country where the industry is larger and even more concentrated. "It is no exaggeration to say that one textile job lost and not replaced means a loss to the community of twice the textile wages cut off." "

Many other New England industries, such as trucking, rallroads, textile machinery, utilities, and the innumerable suppliers of goods and services, are dependent upon the well-being of the New England cotton and synthetic textile industry for their health. Each year the New England mills support the regions railroads to the extent of nearly \$2 million, and buy over one-half million bales of cotton.

(d) Loss to investors

Investment of over \$8.2 billion in textile mills would be jeopardized by a lowering of textile tariffs. Investment in New England is estimated at \$1.5 billion and replacement at \$2.7 billion. The opening of our home market for textiles to the competition of low cost Japanese mills would subject this investment to serious losses because textile mill properties and equipment could not be profitably liquidated under such circumstances,

Cotton textile concerns cannot long operate at a loss. Low priced foreign goods even though not imported initially in large quantities nevertheless so curtail sales and depress prices that operations soon become unprofitable. In such a situation textile mill managements have little choice but to cease operations altogether. This situation aggravates the losses out of proportion to the actual volume of imports and in turn creates a situation favorable to more imports.

(e) Unemployment and losses will progress rapidly

Because of the nature of the industry overall and of the fine combed goods industry in particular (50 percent of which is located in New England), the substitution of imported fabrics for our own will accelerate at a rapid pace. The industry is noted for the severity of its price competition. It is estimated that over 90 percent of American production of cloth is in staple items. Industries of other countries can and do produce these staple goods and will compete on a price basis with United States fabrics. Differences in cost of production and resulting level of prices which a producer can offer control the volume of his sales.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Wages and other forms of compensation are the most important factor in measuring the cost of producing fine combed cotton goods. In such goods it is estimated that labor equals 43 percent; raw material equals 40 percent; and all others equal 17 percent.

A comparison of our wages with those of oter major textile-producing countries emphasizes the rapidity with which the American industry would be undermined by these enormous differentials.

Textile industry wage data—the United States and principal textile-producing countries

Country	Gross hourly earnings 1	United States exceeds	Northern States exceed
France Great Britain Germany (West) India Italy	Cents 39.3 45.4 30.5 9.4 24.0 11.9	Percent 226 182 320 1, 262 433 976	Percent 259 210 362 1, 400 488 1, 085
Japan Switzerland All United States 1 Northern States 2	49. 5 \$1. 28 \$1. 41	158	185

¹ Data for foreign countries as of most recent months available in 1954 (some for 1953) except India where latest available data are for 1949.

² The United States and northern earnings for July

Sources: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, and Daily News Record of Oct. 5, 1954.

Japan's present-day cotton textile industry is almost wholly new having been rebuilt after World War II and now consists of 7.8 million spindles and 336,000 looms. It is no secret that Japan is concentrating on the export of cotton textiles and has plans to increase these exports by 38 percent by 1956. Japan has even carried this so far as to endeavor to increase the proportion of synthetic textiles used by the Japanese people in order to make available greater quantities of cotton textiles for export. There is no reason to believe that Japan, in striving for this objective, cannot and will not continue to expand her cotton textile capacity. There is no indication that Japan's rapid expansion of cotton textiles will cease. Japan has increased her production by 246 percent since 1948 and today produces cotton cloth at a rate commen-surate with prewar production with only two-thirds of her prewar spindleage (see tables IV and V).

The competitive characteristics of the cotton textile industry are basically the same throughout the world. Japan has access to the same raw materials, machinery, and techniques which are available to the American industry and has had years of textile experience.

According to the Mitsubishi Economic Research Institute of Tokyo, in its Survey of Economic Conditions in Japan-September 1954, "The Japanese cotton industry * is again competitive in overseas markets through the modernization of equipment and the process of rationalization. duction in costs through the use of raw cotton imported with low-interest American credit is also noteworthy." In the finegoods field, which uses Egyptian cotton, American manufacturers have to contend with a quota and duty on imported Egyptian

Japan's new cotton-textile industry is capable of producing combed goods of high quality which are currently being brought into this country at prices, duty paid, lower than those of American mills. Broadcloth, ginghams, and lenos are among such fabrics now being sold in New York. Between September 15 and November 17 of this year, quantitles of certain of these fabrics imported from Japan are as follows: Grey broadcloth,

Footnotes at end of speech.

2,358 bales; grey shirting, 2,220 bales; grey poplin, 1,033 bales; handkerchief cloth, 159 bales and 18 cases; gingham, 312 bales and 108 cases; combed gingham, 366 bales; velveteens, 23 bales and 1,102 cases; handkerchiefs (cotton, rayon, and mixed), 137 bales and 245 cases

(Source: Association of Cotton Textile Merchants of New York.)

Productivity in Japan's textile industry has been increasing steadily since the end of World War II, and the index prepared by the Mitsubishi Economic Research Institute of Tokyo in its Survey of Economic Conditions in Japan shows an increase in productivity from 100 in April 1950 to 224.5 in June

Although we have so far been unable to secure accurate information on the extent of Japanese production and capacity in combed and higher-count goods, it is certain that she is now producing such goods, that her spindles spinning Egyptian cotton have increased 54 percent between January 1953 and January 1954 (United States declined 17 percent), and that at the beginning of this year Japan had almost one-half million spindles spinning Egyptian cotton. The Kureha Textile Review, published in Tokyo, stated in 1953 that "we must endeavor to manufacture cotton goods of higher process as well as cotton of finer qualities together with devicing to make novel cotton textiles blended with manmade fibers domestically produced."

New England mills, which produce the higher grade cloths, are even more vulnerable to further reduction of duties because "on fine cotton cloths made of combed yarns, * * particularly those cloths made of imported long-staple cotton, the degree of protection is much less" than on other fabrics. Outles on higher grade cloths were reduced in 1939 with Great Britain and confirmed and reduced further at Geneva and Annecy. These new rates are now being subjected to the test of competition for the first time.

If tariff reductions are used as a method of carrying out a policy of increasing Japanese textile imports, there will be no limit to the volume of such imports. A tariff which permits the profitable import of a million yards also permits the import of a billion yards.

Industrially mature Japan, equipped with a new textile industry, operating at wages vastly lower than the American standard, and backed up by an ever-growing supply of cheap labor, can be expected to expand her present large textile capacity if she has a reasonable prospect that American policy will not prevent her from invading the United States market. Her expansion will keep pace with our acceptance of her textiles.

It is our belief that a reduction of tariffs would stimulate an ever-increasing acceleration of Japanese imports. Our reasons for this are based not only on the character of the industry and the depressed conditions in the United States but also on the experience of the New England mills with the shift of the industry from that region to the Southeast.

"The major explanation of the New England decline in textiles is the large differen-tial between wage costs" in that area and other parts of the United States. "In highly competitive markets an addition of a few cents a yard in the cost of producing cloth in any one area eventually means loss of sales and brings on operating deficits and resultant loss of employment." "Industries, in which labor costs are an important part of total costs, will gravitate where wages are low and labor productivity high. Labor costs are the most important costs in the textile industry other than raw materials costs, the latter relatively not subject to revision, and the differentials in the cost of labor more than any other factor account for the threat to the New England textile industry." *

The significance of the enormous wage differentials between our American cotton textile industry and that of Japan and other textile exporting countries is emphasized by the fact that our own industry shifted in response to wage differentials of much smaller amounts. Compare wage and com-pensation differentials within the country, which have varied from 20 to 30 percent. with foreign differentials of 200 to 1,200 percent. This loss happened to the largest employer in an industrially mature and competent region (New England) simply because wages were significantly higher than those in an area which was predominantly agricultural.

With differentials of 20 to 30 percent, the loss of New England textiles has been so great as to cause chronic unemployment in the area and a continued legacy of hardship to workers, communities, and stockholders. A flow of Japanese or other foreign textiles into this country would bring about an even more rapid liquidation of the American cot-ton textile industry than that which has occurred in New England.

A policy of encouraging Japanese imports would be a policy of encouraging production in low wage areas. Government encourage-ment of low wages will retard improvement in technology and productivity, and will foster low standards of living. A worldwide competitive struggle based on lower wages and lower standards of living in textile industries will only damage the United States and the free world.

The New England Governors have stated: "In view of the concentration of the industry in this country, in view of the overcapacity and frequent depression periods in the industry, and in view of the peculiar problems of New England, we urge the Government to concentrate tariff concessions on other products; and above all to withhold trade concessions in this industry when unemployment prevails."

(f) Losses to the military

Cotton textiles are as important to a war economy as to a peacetime economy. Losses to employees, communities, and stockholders are not the whole story. The quantity of cotton broad woven goods utilized for war purposes during the years 1942-45, inclusive. is illustrative of the vast military needs. During this period more than 20 billion yards of cotton broad woven goods, or 51.4 percent of total production, was used for war.

Cotton broad woven goods IThomsand linear mardal

	War	Civilian	Total	Percent war
1942	5, 485, 3	5, 623. 0	11, 108. 3	49, 4
1943	5, 517, 6	5, 064. 6	10, 582. 2	52, 1
1944	5, 789, 6	3, 757. 1	9, 546. 7	60, 6
1945	3, 752, 2	4, 959. 5	8, 711. 7	43, 1

It is also important to note that the need for textile products in time of war grows at such a rapid rate that only existing, efficient operating facilities can meet the pressing need. An example of the urgency of the need for textiles is found in the fact that the military use of cotton fabrics jumped by over 800 percent in just 1 year— from 1941 to 1942. An additional example is the fact that during this same period the quantity of cotton goods devoted to military use increased almost 1400 percent over the pre-emergency year 1939.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Japanese textiles or the textiles of other countries should not be permitted to invade the American market because the unemployment and losses caused in America will not only be great but will be rapid and will be of such a nature that no effective remedy can be devised.

Under the tariff system on cotton textile goods there is no way to limit the quantity of foreign imports once they are permitted to enter. Even though small quantities enter at first, they will so depress the market as to cause liquidations of mills and an ever-increasing flow of foreign goods.

The solution to Japan's dollar-exchange problems does not lie in the sacrifice of one of our basic industries. The workers, investors, and communities whose welfare depends upon this industry cannot effectively bear, nor should they be asked to bear, the burden of this problem.

The consequences of turning the American textile market over to foreign producers in order to assist in Japan's dollar problems will result in such losses to the United States as to compel a withdrawal of such concessions and a repudiation of such policy. Our experience with Japanese goods in 1935 is an example of this. In short, it is an impractical solution, and will be of little value to the Japanese.

Respectfully submitted.

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF COTTON MANUFACTURERS, SEABURY STANTON, Chairman. WILLIAM F. SULLIVAN, President.

Table I.—Economic conditions in cotton and synthetic textile-industry, September 1954 compared with January 1951 and September 1953

1. COTTON CONSUMPTION

	United States	New England	South
		per workir I number o	
1951—January 1953—September 1954—September	42, 746 36, 022 33, 278	3, 341 2, 180 1, 709	38, 705 33, 523 31, 336
	Pe	ercent chang	ges
Beptember 1954 from— 1951—January 1953—September	-22.2 -7.6	-48.9 -21.6	-19.0 -6.5

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Facts for Industry.

2. SPINDLE ACTIVITY—COTTON FIBERS

	United States	New England	South
		hours per y, in millio	
1951—January 1953—September 1954—September	509. 5 463. 7 426. 7	71. 9 51. 0 37. 9	430. 8 410. 9 387. 7
	Pe	ercent chang	ges
September 1954 from— 1951—January 1953—September	-16.1 -8.0	-47.3 -25.7	-10.0 -5.6

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Facts for Industry.

3. SPINDLE ACTIVITY-SYNTHETIC FIBERS

	United States	New England	South	
	Average hours per working of in millions			
1951—January 1953—September 1964—September	33. 2 27. 6 31. 3	2.2 2.4 2.0	30, 6 24, 5 28, 8	
	Pe	ercent chang	ges	
September 1954 from— 1951—January 1953—September	-5.7 +13.4	-9, 1 -16, 7	-5.9 +17.5	

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Facts for Industry.

4. QUARTERLY PRODUCTION OF COTTON AND SYNTHETIC BROAD WOVEN GOODS, UNITED STATES

	Cotton broad woven goods (all, except tire fabrics)	Fine cotion goods	Synthetic fabrics
	Million	ns of linear	r yards
1951—Ist quarter		350 331 325 311 333 321 311	705 626 629 585 566 537 536
	Per	rcent chan	iges
2d quarter 1954 from— 1951—1st quarter 1953—2d quarter 1954—1st quarter	-13.6 -6.0 -1.0	-11. 2 -4. 3 -3. 1	-25. 4 -16. 4 -2. 0

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, Facts for Industry.

5. EMPLOYMENT

(a) Cotton and synthetic textile mills (broad woven fabrics)

	New England	South 1	
1951—January	74, 515	322, 300	
1953—September	52, 674	312, 100	
1954—September	38, 600	297, 600	
	Percent changes		
September 1954 from—	-48.2	-7.7	
1961—January	-20.7	-4.6	

¹ Sample of New England mills reporting to the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers and does not represent total New England employment. ² Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia.

Source: State departments of labor for southern data and the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers for New England data.

(b) Textile mill products

	United States	New Eng- land	South1	Percent in New Eng- land
	Emp	loyment	in thou	sands
1951—January 1953—September 1954—September	1, 348 1, 196 1, 080	280 217 173	574 553 533	20. 8 18. 1 16. 0
		Percent	changes	
September 1954 from- 1951-January 1953-September.	-19.9 -9.7	-38, 2 -20, 3	-7.2 -3.6	

¹ Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Virginia.

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor for United States and New England data; State departments of labor for southern data.

6. AVERAGE WEEKLY HOURS

Cotton and synthetic textile mills (broad woven fabrics)

	United States	North	South
1951—January 1953—August 1954—August	41. 6 39. 2 38. 1	41. 5 39. 9 38. 6	41. 6 39. 0 38. 0
	Pe	rcent chang	çes
August 1954 from— 1951—January 1953—August	-8.4 -2.8	-7.0 -3.3	-8.7 -2.6

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Report on Employment and Earnings,

7. AVERAGE GROSS HOURLY EARNINGS Cotton and synthetic textile mills (broad woven fabrics)

	United States	North	South
1951—January 1953—August 1954—August	\$1. 28 1. 29 1. 29	\$1.36 1.41 1.41	\$1, 26 1, 26 1, 26
	Per	reent chang	tes
August 1954 from— 1951—January 1953—August	+0.8	-+3.7	0

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Report on Employment and Earnings.

8. AVERAGE GROSS WEEKLY EARNINGS Cotton and synthetic textile mills (broad woven fabrics)

10000		1	
	United States	North	South
1951—January 1953—August 1954—August	\$53, 37 50, 57 49, 15	\$56, 61 56, 26 54, 43	\$52, 25 49, 14 47, 88
	Pe	rcent chan	208
August 1954 from— 1951—January 1953—August	-7.9 -2.8	-3.9 -3.3	-8.4 -2.6

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor, Report on Employment and Earnings.

TABLE II. - Position of textile industry in national industrial structure, 1952 1- Continued

	Value added	Employment	Payroll
All industries Nondurable goods. Textile mills products Cotton and synthetic textile mills. Percent of all industries represented by textile mill products. Percent of nondurable goods represented by textile mill products. Percent of textile mill products represented by cotton and synthetic textile mills. Rank of textile mill products in all industries. Rank of textile mill products in nondurable goods. Hank of cotton and synthetic textile mills in textile mill products.	Thousands of dollars 108,477,364 46,060,911 5,226,507 1,712,364 5 12 33 9th 4th 1st	Thousands of dollars 15,944,379 15,944,379 1,134,680 420,372 7 17 37 6th 3d 1st	Thousands of dollars 80,659,211. 22,940,439. 3,342,647. 1,146,953. 5. 34. 8th. 2dl. 1st.

² Most recent year for which data are available.

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1952 Annual Survey of Manufactures,

TABLE III .- Position of textile industry in New England's industrial structure, 1952 1

	Value added	Employment	Payroll
All industries Nondurable goods. Textile mill products. Cotton and synthetic textile mills. Percent of all industries represented by textile mill products. Percent of nondurable goods represented by textile mill products. Percent of textile mill products represented by cotton and synthetic textile mills. Rank of textile mill products in all industries. Rank of textile mill products in nondurable goods.	Thousands of dollars 8,988,857 3,690,652 1,153,935 296,500 13 31 26 24 1st	1,497,026 676,825 222,142 70,000 15 33 32 1st 1st	Thousands of dollars 5,372,606, 2,219,722, 750,018, 200,340, 14, 27, 2d, 1st.

¹ Most recent year for which data are available,

Norg. - Rank of cotton and synthetic textile mills not shown due to lack of data for other elements in textile industry.

Source: Bureau of the Census, U. S. Department of Commerce, 1972 Annual Survey of Manufactures, except that data for cotton and synthetic textile mills were estimated by the National Association of Cotton Manufacturers.

TABLE IV.—Operable cotton textile machinery in Japan before and since World War II

	Spindles 1	Looms 1
1037 1947 1948 1948 1950 1950 1951 1952 1963 1963	11, 889, 256 2, 899, 306 3, 376, 372 3, 700, 961 4, 341, 196 6, 366, 501 7, 451, 957 7, 663, 487 7, 879, 910	332, 564 150, 474 188, 429 217, 753 233, 334 287, 372 307, 938 330, 424 336, 081

¹ As of December in each year except as of August in 1954.

Sources: (1) International Cotton Loom Statistics (July 1952), published by International Federation of Master Cotton Spinners' and Manufacturers' Associations, Manchester, Enghand. (2) Quarterly Review of Jayanese Cotton Textile Industry (August 1952 and May 1954) and Statistics of Japanese Cotton Textile Industry (September 1954), published by All Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, Osaka, Japan.

Table V.—Production of cotton fabrics in Japan before and since World War II

	housands of quare yards
1938	3, 297, 000
1946	2 144, 993
1947	* 337, 872
1948	920, 634
1949	981, 683
1950	1, 517, 859
1951	2,077,931
1952	2, 158, 000
1953	2,709,197
1954	23, 187, 050

² Production of cotton spinners only, data from independent weavers not available in these years.

Sources: (1) Quarterly Review of Japanese Cotton Textile Industry (August 1952 and May 1954) published by All Japan Cotton Spinners' Association, Osaka, Japan. (2) Industrial and Financial Statistics (June 1954) published by the Industrial Bank of Japan, Ltd.

² Textile Organon, vol. XXV, No. 9, September 1954.

Report of the Committee appointed by the Conference of New England Governors. Monthly Report of Japanese Cotton Spin-

ning Industry, July 1954, p. 17.

'U. S. Tariff Commission Summaries of

Tariff Information, vol. 9, p. 41.

* Report on the New England Textile Industry by committee appointed by the Conference of New England Governors, 1952.

Governor Johnson, of Colorado, Puts Some Cards on the Table

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN P. SAYLOR

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. SAYLOR. Mr. Speaker, in proposing the gigantic upper Colorado River project, the States of Utah, New Mexico, Colorado, and Wyoming have cited the Colorado River compact as the law of the river, under which they are entitled to build the multibillion dollar development.

Congress is now being asked to consider the project (H. R. 270) and its satellite, the Fryingpan-Arkansas project (H. R. 412).

Former Senator Ed Johnson, now Governor of Colorado, is an authority on western reclamation. In a recent press statement he recited a number of facts about the upper Colorado River project that I believe should be studied by Members of Congress who must pass on it.

Governor Johnson showed that provisions of the bill now before Congress violate the acknowledged law of the river—the Colorado River compact, which Congress itself approved.

With documentary evidence, Governor Johnson shows that by building the two main dams of the project, at Glen Canyon and Echo Park, the upper Basin States are imperiling their entire share of the Colorado River.

Governor Johnson specifically points out that the compact denies any State the right to build a power dam when the water stored behind it cannot be used for agricultural or domestic purposes. The project bill proposes to do just that. It calls for the building of power dams to be used solely as cash registers to pay for irrigation projects far upstream.

I commend to my colleagues Governor Johnson's excellent analysis of this immense Federal expenditure which the Congress is now being asked to make.

The full text of Governor Johnson's statement follows:

STORAGE BELOW THE STATE OF COLORADO IS NOT THE ANSWER

(Statement released December 20, 1954, by Governor-elect Ed C. Johnson, of Colorado)

Interested persons on the eastern and western slopes of Colorado have expressed confidence in me, as Governor, to resolve the very controversial water problem that plagues both slopes. This is a tremendous responsibility and challenge but its vital nature demands my acceptance. Accordingly, I shall do my utmost to work out something which will benefit both slopes and injure neither.

However, before we begin the task of allocating Colorado's share of the water of the Colorado River system, we first must take stock of the quantity and the location of the water that is available to us. There are very serious misconceptions, widely held, in regard to the burdens placed on this State by the specific provisions of the seven-State compact and the official interpretations with respect to them. These limitations should be understood clearly by all parties concerned, since they are basic to any plan to develop the upper Colorado River Basin. It is with that purpose in mind that I have prepared this document. If my conclusions are in error I want to be shown wherein the error lies.

Either the seven-State compact specifically denies to the upper basin the right to withhold water which it cannot use for agricultural and domestic purposes or it does not deny us such a right. Either it denies to the upper basin the right to withhold water to develop power or it does not deny us that right. Let us look at the document which has been ratified by the legislatures of seven States for the correct answers to these pertinent questions.

Here is that irrevocable record:

"Article II:

"(h) The term 'domestic use' shall include the use of water for household, stock, municipal, mining, milling, industrial, and other like purposes, but shall exclude the generation of electrical power.

"Article III:

"(e) The States of the upper division shall not withhold water, and the States of the lower division shall not require the delivery

²Estimated on basis of rate of production during January-June 1954.

of water, which cannot reasonably be applied to domestic and agricultural uses.

The Honorable Herbert Hoover, Secretary of Commerce of the United States, was ap pointed by the President to serve as Chairman of the Seven-State Compact Commission as the official representative of the Government of the United States, pursuant to an act of Congress. He was the Chairman of the Colorado River Commission that drafted and signed the seven-State Colorado River compact. In answer to the question propounded by Congressman Hayden these points in the compact were interpreted officially by him on January 27, 1923, before any State had ratified the compact, as follows:

Question 14: "Can paragraph (d) of article III be construed to mean that the States of the upper division may withhold all except 75 million acre-feet of water within any period of 10 years and thus not only secure the amount to which they are entitled under the apportionment made in paragraph (a) but also the entire unapportioned surplus waters of the Colorado River?"

Answer: "No. Paragraph (a) of article III apportions to the upper basin 7,500,000 acre-feet per annum. Paragraph (e) of article III provides that the States of the upper division shall not withhold water cannot be beneficially used. Paragraph (f) and (g) of this article specifically leave to further apportionment water now unapportioned. There is, therefore, no possibility of construing paragraph (d) of this article as suggested."

Question 19: "Why is the impounding of water for power purposes made subservient to its use and consumption for agricultural and domestic purposes, as provided in paragraph (b) of article IV?"

Answer: "(a) Because such subordination conforms to established law, either by constitution or statute, in most of the semiarid States. This provision frees the farmer from the danger of damage suits by power companies in the event of conflict between

"(b) Because the cultivation of land naturally outranks in importance the generation of power, since it is the most important of human activities, the foundation upon which all other industries finally rest.

"(c) Because there was a general agreement by all parties appearing before the Commission, including those representing power interests, that such preference was proper.

Question 20: "Will this subordination of the development of hydroelectric power to domestic and agricultural uses, with the apportionment of 7,500,000 acrefeet of water to the upper basin, utterly destroy an asset of the State of Arizona consisting of 3,000,000 horsepower, which it is said could otherwise be developed within that State if the Colorado River continue to flow, undiminished in volume, across its northern bour lary line and through the Grand Canvon?

Answer: "(d) The compact provides that no water is to be withheld above, that cannot be used for purposes of agriculture. The lower basin will therefore receive the entire flow of the river, less only the amount consumptively used in the upper States for agricultural purposes.'

On December 15, 1922, Hon. Delph E. Carpenter, commissioner for Colorado, reported to Gov. Oliver H. Shoup his analysis of this compact which he helped to formulate. His comments and observations are especially pertinent. In this official report he said:

"Power claims will always be limited by the quantity of water necessary for domestic and agricultural purposes. The generation of power is made subservient to the preferred and dominant uses and shall not interfere with junior preferred uses in either basin."

On March 20, 1923, Delph E. Carpenter in joint letter to Colorado senator, M. E. ashor, and Colorado representative, Royal

W. Calkins, said among other things:
"All power uses in both basins are made subservient to the use and consumption of such water for agricultural and domestic purposes and shall not interfere with or prevent use for such dominant purposes.

The interpretation of Hon. W. S. Norviel, commissioner for Arizona, published January 15, 1923, contains this language:

The third principle established by the compact was to fix a time when the remainder of the water unallotted and unused might be apportioned.

"The fourth principle fixes a preference in agricultural uses over power.

"The fifth principle, that the upper States shall not withhold water that cannot be reasonably applied for agricultural uses.

Senator HAYDEN, Arizona, propounded 19 questions to Hon. A. P. Davis, Director, United States Reclamation Service, to which the Director made the following replies on January 30, 1923: Question 10: "Is it true that, if the Colo-

rado River compact is adopted, all of the water that Arizona will ever get out of the main river will be enough to irrigate only 280,000 acres of land, of which 130,000 acres are now embraced in the Yuma project and 110,000 acres in the Parker project?"

Answer: "The Colorado River company

does not attempt to divide the water of the river between individual States. Except for rights already initiated by California and Nevada, there is nothing in the compact that will prevent the State of Arizona from taking from the river all the water that it can put to beneficial use." Question 19: "Any further comment that

you may care to make relative to the approval of the Colorado River compact by the Arizona State Legislature will be appre-

Answer: "The Colorado River compact provides that the lower basin shall be guaranteed an average of 7,500,000 acre-feet of water annually from the upper basin and all of the yield of the lower basin, and that any water not beneficially used for agricultural and domestic uses shall likewise be allowed to run down for use below."

It should be noted that these official interpretations were made before the compact was ratified by any State except Nevada and were not disputed by Colorado or any other State at the time it ratified the compact. Most certainly we are bound hand and foot by them.

At the tome the seven-State campact was adopted and ratified, it was contemplated that a treaty would be negotiated later between the United States and Mexico which would allocate to Mexico certain quantities of water defined in acre-feet, out of the Colorado River system. Furthermore, it spelled out just how that burden should fall upon the lower basin and the upper basin. compact specified that to the extent there is surplus water in the Colorado River system, such surplus water would be utilized and the balance of the burden would be shared equally by the upper and lower basins.

Article III:

(c) If, as a matter of international comity, the United States of America shall hereafter recognize in the United States of Mexico any right to the use of any waters of the Colorado River system, such waters shall be supplied first from the waters which are surplus over and above the aggregate of the quantities specified in paragraphs (a) and (b); and if such surplus shall prove insufficient for this purpose, then, the burden of such deficiency shall be equally borne by the upper basin and the lower basin, and whenever necessary the States of the upper division shall deliver at Lee Ferry water to supply one-half of the deficiency so recognized in addition to that provided in paragraph (d).

(d) The States of the upper division will not cause the flow of the river at Lee Ferry to be depleted below an aggregate of 75,-000,000 acre-feet for any period of 10 consecutive years reckoned in continuing progressive series beginning with the 1st day of October next succeeding the ratification of this compact."

If the upper basin States build storage eservoirs at the Glen Canyon and Echo Park sites as is now contemplated, the water withheld thereby will of necessity, be surplus water since the upper States cannot use it for agricultural or domestic purposes, and the upper States, therefore, must deliver such water to Mexico as is allocated to her under the provision of the seven-State compact.

Senator HAYDEN asked Chairman of the Commission, Herbert Hoover, about this and was answered as follows:

Question 15: "Does paragraph (d) of article III in any way modify the obligation of the States of the upper division, as expressed in paragraph (c), to permit the surplus and unapportioned water to flow down in satisfaction of any right to water which may hereafter be accorded by treaty to Mex-Within any year of a 10-year period. could the States of the upper division shift to the States of the lower division the entire burden of supplying such water to Mexico? Answer:

"(a) No. It is provided in the compact that the upper States shall add their share of any Mexican burden to the delivery to be made at Lee Ferry, whenever any M can rights shall be established by treaty. By paragraph (c) of article III, such an amount of water is to be delivered in addition to the 75 million acre-feet otherwise provided for.

"(b) In the face of the specific provision of article III (c) that the burden of any deficiency must be 'equally borne.' see no possibility of placing upon the lower division the entire burden. If the surplus is sufficient, there is no burden on anyone. If it is insufficient the plain language is that it must be equally shared, with the equally plain provision that the upper division must furnish its half.

Delph Carpenter in his official report to Governor Shoup said:

"Any waters necessary to supply lands in the Republic of Mexico (hereafter to be determined by international treaty) shall be supplied from the surplus flow of the If the surplus is not sufficient, any deficiency shall be borne equally by the upper basin and the lower basin. * * *"

I am certain that Mr. Carpenter would have added, had he thought such a doubt were to be raised, "Water held in the upper basin to generate power and which for physical reasons could not be used by the upper basin for agricultural or domestic purposes is surplus water to the upper basin." Such an interpretation must be crystal clear to any student of the seven-State compact and the official interpretations of its provisions.

The upper and lower basins were each apportioned from the Colorado River system the exclusive beneficial consumptive 7,500,000 acre-feet of water per annum, and in addition the lower basin was given the permission to increase its beneficial consumptive use of an extra million acre-feet per annum of surplus water. However, the 7,500,000 acre-feet awarded to the lower States had a very clear priority over the 7,500,000 acre-feet awarded to the upper States. In reality, the compact gave the lower States 7,500,000 acre-feet of water per annum and the upper States that much water if there should be any water left in the river, provided the upper States used that water only for domestic or agricultural purposes.

Article III:

"(a) There is hereby apportioned from the Colorado River system in perpetuity to the upper basin and to the lower basin, respectively, the exclusive beneficial consumptive use of 7,500,000 acre-feet of water per annum, which shall include all water necessary for the supply of any rights which may now exist.

(b) In addition to the apportionment in paragraph (a) the lower basin is hereby given the right to increase its beneficial consumptive use of such waters by 1 million

acre-feet per annum."

But here is the catch in this award:

"(d) The States of the upper division will not cause the flow of the river at Lee Ferry to be depleted below an aggregate of 75 mil lion acre-feet for any period of 10 consecutive years reckoned in continuing progressive series beginning with the 1st day of October next succeeding the ratification of this compact."

The following quotes from the questions by Senator HAYDEN and answered on January 27, 1923, by Chairman of the Commission Herbert Hoover, leave nothing to the imagination with respect to the extra 1 million acre-feet of surplus water awarded the lower basin. The extra million acre-feet is to be met out of surplus waters over and above the 7,500,000 acre-feet allocated annually to each of the 2 basins and it does not take priority over the upper States award of 7,500,000 feet provided they use all of their 7,500,000 for agricultural and do-mestic purposes. If the upper basin stores water for power purposes at least a million acre-feet per annum must go to satisfy this

Question 6: "Are the 1 million additional acre-feet of water apportioned to the lower basin in paragraph (b) of article III sup-posed to be obtained from the Colorado River or solely from the tributaries of that stream within the State of Arizona?"

Answer: "The use of the words 'such wa ters' in this paragraph clearly refers to waters from the Colorado River system, and the extra 1 million acre-feet provided for can therefore be taken from the main

river or from any of its tributaries."

Question 22: "Does the Colorado River compact apportion any water to the State of

Arizona?"

Answer: "No; nor to any other State individually. The apportionment is to the groups.

It should be noted, and I repeat, that Secretary Hoover's official interpretations were made before the compact was ratified by any State; furthermore it was not disputed by any of them when they did ratify it.

On December 15, 1922, Colorado Commissioner Delph E. Carpenter, in his official report to the Governor of Colorado, the Honorable Oliver H. Shoup, submitted several tables explaining the allocation of the water of the Colorado River System.

Table 4 reads as follows:

				Acre-jeet
Upper	division	allocation	1. in-	-10102582005
		consumpt		7, 500, 000
Lower	division	allocation	i, in-	
clude	es present	consumpt	ion	7,500,000
Lower	division	permissib	le in-	
creas	e in wate	r consump	tion	1,000,000
	Total all	ocated or	per-	A DOLLAR
	mitted			16,000,000
Unallo				4, 500, 000
-	Estimated	average s	nnual	

Mr. Carpenter also said in this report: "At any time after 40 years, if the development in the upper basin has reached 7,500,000

__ 20, 500, 000

water supply___

acre-feet annual beneficial consumptive use or that of the lower basin has reached 8,500,-000 acre-feet, any two States may call for a further apportionment of any surplus waters

On March 20, 1923, Colorado Commissioner Delph E. Carpenter in a joint letter to Colorado Senator M. E. Bashor and Colorado Representative Royal W. Calkins said, among other things:

"Paragraph (b), article III, permits the lower basin to increase its annual beneficial consumptive use of water 1,000,000 acre-feet. The two paragraphs permit an aggregate annual beneficial consumptive use of 8,500,-000 acre-feet, and no more. The words 'per annum,' as used in paragraph (b) are not synonymous with the word 'annually.' No cumulative increase is intended by that paragraph."

On February 10, 1923, Colorado Commissioner Dolph E. Carpenter addressed a tele-gram to the Honorable Herbert Hoover, Chairman, Colorado River Commission, and received a prompt reply. On February 13, 1923, he addressed a telegram to the Honorable R. T. McKisick, deputy attorney general, Sacramento, Calif., and that same day received a reply.

These exchanges of telegrams are pertinent to an understanding of this phase of the compact and are inserted here:

DENVER, Colo., February 10, 1923. Hon. HERBERT HOOVER,

Chairman, Colorado River

Commission, Washington, D. C .:

Do you concur with me that the intent of the Commission in framing the Colorado River compact is as follows:

That paragraph (b) of article III means that the lower basin may increase its annual beneficial consumptive use of water 1 million acre-feet and no more?

DELPH E. CARPENTER.

WASHINGTON, D. C., February 12, 1923. DELPH E. CARPENTER,

State Capitol, Denver, Colo .:

I concur with you, and shall so advise Congress in my report, that the intent of the Commission in framing the Colorado River compact was as follows:

Paragraph (b) of article III means that lower basin may acquire rights under the compact to annual beneficial consumptive use of water in excess of the apportionment in paragraph (a) of that article by 1 million acre-feet and no more. There is nothing in the compact to prevent the States of either basin using more water than the amount apportioned under paragraphs (a) and (b) of article III, but such use would be subject to the further apportionment provided for in paragraph (f) of article III and would vest no rights under the present compact.

HERBERT HOOVER.

DENVER, Colo., February 13, 1923. R. T. McKisick,

Deputy Attorney General,

Sacramento, Calif .: Do you concur with me that intent of Commission in framing Colorado River Compact was as follows:

That paragraph (b) of article III means that the lower basin may increase its annual beneficial consumptive use of water 1 million acre-feet and no more?

DELPH E. CARPENTER.

SACRAMENTO, CALIF., February 13, 1923. Hon. DELPH E. CARPENTER,

State Capitol, Denver, Colo.

Am of the opinion that paragraph (b) of article III permits increase of annual beneficial consumptive use of water by lower basin to 8,500,000 acre-feet total or 1 million in excess quantity apportioned each basin in perpetuity by paragraph (a), article III, and no more. When both paragraphs are read together no other construction tenable. "Per annum" not synonymous with "annually."

R. T. McKisick.

SACRAMENTO, CALIF., February 15, 1923.

DELPH E. CARPENTER,

Denver, Colo.:

My interpretation of article III and VIII well expressed in McKisick's wire of the 13th. W. F. McClure,

Seven State Compact Commission-

er for California.
Utah commissioner, R. E. Caldwell, in his report to the Utah Senate, among other things said:

"The lower basin States, for the most part, when they divert their water, wholly consume it and they get no credit for use of return flow for it does not exist, and they are, therefore, limited to the diversion of 8,500,000 acre-feet and are held strictly to the requirement of 'consumptive beneficial use' of such as they do divert."

In the report to the Governor of California by Hon. W. F. McClure, commissioner for California, made January 8, 1923, appears

this statement:

"In conclusion permit me to add that the terms of the compact do full justice to the States in interest, and the equitable division and apportionment of the use of the waters of the Colorado River system whereby the lower basin is allocated 7½ million acre-feet per annum, with an allowable increase of i million acre-feet per annum by reason of the probably rapid development upon the lower river, and fully guarantees to Cali-fornia an ample water supply to adequately care for the enormous future growth of the Imperial Valley and adjacent territory."

The Honorable Herbert Hoover, who, as I have said, was the chairman of the commission that drafted and approved by its unanimous vote the seven-State compact.

said:

The lower basin will, therefore, receive the entire flow of the river, less only the amount consumptively used in the Upper States for

agricultural purposes."

The Honorable A. P. Davis, director of the Reclamation Bureau, on January 30, 1923, announced that "the Colorado River compact provides that the lower basin shall be guaranteed an average of 71/2 million acrefeet of water annually from the upper basin and all of the yield of the lower basin, and that any water not beneficially used for agricultural and domestic uses (in the upper basin) shall likewise be allowed to run, down for use below."

This data proves conclusively that the extra 1 million acre-feet of water per annum allocated to the lower basin is to be acquired from the surplus and otherwise unallocated water of the Colorado River system. same is true of the 11/2 million allocated annually by treaty to the United States of Mexico.

I am compelled to keep emphasizing that whatever water is stored in the Glen Canyon and Echo Park reservoirs will be surplus to the agricultural and domestic needs of the upper basin, and must be delivered to the lower basin to satisfy the award of 11/2 million acre-feet to Mexico and 1 million acre-feet to the lower basin. Furthermore, should the lower basin require an addi-tional supply of water for agricultural and domestic purposes the water stored in these reservoirs must be released.

Under the Seven State Compact the upper States must deliver at Lee Ferry in each 10year period 75 million acre-feet to the lower States and 7½ million acre-feet to Mexico before they can use one drop of water for themselves beyond what they used before the seven-State compact was ratified. In the current 10-year period that will leave only 3,250,000 acre-feet per year for their total use. In the previous 10-year period they would have had 4,150,000 acre-feet a year. In 1902 the upper-basin States under this formula would have had no water at all. The Reclamation Bureau estimates that the proposed storage reservoirs in the upper Colorado Basin will cost the upper basin 830,000 acre-feet annually in evaporation. It will be charged to the upper basin as consumptive use. Colorado's portion of that loss would be 400,000 acre-feet.

Water still does not run uphill, and storage down the river from Colorado to generate electric energy, frowned upon by the Seven State Compact, cannot secure for us one drop of water, but to the contrary, will cost us 400,000 acre-feet annually in evaporation, which under the Upper Colorado Basin compact will be charged to Colorado as consumptive use.

Colorado is close to the bottom of the barrel insofar as Colorado River water is concerned. Colorado has a record of lavish generosity to all of her neighbor States. Now at this late date it will be State suicide unless she looks after her own interests with courage and wisdom. She positively cannot afford the loss of 400,000 additional acrefect. She cannot afford to agree to a storage plan whose certain effect will be to create additional surplus water out of the upper basin's meager supply, which under the Seven State Compact must go to the lower basin. Colorado must insist that the 42 reservoirs surveyed in the high country of Colorado be authorized simultaneously with the authorization of the storage plan and which will give Colorado an absolute right to the water which is developed.

The Hill report prepared pursuant to a contract with the Colorado Legislature indicates there is something over a million acre-feet of unappropriated water in the Colorado River system in Colorado. However, the Hill report did not charge Colorado with the burden of Colorado's portion of the priority commitment to Mexico, which under the 7-State compact cannot be less than 375,000 acre-feet. And, another thing, if Glen Canyon and the Echo Park Reservoirs are built, Colorado's portion of the Mexican burden becomes not less than 750,000 acre-feet annually. Had Mr. Hill recognized these binding and irrevocable priorities and the evaporation of the downriver storage plans, which is to be charged to Colorado as consumptive use of 400,000 acre-feet, he could not have shown any unappropriated water whatsoever in Colorado for Colorado.

Colorado has entered into irrevocable compacts with all of the States to the east, west, north, and south. In each of these compacts Colorado has been generous to a fault. Now most of her water is lost forever, and yet her neighbors are asking her to surrender more and more of this most precious resource. The time has come when Colorado's dwindling supply must be guarded jealously and protected fully. That is a responsibility which I, as Governor of Colorado, must assume.

Who will say that the Glen Canyon Dam in the State of Ai sona and the Echo Park Dam on the Colorado-Utah border are not extraordinary dams from an engineering point of view. Glen Canyon is the sort of project that makes an engineer's mouth water, and the Reclamation Bureau is a bureau of engineers. Who will say that these projects will not be of incalculable value to the lower basin. Glen Canyon, which will collect 100,000 acre-feet of silt a year, will extend the life of the Hoover project 500 years, but what I want someone to tell me is, "Why should they be built with Upper Colorado Basin funds at the water expense of the State of Colorado?"

There is only one route remaining for us to take. We must put our water to beneficial use in our own State if we are to gain any right to it. That is the plain language of the seven-State compact. It states that condition without equivocation.

The Reclamation Bureau has explored 42 reservoir sites high up on the Colorado River system in Colorado. We cannot, we dare not, settle for less than their authorization now. Congressional authorization does not mean immediate construction, but it will give to these proposed reservoir sites an official priority. Colorado contributes 72 percent of the water of the Upper Colorado River Basin. Is it asking too much that we be allowed to use less than one-fourth of what we produce? If that is wrong, then I am wrong.

International Affairs Platform of the American Veterans Committee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, there follows the international affairs platform adopted by the American Veterans Committee at the eighth annual convention held in December 1954, at Boston, Mass.:

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS PLATFORM

The unchanging goal of the United States is world peace and the defense of the free world. The position of the United States in the world has passed from a status of leadership to that of partnership with non-Communist nations. Within this concept the United States should pursue positive policies by strengthening all forces devoted to peace and democratic ideas.

The United States has two special temptations: The extremes of total withdrawal or of preventive war. As veterans of two world wars and Korea, we of AVC urge the United States to reject both of these extremes. The grave problems facing the world today cannot be solved either by withdrawal or by ruthless initiation of war.

We recognize the United Nations system as the world's most hopeful institution today, to and through which we can look for maturing and enduring peace.

In arriving at the decisions which must be made, we believe that the following considerations are fundamental;

ASIA

In Asia the danger of war is always imminent, and non-Communist nations face many problems. One involves the growth of stable political institutions under stress. Development of these institutions is handicapped by economic insufficiencies, by an anticolonial heritage which now also manifests itself in anti-Westernism and anti-Americanism, and by social and cultural disruption which those nations are now undergoing in the process of reforming their national existence.

The United States can help to develop democratic, political institutions in these countries by means of adequate and long-term economic and technical-assistance programs, administered through the United Nations, where possible, and almed at training local administrative and technical personnel to take over as rapidly as circumstances permit; an effort to repair and maintain friendships even though policies of Asian nations may diverge from that which the United States considers best advised; and a program to make our cause known to Asia through an intelligent, factual, and low-keyed information program.

A second problem in Asia is that of Communist aggression and subversion. The free nations face an aggressive and totalitarian Communist China. The United States, in cooperation with Asian nations, must establish firm safeguards against overt or covert aggression. These should be backed up by resolute military measures which may take the form of security organizations such as SEATO, or of other collective efforts by the free nations concerned, including the United States, and including the great neutrals—India, Burma, Ceylon, and Indonesia.

Such military measures must be limited to the size and scope of the aggression, a tough but necessary doctrine if we are to forestall aggression without bringing on a

general war.

One of the festering sores in our relations with China, exacerbated by the recent sentencing of 13 United States Air Force and Government personnel, is the detention of American nationals in total disregard of civilized standards of international behavior. It is hard to see how relations between the United States and China can be improved so long as these men are held as political hostages. For this reason, among others, we, therefore, oppose the admission of Communist China into the United Nations at this time.

EUROPE

The main purpose of United States policy in Europe is defense of the West and preservation of peace. The best means for defending the West lie in the military and political integration of Western Europe already begun by the nations of that area, We welcome the additional steps taken toward that goal at the London and Paris conferences, but we emphasize the necessity of constant vigilance in connection with the rearmament of Western Germany. Accordingly, any program to rearm Western Germany must be tied inextricably to the collective organization of western democ-NATO or otherwise-so that racies-be it Germany be irretrievably committed to the interests of the free western world.

In Europe also the agonizing problem of the captive peoples continues to exist. We cannot abandon the people of Eastern Europe. The ultimate aim of western policy must be a free, non-Communist Europe.

LATIN AMERICA

United States activity in Latin America has often been characterized more by economic exploitation and dumping than by the good-partner policy we profess. The time has come for a real implementation of a good-partner policy by exerting a serious effort to enable the people of Latin America to achieve economic progress and a better standard of living. We should do our utmost to encourage democratic governments in Latin America and to conduct a vigorous program of anticommunism.

AFRICA

In Africa, there is a revolutionary ferment. There is rebellion against European domination and the false principle of supremacy, yet there is not everywhere an adequate tradition or a political system to replace the government of the colonial powers. If the West does not act to satisfy legitimate native aspirations to self-government there will be chaos which will be exploited by the Soviets and from which only the Soviets can gain. It is the taskand the opportunity-of the United States foreign policy to help reconcile these aspirations with the political and economic interests of the colonial powers; in this way both the native African countries and the occupying European nations can realize the maximum benefits from the inevitable achievement of African independence and self-government.

Generally speaking, there is a vacuum in American popular opinion on the subject of Africa. An active American interest in Africa is a compelling necessity. One need is for an educational program for training native leaders in the United States in order to afford them an opportunity to experience the values of democratic self-government.

NEAR EAST

Tensions between Israel and the Arab nations make this area a grave threat to world peace. United States policy should be aimed at reducing these tensions and minimizing the possibility of their being transferred into open warfare. We oppose the allocation of arms to any of the partisans in this controversy.

ARMAMENTS

The impending leveling-off of Soviet and American air-atomic power compele us to find a new policy for the use of nuclear weapons as a deterrent to war, as instruments of war, or for the abolition of nuclear war.

All plans which offer a genuine hope of disarmament, provided that they are accompanied by provisions for the general control of conventional as well as nuclear weapons, should be energetically pursued by our Government. This is the only real solution to the problem.

But if we must continue without international control of armaments, then these

principles seem basic:

Instruments of war must be such as to destroy the political ends of national policy. That is, we cannot afford to use weapons in war which make peace impossible. While we must continue to maintain our airatomic power in order to deter war, we must not follow a military policy of nuclear obliteration.

UNITED NATIONS

We reaffirm our whole-hearted endorsement of the United Nations and its family of specialized agencies.

We recognize the United Nations' present limitations, and we believe their remedy can be secured and corrected by national ratifications of the positive results coming out of such Charter Revision Conferences as may be held in 1956. We are aware that difficulties beset the eventual transformation of the United Nations' system into a body of limited sovereign powers and enforceable sanctions, and that, further, parliamentary chaos and untold damage to the U. N. may result if substantial changes are sought too early on an unwilling majority or forced on a significant minority of nations or peoples.

But we also know that only through such a strengthening of the United Nations with constitutional transfers, not surrenders, of the sovereignty and powers required for the job—can the yearning of mankind for a world with universal enforceable disarmament among nations and progressive technical and economic development among

peoples become real.

We urge the strengthening of the UN and all its resources, so that all its efforts and activities may be directed toward the development of atomic energy for peaceful uses for the benefit and welfare of all the peoples of the world.

UNITED STATES FOREIGN SERVICE

The United States cannot conduct an effective foreign policy of any kind without a competent, intelligent and resourceful Poreign Service, selected by the highest standards of ability and loyalty. We deplore decisions or administrative actions which penalized foreign service officers for exercise of their judgment or honest reporting within the scope of their duties; such actions damage the prestige of our foreign service, and consequently, blunt a vital instrument of our foreign policy.

FORCED LABOR

Millions of human beings now under Communist rule are imprisoned in forced labor camps under conditions which are in utter violation of all standards of human decency. We urge intensified exposure of these conditions; and we seek the elimination of forced labor everywhere in the world.

FOREIGN TRADE POLICY

We urge a greater emphasis on economic aid for underdeveloped countries rather than relying so exclusively on military aid, and a long-range policy for strengthening the democratic countries through encouragement of freer trade through low and stable tariffs.

Shipbuilding and Ship Repair

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, listed below is a talk on shipbuilding and ship repair which I believe will be of interest to the House. It is by Mr. J. J. McMullen, Chief, Office of Ship Construction and Repair, Maritime Administration, United States Department of Commerce:

THE MARITIME ADMINISTRATION'S SHIPBUILD-ING AND REPAIR PROGRAM

(Address by J. J. McMullen, Chief, Office of Ship Construction and Repair, Maritime Administration, U. S. Department of Commerce, American Merchant Marine Conference and 28th annual meeting of the Propeller Club of the United States, Miami, Fla., Wednesday, December 8, 1954)

It is with great pleasure that I am able to present to the panel a summary of what the Maritime Administration has accomplished and what these and future accomplishments mean in relation to the American shipbuilding and ship repair industries. Moreover, I am very pleased and proud to make this report because we who are administering the programs, as approved by the Congress, feel that we have carried out the programs in a commendable fashion and with rapid speed in order to benefit our shipbuilding and ship repair industries.

As you all recall, one of the most interesting of our new projects is the Liberty ship conversion and engine improvement program. This program has several purposes. First of all it will permit the Maritime Administration to evaluate the possibility of upgrading the vast numbers of Liberty ships which are now available in our reserve fleets. As you all realize, these are slow speed 10knot ships, and while many will be service-able at 10 knots, the demands of modern warfare require that any ship should have a speed of at least 15 knots. The secondary purpose of the program was to assist the American merchant marine in the development of propulsion plants and comparing these new types with those already in existence. It is intended that these new engine propulsion plants will not only result improved fuel economy, but also in lower maintenance, replacement and operating costs. The third purpose of the program was to investigate the possibilities of improving the standard cargo handling techniques in existence by investigating new type cranes which will permit a reduction of in-port time for our cargo ships.

The Liberty ship conversion and engine improvement program is now well underway and as many of you have read in the various newspapers and periodicals, contracts have been awarded for the conversion of one ship to steam turbine. This ship will be converted by Ira S. Bushey and Sons, Inc., Brooklyn, N. Y. The steam turbines and gears to be used have been removed from our warehouses as an example of what could be acomplished by taking turbines and gears from existing stockpiles. The hull has not been lengthened in order that we could actually investigate the strength and speed characteristics of our existing Liberty ships at sea with the horsepower increased from 2.500 to 6,000 SHP. The cargo handling gear has been revamped in that we are installing MSTS type of cargo handling gear. This portion of the program was coordinated with the MSTS in order that we could fulfill many of their requirements.

A contract has also been let on the second Liberty ship which is to be converted to diesel propulsion. This conversion will be made at the Key Highway Repair Yard of the Bethlehem Steel Co. in Baltimore, Md. The present bow will be cut off about 110 feet aft and a new bow installed which will result in an overall increase of 25 feet in length. We did this in order to improve the sea-keeping qualities of the Liberty ship. All of the present propulsion equipment will be removed and two Baldwin-Lima-Hamilton 3,000 horsepower diesel engines driving through a reduction gear will be installed. These engines have been guaranteed to burn bunker C fuel. This conversion will also incorporate the experimental cargo gear which, in general, will consist of athwartship positionable cranes forward and longitudinal. ly moving cranes aft. In this conversion the Maritime Administration set up only performance specifications and it is the responsibility of the industry to meet these performance requirements in the best fashion possible. In addition to these two actual conversion contracts, the contracts for the main propulsion equipment for the third and fourth conversions have been awarded. The General Electric Co. will supply a 6,000 horsepower two shaft regenerative type open cycle gas turbine driving through a reduction gear and a controllable pitch propeller, manufactured by the S. Morgan Smith Co., of York, Pa. The main propulsion equipment in the fourth conversion will be a free piston gas generator-turbine combination and the Cleveland diesel engine division of General Motors Corp. has been awarded the contract to supply 6 1,000 shaft horsepower gas generators driving through 2 3,000 shaft horsepower turbines, each fitted with the reversing elements, through a reduction gear and a fixed pitch propeller.

Other contracts which have been recently awarded by the Maritime Administration are for the four 25,000 ton DWT 18-knot tankers which the Maritime will construct for MSTS. Three of these ships will be constructed by the Sun Shipbuilding Co., and the fourth by the Ingalis Shipbuilding Corp.

In addition to the above tankers, the Maritime Administration was instrumental in instigating the trade-in-and-build program under which the Cities Service Co. has already signed contracts with the Sparrows Point Yard of the Bethiehem Steel Co., for the construction of two 32,000 DWT tankers with the third contract to be let on April 1, 1955. In addition, approval in principle, has been given to applications from the Esso Shipping Co. for the possible construction of two 35,500 DWT tankers.

Another program which has been administered in the last 6 months by the Maritime Administration is the emergency ship repair program. This has as its purpose two primary objectives; first, to survey and make the necessary repairs to those ships of our reserve fleet which have not been inspected since World War II; and secondly, to provide relief to the ship-repair industry of the United States during this critical period. As

you realize, it is always expedient to either build or repair ships during the period of a lull when the work can be accomplished with speed at a low overall cost. The program is now approximately 50 percent completed, and we are proud to state it has progressed without a flaw. Actually we think this has been a great achievement because a program of this nature can become complicated. We have faced squarely the problems of split bidding, recapture clauses and allocations to various areas and feel that our decisions have been just and equitable.

We based the allocation of these vessels to various areas on the basis of existing manpower because it is our belief that the important thing in the ship repair facilities of the United States is to preserve skilled manpower. We can preserve lacing the men. The problem of split bidding has been, and always will be a controversial one, but there can be no question that this Nation will require all types of repair facilities in time of emergency and that it is equally important for us to preserve both the drydock facilities and the shoreside facilities. In this connection I might state that the entire shipbuilding industry should recognize this problem and rather than perpetuate a division between those yards with drydocks and those without, there should be some unity within the industry itself. As far as the recapture clause is concerned in the emergency ship repair program, we feel that in view of the need to allocate ships that it was found necessary to protect the Government's interests in those particular circumstances when competitive bidding would not insure the Government a fair price.

The above completes a very general resume of what has been accomplished during the last 6 months and I should like to point out that in each one of these cases where the Maritime Administration controlled the funds, the programs were initiated and en-

acted promptly and swiftly.

Now, as for the contemplated ship construction for early 1955, I should like to briefly outline the possibilities. First, of course, we have the proposed new passenger-cargo ships of both Grace and Moore-Mc-Cormack Lines. The contract plans and specifications for these ships were submitted to the Office of Ship Construction and Repair in the Maritime Administration on December I, and it is anticipated that after review and inclusion of national defense features that these ships will go out for bid about the end of January 1955. Permitting a bidding period of approximately 90 days, the contracts for these four passenger ships should be signed sometime in May 1955.

One of the associated problems before the award of these contracts is the determination of the foreign construction subsidy differential. The Maritime Administration is confident that this problem will be resolved on a fair and equitable basis and in a business like fashion. It must be pointed out in this connection that the purpose of the construc-tion subsidy differential is to establish parity and that the American ship operator is entitled to what it would cost to build his vessel in a foreign port. Actually, the subsidy is to the shippards of the United States and not to the ship operators. In the past there has been a great deal of misunderstanding because the differential has always been mentioned in terms of percentage. Actually the percentage can vary a great deal depending upon the relative "hunger factor" of the low cost foreign shipbuilding center and here in the United States.

In addition to these passenger-cargo ships, the Maritime will administer the construction of seven vessels for MSTS. The total funds for this program amount to \$50 million, and it is expected that all seven ships will be awarded during the spring of 1955. These ships consist of four prototypes: (1)

the roll-on roll-off ship, (2) the AOG—ice strengthened tanker, (3) the AK—ice strengthened cargo ship, (4) AKD—ice strengthened cargo ship dock.

In addition to the new construction outlined, there are also several conversions which will be out for bid early in 1955. These are the American President Lines conversion of four Mariners to suit the requirements of their round-the-world trade, and secondly, the conversion of two mariner-type ships to passenger ships for Oceanic. In addition to these the Pacific Far East Line, Inc., is presently completing three Mariners for service in their Far East trade. The first of the Pacific Far East Line ships will be delivered early in 1955.

It appears appropriate to mention the Maritime Subsidy Policy Report prepared by the Under Secretary of Commerce for Transportation and the Maritime Administration, which indicated the need for maintaining a nucleus of 36,000 shipyard workers for mobilization purposes. It is interesting to note that the aforementioned shipbuilding programs will materially increase the present shipyard employment and assist in reaching the necessary mobilization requirements.

In other words, at this time, as the American merchant marine is being confronted with its block obsolescence, the Maritime Administration is vigorously pursuing a program of Government and private shipbuilding to insure orderly replacement. It is our intent that the ships of our future merchant marine will incorporate the most modern developments in hulls, machinery, and cargo-handling gear. A program of this nature must necessarily result in a more active and more stable shipbuilding industry for this Nation.

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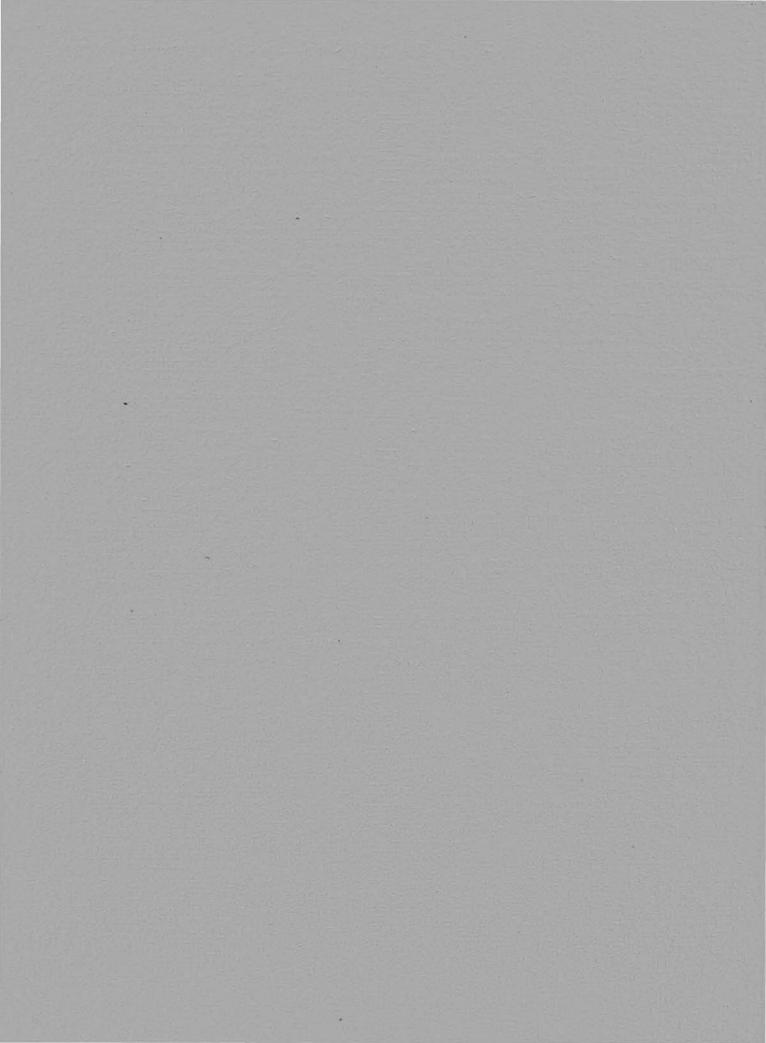
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Appendix

Address by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California, at Second International Student Exchange Dinner, Houston, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the text of a speech I delivered last night at the second annual international student exchange dinner in Houston, Tex.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

EXCERPTS OF A SPEECH OF UNITED STATES SEN-ATOR WILLIAM E. KNOWLAND BEFORE THE SECOND ANNUAL INTERNATIONAL STUDENT EXCHANGE DINNER, JANUARY 13, 1955, HOUS-TON, Tex.

Mr. Chairman, Mr. Mayor, ladies and gentlemen, I am pleased to be here in Houston at the second annual international student exchange dinner and to be in the home State of my two able Senate colleagues, Lyndon Johnson and Price Daniel.

In the year 1919 the founders of the Institute of International Education set forth the objectives of the organization. They are as applicable today as they were 36 years ago: "To enable our people to secure a better understanding of foreign nations, and to enable foreign nations to obtain accurate knowledge of the United States, its people, its institutions, and its culture."

Never was it more important that this aim be implemented by Government officials and leaders in education, business, agriculture, and labor, and by the average citizen who travels abroad and is in a sense an ambassador of our country.

Our press, radio, and television industry also has an important mission in reflecting a true cross-section of our country abroad. For the most part they carry out their function with responsibility.

During my last visit to India I had an opportunity to get up into the Punjab territory. This, as you know, is the home of the Sikhs. While visiting some of the projects that had received technical help from the United States, I met a young exchange farmer from Minnesota. His name was Peterson, and he had a Scandinavian background. He had done a fine job of public relations and fitting into the agricultural life of the area. When he came out to meet us he was well tanned and wearing a turban, with a reddish imitation of a Sikh beard, and the farmers in the neighborhood had renamed him Peter Singh.

Both as a member of the Senate and as a newspaperman I have had the opportunity to see some of the other exchange work being done in various parts of the world. As has been the case with a considerable number of American newspapers, we have had men from overseas come and work in our office at the Oakland Tribune for a period of time, and have had some of our people go abroad.

There have also been a considerable number of delegations, of educators, students, newspapermen, and public officials who have had the opportunity of coming to this country and seeing a cross-section of America.

Too often when our people visit abroad or when others come here they only see the capital city and perhaps the chief metropolitan areas. Visiting only Washington and New York certainly does not give a visitor a rounded picture of America and what has made it a leading world power.

made it a leading world power.

All of our citizens desire to live in peace and to devote their efforts to the building of America so that we may leave it as a better land than we ourselves found. This has been the hope and aspiration of Americans ever since we became a Nation.

We recognize that where other nations believe in human freedom and the establishment of international law and order for the preservation of peace in the world for ourselves and our children, we can maintain close and cordial relations with them.

An example is our 3,000 mile frontier with our neighbor of Canada to the North, where for a long period of our history there has not been a single military fortification of any type or character along that whole frontier. We have also developed a comparable friendly relationship with our neighbor Mexico to the South.

However, the American people must be realistic enough to recognize that all nations are not as civilized or peace loving as are our neighbors, Canada and Mexico. Hence it becomes important that we remain as prudent as the early pioneers, who continued to hope and pray for peace but kept their powder dry.

This organization is to be complimented on the constructive work it does. The exchange of students is, of course, of great importance in the building of a better world. These young men and women will carry heavy responsibilities in the years ahead, and it is essential that they have accurate information regarding world affairs.

Even though the Iron Curtain exists between the free world and that of Communist tyranny, we should not consider all the people behind that curtain as being enemies of the free way of life.

As a matter of fact the people of Russia were the first victims of Communist tyranny from which we may hope they will some day be free. The enslaved people of the satellite states of Eastern Europe, of Asia and even of Russia may turn out to be among our stanchest allies in the event of Communist aggression.

Foreign and defense policies are and need to be the people's business. The decisions that are made in the months ahead may well determine whether we are to have a free world of free men.

The wise men who drafted our Constitution knew well the history of the world up to their time.

to their time.

They knew that where people had lost their freedom it was because of the concentration of power in one agency of the government.

Not only did they set up three great coequal branches of the Federal Government as checks and balances one against the other but they made the Federal Government one of limited and specified powers, reserving to the several States or the people thereof all other powers.

Though a Republican, in each of the almost 10 years I have been in the Senate I have become more firmly convinced of the importance of preserving our States rights as a vital part of maintaining our way of life.

Some, though not all, of our present problems vis-a-vis the Communist world stem from the secret agreements of Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam.

Without the knowledge or consent of either the American people or their elected Representatives in Congress commitments were made for the postwar period which enabled the Communist conspiracy to gain control of Eastern Europe, China, and North Korea.

Since the year 1945 which saw the end of World War II in Europe and Asia, international communism has made great strides.

In January of that year there were less than 200 million people behind the Communist Iron Curtain. Today, just 10 years later, there are over 800 million. The world's balance of power has been upset.

Thirty years ago Lenin said "the road to Paris is through Peking." What he meant was that China was the key to all of Asia with its billion and a half people. Once consolidated with the manpower and resources of Asia communism could turn with overwhelming power against the West.

Peace with honor is and should be the policy of the American people. This is certainly far different from a policy of "peace at any price." Unless this is thoroughly understood, we could be lured into a sense of false security by the words of the men in the Kremlin which do not conform to their actions or their policies.

We must never lose sight of the fact that communism is the most brutal, godless tyranny the world has ever known. As a temporary expedient they may change their day-to-day tactics, but their long-term strategy remains the same under Malenkov as it was under Lenin and Stalin.

Some time between 1913 and 1915 Lenin studied the works of Karl Von Clausewitz who is rated as one of the outstanding theoreticians of war. Clausewitz's statement that the conqueror always pretends to be peace loving because he would like to attain his objectives in a bloodless fashion (as indeed does the bank robber who kills only when resisted or distured in carrying out his mission) and that, therefore aggression must be presented as a defensive reaction of the attacking nation was considered by Lenin to be a good idea. This idea is still at the bottom of Communist pacifist propaganda—peaceful coexistence.

The Kremlin's basic strategy is that communism will dominate the world, and free institutions and enterprise as we know them will be destroyed. Neither as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee nor as a party leader in the Senate has the slightest reliable evidence been presented to me which would demonstrate that the Communist leopard has changed its spots.

We and the free world must not allow ourselves to be paralyzed while nation after nation in Asia and in Europe is brought behind the Communist Iron Curtain. In such an event we might ultimately find ourselves as an isolated Island of freedom in an otherwise totalitarian world.

Under such conditions, though the difficulties would be great, we might exist as

sort of a continental Dien Bien Phu. However, we would not be able to maintain the same political or economic system which has enabled this country of ours to grow from a small colony of 3 million on the Atlantic seaboard to a world power of 162 million, the most productive industrially and agriculthe world has ever known.

The doctrine of peaceful coexistence is being advanced by the men in the Kremlin, by the neutralist nations which do not desire to take sides as between freedom and slavery, and by some of our people who have not necessarily followed the full implications of what the Communists mean by peaceful coexistence.

Among some our associates abroad, and in some unofficial quarters in our own country, the term peaceful coexistence is becomsynonymous with peace at any price. Should such a condition become general, either here or abroad, it would be a fatal It would almost assure the Communist conquest of all the peripheral countries.

There are some individuals who believe that if and when the condition of atomic stalemate is reached, this in itself will assure a period of peace. In dealing with the ruthless. Godless men of the Kremlin I believe that this is a naive approach. Two individuals may be placed in a room—each having a Colt .45. If one is a law abiding citizen who, because of his training and religion, values human life, and the other is a gangster, killer at heart, who places no value on human life, the equality of weapons does not assure that both will come out of the room alive.

Their basic policy is and has been that they would permit a nation to peacefully coexist for such a time as suited the Kremlin's convenience and until they could either be subverted by communism from within or taken over by Communist aggression from without. They have in mind for us the peaceful coexistence the Thanksgiving turkey has (well fed and housed) until the axe falls.

Whatever their station in political, economic, or academic circles those who lose sight of this basic fact endanger the freedom of this Republic and the hope of gaining or preserving a free world of free men. You could, of course, always buy temporary respite by a policy of appeasement, but the world should have learned at the time of Munich that the road to appeasement is not the road to peace. It is only surrender on the installment plan.

Proposals almost certain to be made if and when a Big Four Conference is held:

1. Recognition and approval of the present borders of the Iron Curtain.

2. Communist China in the United Na-

This would mean the perpetual slavery of hundreds of millions of people without hope of ultimate freedom.

On November 15 in the Senate of the United States, in discussing coexistence, I

"Are 'coexistence' and 'atomic stalemate' synonymous terms? If they are not, just what is the difference? Is the former merely an inevitable prelude to the latter? And what of our foreign policy and our defense policy when such an atomic stalemate takes place? Does not atomic stalemate mean inevitable Communist nibbling aggression, rather than peace in our time? How many years remain when we still have some initiative left? These are some of the basic questions before the Government and the people of the United States."

The United Nations has passed a resolution giving support to the American position relative to the 15 American airmen being illegally held by the Chinese Communists.

Both the resolution and the overwhelming majority by which it was adopted is most welcome.

However, the American people will judge the effectiveness of this resolution and the journey of the Secretary General to Pelping by whether or not these men are promptly released.

Since they have acknowledged that they hold these 15 men in uniform, there is reasonable grounds for belief that they may be holding other unaccounted for Americans missing. During the Korean war there were 931 unaccounted for Americans in uniform who had fallen into Communist hands and were held as prisoners of war. Neither alive nor dead have they been returned to us in the exchanges made pursuant to the armistice. We also know that they have 28 American civilian citizens still in Communist jails, many of them having served there for 3 or 4 years. Some have been held in chains without any type of what civilized people would call a trial.

All of us will hope that the efforts of the Secretary-General may be successful. This Nation will want to know what additional steps the United Nations will promptly take to secure the release of the uniformed personnel without paying ransom or tribute. The fact that the bandit returns the loot does not entitle him to an award of the Legion of Merit.

Are they prepared to apply against the Chinese Communist regime economic sanctions as well as moral condemnation by resolution? If these are not successful are they prepared to support a tight naval and air blockade upon the China coast?

The religions and cultural background of the free people of China made them "slow Their nation is today behind to anger. the Iron Curtain and millions have been liquidated, including teachers, small merchants, businessmen, and non-Communist workers and farmers. The free people of Czechoslovakia were "slow to anger, today behind the Communist Iron Curtainthough in the preceding election less than 20 percent of their people had voted the Communist ticket.

I cannot help but review some of our own history. What a great difference it would have been had the people of Texas, instead of rallying behind the cry "Remember the Alamo," followed the doctrine "after all, they have been liquidated and we shouldn't make much ado about it."

Some of our associates abroad apparently want to brain wash us of some of the history that has made America great.

We did not change from a small colony of 3 million on the Atlantic seaboard to the great nation of 165 million because we had the most people in the world. There have been a good many other nations that have had larger populations.

We did not reach our present place be-cause we had the most resources in the world, for there are other nations which undoubtedly have greater material resources.

I believe that we came to our present position of leadership because the founders of this Republic gave us a heritage of courage and a written constitution that, better than any other document drafted by man, given to our people the freedom-political and economic-without which this great progress could not have been made.

In this free atmosphere the American We were guaranteed spirit had free reign. the right to worship God, each according to his beliefs. To be sure, we have demonstrated time and time again that as a nation and as a people we are indeed "slow to anger."

But, there comes a time, as my old New England grandmother used to say, when we reach a point of righteous indignation, and out of this has come—cherished to each American generation, one succeeding the other—such terms as:

"Remember the Alamo."

"Give me liberty or give me death."
"Don't give up the ship."

"Damn the torpedoes; full speed ahead." And "Praise the Lord and pass the ammunition."

Despite the fact that in many instances we were faced with what appeared to be overwhelming odds, we have never found it necessary to sacrifice our national honor when a vital principle was at stake.

Nor must we ever permit any cabal or international organization to so dilute or undermine our spirit so that Gulliver becomes chained by the Lilliputians and we are unable to even protect our own.

In the final analysis, neither the American Government nor the Congress can escape the responsibility for taking whatever effective steps are necessary to secure the release of these men wearing the uniform of this country.

United Nations record in Korea. It was not effective security in action. The United States furnished 90 percent of the manpower. Only 17 out of 60 members supplied any manpower at all.

Soviet chairmanship of Security Council at intervals during Korean war was like asking town arsonist to head the fire department. The Soviet Union admitted supplying arms, ammunition, and moral support the aggressor. With this prima facie case before it, the Soviet Union should have been expelled as a violator of the Charter they had pledged to uphold.

While it is perfectly proper to seek the moral and effective support of our associate in the Korean war, if they fall to take effective steps, our obligation is not discharged. By this time next week we shall know the success or failure of the Hammarskjold mission.

What is the test? The immediate release of all prisoners of war desiring to return home without any political or monetary price being paid.

It is my belief that there are conditions being brought back. An attempt will be made to jockey us into another Panmunjomtype negotiation. Days will pass into weeks and months while American uniformed personnel remain in Communist cells.

It is the American Congress under the Constitution which is responsible for raising and supporting our Armed Forces and passes the selective service and other laws under which our armed service personnel is secured. It is the Government of the United States that ordered these men to Korea to participate in a collective security action against aggression. These men are Americans. I shall not remain silent while a single one of them remains in Communist hands.

If we will only show the same courage and commonsense that motivated the men who sat in Philadelphia and under divine inspiration gave us first the Declaration of Independence and then the Constitution of the United States, there are none of our domestic problems we cannot solve and there is no foreign foe we need ever fear.

The Dixon-Yates Power Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, in its issue of October 19, 1954, the Des Moines (Iowa) Register published an editorial entitled "Dixon-Yates Contract Needs Close Scrutiny." I call particular attention to the editorial because of the

fact that it appeared in a newspaper which I believe gave all-out support to General Eisenhower when he was a candidate for the Presidency. I ask unani-mous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

DIXON-YATES CONTRACT NEEDS CLOSE SCRUTINY

The proposed Dixon-Yates contract has now been made available to several newspapermen, although it has not yet been officially released by either the Atomic Energy Commission (AEC) or the Joint Congres-

sional Atomic Committee.

The contract, which is in technical language, is a 56-page affair, and accompanying it are 104 pages of pertinent documents. It will take even the legal and power experts considerable time to determine all the facts about this contract. However, enough has been revealed to show that some provisions are so questionable and controversial there should be a complete and thorough congressional hearing.

Senator BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER, of Iowa, is head of the subcommittee of the Joint Atomic Committee which will conduct the hearing. He has set it for immediately after the election. Though this has displeased some Democrats, it seems reasonable to us, because the election campaign would make an impartial, complete hearing unlikely be-

fore November 2.

The contract provides for a company, formed by the Dixon and Yates private utility groups, to build a \$107 million steamelectric plant at West Memphis, Ark. This plant would supply power to the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) system. TVA then would supply the same amount of power to the AEC's atomic-energy plant at Paducah, Ky. The contract calls for the AEC to buy power-from Dixon-Yates-for TVA.

The Eisenhower administration apparently meant this contract to be a shining symbol of its determination that the Government should not continue to expand in the

field of public power.

Perhaps it seemed a clear case to the administration-that TVA couldn't supply the additional power needs of AEC without building a steam plant, and that private enterprise could just as efficiently, or more effi-ciently, build and operate a steam plant. So the administration, virtually by decree, is giving the contract to the Dixon-Yates group of private utility interests.

The public power against private power issue is involved here. But the method by which the contract is being awarded is also an issue. Terms and provisions of the contract also are proper questions for considera-

tion by Congress.

The Eisenhower administration's goal of less government in business, of less "creeping socialism," as President Elsenhower at one time labeled TVA, won't be speeded by ramming through a questionable private power contract. Instead it could be set back decidedly.

Questions about the way the contract was agreed upon arise because: (1) Views of both AEC members and TVA directors who opposed the proposal-and apparently a majority of them did before recent appointments changed the composition of the groups—were ignored; and (2) apparently no alternative plans, including proposals from other private utilities, were given any serious consideration.

The provisions of the contract which need airing are those which virtually guarantee the Dixon-Yates group a 9 percent return on its \$5½ million investment. The AEC would, in effect, pay the company's taxes, although the Senate has ruled out any direct rebate

on taxes in such a contract. Increases in costs of fuel and labor also would be taken care of by the AEC. There may be good reasons for some of these provisions. No one would suggest that a private power company should lose money on an enterprise of this kind.

However, the provisions in the Dixon-Yates contract seem to add up to the utility company taking little or no risk, being guaranteed a handsome profit and the Government paying more for power-if critics of the contract are right—than it would if TVA had built the plant.

If the congressional hearing develops that this is the situation, the Dixon-Yates contract can't be regarded as any shining symbol of private enterprise. There will be little, if any, private enterprise involved in a project based on "all profit-no loss" provi-

Instead, the contract will be an example of a bright idea gone wrong, because the proposal was handled without full and adequate discussion and consideration of everything that was involved.

Second Inaugural Address by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, on Wednesday, January 12, 1955, Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin was inaugurated as Governor of Maryland for a second term. This is the first time in the history of Maryland that a Republican has ever been reelected as its Governor, which certainly is a tribute to Governor McKeldin's splendid administration of the past 4 years. In order that people of other States may read his inaugural address, I ask unanimous consent to have the full text of the speech inserted in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY HON. THEODORE R. MCKELDIN DELIVERED UPON THE OCCASION OF HIS SEC-OND INAUGURATION AS GOVERNOR OF MARY-LAND ON WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1955

It is my happy privilege again to express my deep gratitude to my fellow citizens for electing to continue me in the high office of Governor of Maryland.

The keen realization of grave responsibility which I described in my first inauguration 4 years ago has not lessened.

Indeed, it has been enhanced by the passage of the years, and by my daily contacts with the many problems of government in this rapidly growing State.

Official tasks have been eased, however; encouragement has been constant, and accomplishments have been made well worthwhile by the magnificent sense of citizen responsibility demonstrated by you—the people of Maryland.

You have kept your Government aware of your hopes, your wishes and your sover-eign demands. We, in the administration, have sought, I believe with a reasonable measure of success, to interpret them into Your representatives in executive action. the general assembly have responded admirably to the consensus of your voice. We

have moved consistently forward. We continue to advance.

This is democracy at its best.

I have some specific proposals relating to the conduct of the State's affairs during the next 4 years. Some of them I have already submitted to the legislature and to the public for their consideration. Others I shall submit in the near future. But today it seems to me more appropriate and useful to turn from specific details of business and to consider some of the fundamentals on which all these details are based.

It is a common human failing to become so obsessed with the means that we forget the ends of our policies. It seems to me that such a moment is upon us. Let us in the solemnity of this occasion seek to gain clarity and perspective. It will stand us in good stead in deciding our course as Ameri-

cans and as Marylanders.

The United States is confronted with perils both serious and numerous. So grave is the situation that we are spending two-thirds of the Nation's revenues providing safeguards against possible attacks, and it is inevitable that our thoughts should be largely concerned with the problem of military defense. But that is only the begin-ning. At present we are not being assailed by armed enemies, but only by clever propagandists, who are seeking to turn the minds of men against us; and that, too, must

occupy our thoughts to a very large extent.

Maryland almost surrounds the National Capitol. We are, therefore, at the very heart of all this perturbation, and are bound to be affected by it. We are so strongly affected, indeed, that we are in danger of losing sight of the object of all our labor of hand and brain; and if we do that, we will lose the very thing that we are trying to preserve.

For this that we are defending, this Nation, and specifically this part of it that we call Maryland, is not a geographical expression, is not merely a certain part of the earth's surface, is not simply an area containing so many structures and so many people. If that were all, it would not be worth the tremendous effort we make to defend it. The greater part of it, the more valuable part, is an intangible thing, a compound of history and tradition, of manners and customs, of attitudes and ways of life, imperceptible by any of the five senses, yet more real than these buildings around us, more real than the solid earth on which they stand.

To perpetuate this invisible Maryland, this creation, not of our hands, but of our minds and spirits, we, no less than our forefathers long ago have pledged our lives, our fortunes and our sacred honor. Most of the time we take it as a matter of course, the basis of our entire political and social system; but from time to time we should pause for a moment and examine it to renew our appreciation of its value; for, like the giant Antaeus whose strength was renewed whenever he touched the earth, we may draw a brighter courage, a stouter confidence, a firmer resolution whenever we remind ourselves of how much we

The characteristic of the United States of America that makes it unique among the nations is its achievement of unity in diversity. "From many, one," the motto that we have stamped in Latin on our coins, is the ultimate American reality; so when I describe what I conceive to be the spirit of Maryland my words cannot be applied literally to any other State, and yet to the extent that what is Maryland goes to make up what is American, I am speaking of every one of the 48. The emphasis shifts as you proceed from State to State, but the ultimate meaning remains the same; so when I celebrate our own particular values, it is not in disparagement of those cherished by our sister States, but only to strengthen our determination to protect what belongs to us in particular and to all America in general.

Long before Maryland became a State one of the most important patterns of its life was already set. This was the tradition of tolerance which is, after all, nothing more than recognition of the brotherhood of men under the fatherhood of God. Tlike to think of its beginning with Father Andrew White, that sturdy priest whose ability to administer spiritual consolation to penitents did not interfere with his ability to swing an ax with the best of them when the forest was being cleared—father in God to burdened souls, he was at the same time brother to the woodsmen. I like to remember that in early Maryland Captain Cornwallis was seized by Catholic officers and punished by a Catholic governor because he had denied freedom of worship to his Protestant servants. I like to believe that it is still true in Maryland that a man who attempts to suppress liberty is worthy of punishment because he has denied the faith, whether that faith is Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, or other.

The strong tradition of religious tolerance has resulted in making Maryland barren ground for the propagation of fanaticism of any kind. I do not claim that we have escaped entirely; our history has been punctuated from time to time by outbreaks of bitter oppression, but they have been only numerous enough to remind us that we, too, are vulnerable to the weakness and folly that beset other men and are under obligation to be forever on guard against the evil in our own hearts.

Yet I think it is true that the tolerance that began in affairs of religion has spread into social and political and economic activities. God has given us a pleasant land, and it would be ingratitude not to enjoy it; but it would be worse than ingratitude, it would be wickedness, while enjoying it ourselves to try to deny its enjoyment to others merely because their ways are not our ways. It is not our practice in Maryland to attempt to correct our neighbor's habits for his own good; we correct him only when his habits begin to threaten law and order, and that is for the good of all of us, not for our neighbors in particular. Sometimes the rigidly austere profess to be scandalized by this and demand that we use the power of the State to put down sin, as well as crime; but I deem it a higher morality that holds a man answerable to the State only for his crimes, and admits that for his sins he is accountable to God alone.

Nevertheless, while we have created here a tolerant society it is still a society, which means that a man incurs inescapable obligations by being a member. This implies that the strong are measurably responsible for the welfare of the weak, including the very young, the very old, and the very unfortunate. This responsibility varies with varying conditions, and there is always room for debate as to the adequacy with which we have met it; but nobody denies the principle and nobody denies our duty to meet new demands with new expedients.

I believe it is the sincere desire of the overwhelming majority of our people to perpetuate the thing that we have created and that we call Maryland. Please note that I said "perpetuate," I did not say "petrify." Maryland is a living organism, or it is nothing, and change is the law of life. If it were possible to assure the indefinite existence of Maryland exactly as it is, what we should have would be a mummy, utterly useless in a world of living men.

What we wish to perpetuate is not institutions, but the spirit that created them—first, liberty, then tolerance, then brother-hood. In assuming the responsibilities of the office of governor for the next 4 years I pledge to that purpose every vestige of strength, whether of arm, or of head, or of heart, that I possess. That is, if you please, a generality, but it is not a gittering one. On the contrary, the condition of the modern world makes it a somber one, not for me

alone but for you, for every man and woman in Maryland.

For liberty, tolerance, and brotherhood are all under furious attack from many quarters. The merchants of hate are busy everywhere and some of them have risen to high places where their influence is exerted upon millions. When the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse are spurring hard, when war, famine, pestilence, and death are thundering across the world it is easier to be a Paladin, it is easier to be an Ajax or a Siegfried, than it is to remain a free, reasonable, and kindly man.

Maryland is in danger indeed, but the enemy bombers are still beyond the horizon. The danger that is directly over our heads is not a threat to any material thing, not to the things that might be destroyed by atom bombs, but to that greater part of Maryland that lives and moves and has its being in the minds and hearts of men.

My fellow citizens, I summon you to the defense of that Maryland even more energetically than you are now defending our cities and harbors and fields. I call you to arms against the forces of hatred and ignorance and prejudice, more insidious and more dangerous than any horde that the steppes once ruled by Genghis Khan might spew upon us. It may be that eventually foes will come upon us from across the sea, but fanaticism is already here, lurking in darkened minds and shriveled souls, ready to creep upon us the moment our backs are turned.

But as long as he is faced resolutely, that foe is important; and he will be faced resolutely as long as we remember how great is the treasure that we guard. The liberty that our fathers won for us we hold in trust for our sons; it must not be diminished by jot or tittle through any failure of ours, and it will not be while we remember how precious it is.

That is why I have devoted this speech to reminding you of it. With a confidence in the future born of the glory of the past, we shall preserve for the next generation and for the world that part of the wealth of Maryland impossible to coin at the mint because it is "the gold of a vision that angels cannot buy," and my counsel to you is so far from being new that it is older than Maryland itself, far older than all the dangers that threaten us. It is simply the ancient cry, "To your tents, O Israel," and let us, like the ancient Israelites, make of this time of stress the prelude to our era of greatest splendor.

And so once again I dedicate myself as the humble and loyal servant of God and the sovereign people of the State of Maryland. To be your twice-chosen governor is an expression of confidence which I shall ever cherish and seek to deserve. With the help of our Lord, I shall earnestly do my best to serve Him and you.

To have the opportunity of sharing in the creative development of our beloved State as its chief executive is a supreme privilege. I trust that all of us may consider ourselves as fellow workers in the constructive task of making this Commonwealth the home of an ever-happier and prosperous people. In her long and distinguished history our State has become famed for her great cities, her charming villages, her beautiful countryside, and lovely waterways. From the great bay to her hills, enshrouded in their mystic haze of blue, she is a lovely land—Maryland, my Maryland.

Let it be known, too, in every clime and to the ends of the earth, that on the soil of Maryland every man is of sacred worth as a child of God, and all share equally in the responsibilities and blessings of freedom. To that end we dedicate ourselves anew to the further advancement of human values as the greatest contribution we may make to our day and age.

Therefore I solemnly dedicate myself not only to preserve and uphold the constitution

of our State but to maintain and strengthen its noblest traditions as well, the traditions of tolerance, brotherhood, and human freedom without limitation.

Sincerely and earnestly do I ask your prayers, my fellow citizens, as indeed I pray for all of you. God bless and guide the people of Maryland.

The Edward John Noble Foundation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, the New York Herald Tribune of Monday, December 20, 1954, had a news story under the headline "Edward J. Noble Gives \$5 Million to Fund." It told of Mr. Noble's fine gift to the Noble Foundation, a philanthropic agency founded in 1940 by Mr. Noble.

There are two interesting aspects of this news story to me. The first is the fact that the newspaper points out that Mr. Noble came from a poor family, supported himself at college, and then proceeded to build a very substantial fortune, giving evidence thereby that America still is the land of opportunity for those who are determined to recognize and take advantage of their opportunities.

Second, I am impressed by the fact that Mr. Noble hopes that his \$5 million gift to the foundation may encourage other businessmen to give as individuals to charitable causes or to foundations "which strive to meet the constantly increasing needs of charities, of hospitals, and of educational institutions."

As one who has known Mr. Noble since his first venture in Government as Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Authority, I commend his charitable impulses and praise him for the lifetime of endeavor to be of help to his fellowmen, and ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the news story from the New York Herald Tribune.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDWARD J. NOBLE GIVES \$5 MILLION TO FUND

Edward J. Noble, of Greenwich, Conn., has given \$5 million to the Edward John Noble Foundation, it was announced yesterday. The foundation, a philanthropic agency, was founded in 1940 by Mr. Noble, who is chairman of the finance committee of the American Broadcasting-Paramount Theaters, Inc., and chairman of the board of Life Savers, Inc.

Last year Mr. Noble gave \$2 million to the foundation, which has a large endowment, the income and principal of which support charitable, educational, and hospital institutions.

PHILANTHROPIC OBLIGATIONS

Mr. Noble said in an announcement yesterday that the \$5 million gift was an individual effort to carry out a philanthropic obligation commensurate with the success that has come my way as an American businessman.

"I hope," he said, "that this \$5 million

gift to the foundation, together with my previous gifts over the years to the endowment of the foundation, will encourage other businessmen to give as individuals to charitable causes or to foundations which strive to meet the constantly increasing needs of charities, of hospitals, and of educational institutions."

Mr. Noble said he intends to contribute to the foundation each year with the plan that the endowment will be of substantial proportions "by the time I'm 6 feet under." He said that "if there's any good I can do in this world I'd like to do it now, when I'm alive.

In the last dozen years or so, Mr. Noble and the foundation have contributed to charities and institutions in New York City and throughout New York State. Among beneficiaries of the foundation have been St. Lawrence University at Canton, N. Y., of which Mr. Noble was chairman of the board for 13 years, and North Country Hospitals, Inc., which operates as a unit, three hospitals at Gouverneur, Canton, and Alexandria Bay, all in northern New York State.

OTHER BENEFICIARIES

Other gifts have gone to charities in New York, such as the Salvation Army and the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis and to community chests and other charities in Greenwich, Conn, and in New York State communities such as Port Chester, Gouverneur, Watertown, Canton, and Alexandria Bay.

Mr. Noble, a former Chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Authority and a former Under Secretary of Commerce, served as general chairman of the Salvation Army's maintenance appeals for 1947 and 1948 and was chairman of the Greater New York 1953 campaign of the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis. He was appointed to the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation last July by President Eisenhower.

tion last July by President Eisenhower.

In 1948, 1949, and 1950 the foundation was one of the principal contributors to the construction and operation of the Noble hospitals in Gouverneur, Canton, and Alexandria Bay, areas long in need of hospital facilities.

Born in New York State's north country, in Gouverneur, on August 8, 1882, Mr. Noble recalled that he spent summer vacations in the Thousand Islands and dreamed of making a fortune some day in advertising. This was before he attended Syracuse University. Coming from a poor family, he supported himself at Syracuse by working as a reporter for the Watertown Daily Times and as treasurer of the Gouverneur Athenian Society.

Later he went to Yale University and was graduated in 1905. At Yale he organized an eating club and accumulated a considerable financial surplus. After Yale, he entered the advertising business as a space salesman for the card advertising firm of Ward & Gow, of New York City.

His first success came in 1913 when he and a friend bought Life Savers for \$1,900 from a Cleveland candymaker.

Mr. Noble has been chairman of the finance committee of the American Broadcasting-Paramount Theaters, Inc., since the merger of the two corporations in 1953.

Centennial of Land-Grant Colleges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAT McNAMARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I am informed that the Post Office De-

partment is about to issue a special postage stamp commemorative of the centennial of the founding of land-grant colleges. It happens that Michigan State College was the first land-grant college, and I ask unanimous consent that some remarks of mine upon the subject be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF SENATOR MCNAMARA

The Post Office Department is about to issue a stamp commemorating the establishment 100 years ago of the first 2 land grant colleges in the United States—Michigan State College and Pennsylvania State University. This centennial anniversary is a source of real pride to the people of Michigan; and I am particularly proud of the fact that the first of the two colleges to be established was Michigan State College, which is thus the oldest of the land-grant colleges in America.

Michigan State College was actually established before the Federal Land Grant Act, the Morrill Act, was adopted by Congress. It was established with money appropriated by the State legislature in compliance with a requirement in the new State constitution. While Michigan did not wait for Federal money to establish its college, the State was grateful for the aid received when Congress did adopt the Morrill Act in 1862 and made possible an increase of 100 percent in the service rendered to Michigan by the college.

This centennial celebration invites us to take another look at the history of Federal aid to education in this country and to contrast that history with the situation today.

The history shows that the first piece of major legislation in support of public education was adopted by our Federal Government as far back as 1785, even before the adoption of our Federal Constitution. This was the famous Northwest Ordinance, which initiated the policy of setting aside Federal land and Federal moneys to aid education. Since then more than 160 acts have been passed by the Congress to help the States support schools.

A list of the major acts is as follows:

Seventeen hundred and eighty-five; Ordinance of 1785.

Seventeen hundred and eighty-seven: Ordinance of 1787.

Seventeen hundred and ninety-six: Ohio Salt-Land Grant Act. Eighteen hundred and two: Ohio Enabling

Act.
Eighteen hundred and three: Ohio Ena-

bling Act amendment.
Eighteen hundred and thirty-three:

United States Deposit Fund Act.

Eighteen hundred and thirty-six; Surplus Revenue Loan Act.

Eighteen hundred and forty-one: Internal Improvement Act.

Eighteen hundred and fifty: Swamp-Land

Grant Act.
Eighteen hundred and sixty-two: Morrill

Eighteen hundred and sixty-seven: Department of Education Act.

Eighteen hundred and eighty-seven:

Hatch Act.

Eighteen hundred and ninety: Second
Morrill Act.

Nineteen hundred and six: Adams Act. Nineteen hundred and seven: Nelson amendment to Morrill Act.

Nineteen hundred and eight: Federal Forest Reserve Fund Act.

Nineteen hundred and eleven: State Marine School Act.

Nineteen hundred and fourteen: Smith-

Nineteen hundred and fourteen: Smith-Lever Act.

Nineteen hundred and seventeen: Smith-Hughes Act. Nineteen hundred and twenty: Federal Mineral Royalty Act.

Nineteen hundred and twenty: Civilian Vocational Rehabilitation Act.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-five: Purnell Act.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-seven: Federal School Land Act.

Nineteen hundred and twenty-eight: Capper-Ketcham Act. Nineteen hundred and twenty-nine:

George-Reed Act.
Nineteen hundred and thirty-four:

George-Elizey Act.
Nineteen hundred and thirty-five: Bank-

head-Jones Act.
Nineteen hundred and thirty-six: George-Deen Act.

Nineteen hundred and forty: Vocational education for national defense

Nineteen hundred and forty-four: GI bill

Nineteen hundred and forty-five: Amendment to the Bankhead-Jones Act.

History reminds us that the States have not sat on their hands waiting for the Federal Government to do it all. As Michigan did in the case of its State college, the States have taxed themselves for their schools, only turning to the Federal Government for help over and above what they themselves were able to do. History shows also that even when Federal aid was generously given, it was given without any requirement that the States give up control over their school systems. This thing that some people claim to fear today—the loss of local control over education—just has not happened in the past. It need not happen today.

Today, surveys of school needs have made clear the fact that our children need more than \$10 billion worth of school constuction. The facts have been presented over and again. The States are laboring to do their share to meet these needs. But the Federal Government, unlike some periods in the past, is sitting on the sidelines, waiting for the matter to be hashed over at 49 conferences before it decides how to act, if at all.

As one of those who has joined with the distinguished senior Senator from Alabama, Senator Lister Hill, in sponsoring a bill to provide at least part of the needed aid now, I hope that this Congress will take both heart and instruction from the history of Federal aid to education, and begin immediately to meet our responsibilities in this crucial area of our lives.

Twenty-second Anniversary of the Lone Ranger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PRICE DANIEL

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement relative to the 22d anniversary in radio of the program The Lone Ranger.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWENTY-SECOND ANNIVERSARY OF THE LONE
RANGER

(Statement by Senator Daniel)

On January 30, 1955, The Lone Ranger, oldest continuous half-hour program in radio, will observe its 22d anniversary.

I extend my congratulations to Mr. Jack Wrather, of Dallas and Los Angeles, who now owns this program. The Lone Ranger has long been, and will continue to be under Mr. Wrather's direction, an aggressive force for good, a fine example for the young men and women of America, and an excellent specimen of the kind of entertainment our American airways have to offer youth and adults alike.

This program has served as a vital factor in keeping alive in the minds of people, both in the United States and abroad, the traditions and ideals of the Texas Ranger organization and its work in maintaining law and order. As a radio and television program, it has received many national awards and citations from responsible organizations for its good work in fostering youth betterment and combating juvenile delinquency.

The Lone Ranger, hero of this program, teaches the principles of good citizenship. He fosters honesty, patriotism, fair play, tolerance, and a sympathetic understanding of human beings. Some 90,000,000 people throughout the world weekly feel his impact in one form or another of entertainment.

Although The Lone Ranger is classified as a children's program in radio and television circles, it is interesting to note that adults make up more than 55 percent of its listening and viewing audience. To this audience the program serves as a constant reminder of the American tradition as it was laid down by our forefathers—the tradition for which we fight today and which we strive on all fronts to preserve and defend.

Inaugural Address of the Governor of Kansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, last Monday marked another milestone in the history of Kansas when we inaugurated the Honorable Fred Hall as Governor of Kansas.

Governor Hall became the 33d Governor of the State of Kansas and is the youngest Republican Governor in the Nation today.

The inaugural exercises were unique, in that they were held on the steps outside of the statehouse, and it was the first outdoor inaugural since 1879.

While Kansas weather is very unpredictable, the elements cooperated. It was a clear, bright, sunshiny day.

The Governor in his inaugural message stressed the fact that "the continued success of our Federal system of government lies solely in the ability of the Federal and State Governments to cooperate with each other on problems where they each share a mutual responsibility. Competition between the two governments must give way to cooperation."

This statement is most important, in that it is necessary to preserve the position of our States if we are to continue as a strong democracy.

The natural tendency in the last decade has been toward an ever-growing and powerful Federal Government, often at the expense of the State governments.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have made a part of these remarks the inaugural speech of Gov. Fred Hall and the farewell speech of the outgoing Governor, the Honorable Edward F. Arn.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF GOVERNOR HALL'S ADDRESS AT INAUGURAL MONDAY

My fellow officers, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, as provided by the constitution of Kansas, we are gathered here for the purpose of inaugurating the men whom you have elected to perform executive and judicial functions of the State government.

The past 4 years I have served with most of these men. I congratulate them and look forward to working with them during the term of our respective offices.

The ceremony of this inauguration is taking place on the steps of our beautiful capitol building. It is the second time we have done so and the first time since 1879. The decision to do so again was a wise one. Since the beginning of civilization people have always manifested their faith through magnificent buildings and edifices—cathedrals to express their beliefs in a God—capitols to express their beliefs in themselves. This building is the symbol of our belief in Kansas and the United States of America.

The history of civilization is the history of the rise and fall of men and their beliefs. This history has all been written and it has been pages of tragedy. Only the shattered edifices remain to remind us of once great governments and civilizations—the temples of India and China, the pyramids of Egypt, the ruins of Athens and Rome.

On the occasion of this inauguration, we are writing, in a small way, a line in the history of all the United States of America. It is an experience we are sharing with most of the 47 other States in the Union who are having similar ceremonies.

The United States of America were founded and dedicated on the basic principle of freedom to all men. The Declaration of Independence declares: "We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unallenable rights; among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

By the bloodshed of Revolutionary and Civil War we built a government to make this principle a reality. In America freedom has become a reality and by any standard of comparison the United States of America is the greatest nation in the world.

We are a blessed people. God has given us a fertile land. On it we have built a mighty agriculture and a mighty industry. Our land and our industry have been the tools by which we have lived, multiplied, and prospered—by which we have grown strong as a state and a nation.

With the good use of these tools we have grown up. Our national progress has been great, but our greatest progress is not alone the material standard of living which we have attained; it is the more magnificent fact that we are 165 million people continuing to hold the right to govern ourselves by this federation of 48 States and under the basic principle of freedom to all men, regardless of race, color, or creed.

The challenge to each of us today, as citizens of this state and this Nation, is to protect and promote our growth and our greatness, that when our page in history is fully written, it will not be the ghastly tragedy of another broken civilization.

The freedom of all peoples in the world is in imminent danger—in danger of the tyranny of a thing called international communism. It has brought us into the atomic and hydrogen bomb age. The tempo of these times, the importance of the decisions to be made, the speed with which adjustments must be carried through, have never been surpassed or equalled. It is putting another real test on the whole strength of America—its peoples and its Government. In fact, we are now at a time when failure or incompetency in government cannot be tolerated.

It is a fundamental observation that your governments must carry out their obligations to you the people. The only way we shall preserve our freedom is for governments to accept the responsibility to govern and to govern wisely. If we are to be strong abroad, we must be strong at home.

The problems of government are unprecedented in difficulty and magnitude. On the one hand, the Federal Government is confronted with the most dangerous international situation in the Nation's history. On the other hand, the States are confronted with all the complexities of a growing population and the dynamic development of the country.

Kansas certainly has its share of these problems. They are reflected in education, where we must face a tremendous increase in students and standards, at least for the foreseeable future; in social welfare where the number of elder citizens has increased by a large percentage, as well as those who are or will become mentally ill; in penal institutions where the rising rate of crime is crowding our facilities; in our highways where we have not been able to keep pace with increased traffic leads; in the needs of agriculture, industry and labor; in the shortage of water which now threatens the entire future development of our State.

The record of State government in Kansas has been good. In every important field of State function and responsibility, Kansas occupies a commendable position amongst the States. Our progress has been good but, as with all States, we are finding the new problems more difficult to solve. The fact of the matter is, that many of these problems facing our States today are beyond their administrative and financial capacities to solve. This is especially true so long as the Federal Government continues to preempt the major sources of tax revenue.

This situation is now forcing a complete reexamination of the balance of authority between the States and the Federal Government. Unfortunately the right to govern ourselves under the Federal Union has been distinguished more for competition than for cooperation. During our many years as a nation we have differed, argued, quarreled and fought over the rightful balance of authority between the two governments. The whole problem has a history, at times an explosive and violent one—the Articles of Confederation—Thomas Jefferson and States rights—Calhoun and Webster—Lincoln and Douglas—even the Civil War.

Douglas—even the Civil War.
For the first 150 years we followed a very rigid concept of States rights. In the economic depression of the thirties the pendulum swung the other way. I believe too far the other way. The power and the place of the State governments declined. The Federal Government becamse all-powerful.

This experience taught us a hard lesson. It taught us that the United States of America is too big and complex for one big government. The wisdom of the Founding Fathers was again vindicated. Only under a cooperative system could the functions of government be performed beneficially and economically. Every level of government, both Federal and State, had its place. The lines were not too rigid but each had its rightful place.

I believe the continued success of our Federal system of government lies solely in the ability of the Federal and State governments to cooperate with each other on problems where they each share a mutual responsibility. Competition between the two governments must give way to cooperation.

ernments must give way to cooperation.

In recent years there has been a strong trend in State leadership toward the more sterile and rigid concept of States rights

rather than the concept of cooperation. Some of this leadership finds great satisfaction in deploring the "do-gooders." Frankly, I think the real danger is with the "do-nothings." They are the leadership which deplore the situation confronting our Government, regretting tearfully that nothing can be done. They completely misjudge the pulse of the American people. We are a dynamic people in a dynamic country. We either go forward or we fail. We are not content to stand still. This policy can only lead us down a dead end road toward the ultimate destruction of our country.

We see this conflict going on today in the important fields of education and highways. These are two of the traditional functions of the States which may prove to be beyond the capacities of the States to solve. As a matter of fact, the President of the United States is offering to give additional assistance to the States on these functions. In this regard he has called a national conference on education and has established a President's commission on highways. Of course, any such solution would involve some Federal control and additional Federal financial aid. Those who espouse the strict doctrine of States rights are opposed to any such approach to our problems.

I wish to make my position very clear. I believe these are but examples of problems where the Federal and State Government may share a mutual responsibility. I believe in the doctrine of cooperation and I am not opposed to the consideration of these

kinds of program.

I am not afraid of the policies of a President who shares my political faith. I am mindful of his statement to the Governors of our States a year ago when he said, "I am here for a very simple purpose. Because of my indestructible conviction that unless we preserve in this country the place of the State government, its traditional place, with the power, the authority, the responsibility and the revenues necessary to discharge those responsibilities, then we are not going to have America as we have known it; we will have some other form of government."

I have always believed in States' rights but I also believe that States' rights is a responsibility for action and not an excuse for inaction. During my administration as Governor, I intend to do everything possible to preserve and exalt the power and the place of State government. I know this can only be done by discharging the constitutional obligations of State government to the

people.

I describe myself neither as a "do-gooder" nor a "do-nothing." For lack of a better term I describe myself as a "do-something." Perhans I am what the President has termed

a "progressive moderate."

As the Governor of this State, I am also considered to be the head of my political party. I should like to say this about party responsibility. Under the American system of government, it is fundamental that the political party which has been put in power by the people has not only the solemn obligation of service to the people—but to administer the affairs of government with efficiency and integrity. This carries with it the equally solemn duty of self-discipline, to police one's own house and to keep it in order. I give you my solemn pledge that so long as I am the head of my party we shall keep our house in order.

I am very grateful to all of you for the opportunity to serve you. I believe never before in our State has a Governor owed so little to so few, and so much to so many, as I do to you, the people of Kansas. I am under no obligation to no one but you. I have

no master but you.

And now as I enter this high office, with all the humility at my command, I pray to God for the physical strength, the mental ability and the moral courage to discharge the responsibilities which are mine. I pray for these things as, together, we embark on this great and thrilling adventure in the history of our country—the 33d chapter of the State of Kansas.

GOVERNOR ARN'S FAREWELL TO KANSAS CITIZENS

Before I bid you farewell, I want particularly to tell you how much Mrs. Arn, our daughters, and I have appreciated the hospitality we have received here in Topeka. Because of your kindness we shall always feel at home here in the capital city. And equally heartwarming, have been our visits to other cities of the State, and our reception there we also appreciate. I am grateful also for the help and cooperation I have received from so many fellow Kansans, both in the public service, and in private capacities.

I shall always be very proud to have served as your governor for these 4 years. It has been a rich experience. During that period I have traveled to every part and corner of our State; and such a tour of Kansas is a wonderful textbook on Kansas progress and

history.

Of course, progress always leaves in its wake challenging problems—but I know Kansas and Kansans will meet any new problems just as they have been met in the past, resolutely, confidently, and successfully.

My visits with our people of the Sunflower State have strengthened my conviction that they are closer to the pioneer spirit and virtues than the people of any other State. And it is understandable that this should be so, for Kansas was not founded by men seeking gold, or hunting for a fortune; but by men in search of, and willing to die for, an ideal.

Do you remember the words of Whittier on that mural just behind the Governor's desk: "They crossed the prairies as of old the Pilgrims crossed the sea, to make the West, as they the East, the homestead of the free."

That spirit still lives in Kansas. It has been nurtured on our farms, in our towns and cities, and upon the broad plains.

Yes, we in Kansas proudly answer to being called a conservative State and a conservative people—yet we have made progress unequaled by most of our sister States. We have led the Nation in many fields of governmental progress, we have no debt, we operate on a payas-you-go basis, and our financial house is in good order.

I am certain it is that pioneer spirit that has guided us through flood and drought, good times and bad, and has helped Kansas

to lead the way.

We are proud too, that in our Nation's Capital there is a Kansan, possessed of that same spirit, who is there leading the way—leading the way for a better nation, and a better

world-at peace.

We have just concluded a holiday season during which, for the first time in nearly 20 years, war has not been in progress somewhere around the world. Our fellow Kansan in the White House is directly responsible for this accomplishment, and I know we all hope and pray that as that time draws near, President Elsenhower will again answer the call to continue his fine leadership of this great Nation. We will need him again, even more than we did in 1952.

And now, I leave the office of governor, with all of its honor and responsibilities with a feeling of humble pride—with deep gratitude to the people of Kansas and to my fellow workers, legislators and State officials.

And as I leave this capitol building today with great confidence that our State will continue its march of progress—I pledge my cooperation to our new governor and official family, with a wish to him and to them for every possible success as we all work together for an even greater Kansas,

Foreign Trade and Milwaukee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, in a few weeks, this House will once again consider the question of United States foreign trade policy. In the belief that the information appearing below will prove of interest and help to the membership of this body in conjunction with that issue, I wish to place in the record the complete text of an informative study entitled "Foreign Trade and Milwaukee."

This study was initiated at my request during the early months of 1953, and it was completed and released on November 4, 1954. The survey was conducted under the general supervision of Dr. Howard S. Piquet, senior specialist in international trade at the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, with the collaboration and assistance of Mr. Harold T. Lamar, of the Senior Specialists Division of the Legislative Reference Service, who prepared the report.

I should like to express my sincere appreciation for the very fine work which Dr. Piquet and Mr. Lamar did on this study. We are also indebted to Dr. Ernest S. Griffith, Director of the Legislative Reference Service, without whose cooperation this study could not have been

possible.

Much of the routine and clerical work incident to the gathering of the data for the report on "Foreign Trade and Milwaukee" was done at my office, and I have carefully followed each stage of the survey. The entire study consumed very much effort, and I sincerely hope that the resultant findings will prove of value to the Members of this body and to all other persons interested in the question of our foreign trade policy.

It should be mentioned at this point that this study was not intended to be all-inclusive. Its main emphasis is on the primary impact of foreign trade on manufacturing firms in the Milwaukee metropolitan area. Within this and other limitations described in detail below, the study constitutes, in my opinion, a constructive and valuable contribution to a better understanding of what foreign trade means to all of us.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS,
LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE,
Washington, D. C., October 14, 1954.
The Honorable CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. ZABLOCKI: We are pleased to submit herewith the report Foreign Trade and Milwaukee which we have prepared at your required.

As you know, this report was written in the Senior Specialists Division by Harold T. Lamar, under the general supervision of Howard S. Piquet, senior specialist in international trade.

We want to take this opportunity to thank you and your staff for the splendid cooperation rendered to us in the preparation of this Survey.

Cordially yours,

ERNEST S. GRIFFITH, Director.

FOREIGN TRADE AND MILWAUKEE INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

This report was prepared by the Legislative Reference Service at the request, and with the cooperation of, Representative CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI, of the Fourth Congressional District, Milwaukee, Wis.

Considerable attention is being given to United States foreign-trade policy. The time-honored arguments of the protectionists and free traders are still being used, but to many, the tariff remains a pretty dry In these postwar days of renewed competition in world markets and the threatened splits in the economic solidarity of the free world the general public should have a clear idea, as individuals, of their economic position with regard to foreign trade. By examining the impact of foreign trade on their own communities, citizens will be better equipped to know the direction in which their interest lies as between encouraging imports and exports by lowering trade barriers and maintaining import barriers when necessary to protect industries whose continued healthy operation is in their own interest.

Surveys or studies of the impacts of foreign trade upon particular cities, counties, and other political subdivisions have been criticized by some on the ground that they do not present a picture of the full impact of foreign trade. These areas are hardly ever self-contained economic entities, and economic forces in other parts of the economy inevitably affect the local situation. Admittedly, it would be difficult to trace all of the indirect effects of foreign trade on a

particular region's economy.

This is a survey of the initial impact of foreign trade on the Milwaukee metropolitan area. The word "initial" is emphasized be-cause a study covering all the ramifications of the effects of foreign trade on Milwaukee would entail much more exhaustive and detailed analysis than time or available tools permit. Since no field work was possible in connection with this survey certain aspects of Milwaukee's foreign trade position have possibly been overlooked.

As a survey of the initial impact of foreign trade the main emphasis in this study has been on the manufacturing firms and their employees in the metropolitan area. less direct effects of foreign trade on other sectors of the economy such as transportation, trade and services are less adaptable to a detailed analysis on a community basis. Since Milwaukee is a manufacturing center the direct effects of foreign trade on agriculture are not of immediate concern. manufacturing firms and their workers in the area produce goods that are exported, or that are competitive with imports. They also use the raw and semifinished materials that are imported.

The 145,000 workers employed in the 180 manufacturing firms that responded to the questionnaire represent about three-fourths of all manufacturing workers in Milwaukee. The manufacturing workers covered by this survey also account for one-third of all employees in the Milwaukee metropolitan area.

No attempt has been made to analyze the extent of the interests of the workers, as between exports and the displacement effects of imports, upon an individual company basis. To attempt to do this would lead to blind alleys and would involve a risk of logical error. The proportion of a company's output that is exported cannot be used to measure the export interest of that firm any more than can the displacement effects of highly competitive imports, in the final analysis, be measured by the number of workers affected in the first instance.

The logical presumption, throughout, is that segments of an economy that have no direct interest in foreign trade will be benefited by the achievement of the greatest good for the greatest number of those who are affected directly by changes in imports and exports. Thus, if the industries that are on an export basis were to suffer from a loss in exports, the effects would be felt in all parts of the economy of the area in question and in adjacent areas. Similarly, companies which are forced to contract their operations in whole or in part because of import competition would transmit that effect throughout the community and the adjacent economy.

If, then, the companies which are confronted with import competition employ more workers than those which would be benefited by increased exports, the presumption is that the economy of the entire area would suffer if competitive imports were to increase-at least insofar as immediate effects are concerned. Contrarily, if companies which export some of their products or which, in importing raw materials, employ more workers than do the companies protected by import barriers, the presumption is that the economy of the area would suffer if foreign trade were to contract.

To study the secondary, tertiary, and more indirect effects of increased foreign trade both with regard to exports and import competition would necessarily involve, ultimatea study of the economy of the entire Nation. The parts of the national economy are all tied together, and a stress or strain anywhere is felt everywhere in greater or less degree. What would be gained by more completeness of logic would be lost in terms of closeup facts at the community level. Just as a stone thrown into a lake makes an initial splash with ripples extending to all shores, so would the economic fact of a substantial change in imports or exports reveremphasize the displacing effects of increased imports, or those who, on the contrary, stress the indirect expansive effects of increased exports, are sometimes prone to concentrate entirely upon the one set of effects at the expense of the other. In the lake analogy, just alluded to, it would be incorrect to concentrate on the ripples extending to only one shore of the lake. A complete picture would require that the ripples extending in all directions be studied. That is to say, the indirect effects of increased imports should

not be studied unless, at the same time, similar attention is devoted to the positive and indirect effects of increased exports.

Yet, the fact that it is not feasible to analyze all of the indirect effects of changes in foreign trade is no reason why, at the community level, we should not know as much as possible, in concrete terms, about the immediate impacts of foreign trade. size of the initial splash, to revert to the analogy, has much to do with the size and the extent of the ripples in both directions. If the initial impact is not great the chances are that the indirect effects will not be great

On the basis of the replies to the questions contained in the questionnaire it appears that about 31/2 percent of the workers em-ployed by manufacturing establishments answering the questionnaire in the Milwaukee area work for companies that are conscious of direct competition between the products which they produce and imports. (See table I.) Another 33 percent of the workers are employed by companies that are conscious of such competition, but which also export some of their own products to foreign countries. Here the interest is mixed and it would be incorrect to count the entire number of workers as either protected or as on the export side of the question.

TABLE I .- Summary: Workers in manufacturing firms of Milwaukee classified according to reported interest in foreign trade, 1953

[Derived from replies to questionnaires, representing about three-fourths of all manufacturing workers in the Milwaukee area]

Type of interest	Num- ber of firms	Number of workers repre- sented in survey		
		Number	Per- cent of total	
I. Faced with import competition. II. Mixed interest (interested in both exports and in	15	4, 933	3, 4	
import competition) III. Export interest 1V. No expressed interest (no direct interest in export	42 54	48, 158 76, 630	33, 2 52, 8	
or in import competi-	69	15, 435	10.6	
Total	180	1145, 566	100.0	

¹ Accounts for about 75 percent of all manufacturing workers in the Milwaukee area.

Table II.—Percentage distribution of workers in manufacturing establishments of Milwaukee, classified according to foreign trade interest of industry groups 1

[Derived from replies to questionnaires, representing about 34 of all manufacturing workers in the Milwaukee area]

	Foreign trade interest					
	1	11	ш	IV		
Industry group	Faced with import competition	Mixed (in- terested in both ex- ports and import com- petition)	Export interest	No expressed interest	Total	
Food products Textile products. Wood and paper products. Chemical, petroleum, clay products, etc. Leather products Motal products Machinery. Miscellaneous	0.8 11.3 23.3 34.0 17.6 3.1 .1	25. 9 66. 2 5. 9 17. 0 53. 1 19. 2 33. 7 55. 0	62. 6 1. 5 33. 7 41, 4 19. 5 31. 0 63. 5 39. 8	7. 2 21. 1 37. 1 7. 6 9. 9 46. 7 2. 7	100. 0 100. 0 100. 0 100. 0 100. 0 100. 0 100. 0	
Total	3.4	33. 2	52.8	10.6	100.0	

I For actual number of workers see table "Summary of number of workers of replying firms on basis of exports and competitive imports" in section on "Results of the survey."

Almost 53 percent of the workers, however, are employed by manufacturing establishments that export some of their products to foreign countries and which are not concerned about competition from imports. About 101/2 percent of the workers are employed by companies that express no interest in either exports or in import competition. This last-named group to which should be added mercantile workers, transportation workers, professional people, and others, would be affected to lesser or greater degree by increased exports or increased imports presumably only to the extent that such changes in foreign trade would make for greater, or less, prosperity in the economy of the city as a whole.

In table II these facts are broken down according to industry groups. The upper section of this chart shows the importance of these eight groups, in terms of number of workers. Largest of all is the machinery group, with over 89,000 workers employed. Next are the metal products and the food products groups, with about 16,000 workers in each.

The lower portion of the chart shows, in terms of percentage distribution, the proportion of workers in each industry group ac-cording to the interest of the firms in the group with regard to exports and with regard to import competition.

The greatest percentage of workers who are employed in firms likely to be affected by import competition are in the chemical, petroleum, clay, and glass products group. Next in importance are the wood and paper products, leather products and textile products groups. It should be noted, however, these are the four groups that have the that smallest number of workers, as is indicated in the upper portion of the chart.

The export interest is dominant, on the other hand, in the machinery group, which accounts for over 89,000 workers, the food products group and the metal products group, and the miscellaneous groups. Even in the wood and paper products, and the chemical products groups, however, the export interest is considerably greater than the import competitive interest. In the leather products group the export interest is only slightly greater than the competitive import interest.

From table II, it is clear that some industries have a high proportion of firms and workers which have a mixed interest as regards exports and competitive imports. As pointed out previously, there has been no attempt to measure the extent of interest in exports or imports on an individual firm basis. Companies and industries which encounter import competition are more inclined to raise questions of protection from unfair competition or cheap labor imports than are exporting firms inclined to stress the importance of markets abroad. On the other hand, the immense size and potentials of the American market are such that internal market considerations often outweigh the attention which might be given to the possibility of export markets in the future resulting from a reduction in trade barriers.

The availability of dollars abroad, the maze of currency restrictions and other import barriers which American exporters face, the resurgence of competition in export markets, both in terms of well-made highly competitive goods and in terms of extensive credit facilities used by other exporting countries, are all mentioned in the replies to the questionnaire as of significance to Milwaukee manufacturers.

Finally, many firms in every industry in Milwaukee need and use goods produced abroad. Imports of hops and malt breweries, newsprint for the paper industry, special hides and leather for the leather goods industry, nickel and many other metals and alloys for the metal products industry, special lenses and instruments for the in-

struments industry, all link Milwaukee with the rest of the world. The facilities of its excellent deepwater harbor, the opportuni-ties to be provided by the St. Lawrence seaway, and its advantageous position in regards to routes of the major railroads, give Milwaukee a deepening interest in foreign trade.

METHOD AND LIMITATION

Method

Since Milwaukee's economy is devoted largely to manufacturing, the main emphasis of this study is on manufacturing firms in its metropolitan area. By consulting census data as to sizes of firms, types of industries, and total manufacturing employment a fair idea of the industrial make-up of Milwaukee was developed. With this industrial picture in mind a list of 250 firms was selected to be surveyed by correspondence.

A letter was sent to these 250 firms, explaining the purpose of the survey and asking their cooperation by answering the following questions:

1. What are the principal products produced by your company?

2. What was your annual output of these principal products in 1953? (in value and in units of quantity, if possible).

3. With which of your products do you regard imports as competitive? Which imports?

4. Which of your products do you sell for export abroad? (In value and in units of quantity, if possible).

5. Are any of the materials used by you imported from abroad? If you do not have this information will you please furnish us with a list of materials that go into your products?

6. What is your total average employment? 7. We shall appreciate any comment you may care to make regarding the significance

of (a) exports and (b) imports to: (i) Your own company

(ii) The industry of which your company is a part.

(iii) The city of Milwaukee.

About three-fourths (180) of the firms replied. Responses to the letters differed as to the completeness of their answers. firms merely supplied short answers to the questions 1-6. Others commented at length on the importance of exports and imports to their own firms, to their industry and to the city of Milwaukee.

For the purpose of analyzing the impact of foreign trade on the present or potential markets of the products of Milwaukee's manufacturers the 180 replies were classed into the following broad categories:

1. Firms which stated that imports are competitive with their products and which

do not export.

2. Firms with a mixed interest which stated that imports are competitive with their products and which also export.

3. Firms which export and which are not concerned with import competition. 4. Firms which stated that they do not

export and do not consider imports to be competitive with their products.

By totaling the number of workers of the

firms in each of the four categories a quantitative measure of the importance of each category was established. Also analyzed were the commodities produced abroad on which Milwaukee manufacturers are dependent.

Other sources have also been utilized to throw light on the position of Milwaukee with respect to foreign trade, especially businesses and workers in transportation and in the trade and service industries. Census data, as previously mentioned, directories, State and private publications, magazine articles, and general reference works were all used.

Limitations

Economic forces in operation throughout the entire country have an impact on the economy of Milwaukee. This is especially true in the case of this city since it is a center of capital equipment industries, often designated as "feast or famine" lines of activity. It is probable that some producers in Milwaukee are affected by import competition indirectly through the customers which they supply in other parts of the country. Likewise, in some instances, Milwaukee manufacturers sell their products to other industries which have a substantial export interest not apparent to the supplying firms in Milwaukee. These relationships often are not apparent, although several such situations were indicated in the replies. such information is not available, it is impossible to note, much less to trace, these secondary and tertiary effects of foreign trade on the region.

The effects of competitive imports, exports, or dependence on imports is less clear on such industries as transportation, trade, and services than on manufacturing industries. To the extent that the reverberations from the initial impact of foreign trade are not traceable the scope of this survey and the conclusions which might otherwise be drawn are limited.

Another limitation inherent in this study and closely related to the one above is the lack of field work. There was no opportunity for first-hand interviews with the people in industry and labor in Milwaukee. Census tables are an inadequate substitute for personal inspection of the economic character of a city or community. Neither is correspondence altogether satisfactory as a means of collecting information. Fortunately, a substantial number of firms replied to the

questionnaire, and many of the replies were fully expository as to the importance of foreign trade to the area. The interest of a number of manufacturing firms and industries with respect to foreign trade is divided. On the one hand, they export a substantial proportion of their products; on the other hand, part of their production is apparently faced with keen import competition. This appears to be true of some firms manufacturing heavy electrical equipment which is said to be facing stiff competition from Britain, and to a lesser extent from Germany and Italy. Without more facts than are presently available it is not possible to measure the balance of interest in these cases. Indeed, for the country as a whole, it would appear that many of these industries and firms have themselves not arrived at a complete answer as to the effects of foreign trade on their operations.

Finally, it must be added that the extent and direction of adjustments in domestic industries and firms is not foreseeable if exports were to be sharply curtailed or imports were to be allowed to compete freely

with domestic production.

To conclude that a particular community has, in fact, an export interest on the basis of the number of workers in exporting firms, and, therefore, an interest in lower trade barriers and higher levels of trade does not take into account the adjustments that might be necessary if imports were to be allowed to compete more freely by reducing import barriers. Or to say that a region faced with import competition of a damaging magnitude has an interest in higher import barriers and a protected domestic market merely on the basis of the number of firms and employees clearly threatened by import competition, again, does not take into account the adjustments to the economy that would be necessitated by a curtailment of exports.

Too many other economic forces are at work in a dynamic economy to allow characterization of a community as proof positive of the benefits of freer trade or as an infallible example of the advantages of protec-The purpose of surveys such as this is tion. to place in more local and, it is hoped, more understandable, terms the problems that the

United States faces in finding and following foreign trade policy in the national interest.

THE ECONOMY OF MILWAUKEE

Milwaukee is the largest metropolitan area in Wisconsin. It is located 85 miles north of Chicago, Ill., on the southwestern shore of Lake Michigan and has a population of approximately 900,000. The metropolitan area embraces the whole of Milwaukee County.1 Besides the city of Milwaukee, which accounts for 73 percent of the area's population, such cities as Cudahy, South Milwaukee, West Allis, Wauwatosa, and others are also included in the metropolitan area.

In terms of population Milwaukee is the 16th ranking metropolitan area. In recent years it has ranked eighth or ninth among metropolitan areas in terms of "value added by manufacture."

The Milwaukee metropolitan area has a labor force of over 380,000 workers.2 cording to the 1950 Census of Population the labor force is engaged in the following types of employment.

TABLE III .- Labor force employed in the Milwaukee metropolitan area, 1950

Industry	Number employed	Percent of total	
Agriculture, mining, and forest and fisheries Construction Manufacturing Transportation, trade, and services	2, 604 18, 966 160, 545	(¹) 5 43	
Total	374, 755	100	

¹ Less than 1 percent.

Agriculture, forest and fisheries, and mining Employment and economic activity in agriculture, forest and fisheries, and mining are very limited in the Milwaukee metropolitan area. Of the 2,600 workers employed in these 3 industries in 1950, approximately 2,200 were engaged in agricultural pursuits. For Milwaukee County the value of all crops sold was \$6.5 million in 1949 (the latest agricultural census). Horticultural specialists, \$3.1 million, and dairy products, \$1.1 million, together, accounted for two-thirds of the total value of farm products sold in Milwaukee County.3 Within the metropolitan area itself farming is very limited, although Milwaukee, as a commercial center, services the products of the rich farmland to the west. The initial impact of foreign trade on Milwaukee is of little direct consequence to agri-culture in the region. The same can be said for the mining and for the forest and fisheries industries.

Transportation

Approximately 17,500 workers were engaged in the transportation industry of Milwaukee in 1950. The city's transportation facilities are good and include 3 major railroads, 11 airlines, numerous trucking firms, convenient warehousing terminals, and modern port facilities serving an excellent deepwater port.

The three major railroads that serve the Milwaukee metropolitan area are the Chicago & North Western Railway System, the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul & Pacific Rail-Co., and the Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Sainte Marie Railroad Co. Milwaukee's proximity to Chicago, the Nation's railroad hub, puts the area within reach of most major rail lines, and Milwaukee's freight rates to the east are the same as

Chicago's. This freight rate advantage is due, at least in part, to the efficient car ferry services which cross Lake Michigan between Milwaukee and the Michigan cities of Muskegon and Ludington. The car ferry lines are operated by the Grand Trunk Western Railway and the Chesapeake & Ohio, which give Milwaukee direct rail connections to the east across Lake Michigan.

The trucking firms which serve the Milwaukee metropolitan area include: Advance Express, Cushman Motor Delivery, Hancock Trucklines, Interstate Dispatching, Interstate Motor Freight, Trans-American Freight, Ziffrin System, and Olsen Service. These companies and others in the area are used extensively to handle the freight which moves over the docks of the port, especially fuels and building materials. Trucking firms also provide a more than auxiliary transportation service connecting Milwaukee with other commercial and industrial centers in the Midwest.

With a new terminal to be completed in the fall of 1954, it is said that the modern facilities at General Mitchell Field in Milwaukee will match most of the airfields in The field is operated by the the country. county. Milwaukee is also fortunate in having an airport conveniently located near its business district. The terminal facilities at the Maitland airfield include accommodations for seaplanes, amphibian, and landtype aircraft. With a growing emphasis on air cargo and air travel, Milwaukee is at present well served by such airlines as: American, Capital, Flying Tiger Air Freight, Northwest, United, Emory Air Freight, Acme Air Cargo, Wisconsin Central, Anderson Air Activities, and Braniff.

The port of Milwaukee

Milwaukee's port, one of the leading Great Lakes ports, handles a large volume of bulk traffic, mainly coal. In recent years, petroleum products have been increasing in importance as a bulk commodity in the port's commerce. Included in an annual average of 8 million tons, in addition to bulk traffic, is the car-ferry traffic and foreign commerce. Package freight on the Great Lakes has been considerably reduced since the beginning of World War II.

The port itself consists of an outer basin or harbor of refuge, and the inner commercial harbor located in the three rivers, the Milwaukee, the Menominee, and Kinnickin-nic, and a system of artificial slips and canals which flow throught the city. It is said that the port of Milwaukee is commercial rather than industrial in character.4 It remains to be seen whether, in conjunction with the planned development of the port and the growing industrialization of the region, the port will acquire a more industrial flavor. The position of the port of Milwaukee in foreign trade is discussed below.5

Commercial and financial services

Milwaukee is also an important commercial and financial center. Although its nearness to Chicago probably has discouraged development to some extent, Milwaukee's commerce has grown with the increased tempo of its manufacturing industries. It is estimated that the Milwaukee metropolitan area has an effective annual buying income of \$1.9 billion. Retail sales are mated to have reached \$1.2 billion in 1953, while wholesale sales amounted to an estimated \$769 million.6 Milwaukee's 30 banks and 12 branch banks have resources of \$1.3 At least five of Milwaukee's banks have foreign-trade departments. With the advantages of its excellent transportation connections to the east and the vast marketing area to the west as far as the Rocky Mountains, Milwaukee probably will continue to grow in commercial importance.

Manufacturing

Milwaukee's manufacturing industry is highly diversified. Among its products are turbines, trucks, farm machinery, automobile bodies, bulldozers, and many other kinds of earth-moving machinery, motorcycles, gasoline and diesel engines, outboard motors, beer, leather and leather products, iron pipe and high-pressure steel pipe, and many types of special machines such as food-product machinery and baling presses. The following table shows employment and value added by manufacture for 1947 and 1953 (estimated):

Table IV. - Manufacturing establishments, manufacturing employment, and value added by manufacture for the Milwaukee metropolitan area, 1947 and 1953 (estimated)

Industry group	Establish- ments,	All emp	loyees	Value added by manu- facture		
andon's group	1947 1	1947 1	1953 1	1947 1	1953 1	
Food and kindred products. Tobacco manufactures Textile mill products Apparel and related products Lumber and products. Furniture and fixtures Paper and allied products. Printing and publishing. Chemicals and allied products. Printing and publishing. Chemicals and allied products. Rubber products. Leather and leather products. Stone, clay, and glass products. Primary metal industries Fabricated metal industries Machinery (except electrical) Electrical machinery Transportation equipment. Instruments and related products. Miscelianeous manufactures. Miscelianeous manufactures.	15 31 90 52 47 34 247 119 8 9 76 79 81 217	19, 532 153 4, 368 5, 324 1, 188 1, 246 3, 455 9, 051 2, 909 703 210 8, 962 1, 368 13, 755 12, 957 53, 690 20, 679 14, 775 992 1, 915	19, 800 100 4, 600 3, 200 1, 800 1, 200 4, 000 9, 200 3, 100 8, 600 1, 300 14, 500 54, 900 16, 600 19, 000 11, 200 (7)	Thousands of dollars 176, 240 (2), 20, 033 21, 882 22, 235 448, 727 21, 111 5, 387 (1) 47, 065 7, 137 73, 211 74, 407 262, 546 123, 018 65, 395 4, 897 7, 525	Thousands of dollars 255,000 (2) 21,000 15,000 62,000 32,000 62,000 10,000 122,000 122,000 127,000 127,000 10,000 127,000 (9)	
Total	1, 963	177, 202	199, 800	973, 335	1, 502, 000	

Census of Manufactures: 1947, Bureau of the Census, Department of Commerce, vol. III, Statistics by States, Sales Management (New York), May 10, 1954, pp. 58-78.
 Not available. table 5, pp. 648, 649.

A study of the table shows that the six major industry groups—machinery, except electrical; food and kindred products; electrical machinery; transportation equipment; fabricated metal and primary metals—account for over three-fourths of the value

added by manufacture as well as threefourths of total manufacturing employment. Other important manufacturing industries are leather and leather products, printing

Source: U. S. Bureau of the Census. United States Census of population: 1950 vol. II, Characteristics of the population, pt. 49, Wisconsin. Washington, U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952: 61.

Footnotes at end of speech.

and publishing, and paper and allied products industries.

According to the 1950 census, approximately 43 percent of the labor force in the Milwaukee metropolitan area is engaged in manufacturing and over two-thirds of the manufacturing employment is in the durable-goods field.

Milwaukee, as a manufacturing center, has a high degree of skilled labor. It has excelent supplier-consumer relationships in the primary to fabricated metal to finished machinery and equipment industries. Indicative of its skilled workmen are the successes of Milwaukee's inventors; Milwaukee can claim such early "firsts" in machines as the first practical typewriter, the outboard motor, a recording meter, and a pig-iron casting machine. These and many other inventions and innovations mark the substantial contributions that have been made to the advancement of business and industry by the industrial skills of Milwaukeeans.

RESULTS OF THE SURVEY

The letters that were sent to 250 firms elicited 180 responses. These 180 firms employ over 145,000 workers, or almost three-fourths of all manufacturing employment in the metropolitan area.

Every major type of manufacturing enterprise in Milwaukee is represented in the replies that have been received. Practically every shade of opinion has been expressed regarding the importance of foreign trade to the Milwaukee manufacturing community. Opinions are to be found among the replies ranging from extreme indifference to well thought-out statements of company or industry position on foreign trade and foreign trade policy.

Exports and competitive imports

The following analysis is concerned with the effects of foreign trade on manufacturers of the Milwaukee area with respect to markets and sales. The extent to which the manufacturers of Milwaukee are dependent upon imports of raw and semifinished materials will be discussed below.¹

It is clear that a number of the firms in the area are faced with import competition. In other cases a division of interests exists in that the firms which export also produce commodities with which imports are competitive. On the other hand, many firms which export do not find imports to be competitive at all. Finally, many firms do not export and do not produce commodities which compete with imports.

The replies are broken down into the following categories:

L Firms which are confronted with import competition and which do no exporting.

H. Firms with a mixed interest, in that they export and are also confronted with import competition.

III. Firms which export and which are not concerned with import competition.

IV. Firms which reply that they have no interest in exports and that they are not concerned with import competition.

The replies have been tabulated on the basis of the information contained in the replies. If a firm states in its reply that imports are competitive and that it has no exports it is placed, automatically, in category I. If the reply states that the company exports and produces commodities competitive with imports it is placed in category II, etc. No attempt has been made to go beyond the reply in order to force a company into any category.

In summarizing the replies under the categories above in quantitative terms, the number of employees is used since the number of employees is the only common denominator in the replies. The following table shows the results of the analysis of the replies on the basis of the above categories by number of workers.

Footnotes at end of speech.

Table V.—Summary of number of workers of replying firms on basis of exports and competitive imports

	Nu				
Industry groups	Import com- petitive interest	Mixed interest (II)	Export interest (III)	No expressed interest	Total
Food and kindred products	- 125	4, 855	10,300	1,180	16, 460
products. Lumber and wood products, paper and allied	770	4, 530	100	1,443	6, 843
products. Chemical and allied products, petroleum and coal	1,100	278	1,590	1,747	4,715
products, and stone, clay, and glass products	801	400	975	180	2,356
Leather and leather products. Primary metal and fabricated metal industries. Machinery, including electrical and transportation	1, 487 510	4, 490 3, 150	1,650 5,100	835 7,666	8, 462 16, 426
equipmentMiscellaneous	100 40	29, 985 470	56, 575 340	2,380	89, 040 854
Total	4, 933 15	48, 158 42	76, 630 54	15, 435 69	145, 156 180

Summary of the replies

Fifteen of the manufacturing establishments responding to the questionnaire state that imports are competitive with their products and that they have no export sales. These firms (designated category I) employ about 5,000 workers. There are 42 firms employing over 48,000 workers in category II, those which find imports competitive and which also export. In category III—companies with some interest in exports—there are 54 firms employing 76,600 persons. There are 69 firms which indicate in their replies that they neither export nor produce commodities which are competitive with imports. These firms (category IV) employ slightly more than 15,000 workers.

On an industry basis the replies give a closer picture of the impact of exports and competitive imports on Milwaukee manufacturers. The replies are classed in broad manufacturing industry groups since many Milwaukee manufacturers are fully integrated companies producing a variety of products.

Food and kindred products: Along with its beer, Milwaukee, once an important milling center, still has several millers and grain products manufacturers. Being in what the citizens of Wisconsin term, "the dairyland of America," dairy products are also an important item in the manufacture of food and kindred products in Milwaukee.

Replies were received from 17 firms (16,500 employees) in the food and kindred products industry in Milwaukee. Among the commodities produced by these companies are: beer, canned vegetables, meat products, malt, corn products, yeast and similar products, chocolate and cocoa products, candies, cookies, fountain topping, and chocolate dairy powders, dairy products, and nutritional supplements.

I. Import competitive interest: Only one firm in the food and kindred industry fell into the category of not exporting, but experiencing import competition. This firm producing chocolate and cocoa products states that cocoa powders in bulk are being imported from Holland, England, France, and Italy. The firm expresses its position in the following way:

"Cocoa powders from these various countries are not particularly troublesome in the city of Milwaukee, as much as they are in other parts of the country to which we ship. Even in Milwaukee, however, cocoa powder from Holland is being delivered at prices far below our cost. * * *

"These imports of foreign cocoa powders have cut deeply into the cocoa powder business of the entire American chocolate manufacturing group. Since the manufacture of cocoa powders also yields cocoa butter which is vital in the manufacture of chocolate prod-

ucts themselves disturbance to the United States chocolate manufacturers goes far deeper than any loss in cocoa powders business itself."

II. Mixed interest: Eight manufacturers of food and kindred products indicate in their replies that they find imports competitive and also export their products. Two malt manufacturers which consider imported malt to be competitive also export. One malt producer exports only 1 percent of total production, the other 8 percent.

A manufacturer of crackers, cookies, packaged candies, etc., evidently has very little export sales, with the exception of military sales abroad; the firm replies:

"Imports of European candles in boxes, bags, and also bars at lower prices than we can possibly manufacture for are now on the upgrade and commonly seen in the United States markets. This could seriously affect not only our sales picture but the sales of the entire candy industry in the near future."

A dairy which produces bottled milk, ice cream, evaporated milk, and powdered milk, considers powdered milk from Holland to be competitive. However, it also exports sweetened powdered milk in small quantities.

A producer of corn grits, corn meal, corn flakes (brewers and confectioners), core binder, processed flours, hominy feed, and corn oil considers various grains used for feeding to be competitive with hominy feed. Otherwise, this firm exports corn grits, meal, flakes, and core binder. The amount of exports is not known.

Two major meat and meat-products producers in Milwaukee consider canned hams as generally competitive. Both export lard, and one also exports dry salted pork, dry sausage, and smoked meats. One firm states that it "attaches no special significance to either imports or exports to (its) operations in Milwaukee."

A small firm producing food seed products for feeding cage and outdoor birds, and lawn-seed and grass-seed mixture, exports its bird products on a limited scale. This firm considers imports of both bird products and lawn seed to be competitive. It is, however, dependent on importations of niger, canary, poppy, sesame, poa trivilis, and fescues seed.

III. Export interest: Among the food and kindred product producers which export are three breweries. Although exports of beer do not appear to be very important to these firms, one beer company exported 5 percent of its production in 1953. It would appear on the basis of the replies that imports of beer are not considered to be of much concern, competitively speaking. A small firm manufacturing nutritional supplements exported 3 percent of its production to Can-

ada in 1953 and has no competition from exports.

The above firms employ 10,300 workers,

IV. No expressed interest: There are 4 firms manufacturing food and related products employing about 1,200 workers which state that they are not affected by import competition or availability of export markets. Among the products of these firms were canned vegetables, meat products, and yeast and similar products.

Textile mill and apparel and related products: Replies were received from 11 firms employing approximately 6.800 workers in the textile and apparel industries.

I. Import competitive interest: In the manufacture of apparel and related products two manufacturers having no export sales express concern about import competition. The first manufactures women's fabric gloves, made from nylon, cotton, and rayon materials, and men's and ladies' leather dress gloves. In answer to the question concerning import competition the company

replies that:

"All of our products are in direct competition with imports. Our industry does not require a large investment in buildings, land, and machinery, but a substantial investment in the training costs of help. Because it is in the needle trades and does not require a large initial capital investment, it encourages many people as individuals to enter into the industry. Labor is a high percentage of the total cost, and because of the fact that there are such wide differentials in labor costs in foreign countries, we find that they are able to manufacture at substantially lower costs, even in spite of the nominal duty rates that exist at the present time."

With regard to the significance of foreign trade the company comments as follows:

"Exports are of no significance to our company or our industry, as long as we have to compete in those foreign markets with sources of supply that are paying labor rates of from \$1 a week to 25 cents an hour. The city of Milwaukee obviously is interested in exports because many of the industries here are manufacturers of heavy goods and are interested in expanding their world markets. They are producing goods in an industry that requires a high capital outlay but one that does not have the competition on a worldwide basis that an industry such as ours has. Imports are highly significant to our company in our industry because they seriously compete with the products that we are making and jeopardize the possibility of our continuing to produce these items in this country. From that standpoint, it can well affect the economy of our city since the largest share of our employees are women, which helps to stabilize the labor force."

A very small amount of women's nylon dress gloves is exported by this firm, although the exports are insignificant in terms of total company operations.

The second firm, a manufacturer of millinery, although not affected directly, lists the following competitive imports: Wool felt (hat) bodies, fur felt and velour bodies (produced in Connecticut and Massachusetts), imported from Italy and France and at one time Czechoslovakia and Austria. The reply states further that, "Occasionally there are imported ready-to-wear felt and straw berets of various kinds, principally from Italy."

In commenting on the significance of foreign trade the company states:

"Being in a style business exportation of our product is not very practical. Because of the Canadian import duties it is not practical to ship millinery products into Canada as Canadian factories can undersell us. * *

"We are largely dependent for raw materials, principally straw braids and bodies, on imported goods because the domestic manufacturers of these items have not developed,

and even during the war, when domestic braid manufacturers tried to supplement the limited imports, they were not very successful. However, there are a few domestic manufacturers still producing yarn and belastraw braids for the industry. The millinery industry has declined in volume during the last 25 to 30 years because of increasing hat-less-ness, in spite of the increase in population, so that the industry is largely made up of many small factories. As for the city of Milwaukee there are at present only two factories doing a small percentage of the total volume."

This particular firm is dependent on imports of straw braids and bodies and other accessories. The competition from imports is only one of many factors affecting their total sales picture.

II. Mixed interest: Two hoslery companies manufacturing both men's and women's hoslery export both and consider imports of both men's and women's hoslery to be competitive. The replies indicate, however, that neither exports nor competitive imports are very significant in the Milwaukee metropolitan area.

III. Export interest: Only one small firm which has no import competition expressed any interest in exports. This firm manufactures cotton felt for automotive seat pads and women's sportswear. The reply states that seat pads are sent abroad directly by automotive companies, and the company has no idea how many are exported.

IV. No expressed interest: Among the manufacturers of apparel and related products there were six replies from firms indicating no interest in foreign trade. These firms employ about 1,400 workers and manufacture such things as cloth caps, infant underwear; junior dresses, suits, and sportswear; and hospital and institutional apparel. A manufacturer of truck and tractor seating is included in this group also.

Lumber and wood products and paper and allied products: These industry groups employ approximately 7,000 workers in the Milwaukee area with the paper and allied products industry apparently being the most important activity of the 3. Fifteen firms with about 4,700 workers replied to the questionnaire.

I. Import competitive interest: Two firms employing 1,100 workers find imports competitive and have no export markets. A producer of paperboard, corrugated, and solid fibre containers and folding cartons states that paperboard is the principal item produced by the firm which is competitive with imports.

"Exports are not important to our own company due to our location in the Middle West. We believe that this is generally true of most companies in our industry similarly located.

"Imports are an important factor as all grades of paperboard are manufactured in foreign countries with labor rates and similar costs substantially below those prevailing in the industry in this country. From this standpoint, the subject of imports is important to us."

No breakdown is available as to the importance of paperboard in the total production of the company, but the firm considers import competition to be an upsetting factor in the domestic marketing of their paperboard production.

A manufacturer of seasonal toys, sporting goods, advertising displays all manufactured from molded pulp considers the imports of papier mache toys from Europe, particularly Western Germany, and from Japan to be competitive.

II. Mixed interest: Two firms (280 employees) which have a small export interest consider imports to be competitive. A manufacturer of lace paper, paper cups, napkins, etc., considers imports to be competitive with

about 10 percent of its production. The company exports less than 1 percent and considers exports to be unimportant to its operations. A second firm indicates that some of the local industries for whom they are a source of supply for paper requirements have been affected by competitive imports and states that, "Sales have been depressed to these accounts * * * (notably Harley Davidson)." The firm is concerned with exports because it furnishes some packing materials for the firms which export.

III. Export interest: The export interest of firms in the wood and paper products industry is expressed in the replies of two firms employing 1,600 workers. One is a producer of packaging materials, including cellophane, pliofilm, polyethylene, glassine, wax laminated glassine, foil acetate paper, various foil laminations. folding cartons, letterpress printing and lithography. Also produced by the firm are silk screen process printing, and fabricating bags, pouches, and tubes. This firm states that all of its products are available for export, but cites no figure of the amount of its production exported. The reply stated that, "Beginning with the year 1954 our plans are to take a more active interest in export sales. * * *"

A firm producing export boxing and crating, also manufactures food freezers and air conditioners. It states that its exports consist of "packaging and boxing of goods for export—freezers and air conditioners just beginning to enter the foreign market." This firm also states that:

"The significance of export trade to our company is quite apparent in view of the fact that boxing and processing of shipments for export constitutes the major part of our industry and without this we would almost be out of existence. This applies to our boxing and packaging industry as a whole as manufacturers could very well handle their domestic boxing and crating without the service which we offer. The exports are of extreme significance to the city of Milwaukee as it employs quite a number of people and fills in the low spots in production. It is significant that export business is usually greater when we have a slowing up of our normal business."

IV. No expressed interest: Replies from nine firms employing about 1,750 workers producing wood products and allied paper products indicated they had no import competition and no export sales. The products of this group of firms include: lace paper products; business supplies; stationery; posters, labels, displays, etc.; corrugated shipping containers; and paper boxes and cartons. Also included in this group is a manufacturer of television, phonograph, loud speaker and similar types of cloth-covered and painted plywood cabinets.

Chemicals and related products, petroleum and coal products, and stone, clay, and glass products: These three industry groups are considered together because some of the firms produce several products that are classed in all three industry groups. Replies were received from 9 firms employing about 2,200 workers in these 3 industry groups.

I. Import competitive interest: Two firms employing 800 workers state in their replies that imports are competitive with their products. Neither firm exports. One company producing paint, mirrors, and church windows mentions that stained glass and plate glass are competitive. However, this firm imports mosaic, stained glass, and plate glass, and it is not possible to ascertain just how troublesome imports are.

A manufacturer of coke, gas, tar, ammoniacal licuor and light oil products states that the products that they produce and which are affected by imports are principally tar and light oil. The company exported a very small amount of coke and

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ammonia in 1953 and apparently considered these sales to be insignificant. The com-

pany feels that:

"Our own company is adversely affected by the low-price imports of creosote, naph-thalene, and benzol. The United States coal chemical industry is also affected adversely by low-priced imports. Since benzol, toluol. and xylol are strategic materials, the importation of these products affecting their production in any way can prove detrimental to our war efforts. Also, unemployment in the city of Milwaukee is increased when the plant is not operating at capacity."

II. Mixed interest: A firm manufacturing flat glass products, paint, varnish, and lacquer products, soda ash, caustic soda, and chlorine considers flat glass products from Europe to be highly competitive with flat glass products produced in this country. This company also exports flat glass specialties, paints, varnishes, and lacquer products, soda ash, and caustic soda. Figures are not available for the Milwaukee operations separately, but on a national basis the company exports 3 percent of its production. states that:

"We do little, if any, exporting of products made in the city of Milwaukee because of its distance from the coast. The market for our products in Milwaukee is little affected by imports for the same reason."

III. Export interest: Four firms employing about 800 workers, mostly in the chemical and allied products industry, export their products and do not find imports to be competitive. A small firm producing pharmaceutical specialties exports 24 percent of its production and seems concerned about its competitive position in export markets in regards to credit facilities available to exporters in other countries. A manufacturer of private label cosmetics states that some of its production of cosmetics for national distributors finds its way into export markets, but the firm has no way of knowing how much. Two small firms produce leather finishes and industrial finishes, including wax emulsions for the shoe industry, and leather dyes, oils, and soaps. One firm exports 1 percent of its production, the other 10 percent. On the significance of foreign trade, one of these firms states that:

"Improvement in both importing and exporting raw material could be obtained with a better port of Milwaukee facilitated by the St. Lawrence Waterway, which would enable larger ships and more frequent sailings."

IV. No expressed interest: Two firms, one a chemical company producing detergents, the other a manufacturer of storage batteries and paints and varnishes, state that they do not export and do not consider imports to be competitive with their products. These firms together employ 180 workers.

Leather and leather products: Milwaukee has long been an important producer of leather and leather products. This industry is still an important part of Milwaukee's manufacturing picture. Replies were received from 20 firms with 8,460 employees in the leather and leather products industry.

I. Import competitive interest: Three manufacturers of leather and leather products which do no exporting feel that imports are competitive with their products. A lambskin tanner and dyer states that, "Imports are a distinct threat despite present inadequate tariff; tariff reduction or elimination would invite disastrous consequences,

A manufacturer of men's dress shoes, growing girls' shoes, misses' and children's shoes feels that "Men's shoe imports are unfair competition at present." Men's shoe production accounts for well over half of this firm's production.

The firm comments that:

"Imports of men's shoes from England sometimes sold in two Milwauke department stores are priced below what they can be produced for here and are therefore unfair competition. Tannery and shoe factory labor in England is much below us."

Another firm producing men's shoes mentions that British men's shoes are competitive, but adds that "imports of footwear to this area are negligible."

II. Mixed interest: In the leather and leather goods industry in Milwaukee firms employing about 4,500 workers find some imports competitive and also export to some degree. A company which tans shearlings exports 6 percent of its production and considers imports of mouton competitive. A company manufacturing leather principally for use in shoes and gloves feels that imports are not very competitive, except on rare occasion in certain types of lining and strap leather. Exports of shoe splits amount to 1 to 2 percent of production annually. This company comments on the significance of foreign trade to the leather industry as fol-

"Exports are a very small end of our business, and imports as a general rule do not interfere directly with our business. As far as the leather industry [is concerned], the exporting of hides, during the last 2 or 3 years, because of the high world market, has had a tendency to firm our domestic hide market, which in reality has had an effect on leather prices. In this writer's knowledge, it is the first time that we have ever become an exporting nation, as far as hides [are concerned]. Normally we usually import more than we export."

Another leather manufacturer (calf and kip leather) exports less than 2 percent of its production and feels that "exports are not vital to either our company or our industry." As to import competition, the firm

states in the reply:

"Importation of finished leathers is a grave threat to the industry, as our rates of pay are four times or more what our foreign competitors pay. During the period 1920 to 1930 when calf leather was on the free list we lost progressively up to 40 percent of the domestic market to sweatshop foreign produced leathers. I might add that the calf industry is far more vulnerable to cheap labor foreign competition because of the light weight and high value of our product. Heavier leathers of course benefit by higher relative transportation and distribution costs."

About the same comments were given by a leather manufacturer of cattle hide shoe upper leather which exports about 1 percent of its production and considers imports of cattle hide shoe upper leather from Europe and South America to be a particular threat in view of the subsidies on the part of exporting nations and low labor costs abroad.

Two shoe manufacturers, one making men's dress and work shoes, one making men's work and dress shoes and children's shoes, consider men's dress shoes to be competitive. One firm states that imports of medium high priced men's shoes directly compete with its potential marketing field. Both firms export, but the amount of exports is not significant.

Another firm making children's and growing girls' shoes maintains imports of are competitive. Both types of shoes are exported. The amount exported or the degree of import competition is not known. A small firm making general footwear exports 2 percent of its production and considers all slipper items to be competitive with imports.

III. Export interest: One manufacturer of men's fine shoes exports 1 to 2 percent of total production and does not find imports to be competitive.

IV. No expressed interest: Nine firms manufacturing leather and leather goods which express no fear of import competition and no interest in exports employ about 850 workers. These firms manufacture tanned split leather; sideleather for the shoe and the leather goods industries; work gloves

and work shoes; children's shoes; racing harness and accessories; industrial leather goods; hand luggage and sample cases.

Primary and fabricated metals tries: As mentioned previously, Milwaukee has an excellent supplier-feeder system in its metal industries. Replies were received from 38 firms in the primary and fabricated metals industries. These firms employ almost 16,500 workers.

I. Import competitive interest: In the primary and fabricated metals industry, three manufacturers feel that imports are competitive. A foundry supplies firm feels that no imports are competitive, except those which may harm our customers. this connection the firm mentioned that imports are harmful to producers of motoreveles.

A firm producing hardware specialities, metal stamped specialities and carpet sweepers listed the following competitive imports: brass and alumium continuous hinges, hinge butts, ball bearings and wheel parts for velocipedes and baby carriages.

A manufacturer of brass plumbing goods states that imports are competitive to all brass plumbing goods. As to the significance of imports the firm comments as follows:

"As far as our own company is concerned, we experience some competition from Italy and Japan because of the importation of some items of brass plumbing goods. In general, the quality of the product imported was considerably under that of the American product, but on the other hand the price was very low.

"As far as the city of Milwaukee is concerned, being away from either coast there is less likelihood of some of the imported goods being shipped to the Midwest than there is on either seaboard. However, what affects the rest of the country, also affects Milwaukee."

II. Mixed interest: Seven firms in the general field of primary and fabricated metals employ approximately 3,150 workers and furnish their products to both exporting firms and import competitive firms. Four of these firms have no competitive imports nor do they export their products. All appear to be aware of the secondary effects of foreign trade.

A company producing malleable iron castings states:

"Our products are largely used on farm machinery, railroad, automotive, earth moving equipment, electrical equipment, etc. most of which are heavy capital goods. Anything that curtails the exportation and encourages the importation of such products concerns our business. At the present time one of our customers, a manufacturer of motorcycles, had their market for their product considerably curtailed by the importation of motorcycles to this country, and the loss of their export market. This has materially reduced the tonnage of castings that we used to make for them, and has decreased employment in the city of Milwaukee for this company.'

Another company, also manufacturing malleable and gray iron castings, as well as railroad car handbrakes and other railroad car specialties states:

"The question of foreign trade and imports are tremendously important to us for our products are components which are incorporated into end products such as farm equipment, railroad equipment, road-building machinery, hardware specialities, mis-cellaneous machinery, automobile, trucks, For that reason if our customers within this country are discriminated against whether in the possibility of their exporting their manufacture or protection against imports manufactured in countries where lower wages and lower standards of living prevail the level of our business and the possibility of our employing local labor will be affected.

A company making steel forgings reports

"About 60 percent of our output goes into equipment, principally 4-wheeled ors. Some of these tractors are extractors ported, but we do not have any information as to which of our products are included in these exports. • • • We also furnish forgings to the machine-tool industry. These people have direct competition from imports."

A manufacturer which does contract metal stampings and produces builders hardware, metal shower stalls, and metal toilet partitions regards imports as competitive with all of its products. This firm also exports metal toilet partitions, builders hardware, and metal shower stalls in small quantities. The actual dollar amounts are not available.

III. Export interest: Two firms which employ 5,100 workers export both primary and fabricated metal products. One large firm producing made-to-order forgings and highpressure steel pipe fittings apparently con-siders exports to be important to the opera-This firm mentions meeting increased tion. competition in the export markets of Cuba, Mexico, and Canada, which are importing these products from the United Kingdom, and more recently, from Germany.

A firm producing bronze castings, forgings, weldrods, wire pipe and condenser tubes, ingots, sheets and plates, fabrications and other bronze products now exports 2 percent of its total production. However, the firm comments on the significance of foreign trade

as follows:

We consider exports as well as imports to be of considerable significance to both our company and the city of Milwaukee. Our export business, while not large at the present time, is increasing yearly and we have coverage throughout Europe, Mexico, and South America. Imports of special metals, such as tin, are of course, quite vital to the foundry and metal industries and are naturally of very deep concern to us. As you know, the city of Milwaukee is one of the most important inland seaports and if the St. Lawrence Waterway project is ever completed, Milwaukee will be even more important and both imports and exports will be of vastly greater value to the city."

IV. No expressed interest: Twenty-six firms state that they do not export, nor do they consider imports to be competitive with their These 26 firms, employing 7,600 workers, produce: non-ferrous castings, steel malleable iron castings, grey iron and semi-steel castings, drop forgings, electric processed steel castings, sheet metal fabrication, structural steel, including fabricated structural steel, steel tanks, wire, metal cans and other metal containers, stamping hardware, tools, dies, jigs, and fixtures.

Machinery, including electrical, and transportation equipment: These three industry groups account for over 50 percent of the manufacturing employment in the Milwaukee metropolitan area. They are considered together since the larger firms in Milwaukee are fully integrated operations produc-ing several different products. Replies from 54 firms employing 89,000 workers were received.

I. Import competitive interest. A small firm manufacturing transformers, principally dry type, and substations, feels that its production is competitive with all imports coming principally from England, Sweden, Switzerland, and Germany. This firm states that, "Imports are a serious competitor to us and our industry and may result in reduced employment in Milwaukee." This This firm exports but in negligible amounts.

II. Mixed interest. Eleven firms in the machinery and equipment field indicate that, although they export, they also find imports competitive. In a few cases it is not difficult to ascertain in which direction the interests of the firm are considered to be. In other cases the balance of interest as between exports and competitive imports is less clear

Milwaukee is the center of production of motorcycles. The industry's position as regards foreign trade is well known since imports of motorcycles are considered to be a very serious threat to the domestic industry. In a very complete reply outlining the effects of imports, one company states:

"On September 18, 1949, European currencies were devaluated by 301/2 percent and immediately prices of European motorcycles comparable to ours in performance dropped 25 to 30 percent in the American market. We have never been able to meet this competition pricewise. * * *

"Immediately imports went up and each year our domestic production went down. This firm in years past exported as high as 40 percent of its production. The present export situation is described as follows:

'The situation so far as our exports are concerned is this. We are shut out of the British Empire except Canada. We find it almost impossible to do business in countries whose currencies are tied to sterling. Our exports to South America are sharply curtailed by the high prices of our motorcycles as compared to the lower priced comparable motorcycles from Europe. The motorcycles in Europe are lower priced because they pay anywhere from 35 cents to 58 cents an hour whereas in our factory with fringe benefits we pay \$2.18 an hour. Our exports now represent between 7 percent and 8 percent of our total production."

Allis-Chalmers' plant in Milwaukee manufactures wheel tractors; crushing and cement machinery; electrical machinery; steam and hydraulic turbines; centrifugal pumps condensers. This company is a multiplant organization as are several machinery manufacturers in Milwaukee. Total company export sales are approximately 9 percent of total billings in 1953 according to the annual report of Allis-Chalmers for 1953. Large hydraulic turbines, electrical generators and large power transformers are competitive with imports.

A company producing large herringbone and helical gears, flexible couplings, speed reducers, motoreducers, special drives includ-ing propulsion drives for different types of vessels, as well as steel castings and weldments states that imports are competitive with its standard product lines, such as flexible couplings, motoreducers, speed reducers and more recently propulsion drives in the tow and tug line. This company states that:

"We compete with foreign builders of ship propulsion drives in the same manner as American shipyards compete with foreign builders. Generally speaking, if a ship is built in this country it is equipped with a drive of domestic manufacture and, to the best of our knowledge, all ships built with American capital in foreign countries have been equipped with foreign drives."

As to exports the company replies that: "Since we are essentially machine component manufacturers, we sell principally to other machinery manufacturers who in turn sell abroad. It is our guess that less than 10 percent of our products end up in foreign countries, most of which would be in the motor reducer, speed reducer, and helical gear lines."

As to the significance of exports and imports this company gave, perhaps, the most complete comment:

"We are essentially a jobbing company. We are not mass producers of any particular product or size of product (except for small flexible couplings) as even the standard lines are produced in batch lots. Furthermore, all of our products, except castings, and weldments, fall into the precision machinery class; therefore labor and supervision is a much higher percentage of cost than is ma-

terial. Consequently, we are in an entirely different labor-wage market than are any foreign competitors and have little or no edge in technology, principally because of the lack of mass production. Obviously we have much more to lose than to gain if trade barriers were lowered; and were we to be washed out of the picture, the mass producers would suffer as we make much of the special equipment used by these people for high-volume production.

"The foregoing applies to all others in the gear and steel-casting industries. All of us are specialists in these fields and therefore serve the special requirements of other manufacturers not users or consumers and must be considered as a part of mass-production machinery manufacturers to the same degree as the tool and die makers, bearing manufacturers, etc.

"Any change in the balance of exportimport trade would directly affect the economy of Milwaukee as its metropolitan area includes a dozen or more large manufacturers in the same category that we are in. It is well known that Milwaukee has a big concentration of skilled labor and it is because of this fact that manufacturers like ourselves can operate successfully in the pre-cision machinery field. Were the economy to be upset downwardly it would cause a transfer and dilution of the skilled labor force which would be a detriment in normal times and a serious handicap in emergencies."

A manufacturer of air-cooled combustion engines exports 8 percent of its production. It finds imports competitive with its entire line. On the significance of foreign trade

it states:

"If, and when, the St. Lawrence seaway becomes a reality it should certainly help Milwaukee because of its diversified industry, both for exports and imports, as well as place this country in a better competitive position in world markets."

A manufacturer of medical industrial and dental X-ray apparatus; X-ray supplies and accessories; and electromedical apparatus states that imports are competitive with its medical X-ray line which accounts for about three-fourths of its total production. This firm exports its complete line; exports amounted to about 10 percent of production in 1952.

A large electrical-control apparatus and electronic-parts manufacturer considers imports to be competitive to both to a small extent. This firm exports 21/2 percent of its production. A small firm manufacturing industrial counting and measuring instruments also exports approximately 2 percent of its production. It stated that "about 20 percent of our product line has foreign competition." The same situation is applicable to a manufacturer of paper converting machinery and special machine tools.

A manufacturer of water meters stated its present competitive position in the fol-

lowing terms:

"Exports: As mentioned before, we used to export about \$1,500,000 to \$2,000,000 worth of meters a year. This has dried up to nothing only because we cannot compete with the European and Japanese watermeter manufacturers. During the time of an emergency, such as Korea and at the present, it seems to me it would be advantageous for the welfare of our Nation not to jeopardize the meter industry, considering the effective way its techniques were used in World War II for the manufacture of ammunition for the Armed Forces.

"Imports: It is obvious that any reduction in tariff barriers on our product could be catastrophic to our company. In fact, it could prove catastrophic to the industry as a whole. The only effect on the city of Milwaukee would be that our present employees would be idle."

A manufacturer of balling press equip-ment states that "We have lost sales re-

cently to * * * German competition involving some extremely large shipments." Exports of this firm "are very nominal."

III. Export interest: The major exporters in the Milwaukee area are the firms in the machinery and equipment field. Thirty-nine firms employing 56,000 workers indicate in their replies that they export some or all of their products and that they do not consider that imports are seriously competitive with their products.

A large manufacturer of overhead cranes, excavators, hoists, welders, electrodes, heavyduty cranes, diesel engines, and prefabricated houses states that it exports excavators, welders, electrodes, hoists, and heavy-duty cranes. Some of these items are export commodities of a substantial degree.

A manufacturer of portable and stationary concrete mixers, truck mixers, and agitators states that all of its products are exported; the same situation applies to a producer of sawmill machinery, steam engines, and waterworks equipment. In both cases export figures are not available.

A milk-bottling equipment firm replies that it exports limited quantities of its products while a bottling machinery manufacturer states that all of its products are exported to some degree. It appears from the comment in the reply of this firm that as regards the export market, "competition in all foreign countries is becoming terrific." The reply states that:

"While no appreciable foreign competition is encountered by producers in the domestic United States market in our industry, the competition in all foreign countries is becoming terrific. From a situation when more than 50 percent of our entire output was shipped overseas 2 years ago, today foreign business has trickled down to only a nominal fraction of what it was formerly. The potential foreign business that is available, due to a combination of prices, terms, controls, etc., that restrict purchases from the United States is consistently being lost to American industry."

As to the importance of exports to the firm and industry, the bottling-machinery manufacturer replied:

"Certainly we and our industry are both directly and indirectly dependent upon foreign business to maintain production up to available capacity. With present high costs and high break-even point, larger volume of production is a necessity in order to keep operating in the black."

A manufacturer of baling presses, malting equipment, valves, and cylinders states that "a relatively small amount of all our products" are exported. A producer of railroad supplies (mostly small parts for locomotives and special lifting jacks) exports some locomotive parts. The firm stated that the exports are rather minor in terms of value, except for Canada. In several other instances manufacturers tend to treat shipments to Canada as part of the American market. Of course, insofar as foreign trade is concerned, shipments to Canada are exports in the same way as are shipments to Brazil or Indonesia.

A portable electric tool manufacturer exports its entire line. A manufacturer of diesel industrial and marine engines and diesel electric generators exports all of its products and spare parts, but the amount exported is not known.

A manufacturer of temperature regulation and air conditioning control systems stated that very little sales are made abroad. Electric ranges and electric water heaters are both exported by one firm but in a nominal sum; a firm making gas, oil and coal ared furnaces, along with cast iron boilers, cooling equipment, incinerators and dehumidifiers also exports a small amount of its total production. A small firm making automatic switches, manual controls and metal stamping, exports replacement switches, evidently a small item of its total business.

A firm making a standardized line of padlocks and hasps states that:

"Although we are not free to divulge all of the information requested, we can tell you that our export business has for years constituted a substantial portion of our total sales. We continue to actively promote the sale of our products in overseas markets and would suffer a serious blow if we were forced to discontinue our overseas business. It should be remembered that our export business helps pay for the general overhead and other fixed charges. Without the returns earned by our overseas business, our domestic business would have to carry the entire load, which would probably be reflected in price increases."

A firm producing magnetic separation equipment, magnetic clutches, disk brakes, etc., indicated that it has been meeting increased competition abroad, although the reply did not state the amount of total production that is exported. As to the export market this manufacturer comments as follows:

"We have, however, had serious foreign competition with respect to the sale of our products abroad. There is virtually an embargo on the shipment of our products to the sterling area. This was especially noticeable after the devaluation of the pound sterling a few years ago. German competition has been growing and this has affected our markets in South America and other parts of the world. We have about reached the conclusion that the only basis on which we can compete in foreign markets is licensing foreign concerns to manufacture our products under a lease or royalty contract.

"Our export market has shrunk considerably and this has therefore affected our growth, employment, and progress as well as having corresponding effect on the city of Milwaukee and our community."

Another firm making industrial motor control systems and accessories as well as lowvoltage distribution apparatus, gas measuring and mixing equipment, and newspaper printing press drives and conveyor systems stated that:

"All of the products we manufacture here are sold for export in some degree. Here again it is impossible for us to establish any units of quantity due to the wide variety of these products so sold. Exports are a relatively minor activity with regard to our overall sales, but we consider it quite important. In this respect we do not feel it is possible to divulge the exact dollar volume of our exports."

On the significance of foreign trade to Milwaukee the comment was as follows:

"We estimate that to the city of Milwaukee exports are relatively important due to the broad diversification of capital equipment manufacturing organizations in this city. We are of the opinion, however, that imports are not particularly important to the city of Milwaukee except the basic raw materials unobtainable except by importation."

Another multiplant firm producing electrical distribution and transmission equipment stated that, the larger part of the export business is done from and through Milwaukee

A producer of oil burners, road machinery, steam generators, and distillating units exports approximately 4 percent of its total production. This firm comments as follows:

"Our export market is principally Central and South America. All of our boilers are powered by either fuel oil or gas, and due to the lack of these materials in Europe, our sales on the Continent have been very small."

A manufacturer of crawler and rubbertired shovels, cranes, draglines, clamshells, trenchoes and attachments and spare parts exports 3 percent of its production. The same ratio of exports to production was given by a producer of front end loaders and bullclams for track type tractors. A producer of foundry flasks and wheelbarrows exports 4 percent of its foundry flasks to Canada. A large manufacturer of 4-cycle, single cylinder, gasoline engines, as well as automotive locks and keys, switches and related equipment exports 3 percent of its production. This firm comments as follows:

tion. This firm comments as follows:

"We and our industry are continuously promoting export business—greater availability of United States dollars would, no doubt, increase our exports materially. * * * We believe export business is good for Milwaukee. Opening of the St. Lawrence River to larger boats will, undoubtedly, make Milwaukee, a much more important export, import, seaport."

Another manufacturer of gasoline engines and air compressors also exports 4 percent of its production.

A firm manufacturing industrial control equipment, including switchboard apparatus, states that only about 1 percent of its production is exported. The export business is handled through an agency in New York which has informed the Milwaukee firm that their prices are often too far out of line with those of European concerns to expect that exports might amount to any appreciable value.

A firm which manufactures electrical, industrial, and laboratory heat-treating furnaces, dry-type transformers, and constant-current regulators exports about 2 percent of its total production.

A firm making drying tumblers for commercial and self-service laundries and drycleaning plants and other similar products exports 5 percent of its production. This firm believes that it could export more, but the currency situation in various countries prevents this.

A firm manufacturing automatic wiremeasuring, cutting, and tipping machines, and other special products exports 5 percent of its production, mostly wire-stripping machines, although all the firm's products are exported.

A machine-tools manufacturer sums up its export situation as follows:

"The entire machine-tool industry, of course, has been historically dependent upon a large percentage of foreign trade. This trade has diminished greatly because of the economic situation in foreign countries and the problem involving currency exchange. Also great inroads upon the market have been made by machine-tool manufacturers on the Continent and in England, with the result that the percentage of exported machine tools from our company (and the effect has been industrywide, also) has been reduced to something approximating 5 percent in recent years. This compares with a normal export market of about 25 to 30 percent."

A manufacturer of outboard motors exports 9 percent of total production, while a very large firm manufacturing automobile frames and parts, vessels, electrodes, pipe, and oilwell casing, exports 6 percent of all of its products.

A large manufacturer of several products such as petroleum transport equipment, dump bodies and hoists, road machinery, dehydrators, oil burners, furnaces, boliers, stainless steel milk transport and storage tanks, and general steel fabricated products exports about 9 to 10 percent of its production. This firm states:

"With reference to question 7, the city of Milwaukee depends a great deal on the export of its manufactured products for its full employment. * * Figures as to the total dollar volume and number of people employed for export products is available. * * * As the figures on the form will indicate, export means a great deal to our company, for virtually 10 percent of our civilian output goes into that field."

A manufacturer of shovels and cranes, pavers, mixers, dumptors, finishers, and mud jacks exports all of its products, exports amounting to 12 percent of production. Another large company's numerous products

include power transmission and conveyor chains, conveying machinery roller bearings, and construction machinery; exports are 12 percent of total production. This company replies that:

'Our export business is of substantial interest and importance to our company and by reason of its volume and the employment which it provides should be of fair impor-

tance to the city of Milwaukee."

A large manufacturer of power shovels, cranes, and draglines, oil well, water well and blast hole drills, and tractor equipment exports 25 percent of its production. other large firm produces component parts for use in end products of other company operations. Diesel injection pumps, gears, forgings, and castings make up the bulk of the component parts produced. The end products of the receiving operations are motortrucks, farm implements, farm tractors, industrial tractors, and equipment refrigeration products, and related service parts. Approximately 27 percent of the Milwaukee plant's output is eventually exported.

A firm manufacturing magnetic separators, electromagnets of all types, permanent magnets and magnetic brakes exports about 20 percent of total sales. This firm comments

on its export market as follows:

Our export market amounts to approximately 20 percent of our total business, exports, including Canada, and needless to say 20 percent of any business is a rather healthy amount. From our observations of other companies in these specialty manufacturing industries, particularly those industries which have a large proportion of their products going to the mining industry, indicate a 20 percent export market is about normal, in fact, a little bit less than some companies that specialize entirely in mining machinery."

IV. No expressed interest: Three firms employing 2,400 workers replied that they do not export and do not consider that imports are competitive. One firm, a manufacturer of machine tools states that, "Our machinery is of the special high production type used primarily by the automotive industry.' firm manufacturing automatic dishwashers, food waste disposalls, dehumidifiers and air craft turbo-superchargers states that almost all of their production is for the domestic market and that, therefore, they are not af-fected by foreign trade. A third firm manufacturing a complete line of automatic temperature controls, does no exporting and does not consider imports to be competitive.

Miscellaneous manufactures: In this miscellaneous industry group there are eight

firms with 850 employees.

I. Import competitive interest: A manufacturer of toys states that imports of toys are extremely competitive in individual price categories. The company does not export

II. Mixed interest: Three firms in this group of manufacturers have an apparent export interest as well as import competition.

A manufacturer of vulcanizers, hot patches, and automotive accessories such as directional-signal lights and mirrors for passenger cars and trucks, aparently exported 80 percent of its production in 1953. How-ever, because of increased competitive imports of tube patches from Germany in re-cent years, this firm states that it has lost an amount in domestic sales greater than its exports in 1953.

A small firm producing photographic darkrom equipment, dental equipment, and motorcycle accessories exports 6 to 7 percent of its total production valuewise, all of which is in photographic equipment. As to competitive imports this firm considers motorcycle accessories competitive. It also states: "Imports from Britain hurt sales of the Harley-Davidson Motor Co. very badly and naturally reflects on our accessory business."

A firm manufacturing engineers' levels and transits, builders' and farm levels, theodolites, astrolabes, alidades, army transits, stereo cameras, viewers, and productors states that imports are competitive with these products, particularly from Germany and Japan. Exporting 1 percent of its production this firm comments as follows:

Exports of photographic equipment are depressed because of world money status and lack of processing facilities for color film in

foreign countries.

III. Export interest: Three firms indicate in their replies that they export and experience no competition from imports. A small manufacturer of industrial brushes for the beverage and food industry considers its export sales of 2 percent of production to be of minor importance. A producer of paint rollers and trays of all types and a manufacturer of inkstands and other desk equipment both export their products; the extent of exports the two firms is unknown. The inkstand and desk-equipment manufacturer states that, "Exports are a very desirable part of our business and an essential part of the industry and the city of Milwaukee."

IV. No expressed interest: A small firm making latex rubber adhesives does not feel that exports or competitive imports are of

any concern to its operations.

MILWAUKEE AS A CAPITAL GOODS CENTER

Milwaukee has been called the principal capital of the capital goods business in the world.* Almost two-thirds of the manufacturing employment in the Milwaukee metropolitan area is in the durable goods Of the replies received in this survey, about 90,000 workers are in firms in the industries producing machinery and equipment, including electrical machinery and transportation equipment. These 90,000 employees account for almost two-thirds of the workers in firms covered by this survey. If the workers of the replying firms in the primary and fabricated metals industries are included almost 75 percent of the workers covered by this survey are in these five industries: Primary and fabricated metals, machinery, including electrical machinery, and transportation equipment. This group of industries provides the products that go to make Milwaukee the capital goods center that it is.

A study was recently made of the export market for capital goods. The results of the study were published in a bulletin by the Council for Technological Advancement in July of 1953.* In summary, the bulletin gave the following general conclusions:

"1. Machinery and equipment comprises by far the largest group of commodities exported from the United States. The \$3 billion of machinery and equipment exported in 1952 accounted for 20 percent of total United States exports, or almost 25 percent of nonmilitary exports. Thus capital goods manufacturers and Government have a great mutual interest in the formation and impact of national policy affecting foreign trade.

2. The importance of export markets to capital goods producers is pointed up by the fact that during the past years about 11 or 12 percent of total machinery and equipment sales have been in these markets, ranging from 4 percent for railroad and transit equipment to almost 23 percent for tractors, parts, and accessories. A recent CTA survey of capital goods manufacturers revealed that exports of many individual firms were an even higher proportion of their total sales than the industry percentages presented here." 18

The following is a list of ratios of exports to total national production for some of the more important products that are made by Milwaukee manufactures:

Footnotes at end of speech.

TABLE VI .- Ratio of exports to production

(1952)	
Commodity: Pe	rcent
Electrical machinery and apparatus:	
Storage batteries	2.5
Primary batteries Power and distribution trans-	10.4
formers	3.8
Refrigerators	13.1
Industrial machinery:	
Internal-combustion engines	9.8
Industrial trucks and tractors Construction and mining equip-	7.8
	121.8
	31.0
	10.2
Food products machinery	18.9
Agricultural machinery and imple-	
ments	13.0
Implements of cultivation	12, 4
Harvesting machinery	12.8
Combines	20.2
Tractors	37.2
Tracklaying type	1 45. 1
	37.2
	1 16. 7
Transportation equipment:	
Passenger cars	13.0
Motortrucks and coaches	
1 1953.	

Source: Foreign Commerce Weekly, June 28, 1954.

In line with the replies received in this survey it appears that, as a capital goods equipment center, Milwaukee shares in the importance of exports to the total production of capital goods in the country as a

On the other hand, Milwaukee's capital goods manufacturers face import competition. Imports appear to be competitive with electrical equipment such as transformers. hydraulic turbines, large electrical generators, electric motors, and some electrical conapparatus and X-ray equipment. Imports are also competitive with motorcycles; internal combustion engines; large gears, propulsion drives and special heavy castings and forgings; water meters; and special machinery such as baling presses and paperconverting machinery.

Milwaukee, as a center of industrial skills, is a good example of the advancement and advantages of American industry that make its products so wanted and desired throughout the world. On the other hand, imports from countries where lower wages are paid can sometimes compete effectively with manufactures in Milwaukee that require highly skilled, highly paid labor, and where manufacturing process is not adaptable to mass-production techniques.

However, export sales and competitive imports are not the only way in which foreign

trade affects Milwaukee.

IMPORTS USED BY MILWAUKEE MANUFACTURERS

Manufacturers of Milwaukee use commodities originating in all parts of the world necessary to produce their finished goods. While some of these materials are obtainable within the United States, many of them are not produced in this country and must be obtained from abroad.

In the manufacture of food and related products Milwaukee manufacturers import cocoa beans for use in the manufacture of chocolate and cocoa products. Other manufacturers of cookies, cakes, and candies must import spices, nuts, dates, irish moss, coconuts, and coconut oil. Meat-product com-panies use spices, fuller's earth, and burlap, all import items. Malt manufacturers occasionally import barley, while the brewers of Milwaukee import hops. The beer, ale, and soft-drink producers also must have tin, for plating of cans, and cork for inserts in crowns and kegs. The United States is entirely dependent upon imports for its supply of tin; very little, if any, cork is produced in the United States.

Leather tanners in Milwaukee import such items as chromium, sodium bichromate, quebracho, wattle, eucalyptus extracts, and other tanning materials. Some leather producers import calfskin, while shoe manufacturers import special calf, buck, and kangaroo leather, as well as shoe machinery from Germany and Italy.

The paper and allied products industry and the printing and publishing industry are dependent on newsprint from Canada and, to a lesser extent, on woodpulp imports. Smaller manufacturers of such items as automotive seat pads and truck and tractor seating import burlap, sisal and some cotton. One millinery producer imports straw hat bodies and braids.

Manufacturers of wax emulsion and leather finishes for the shoe and leather goods industries must import shellac, carnauba wax, ouricury wax, manila, gums, casein, castor oil, and other waxes. A cosmetic firm in Milwaukee also imports castor oil and carnauba wax, as well as candelilla wax.

Producers of hardware specialties and a manufacturer of industrial brushes imports hog bristles, as well as goat and horsehair, bass, bassine, and plasava fiber. While the manufacture of rubber products is a relatively small operation in Milwaukee, many machinery and equipment firms use rubber in some form. Natural rubber and other gums must be imported.

The primary metals, fabricated metals, and machinery and equipment industries are most dependent on imports of raw materials. Firms manufacturing iron and steel and other metal castings and forgings import manganese, nickel, copper, tin, chromium, cadmium, beryllium, zinc, lead, cobalt, titanium, lithium, phosphorous, magnesium, antimony, silicon, calcium, zirconite sands, ferromanganese, and other metal alloys, micand various clays. These metals are used along with basic iron and steel in the manufacture of the machinery, electrical apparatus, and transportation equipment that are produced in the shops of Milwaukee.

In a study, Raw Materials: Area of Growing Dependency, it was pointed out that the United States is dependent on imports for 75 percent of its antimony and must import percent of its asbestos consumption. There is also a 90-percent import dependency on beryl, a 99-percent import dependency on chromite, which is used extensively by the tanning industry in Milwaukee, a 90-percent dependency on imported cobalt, a 90-percent dependency on imported manganese, and a 99-percent dependency on imported nickel. These and other raw materials used extensively in the metal and machinery industries are examples of the strong ties that Milwaukee industry has with the rest of the world in terms of foreign trade."

INCREASED COMPETITION IN WORLD MARKETS

Just as competition from imports has increased to some extent in the domestic market since the reconstruction and development of industry in Europe since 1948, it is evident that competition has increased in the world markets to which American manufacturers have been exporting many of their products in the postwar years.

From the replies received in this survey, it is apparent that Milwaukee manufacturers are experiencing increasing competition in world markets, especially from the United Kingdom, Germany, Italy, and Japan. Some of the exports from Milwaukee were financed by the foreign-aid program of the past 7 or 8 years; however, the amount of exports from Milwaukee under the foreign-aid program is not known. There is no doubt that with the decreasing amounts of foreign aid available exporters find it more difficult to make sales when payment must be made in dollars. The lack of dollars and the recovery of European industry weighs heavily upon

the competitive position of American exporters in world markets.

One manufacturing company comments on increased competition in export markets as follows:

"While no appreciable foreign competition is encountered by producers in the domestic United States market in our industry, the competition in all foreign countries is becoming terrific. From a situation when more than 50 percent of our entire output was shipped overseas 2 years ago, today foreign business has trickled down to only a nominal fraction of what it was formerly. The potential foreign business that is available due to a combination of prices, terms, controls, etc., that restrict purchases from the United States is being consistently lost to American industry."

A manufacturer of pharmaceutical special-

ties replies that:

We have noticed an increasing competitive trend in our export business mainly from former German, French, and Italian manufacturers who were once predominant in the export pharmaceutical markets. We are able, thus far, to compete with these European manufacturers on a price basis. However, we find it increasingly difficult to compete with them on the terms which they are extending to our foreign distributors. formerly we sold on letters of credit or sight draft basis, we have been gradually extending this to time draft, 30, then 60, then 90, then 120 days. We now find that the European manufacturers are allowing terms as long as 1 or 2 years. Obviously, to extend such terms, they must receive some major subsidy from their governments. We cannot allow terms extending over that long a period of time without some comparable assistance on the part of our own Government."

Another company is also concerned with the terms which exporters from other companies are able to give. It comments as fol-

"The big problem confronting Milwaukee exporters—in fact all exporters today—is the inability to meet long term financing offered by foreign competition.

"We, of course, recognize that funds are available through such organizations as the Export Import Bank, but this organization, as well as other existing governmental organizations, is not in a position to take care of the majority of extended term orders offered manufacturers in this country.

"Because of such extended terms of 3 to 5 years offered by foreign competition, many orders which should come to the United States are going elsewhere, and unless some legislation is passed to permit banks and insurance companies, such as the Canadian plan, to carry paper without recourse for foreign countries, we are going to lose considerable business in the years to come. This is a serious situation and should have the immediate attention of our legislative groups in Washington."

THE PORT OF MILWAUKEE AND FOREIGN TRADE

Milwaukee is one of the leading ports on the Great Lakes and it is one of the most diversified. It has excellent facilities for handling such bulk cargoes as coal and petroleum products which make up the greater share, volume-wise, of the port's commerce. Grains, building materials, and other bulk commodities are also large items in total port traffic. The car ferry service across Lake Michigan adds to the diversity of commodities handled by the port, and this service aids Milwaukee in taking advantage of its location on the trade routes between the productive interior and the eastern sections of the United States.

It is said that the port of Milwaukee's facilities for handling foreign exports are superior to any other port on the Great Lakes. Although foreign commerce is but a small part of the 8 million tons annually that move across the docks it is of much greater value than is indicated by its volume.

The following table gives the shipping weight and the total value of waterborne exports and imports for the port of Milwaukee for the years 1951-53:

TABLE VII.—Shipping weight and value of United States waterborne exports and imports of the port of Milwaukee, 1951-53

	(milli	Quantity (millions of pounds)		(millions of (millions of		Total	
	Im- ports	Ex- ports	Im- ports	Ex- ports	Quan- tity	Value	
1951 1952 1953	441. 4 528. 3 983. 6	54. 6 136. 3 76. 7	17. 9 22. 2 36. 3	5, 9 12, 7 15, 4	496. 0 664. 6 1, 060. 3	23. 8 34. 9 51. 7	

Source: U. S. Department of Commerce. Waterborne Trade by United States Port. January-December 1952. Summary Report FT 972, May 19, 1953. Waterborne Foreign Trade Statistics, January-December 1953. Summary Report FT 985. June 15, 1984.

The amount of waterborne foreign commerce of the port has been increasing in recent years, and, although the Canadian trade is by far the greater share of the total, the increase in overseas sailing is indicative of the growth in overseas trade through the port.

Pioneers of the Great Lakes ocean services were the Fjell and Oranje lines of Norway and the Netherlands, respectively. The ships of these two lines were calling at Milwaukee before World War II. There were 45 sailings from Milwaukee to ports of Europe by these lines in 1939.

During World War II there were no foreign sailings from Milwaukee. With the revival of foreign trade on the Great Lakes in 1946, the Fjell and the Oranje lines started their services again. They were followed by the Swedish-American and Swedish-Chicago lines; Hamburg-Chicago, the first German line to service Milwaukee, and the Fabre lines of Marseille, linking Milwaukee with Mediterranean and north African ports.

In 1953 four new lines were added: the Metron Shipping, Inc., linking the Great Lakes with Hamburg, Antwerp, and Bremen; the Ahlmann Trans-Caribbean Line, sailing between the Great Lakes and Colombia and Venezuela; the West Line to Cuba and Haiti; and the Cuban American Line with direct service to Habana. In 1953 there were 154 sailings to foreign ports from Milwaukee and it is estimated that in 1954, sailings to overseas ports will increase to 170.

The commodities that are important in the foreign commerce of the port of Milwaukee differ as between overseas and Canadian trade. Overseas imports consist of fish and fish products; fruits and preparations; building and monumental stone; and iron- and steel-mill products (principally Swedish steel). Exports to overseas ports include meat and meat products; animal fats and oils; wheat flour; and distilled spirits and malt liquors. Machinery and vehicles are by far the largest items in terms of tonage exports to overseas ports. In fact, Milwaukee is the leading overseas exporter of machinery on the Great Lakes.

Canadian waterborne trade appears to consist mostly of bulk items such as barley and rye, wheat and oats and newsprint that are imported, and corn and iron and steel scrap that are exported.

In a study of the port of Milwaukee, Mr. Edward Hamming summarized the foreign trade situation as follows:

"Although the Canadian trade is larger in volume than the overseas traffic, the more colorful aspects of the latter and the potentialities of that trade are highlights in the water-borne commerce of Milwaukee. It offers the Midwest manufacturer an opportunity to compete in foreign markets on an equal basis with eastern industry. The Great Lakes ports, however, do not have import-export rates similar to the ocean ports,

but application has been made to the western trunk line railways to allow more liberal demurrage regulations to permit more free time on railroad cars carrying export shipments. Whenever an improved St. Lawrence seaway becomes a reality Milwaukee, with its superior harbor facilities, is ready to serve the needs of any increase in overtraffic. Besides, it is in a favorable position to draw the trade from the upper Midwest because the pull of the compet-ing ocean ports is felt far more strongly in Chicago than in Milwaukee." 12

Many people in Milwaukee have been ardent supporters of the St. Lawrence seaway. When Public Law 358, for the creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway Corporation, was passed in the 2d session of the 83d Congress there were many predictions of the economic effects of the seaway. The port director of Milwaukee expects to see the total foreign commerce tonnage to rise to 1 million tons annually. It would appear that the port of Milwaukee with its excellent facilities will certainly handle more foreign commerce after completion of the seaway since without the seaway the foreign commerce of the port has been increasing.

² Reference to Milwaukee in this study is to the Milwaukee metropolitan area and not to the city of Milwaukee alone.

²U. S. Bureau of the Census. United States Census of Population: 1950. Vol. II, Characteristics of the Population, pt. 49. Wisconsin. According to the 1950 Census of Population, Milwaukee County in 1950 had a population of 871,047, a labor force of 374,755, and 160,545 workers engaged in manufacturing. The May 10 issue of the Sales Management, a survey of buying power, estimates that the 1953 population of Milwaukee County was 908,000 with 199,800 workers in manufacturing industries. The Bureau of Labor Statistics also estimates the manufacturing employment at about 200,000.

*U. S. Bureau of the Census. United States Census of Agriculture: 1950. Vol. I, Counties and State Economic Areas, pt. 7, Wisconsin. Washington, U. S. Government

Printing Office, 1952: 40-111.

4 Hamming, Edward. The Port of Milwaukee. Chicago, the University of Chicago, Department of Geography, December 1952:

* See p. 63 of this report.

Survey of buying power. Sales Management, the magazine of marketing. (New York) May 10, 1954: 120 and 752.

See p. 58 of this report.

"Made in Milwaukee. Fortune (New York), vol. XLII, November 1950: 7.

* Council for Technological Advancement. The export market for capital goods. cago) July 1, 1953: 1 and 3. (Its bulletin No. 13.)

20 Ibid., p. 3.

" U.S. Office of Defense Mobilization. Raw Materials: Area of Growing Dependency. February 1953 (pt. II, 8 p.).

" Hamming, Edward. The Port of Milwaukee. University of Chicago Press. 1952: 128-129.

Defense Mobilization Order Establishing Advisory Committee on Watch Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN STENNIS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. STENNIS. Mr. President, I was happy to note the announcement, today, that the Office of Defense Mobilization has established an Advisory Committee on the Watch Industry, which will recommend any necessary steps to keep the domestic watch industry in a healthy condition, and to preserve its essential skills for our national security, particularly as it pertains to essential skills for our national security. This action will help put into effect the unanimous findings and recommendations on this subject, as made last July by the special subcommittee of the Senate Armed Services Committee, which was headed by the Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. DUFFI. It was my privilege to serve on that subcommittee. From that experience. I know the fine interest of the senior Senator from North Carolina [Mr. ERVIN], who today is unavoidably absent from the Senate Chamber. On his behalf. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a press release by the Director of De-fense Mobilization, as well as an order of the Office of Defense Mobilization.

There being no objection, the release and order were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, OFFICE OF DEFENSE MOBILIZATION, Washington, D. C.

Arthur S. Flemming, Director of Defense Mobilization, today issued Defense Mobilization Order IV-3 establishing an Advisory Committee on the Watch Industry. Its function will be to recommend to him any measures which should be taken to maintain the domestic watch industry in a healthy condition over a long period and to assure the preservation of essential skills of the industry at a level sufficient to provide for the Nation's mobilization base requirements.

The committee will consist of the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge customs matters, the Assistant Secretary of Defense (supply and logistics), the Assist ant Secretary of Commerce for domestic affairs, the Assistant Secretary of Labor for employment and manpower, and the ODM Assistant Director for manpower (chairman).

Noting that the industry would be essential in the event of full mobilization, Mr. Flemming said national security requires that the facilities and skills of the industry be maintained at a level from which a quick and effective expansion of production can be made in the event of national emergency.

In announcing the establishment of the new committee, Mr. Flemming called attention to a study which had been made of the jeweled-watch segment of the industry by an Interdepartmental Committee. Principal findings of that committee, whose study was issued last year, were (a) that preservation of the skills of the American jeweled-watch industry is essential to the national security and (b) that the levels of production and employment in jeweled-watch manufac-turing were then below the levels necessary preserve those skills sufficiently for the industry to expand quickly and effectively to meet the requirements of full mobilization.

DEFENSE MOBILIZATION ORDER IV-3 EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT, OFFICE OF DEFENSE MOBILIZATION January 12, 1955.

Subject: Establishment of an Advisory Committee on the Watch Industry.

By vitrue of the authority vested in me by Executive Order 10480 of August 15, 1953, and Reorganization Plan No. 3 of June 12, 1953, and in order to obtain advice which will facilitate the development of long-range policies and programs to further the preservation of the skills of the domestic watchmanufacturing industry which are required in the interest of national security, it is hereby ordered:

1. There is established in the Office of Defense Mobilization an Advisory Committee on the Watch Industry. The committee shall consist of the Assistant Secretary of State for Economic Affairs, the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury in charge of customs matters, the Assistant Secretary of Defense (supply and logistics), the Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Domestic Affairs, the Assistant Secretary of Labor for Employment and Manpower, and the Assistant Director for Manpower, Office of Defense Mobilization, who shall serve as chairman.

2. The Advisory Committee on the Watch Industry shall make recommendations to the Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization with regard to any measures which should be taken to maintain the domestic watch industry in a healthy and vigorous condition on a long-term basis to the extent necessary to assure preservation of the essential skills of the industry at a level commensurate with mobilization requirements.

3. This order shall take effect on Janu-

ary 12, 1955.

OFFICE OF DEFENSE MOBILIZATION, ARTHUR S. FLEMMING, Director.

The Dixon-Yates Power Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, a very interesting editorial appeared in the September 26, 1954, issue of the Huntsville Times, of Huntsville, Ala., a newspaper which gave all-out support to the Republican ticket in 1952. The editorial is entitled "The Dixon-Yates Power Deal Smells." I ask unanimous consent that the editorial be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the

RECORD, as follows:

THE DIXON-YATES POWER DEAL SMELLS

The proposed Dixon-Yates contract with the Atomic Energy Commission to supply power to TVA consumers is receiving such a blasting from so many sources that it may

never be consummated.

Both a Senate and a House committee are preparing to air this deal, which smells so badly that some action should be taken by President Elsenhower to join in a thorough investigation.

In the very beginning, a majority of the AEC opposed being put in the position of being a power broker between the Dixon-Yates combine and the TVA. An order from the President, however, compelled the Board, which is an independent agency, to hold its nose and proceed with the negotiations.

A majority of the TVA Board is against the proposal as costly and counter to the best interests of this Federal agency and its cus-

The past week, J. D. Steitenroth, secretary treasurer of the Mississippi Power & Light Co., a subsidiary of Middle South Utilities, which Edward H. Dixon heads, revealed he had been fired because he stated publicly on September 19 that customers of the company were being charged excessive rates, because it is dominated by Middle South Utilities.

He also charged that 2 sets of books are kept by Mississippi Power & Light—1 at Jackson, Miss., for corporate purposes, the other in New York for tax purposes and for

manipulation.

The charges were so caustic that the Securities and Exchange Commission would not grant permission for a Middle South Utilities stock issue, if any of the money were to be used to build the Dixon-Yates \$100 million steam plant near Memphis, from which to supply power to the TVA, in return for electricity furnished to the AEC for its atomic-energy plants at Paducah, Ky.

In his 1952 campaign, President Eisenhower pledged himself to operate the TVA at maxi-

mum efficiency.

Unfortunately, he does not seem too familiar with the high finance that some of his friends seem to be trying to put over behind his back, and without his full understanding. They apparently have learned nothing from the fiasco of the Samuel Insuli operations more than 20 years ago.

tions more than 20 years ago.

To clear the air, the President should put into the public record the proposed contract between the Dixon-Yates combine—it has been kept a deep secret so far—and join with the two congressional committees in investi-

gating the entire deal.

If it will stand the spotlight of publicity, and is in the public interest, he will be vindicated; if it is shown to be a plain shenanigan, he should withdraw it and take some more direct route for supplying power at reasonable rates to the TVA and its customers.

Importance of the Air Force—The Motion Picture Strategic Air Command

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS H. KUCHEL

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. KUCHEL. Mr. President, the cause of peace is served by the military power of the people of the United States. It serves free peoples everywhere. To the extent that all people are made aware of our great military strength, the likelihood of aggression by those who oppose freedom diminishes.

Through the genius of the great motion-picture industry of America, there has now been portrayed, for all to see, the power and might of the Strategic Air Force of the United States Air Force.

This week in Washington, the world premiere of the great new Paramont picture, Strategic Air Command, was shown to the Congress and to members of the Air Force. Two great actors, Mr. James Stewart and Miss June Allyson appear in the principal roles. It is a magnificent film story, but it is more than that. It will bring to those who view it a graphic and moving story of the power and might of our Strategic Air Command.

America today-

States the dedication for the picture—
is watching her skies with grave concern,
for in these skies of peace the Nation is
building its defense. To the officers and men
of the United States Air Force, to the Straof the United States Air Force, to the Strasion to start shooting at Carswell Air Force

tegic Air Command, whose cooperation is gratefully acknowledged, and to the young men of America who will one day take their places beside them, this motion picture is dedicated.

As a Californian, I salute what the motion-picture industry, located in our State, has done. Barney Balaban, Paramount president; Y. Frank Freeman, vice president; and Samuel J. Briskin, the producer, and the splendid actors have produced a film which portrays a vigorous and forceful lesson, namely, that America's strength in the air is a powerful deterrent to aggressive war.

Mr. President, Mr. James Stewart, of California, one of the actors having a principal role in the motion picture Strategic Air Command, spoke at the Air Force Association's symposium luncheon last summer, on August 20, 1954, at the Fontenelle Hotel, at Omaha, Nebr., where he was introduced by Gen. James H. Doolittle. I ask unanimous consent that a portion of the remarks made by Mr. Stewart on that occasion be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the statement were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EXCERPTS FROM REMARKS BY JAMES STEWART AT THE AIR FORCE ASSOCIATION'S SYMPOSIUM LUNCHEON, FRIDAY, AUGUST 20, 1954, IN THE BALLROOM OF THE FONTENELLE HOTEL, OMAHA, NERR.—MR. STEWART WAS INTRO-DUCED BY JAMES H. DOOLITILE

Mr. Doolftele. Next I would like to introduce to you another very fine gentleman, comarade-in-arms of mine in England, a wonderful actor, a wonderful fightingman, a wonderful friend and wonderful fellow,

Jimmy Stewart. [Applause.]
Mr. James Stewart. Thank you, General Doolittle. General Kenney. Air Force Association members, you know movie actors are very often criticized for taking every personal appearance they make, every gathering they attend, every interview they give as sort of an occasion to put in a plug for their latest picture.

When I find myself in a sort of unique situation here, here I am in front of the members of the Air Force Association, I notice a lot of very distinguished Air Force personnel in the room, here I am in Omaha, the head-quarters of the Strategic Air Command, and I just completed a picture about the Strategic Air Command, so it is just too good an opportunity to pass up. [Laughter.]

I would like to talk a little bit about my

I would like to talk a little bit about my latest picture. The project started about a year ago. Bert Lowe and I came to General LeMay for an idea about a movie about the Strategic Air Command, and we were invited up here to Omaha. We had a 6-hour briefing by General Montgomery, and it is an experience I will never forget as long as I live, as far as enlightenment about airpower is concerned.

After hearing the briefing, and after getting General LeMay's ideas about what he wanted told and getting a story about the Strategic Air Command, well we suddenly felt we could do more than make just a movie with Air Force background. We could do something long overdue, something that should have been done a long time ago, and that is acquaint the American public with the accomplishments of SAC, with the problems she has solved, with the problems she has still, with the potential strength she has. We got General LeMay's information; we got the story started; I got Paramount interested in it, and after preparations we were ready to start. We were given permission to start shooting at Carswell Air Force

Base in Fort Worth, Tex., and MacDill Air Force Base in Tampa, Fla.

It was made very clear to us when we were given this permission that all the shooting that we did on these two bases was not to interfere with the training going on that time, and I am very proud to say that we have received notice that it did not interfere in any way with the training at Carswell where the filming of that part of the picture had to do with the B-36. And while we were there and watching this airplane taking off and landing. I was reminded that not too many years ago the B-36 and crews that fly her and the command that operated her were in quite a controversy. Evidently, the American people had chosen to accept just so much information about the B-36. and that was that each 1 of them cost \$5 million, and they were informed also that the United States Navy could shoot them

Well, at that time it was sort of very tough to present anything new without a precedent, the entire idea of a continental bomber was a very unfamiliar word and it is pretty hard to convince people about anything they don't understand or things they refuse to understand. But at that time, at the same time the Navy was presenting a problem of the big aircraft carrier.

I want you to know as I sat on the ramp at Carswell Field while these same B-36 sister ships were taking off with great crews to spots all over the world, with profile missions and were lifting almost incredible weights, climbing to almost incredible altitudes, it gave me a great deal of pride and satisfaction. It gave me a great deal of pride and satisfaction because these great B-36's and gallant crews are probably the reason Russia doesn't occupy the whole of Europe today.

Then we moved to MacDill Field for that part of the picture that had to do with the B-47, and see airpower at work as we did. The story of General LeMay's switchover to a complete jet long-range Air Force is a story that is one of the most inspiring of the air stories, almost as inspiring as the Air Force itself. And, of course, here again at MacDill it is very hard to sell people a new idea. When you start talking to people about knock numbers and tallpipe numbers in inflight refueling, oftentimes you don't get very far to them.

The Air Force Association in the past has been very quick to back legislation for appropriations for the finest of equipment and the finest of aircraft, of all types, but let's not lose sight of the fact that the real power behind airpower is still personnel.

Let's not lose sight of that fact, the flyboy is no longer a term that can be applied to the member of the Air Force, a crew member of the Air Force, any more than the floppy hat, the 300-hour-hat term can be applied to the Air Force. Now these men fly by slide rule, capable of very mature thinking, and very mature judgment, they are the result of back-breaking and meticulous training.

Now would not it be a great service for the Air Force Association to do everything in its power to encourage the young men in America to duty in SAC. Not just as a hitch in the Air Force, but as a career, but as his life's work. There has probably never been in any time a group of men who can compare with the combat crews of SAC, who must now be prepared in a single aircraft on a single sortle to perform a mission that in a few short years ago was assigned to a whole Air Force.

I personally believe that in every fown and city in America these men should walk the streets with their heads held high in the knowledge that they are honored and cherished by everyone of us for whatever they are and their willingness to hold our survival in their bare hands.

The President's Message to Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an excellent editorial from the Wall Street Journal of January 7, to be followed by an article written by Mr. Albert Clark, head of the Washington bureau of the Wall Street Journal.

There being no objection, the editorial and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Wall Street Journal of January 7, 1955]

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK

IN OTHER HANDS

Early in President Eisenhower's message to Congress there is a spiritually stirring passage:

"It is of the utmost importance that each of us understand the true nature of the struggle now taking place in the world.

"It is not a struggle merely of economic theories, or of forms of government, or of military power. At issue is the true nature of man. Either man is the creature whom the Psalmist described as 'a little lower than the angels,' crowned with glory and honor, holding 'dominion over the works' of his Creator; or man is a soulless, animated machine to be enslaved, used, and consumed by the state for its own glorification."

Later in the message:

"The aspirations of most of our people can best be fulfilled through their own enterprise and initiative, without governmental interference. This administration, therefore, follows two simple rules: First, the Federal Government should perform an essential task only when it cannot otherwise be adequately performed; and, second, in performing that task, our Government must not impair the self-respect, freedom, and incentive of the individual. So long as these two rules are observed, the Government can fully meet its obligations without creating a dependent population or a domineering bureaucracy."

Then the President lists a number of specific recommendations for new legislation.

In the field of general welfare he renews a proposal for a Federal scheme of health reinsurance, a program to aid low income farm families, a strengthened Federal disaster assistance program, special Government aid to small business, additional Government subsidized housing, measures to improve the medical care of those already receiving Federal assistance, Federal action to build more schools, Federal action to combat juvenile deliquency and new ways to help veterans readjust to civil life.

In the economic sector the President endorses flexible monetary and debt management to help business. He approves of an extensive program of highway construction, a strengthening of the economy in key sectors by continued Government stockpilling and aid to shipbuilding, and the authorization of 6 new reclamation projects and 30 projects planned by the Army Engineering

Corps.

It seems to us that these things constitute a considerable addition to the intervention of Government in the lives and in the business of citizens—an increase in an intervention which over a space of two decades has mushroomed.

Nor is it likely that the intervention of Government will stop with these things. If

President Eisenhower, who wishes some restrictions on the role of Government, can endure such a program, who is then to resist the advocates of a more powerful state

We certainly have no intention here of questioning Mr. Eisenhower's sincerity. We would be willing to believe that if the Government were to remain in his hands, or in the hands of those who see the danger that the citizen may be consumed by the state for its own glorification, there could be achieved a tolerable balance between freedom and security.

But we have among us those who do glorify the State; those who believe that in some fashion they have been cast in a superior mold capable of guiding the citizen better than the citizen can guide himself; those who have little patience with the individual or his initiative; those who would create a domineering bureaucracy and a dependent population.

And how else will they use these instruments of power should they fall into their

hands?

[From the Wall Street Journal of January 10, 1955]

IKE'S SHIPT—HE DRIPTS AWAY FROM CONSERV-ATIVE PROGRAM THAT MARKED ADMINISTRA-TION'S FIRST YEARS

(By Albert Clark)

Washington.—President Eisenhower now seems to have made a perceptible shift away from the conservative platform that swept him into office in 1952 and gave his party then a narrow control of Congress.

The shift is perhaps not abrupt, and the program he outlined for Congress last week is still more conservative than one that might have been offered by, say, former President Truman. Nevertheless a close reading of Mr. Eisenhower's state of the Union message shows some noticeable departures from his previously espoused political philosophy.

The President made it plain he is no longer so inseparably wedded to such conservative fiscal principles as the balanced budget. And he is now more attracted by schemes for liberal spending on public works, welfare, and aid to usiness.

WELFARE PLANS

Last week he put a great deal of emphasis on things the Government should do to promote business expansion. He proposed a multi-billion-dollar highway building program, more public housing, more public works, new help for low-income farm families. And he endorsed the idea that the Government monetary and debt-management policies should be kept flexible—i. e., manipulated to influence the economy.

The President also asked for a raft of measures designed to keep people healthy and care for the ill. Many of these were stated in general terms, but with a promise that he would spell them out in later special messages to Congress. For instance, "an affirmative program" for Federal aid in school building will be sent to Congress February 15.

Meanwhile, the President said nothing specific about what Uncle Sam should stop doing, or do on a smaller scale. The omission seems significant because this was one of the President's campaign themes in the 1952 campaign and he hit it hard in his first state of the Union message 2 years ago.

In sum, then, Mr. Elsenhower's message this year seemed to add up to a promise of more big government and even of a little bigger government—a very unlike-Ike promise.

ise.
What has brought on this change in emphasis?

STRUGGLE IN THE PARTY

Mr. Eisenhower has been under heavy pressure to line up with the liberal wing of his party ever since he returned from Paris to seek the 1952 GOP presidential nomination. Although the liberals backed him for the nomination, Ike looked like a conservative

all through the subsequent campaign that won him the White House. He harped on the lavish spending, high taxes, and Government interference in business that characterized the previous administration.

Once elected, he both preached and applied the same philosophy. At least most of his proposals during the first 2 years in office were in line with his campaign promises. But all during this time there continued a struggle within the administration between the conservative and liberal wings of the party for the position of influence with the President. And with the passing of Senator Taft the conservatives lost their most intellectual, respected, and articulate spokesman.

The first tipoff that the liberal wing might be gaining in influence came last fall. In the September budget review, official figures showed that Mr. Eisenhower then planned to spend more for civilian Government in the current fiscal year, ending next June, than Mr. Truman spent in each of his last 2 fiscal years in office. This review also suggested that the goal of a balanced budget was receding in the distance.

This swing toward a more liberal policy became more noticeable during and after the 1954 congressional campaign in which the Republicans lost control of Congress. Anyway, since that election the President has talked increasingly of building the GOP along moderate progressive lines.

Last week's message made it fairly plain that Mr. Eisenhower has now, by and large, chosen the so-called liberal course. He made a few gestures toward the conservatives and repeated his statement that Government ought to do for people only what they cannot do for themselves. But when it came down to specific proposals, the liberals' views won out in nearly every case.

PAYING THE COST

The economic expansion theme threaded through the 6,700-word annual message. "If we as a people act wisely," he said, "within 10 years our annual national output can rise from its present \$360 billion to \$500 billion, measured in dollars of stable buying power." Government spending, and other Government aid to business, was offered as a lever for raising that national output.

To help foot the bill, the President asked for at least another year of high taxes; he wants to postpone corporate and excise tax relief scheduled for April 1 under existing law. Then he expects increased revenue from economic expansion to permit later tax cuts, perhaps in 1956 (which happens to be an election year).

It is true, of course, that this message contains few new measures, or at least none that had not been anticipated in Washington. Yet there is a tone that reflects the shift to a liberal view. It is hard to escape the conclusion that what the President has done is to write his party's presidential platform for 1956, and few observers doubt any longer that Mr. Eisenhower will be the candidate who'll run on it.

It hardly looks like the platform of 1952. The emphasis now is on things the Federal Government ought to be doing—and no longer on the things it ought not to do.

Very Nice Kind of "Ruin"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record,

I include herewith an editorial from the lic utility districts. Twenty-four years ago New Era, Reading, Pa.:

December 3, the then Secretary of State

VERY NICE KIND OF "RUIN"

The Commerce Department is headed by Sinclair Weeks. He's an ultraconservative big-business man of the kind who like to talk about how the New Deal and Fair Deal ruined the country. Yet, this week, his Department published a report which completely contradicts such talk.

The report describes the amazing economic growth of the United States between 1929 and 1953, the last year for which figures are available, and the first year after the Republicans took over the White House and Congress. The comparison would have been still more striking if it had begun with one of the Hoover depression years—1930, 1931, or 1932—instead of with the peak boom year 1929. Nevertheless, the figures speak for themselves. Among other things they show:

"Gross national product"—total production of goods and services measured in dollars—much more than tripled. It rose from \$104 billion in 1929 to \$365 billion in 1953.

Even allowing for rising prices, by using 1947 dollars as the yardstick for measuring both 1929 and 1953 production, it increased by 105 percent. In the meantime, population grew by 30 percent, but the production of goods and services for each man, woman, and child in the country rose 57 percent during the New Deal and Fair Deal years.

And now note this, which is particularly important in view of all the talk that the country is being rulined by high taxes: The report shows that disposable income, which the American people had left after paying all taxes, soared from \$83 billion in 1929 to \$250 billion in 1953.

All that is reported by a Government department headed by one of the big-business men who have been telling the people that the New Deal and Fair Deal ruined the country.

Silver Anniversary Year for Washington State Public Utility Districts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, the public utility districts of Washington State are this year celebrating their silver anniversary and 25 years of progress made under the plan adopted by my State in 1930.

We in Washington take pride in the accomplishments of the public utility district plan of development of electric power and the supplying of water by them to municipalities.

The December issue of Public Power News, published by the Washington Public Utility Districts' Association, tells of the advances made, in an article I believe will interest all of us. I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TWENTY-FIVE YEARS OF PROGRESS UNDER DEMOCRACY

This month marks the beginning of the silver anniversary year of Washington's pub-

lic utility districts. Twenty-four years ago December 3, the then Secretary of State certified the passage of initiative No. 1 to the legislature. Better known as the grange power bill, the initiative measure had been approved by a majority vote of the people of the State at the general elections held November 4, 1930. The measure, in accordance with provisions of the State constitution, became effective 30 days after passage, on December 4, 1930.

This law, now generally referred to as the PUD law, authorized the establishment of public utility districts, owned by the public and governed by their elected representatives, "to conserve the water and power resources of the State of Washington for the benefit of the people thereof, and to supply public utility service, including water and electricity for all uses."

While there have from time to time been amendments to the PUD law, in its essentials it remains pretty much as adopted 24 years

Today there are 30 public utility districts in 29 of Washington's 39 counties (not counting the small, less-than-countywide Spokane County district which has been inactive for many years). Since the Whatcom County district began operating a short transmission line in October, 23 PUD's have been engaged in the electric utility business. About 210,000, or approximately 25 percent, of the State's electric customers are served by PUD's. In addition over 11,000 customers are receiving water service from PUD mains.

Washington has the lowest electric rates in the Nation. Over 99 percent of the farms in the State have been electrified. Rural electrification is more complete in only one other State—Connecticut. Average consumption of electric energy by consumers in Washington is amongst the highest in the Nation, if not the highest. This is a record of which we can justly be proud. The public utility districts and the PUD movement have played an important part, a deciding part, in making this record possible. 1955 does indeed mark 25 years of progress under democracy.

One Hundredth Anniversary of Lawrence (Kans.) Post Office

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, yesterday, January 13, marked the 100th anniversary of the Lawrence (Kans.) Post Office established in the territory of Kansas on January 13, 1855.

Postmaster Carmi W. Babcock was named the first postmaster for Lawrence by President Grant. Since that time we have had a succession of fine postmasters in Lawrence culminating in the recent appointment of James H. Parsons, one of the outstanding citizens of the community.

The Lawrence Post Office was served on the first mail contract in Kansas with mail being distributed from Leavenworth.

The growth of the Lawrence Post Office and the service it has given that community typifies the pioneer spirit of all our great State by desire to pay homage to Lawrence's Postmaster Parsons and the postal employees for their untiring efforts and contribution to the continued growth of the community.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the story published in the Lawrence Daily Journal World.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FAR CRY FROM HUMBLE BEGINNING-POST OFFICE HERE IS NEARLY 100 YEARS OLD

(By Ruth E. Love)

The Lawrence Post Office will observe its 100th anniversary Thursday. According to records in the National Archives a Federal post office was established here January 13, 1855.

In its 100 years the office has grown from a mere receiving place for the mail in a home on the raw bank of the Kansas River with a 1-man crew, to an installation in the large brick Federal building at Seventh and New Hampshire Streets, with a staff of 80 officials and employees. The present staff includes 27 city carriers and 5 rural carriers, plus a crew of supervisors, office clerks, substitute workers, and custodial workers.

Before the opening of the United States post office, citizens of Lawrence, realizing the need of a central point for distribution of mail, set up their own post office and appointed E. D. Ladd to serve as an unofficial postmaster.

An early day newspaper, the Herald of Freedom, described the action under dateline of January 6, 1855, as follows:

"We have no mails yet in this territory save such as are gotten up at private expense. Here in Lawrence we have a post office, kept by Mr. Ladd, who was appointed by the citizens to discharge that duty. The mail matter directed to individuals residing here is stopped at Kansas City or Westport, Mo., from which point it is brought, almost daily, by private individuals who chance to be traveling between the several points.

be traveling between the several points.

"We saw the other morning a gentleman residing 75 miles west of this, on the Kansas River, who had just traveled the entire distance on foot, to get the mail matter for individuals in that vicinity. Such is pioneer life in Kansas; but we trust Government will soon remedy these inconveniences.

"A post route should be established along the south side of Kansas River from Westport, Mo., to Fort Riley, Kansas Territory, and in a very brief space of time be a source of revenue to the Government. A bill will no doubt be passed in the present session of Congress establishing such a route, with others to various parts of the Territory."

Just 1 week after the printing of this article, a regular United States post office was established at Lawrence.

Severe weather was one of the handicaps of mail delivery in those early days, as the following item in the February 17, 1855, issue of the Herald of Freedom indicates:

"It seems impossible to get any news from the East. Our exchanges are almost wholly cut off, and of letters we have none of any account for weeks. It is said the snow is so deep and has drifted so high that the cars (trains) have been compelled to cease running. No eastern mail has been received in Chicago, says a dispatch, in 11 days, and none from Chicago has been received in St. Louis in 9 days. If these reports are true, we can readily account for the delay of our own mail matter."

Four days later it was recorded that about 400 letters arrived at the Lawrence office for local citizens.

The location of the first Lawrence post office and the first mail service is described in another Herald of Freedom item on March 3, 1855, thus:

"The post office for the present will be at the house of Mr. (William H. R.) Lykens on the levee. The mail carrier will leave this city every Monday morning at 8 o'clock, returning on Friday."

James Parsons, present postmaster, said the weekly trip of the carrier mentioned probably referred to a mail route from Lawrence to Kansas City and return. In seeking to establish a history of the local office, Parsons was aided by Dr. Robert Taft, of the University of Kansas. The postmaster also requested such information as could be obtained from the National Archives and Records Division at Washington, D. C., and was aided by Paul Lewinson, Chief Archivist there.

An excerpt from Lewinson's letter to Parsons says, "It is interesting to note that mail route contract No. 15233, from Fort Leavenworth (via Lawrence) to Fort Scott was let on October 10, 1855, to Charles B. Norris, 125 miles and back, once a week, for \$1,100 per annum. The mode of transportation of mail service to Lawrence for the period prior to the use of the railroads is not shown. However, other Kansas mail route contracts for the same period show that mail had been delivered by 2-horse hack, 2-horse carriage, and 4-horse coach."

Carmi W. Babcock, a lawyer and real-estate dealer, was named the first postmaster for Lawrence and his office was placed in the store of Paul R. Brooks, on the west side of Massachusetts Street. Babcock also was the second major of Lawrence, and later was a ember of the Free State legislature. He served as Kansas surveyor under appointment from President Grant, and acted as contractor for the east wing of the State capitol. He served one term of 2 years as postmaster.

He was succeeded by James Garvin, who also served 2 years. The list of postmasters to the present time includes some of the town's most prominent citizens. Those who served, and their terms of office, are: Babcock, 1855-57; Garvin, 1857-59; Samuel K. Huson, 1859-61; Josiah Miller, 1861-63; John H. Shimmons, 1863-67; John R. Rankin, 1867-71; John H. Simmons, 1871-73; Lorenzo J. Worden, 1873-85; Osbun Shannon, 1885-89; Eugene F. Goodrich, 1889-94; George Innes, 1894-98; Eldie F. Caldwell, 1898-1903; George J. Barker, 1903-07; Irving Hill, 1907-11; Charles S. Finch, 1911-15; Charles C. Seewir, 1915-20; Charles E. Finch, 1920-24; Clitus B. Hosford, 1924-34; Roger M. Williams, 1934-52; Harry R. Barnard (acting post-master), 1952-53; James H. Parsons, appointed in 1953.

From the seventies until the time the present post office building was erected, the office was located in the building at the corner of Massachusetts and Seventh (then Winthrop) Streets. The building was first known as Liberty Hall and afterward as the Bowersock Opera House. The entrance to the post office was on the Winthrop or Seventh Street side.

In 1906 the present Federal building was completed and the post office moved in. The following year it became a first-class post office. To achieve this, income from all sources had to reach \$40,000 and the local office topped this by nearly \$1,000 that year. By 1914 local officials were complaining that the office was too small for the town's needs. More business was being transacted here than in any other office in the State with the exception of Kansas City, Topeka, and Wichita.

But it was not until some time later the funds were appropriated by Congress, and by that time receipts had reached an all-time high of \$692,000 in 1953. In December of 1954 another record was established—the exceeding of 1 million cancellations in a month.

States Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRY M. GOLDWATER

OF ARIZONA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. GOLDWATER. Mr. President, we have all witnessed how States rights have deteriorated since 1933, and very few people have risen to the defense of States rights. Because the question is going to become one of the great issues in the coming years, I ask unanimous consent that a discussion, entitled "States Rights and the Supreme Court," by Dean Clarence Manion, delivered on Sunday, January 2, 1955, be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATES RIGHTS AND THE SUPREME COURT

Bright and early yesterday morning, my favorite radio announcer came through with a brand new traffic safety slogan: "Stay alive in '55." But in spite of all warnings and precautions, traffic will be a big killer this year. So will cancer. The new year finds us still handicapped in our fight against cancer, precisely because we do not yet know exactly what cancer is. We can now detect its presence in its very early stages, but since we are uncertain about its cause, we are helpiess to avoid its malignant impact. As long as we are confused about the nature and cause of cancer, we are doomed to live in dread of it.

Communism is the cancer of modern civilization. It destroys the normal pattern of rational growth and development in human society and dooms the body politic to a life worse than death. For those who are chronically complacent about the revolting menace of the Communist disease, I have a short, sure cure. Read the novel "1984," by the late George Orwell. One hour in this fictional yet obviously scientific chamber of horrors will make your blood run cold.

But unlike cancer, we know what the disease of communism is. We know what causes it, and we have the one effective means of immunizing the United States against it for all time to come.

One of the great assistants to the development of the communistic disease is the wise prevalence of faulty diagnosis. Communism is not a hunger in human nature for equality and justice. It is not a demand for the redistribution of wealth, land, and property. Communists represent communism as a crusade for social justice, precisely to distract its victims into administering the wrong medicine, while the ravages of their deliberately propagated disease take a firm hold. Communism is a malignant conspiracy for power. Its target is the tight concentra-tion of complete control of all persons and all things into the hands of godless gangsters. The deadly germs of this disease are cultured and developed only in a climate of power concentration. Where governmental control over human beings is minimized, dispersed, disintegrated, and effectively kept that way, the germs of communism can never take hold.

In the world at this moment there is one effective shield against communism. It is found in the vigilant enforcement of the American constitutional system. The wide and ramified distribution of governmental power provided for in our State and Federal Constitutions is a scientific pattern for per-

manent immunity against communism. But this pattern is not self-executing. It depends for its effectiveness upon the conscientious restraint of every State and Federal officeholder. These officeholders will be so restrained only as long as we, the people, are as vigilantly and continuously devoted to our constitutional safeguards as we are to the elemental protections of our personal health and safety.

When our legislatures and administrators ignore constitutional restraints and raid our reserves of liberty, privacy, and immunity with arbitrary rules and regimentation, we have our constitutional resort to the courts for ultimate and final protection. Ours is the only country on earth where the individual citizen can thus make all the power and force of government stand back before the assertion of his personal, God-given, constitutionally protected right. In the last analysis, therefore, your constitutional right is only as good as the judge or judges before whom it is asserted. A great Justice of the United States Supreme Court once declared that while we are protected by the Constitution, we should always remember that Constitution is what the judges say it is." For all practical purposes, that statement is correct. Thus, when the Supreme Court decides what a selected provision of the Constitution means in a particular case, that decision, until it is overruled, becomes in effect a part of the Constitution itself. Lawyers then advise their clients to respect the decision. Legislatures and governmental administrators attempt to proceed within the limits of such constitutional construction. Lower courts decide and dispose of thousands of analogous cases upon the authority of the original Supreme Court decision. It is obvious that because of its important repercussions such a construction of the Constitution, once it is made by the Supreme Court, should certainly be respected and upheld by that tribunal down through the succeeding years.

For a century and a half the Supreme Court did just that. Since 1936 however, the judicial attitude of the Supreme Court in this, and in many other respects, has changed radically. Like the Constitution, which they are appointed to protect, the Supreme Court Justices are deliberately and securely walled away from the fickle pressures of popular opinion and political turnovers. It is becoming increasingly obvious, however, that the Justices are not only reading the election returns, but in many instances, are interpreting and projecting them like the astute politicians that many of them were, and to all appearances, still are.

In the last 15 years the Supreme Court has overturned and reversed more of its own judicially established constitutional con-structions than were changed by that court in all the preceeding years of our national history. These reversals do not show the Supreme Court merely to be what Justice Roberts called the breeder of fresh doubt and confusion in the public mind. showing is much more significant than that. The recent revolutionary reversals of judicial precedent fall ominously into a precise pattern for political centralization. By its decisions, during the last 15 years, the Supreme Court has removed practically every constitional restraint upon congres sional and Federal executive power. At the same time, the Court has rebuffed and frustrated every important attempt by the individual States of the Union to assert the regulatory powers over subjects reserved to them under the 10th article of the bill

Constitutionally reserved State powers, crystalized by specific judicial constructions for more than 50 years, have been summarily swept away by the New Deal—Fair Deal—Middle-of-the-road—Progressive—moderate,

New Look that the Supreme Court now gives to everything. The Justices are not content to validate new extensions of congressional regulation into purely local business activities. In some instances the Court goes further by first disregarding the restraints that Congress itself has written into its own laws, and then extending the scope of that legislation by judicial decree.

For instance, in 1938 Congress passed what is known as the Natural Gas Act. Its obvious purpose was to regulate the State-to-State, cross-country, transportation of natural gas in the pipelines of transporting companies. The congressional act further provides this: "It shall not apply to any other transportation or sale of natural gas, or to the local distribution of natural gas, or to the facilities used for such distribution, or to the production or gathering of natural gas." The administration of the act was given, by Congress, to the Federal Power Commission. That agency consistently took the congressional act at its word, and refused to fix local gas prices of independent local gas produc-Nevertheless, some people kept insisting that the Commission fix this local producer's price. To settle the question, Congress in 1950 passed the Kerr bill, expressly reaffirming the original congressional intent to leave local, intrastate prices alone.

Although the Kerr bill was vetoed by President Truman, this congressional action, plus the expressed congressional withdrawal from the area of local gas prices, in the 1938 act, was a clear indication of the limit which Congress intended to place upon its own Federal regulation. Nevertheless, in June of 1954, the Supreme Court in the now famous Phillips case (Phillips Petroleum Co. v. Wisconsin et al. (347 U.S. 672)) decided otherwise. In exempting local gas prices from the regulatory powers of the Federal Commission, it could be assumed that Congress recognized at least some constitutional limitations upon the distance it could go into the regulation of purely State and local busi-However, in its decision, the Supreme Court ignored the possibility of any such constitutional limitation. The only dissent and disagreement in the Court was on the question of congressional intention. The majority of the Justices held that, although the act said no, the legislative history of the measure showed congressional intent to go the full distance. Incidentally, in deciding the Phillips case as it did, the Supreme Court reversed 2 of its own previous decisions, 1 made in 1944, another in 1949. (Federal Power Commission v. Hope Natural Gas Co. (320 U. S. 591 (1944))); (Fed. Pow. Comm. v. Panhandle Eastern Pipe Line (337 U. S. 506) (1949))). Both of these cases had decided the identical question under the same congressional act in a manner exactly contrary to the decision in the Phillips case.

Thus what Justice Roberts called the breeder of confusion becomes more and more prolific. It is not, however, as the breeder of confusion but as the architect of centralized power that the Supreme Court now needs to be watched and feared. Not only does it now destroy the integrity of the States by widening the already broad exercise of congressional power, but, even more dangerously, it corroborates the power of the President—all by himself—to wipe out every vestige of reserved State power through the agency of secret international agreements.

In the most appropriately named Pink case, United States v. Pink ((1942) 315 U.S. 203), the Supreme Court held that President Rooseveit's agreement with Litvinov, which recognized Communist Russia in 1933, overrode the constitution and laws of New York as well as the 10th and 5th article of the Federal Bill of Rights. In the Pink case, the Supreme Court held that, notwithstanding the fact that the Litvinov agreement was not ratified by or even submitted to the United States Senate, the rule of legal su-

premacy for treaties still applies. The Court said: "From the very fact that complete power over international affairs is in the National Government, it is not and cannot be subject to any curtailment or interference on the part of the several States." The Pink decision then concluded, "in respect of all international negotiations and compacts, and in respect of our foreign relations generally, State lines disappear." Nevertheless erally, State lines disappear." Nevertheless the last clause of the Bill of Rights still says that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution * * * are reserved to the States respectively or to the people." Is the Supreme Court interpreting the Constitution or is it making it over? If the centralizing forces of Communist concentration are now too strong to be resisted by the Justices in Washington, then what chances do our American soldier boys have on their lonely vigils in Korea, Samoa, Spain, Ethiopia, and elsewhere?

Officially we are all out against communism. But regardless of the money we spend—the armies we raise or the American boys we bury all over the world—the fact nevertheless remains, in the words of Woodrow Wilson, "A concentration of governmental power is what always precedes the death of human freedom." By encouraging power concentration in Washington, we are nourishing the very disease we are trying to destroy. If constitutional freedom is to stay alive in 1955 and beyond, we had better take a good look at our Supreme Court.

Crusade for Freedom and Radio Free Europe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I was pleased to see in the January 1955 issue of the Eagle magazine, published in Milwaukee, Wis., a fine writeup of the Eagle's new drive in support of the crusade for freedom.

The writeup refers specifically to the launching of another great balloon campaign carrying freedom messages behind the Iron Curtain. It rightly urges prompt communication with the president of the American Heritage Foundation, which sponsors the crusade-for-freedom drive. I am glad to point out that the president of this foundation is our noted friend, great soldier-stateman and leader, the able former Under Secretary of State, Gen. Walter Bedell Smith.

I believe that this latest fine Eagle campaign—symbolic of other efforts by other splendid American organizations—will be of interest to my colleagues. I send to the desk now the text of the Eagle article.

I append to it an article which is carried in the current issue of the magazine Retirement Life, published by the National Association of Retired Civil Employees. This article by Frank J. Wilson is entitled "Radio Free Europe Crashes the Iron Curtain." It tells graphically why it is so important that this particular phase of the crusade for freedom be given every possible support.

I ask unanimous consent that both items, preceded by a list of the distinguished officers and trustees of the foundation, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the list and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OFFICERS OF AMERICAN HERITAGE FOUNDATION

Walter Bedell Smith, president; Henry Ford II, chairman of the board; Louis A. Novins, executive vice president; Barney Balaban, vice chairman; John L. McCaffrey, vice chairman; George Meany, vice chairman; Walter P. Reuther, vice chairman; Robert G. Sproul, vice chairman; Charles E. Wilson, vice chairman; Edwin L. Weisl, Jr., secretary; James G. Bialne, treasurer; George J. Waas, controller and business manager; and William A. Greene, national crusade chairman.

Trustees: Mrs. Oscar A. Ahlgren, William D. Askren, Barney Balaban, Don Belding, James G. Blaine, Harold W. Brightman, Thomas D'A. Brophy, Leo Burnett, Henry L. Corbett, John Cowles, John W. Davis, Fred F. Florence, Henry Ford H. Ford C. Frick, Bruce Gould, Philip L. Graham, Eric Johnston, Robert Lehman, Henry R. Luce, Charles Luckman, J. A. Martino, John L. McCaffrey, Timothy A. McInerny, George Meany, Harvey S. Mudd, Earl Newsom, Louis A. Novins, Irving S. Olds, Arthur W. Page, Mrs. Robert P. Patterson, T. S. Petersen, Samuel F. Pryor, Walter P. Reuther, Edward L. Ryerson, David Sarnoff, Paul R. Scott, McGregor Smith, Paul C. Smith, Walter Bedell Smith, Robert G. Sproul, Niles Trammell, Frank C. Walker, DeWitt Wallace, Thos. J. Watson, Edwin E. Wiesl, Charles M. White, Charles E. Wilson, and Robert E. Wilson.

[From the Eagle of January 1955]

EAGLES WILL AGAIN LAUNCH SYMBOLIC BAL-LOONS IN BIG CRUSADE FOR FREEDOM DEM-ONSTRATION—EACH AERIE URGED TO JOIN IN SPECTACULAR PROGRAM

Last year the Eagles staged a sensational and dramatic demonstration of the order's dedication to the cause of world freedom when many hundreds of aeries launched thousands of freedom ballons to bring home to all Americans the message of the crusade for freedom.

This year will see an even more spectacular project designed to gain support for bringing the message of freedom to those imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain.

Eagle Freedom Chairman Martin J. Mol. Detroit, recently returned from a trip to Europe, has announced that once again all aeries will be urged to participate in the program which gained front-page publicity in papers all over the continent last year.

On February 12, Lincoln's birthday, there will be a mass launching at Freyhun, Germany, of ballons which will be sent over the Iron Curtain to the people of Czechoslovakia. As a part of a great civic celebration, there will be launched a balloon for every aerie in the jurisdiction, each bearing a message from the crusade for freedom and greetings from the sponsoring aerie.

In addition to the mass launching in Milwaukee, freedom balloons will soar from the steps of every State capitol in the Nation, under State aerie auspices.

And every Eagle aerie is being asked to make plans for a balloon launching from the city hall of every Eagle city. To facilitate this, Mol recently announced, the grand aerie freedom committee will send a balloon to every aerie. Additional balloons may be ordered by the aeries by writing to Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, president, American Heritage Foundation, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N. Y.

Mol states that this year the balloons will be exact facsimiles of those used in Europe to carry the message of freedom over the Iron Curtain. They will be approximately four times the size of the Eagle balloons sent aloft lest year.

To eliminate the problem which arose last year when some of the helium supplies proved inadequate, the committee is suggesting this year that each Aerie contact a local source of gas.

Mol announces that January 15 is the deadline for securing additional balloons.

In addition to the chairman, other members of the freedom committee are William Hazelwood, Detroit, secretary; Joseph Starowski, Bremerton, Wash.; Chas. J. Fracisco, Livermore, Calif.; Elwood Devine, Terre Haute, Ind.; Ed Spangler, Freeport, Ill.; Steve Thomas, Pennsylvania; Carmen Corbisero, Ashtabula, Ohio; Tony Phelps, Denver, Colo.; Ew Kamas, Elmira, N. Y.; and Guy Porter, Davenport, Iowa.

[From Retirement Life] Radio Free Europe Crashes the Iron Curtain

(By Frank J. Wilson)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The American Heritage Foundation made it possible for Mr. Wilson and 71 other national leaders in the 1954 crusade for freedom to observe Radio Free Europe in action and to observe its intensive overseas facilities. Thousands of retirees have contributed to the crusade for freedom and are interested in it. President Wilson's account of the flight to Munich and his impressions there appeared in our December issue. This report on the RFE operation and its significance as he sees it completes his self-imposed assignment as a Retirement Life reporter at the front.)

Live as long as I may, I doubt if there will be another moment that can fully match the solid satisfaction that came to me in Munich. This was the moment when, before a microphone of Radio Free Europe, there came a sudden realization that I was about to have an actual part, however small, in a magnificent, extensive enterprise carrying to millions of freedom-loving people like myself, unwilling captives behind an Iron Curtain of a giant, inhuman Communist conspiracy, a message of hope and courage from the people of my own country.

I would not try to describe the emotion of that moment. I would not know where to find words. It was a mixture. Exactly what I would say into the microphone there before me had little to do with what I felt. The big thing was that when I would say it the chances were better than good that in spite of all the Red tyrants could do, the words would crash through their Iron Curtain. A realization of what that bare fact meant to those enslaved people—what it might signify perhaps for the whole world for centuries to come—was, literally, breathtaking. And uppermost, as I recall, was a sense of profound gratitude; gratitude that the RFE microphone should be there; for the vision and spirit of my countrymen who put it there; for the will and the power that lay steadily behind it.

BEGINNINGS

Perhaps if I go back a bit I can indicate in another way what I want, if I can, to share with every reader of this report. In 1950, the year following his return home after his service as United States High Commissioner to West Germany, Gen. Lucius Clay said this:

"When I left Germany in 1949, I came home with a very firm conviction that we needed in addition to the Voice of America a different, broader voice, a voice of the free people, a radio which would not speak the words of government but would speak to each country behind the Iron Curtain in its own language, and from the throats of its own leaders who had fled for their lives

because of their beliefs in freedom. I found that one was already getting under way known as Radio Free Europe. It seemed to me that what it needed was a broad base of support from the American people. Then it would truly be a voice of freedom, representing the American people. Then it would truly be a voice of freedom, representing the American people. Then it would truly be a voice of freedom, representing the free peoples behind the Iron Gurtain, but sponsored by the people of America. That was the origin of the Crusade for Freedom."

DEVELOPMENT

Radio Free Europe went on the air in July 1950 with a mobile 7½-kilowatt shortwave transmitter and broadcast for a total of 10 hours a week. One by one, added stations were developed into a network: The Voice of Free Czechoslovakia, of Free Hungary, Free Poland, Free Rumania, and Free Bulgaria. When I was in Munich 22 shortand medium-wave transmitters were broadcasting 2,400 hours every week to the target countries. Very powerful transmitters broadcast each program simultaneously on different wavelengths, thus enabling enslaved patriots in satellite nations to tune in on many locations on their radio dials, So rapid has been the development.

TECHNIQUES

Radio Free Europe programs to the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain aim to sustain their hope of restoring their national freedom and individual liberties, and eventual return to the free world.

Radio Free Europe exposes the daily lies and distortions of the Communist regimes by simple truth and unvarnished fact. Listeners are continuously reminded of the power of their inherent strength, in contrast to the weakness of regimes which must rely on terror to maintain the power they have usurped. They are acquainted with the spiritual, political and economic values of America and other free nations where God is regarded as the Supreme Master. broadcasts explain the benefits that would come from the reestablishment of governments of their own choice within a free, united Europe. The programs impress the need for all who desire to worship God and wish peace with freedom to unite against the tyranny of communism.

On each of the Radio Free Europe stations, exiles from the captive countries speak to their peoples in their own languages. Inspired by their devotion to the cause of freedom and democracy, they write persuasive scripts, and broadcast in their own styles. Letters to Radio Free Europe from listeners behind the Iron Curtain, which usually open with such phrases as, "My Fellow Countryman," "Dear Beloved Compatriots," or "My Dear Free Comrades," establish that the principle of operating "exile stations" is sound. Americans work closely with the exiles as partners allied in the common struggle. This partnership has resulted in vital, hard-hitting scripts-the sincere efforts of front-line fighters in the struggle against communism-heart-touching messages that show a profound understanding of life behind the Iron Curtain and that carry rays of cheer to the downcast.

I briefly described the balloon technique for overpassing the Iron Curtain in December Retirement Life. Confidential reports from a reliable source advise us that the balloons were being fired upon by Soviet occupation troops. The balloon activities are so effective that the enraged Communists commissioned a sly saboteur to sneak up on the station and set it on fire. The saboteur was apprehended outside the balloon field and this sinister Red plot to burn the plant was nipped in the bud. Alert and fierce police dogs continuously guard the plant.

PROGRAMS

Programs cover a wide range of subjects. World news is included in programs of many types, for the true nature of communism obviously cannot be made clear without relating it to life in the free world. News is broadcast around the clock, every hour, as the truth is a precious commodity in the war of words. Special programs are designed for youth, factory workers, farmers, women, war veterans, and even Communists.

Religious news and services go to listeners of all faiths. Culture and comedy, drama and music, forums and interviews are all included in programs aimed to attract more and more listeners. Strategically located all along the borders of the Iron Curtain, from Stockholm to Istanbul, a chain of 16 Radio Free Europe news bureaus provides a constant flow of information to prove that the cruel Communists are continuously conspiring to crush under the iron heel the freedom to worship God, and freedom of speech. Refugees produce plenty of current evidence for Radio Free Europe broadcasts regarding tyrannical conditions behind the curtain.

RESULTS

Is Radio Free Europe reaching the people behind the Iron Curtain with its message of home liberation freedom?

hope, liberation, freedom?

Is the operation undermining the Communist totalitarian regimes and winning friends for the cause of a free world?

Are listeners actually influenced by the

broadcasts?

These are questions which Americans have a right to ask for Radio Free Europe is made

a right to ask, for Radio Free Europe is made possible by their contributions.

From what I have seen at close range and from careful study during the course of my tour, I am convinced that the evidence is all one way; that the answer to each of the questions is definitely "Yes." Two basic criteria allow us to appraise the effectiveness of Radio Free Europe operations. The first is the positive reaction to its programs by the listening audience. The second is the reaction by the God-hating, materialistic Communist regimes and their propaganda organs.

Reaction of listeners comes daily to Radio Free Europe in letters from persons of all ages and description. Most have praise for Radio Free Europe's fight for the cause of liberation and the freedom of all peoples to select governments of their choice, to worship God, to enjoy free speech, and to live in peace with their fellow men in other nations. Many contain reports of radio reception conditions. Others tell about the terrors of the police state. Some even chide Radio Free Europe for not advocating immediate war against Russia in order to set free the captive peoples.

The violence of the reactions of the Communist regimes is evidence fully as convincing. When the powerful Radio Free Europe transmitter went on the air to Czechoslovakia, Communist stations broadcast death threats to Radio Free Europe personnel, and the Prague regime dispatched official diplomatic communications to the United States Government vigorously protesting against the broadcasts.

In addition to positive reactions of this kind—proving Radio Free Europe's ability to influence its audiences—the satellite regimes were forced to disregard a primary rule of psychological warfare—namely, that hostile propaganda should not be dignified by reply. Communist spokesmen have constantly answered Radio Free Europe accusations and attacked its operation so as to counteract the impact of its broadcasts. A few of their favorite epithets are; "criminal rabble," "barking dogs," "hired slanderers," "pirates of the ether," "saboteurs," and "yakkity-yakkers."

Shortly after the death of Stalin, Rude Pravo, the official Communist paper in Czechoslovakia, angrily attacked Radio Free Europe's "inhuman monsters who raised their nauseating voices to try to exploit the

anguish of the people." The attack continued, "Our people will not forget that the most monstrous of these monsters were emigres whom our nation long ago cast from its The "monsters" referred to were the exiles at Radio Free Europe who fled from Communist terror to become the frontline fighters in the struggle for a free world.

So it goes. So it was going when I was at Munich; and the efficient staff of Radio Free Europe remarked happily that so long as Moscow and her secret police regimes continue to bellow we can be certain that the attack goes well. Let me assure you that Radio Free Europe intends to continue to obstruct the march of Soviet imperialism. It is playing an important part to help the free world win the cold war. By winning a war, we can prevent a hot war.

With this necessarily brief and far from adequate report of Radio Free Europe in action, perhaps you will better understand and to some extent share my emotions on that moment before a microphone in Munich. As for the significance of the Radio Free Europe michophone itself, certainly it can be no better stated than it has been by our farsighted President:

"Through Radio Free Europe * * * men and women, who might otherwise have succummed to the philosophy that it is good to be slaves, still keep alive the spark of freedom in their hearts. This work serves not only the nations we seek to help-it serves the best interests of the United States."

President Eisenhower, our inspired leader, appeals to us "to rededicate ourselves to unselfish striving for the common better-ment of mankind." You will agree that Radio Free Europe exemplifies that Christian doctrine to a high degree. It is a high privilege to be associated in such a humane cause. Let us as loyal citizens aid in the fight against our arch foe, communism, and demonstrate our Americanism by strong support of such worthy activities as the American Heritage Foundation, Radio Free Europe, and the crusade for freedom.

Gridiron Club Comment on Dixon-Yates Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. SPARKMAN

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 14, 1955

Mr. SPARKMAN. Mr. President, on December 11, 1954, the famous Gridiron Club held its annual meeting in Washington, and at that time various matters were commented on and various persons were "placed on the griddle."

One of the most interesting skits presented on that occasion related to the Dixon-Yates contract. I ask unanimous consent that that portion of the Gridiron Club's program be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpt from the program was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of December 12, 19541

GRIDIRON SIZZLES AGAIN

Still another skit introduced Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission, and Maj. Gen. Kenneth D. Nichols, its General Manager. Joining in on this one were Edgar H. Dixon and Eugene A.

combine.

The announcer said:

"One hundred years ago the team of Mason-Dixon—and their line—rated national interest. Tonight the line leads to the new team of Dixon-Yates, and their interest rate. We take you to the Tennessee mountains where chained lightning has given way to chained power for the A-bomb, and the H-bomb."

The set opened with "Strauss and Nichols" tending a moonshine still. "Dixon and Yates" entered and this dialogue followed:

Dixon: "I'm Dixon and this is my partner, Yates. We're powerfully interested in some-

thing with power. Can we make a deal?"
Nichols: "Yes, siree. We like deals, but not with this stuff. We're cooking this for a couple of other friends."

Yates: "What we want is some of this

guaranteed free enterprise."
Strauss: "What's that?"
Yates: "Why, something you get free from the Government."

Strauss: "We got lots of that, but you gotta make a bid first."

Dixon: "What's a bid?"

Strauss: "That's simple. Just tell us what you want and we'll let the boss persuade us to give it to you."

Yates: "O. K., then listen."

To the score of Make Believe, "Dixon and Yates" sang:

We could make believe they fooled us Please don't make believe that you fooled me. Others find profits high in pretending Couldn't you? Couldn't I?

Couldn't we? When our kilowatts are blending Dixon-Yates comes first-then two, or three. Creepin' capitalists, here's a real hint Get a high line to the mint. We could make believe it's risky,

Nine percent's the least we'll take Electricity's so stimulating-Four for you

Five for I

Nine for we. Guaranteed returns awaiting In a year or two or three. Never bid, but just try cultivating Budget Bureau friends for we.

GOVERNMENT PUBLICATIONS FOR SALE

Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized book dealers and quantity purchasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by book dealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a, Supp. 2).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printers to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Yates, of the controversial Dixon-Yates power LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approxi-mate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives. each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 8 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the RECORD at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.



Appendix

Let's Save America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, in answer to a substantial number of requests, I submit for printing in the RECORD a copy of the remarks which I made to the 29th Women's Patriotic Conference at its sessions in Washington, D. C., last week.

These remarks follow:

LET'S SAVE AMERICA

Mrs. Good, delegates to this 29th Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, and distinguished guests, I appreciate the invitation to participate in your discussions here today.

You, and the organizations you represent, deserve the praise of all America for your efforts to defend our Constitution and the

American way of life.

The task to which you have set yourselves is a difficult one, as all of you are well aware. But let me assure you that those of us in Congress who still believe the sovereignty of the Nation deserves first consideration are grateful for your work. I pray that more Americans will become alert to the dangers which threaten to take from us the libertles which our forefathers fought to secure and

will join in your crusade.
Our first President, George Washington,
warned that we must remain independent and steer a clear and sure course away from Europe's intrigues and quarrels. The great vision of Washington, as well as Jefferson, led to the American policy of noninterven-tion and the greatest free government on earth. On no other basis than the avoidance of foreign entanglements could Republic have endured and on no other basis

will it be sustained.

What everyone must understand, then, is that the end product of our foreign policy must be the protection and advancement of our national interests, not the least of which is the perpetuation of our individual rights and freedoms. In judging the results of the interventionist policy which we now pursue, those who advocate this course must therefore rest their case on what it has accomplished.

In less than 40 years, and the fighting of three gory wars, we look across the Pacific to a hostile Far East where once we had earned the respect of hundreds of millions of people. We look across the Atlantic—to the continent of Europe—and are hard-pressed to find a single country of any substantial area or population which is willing to make the sacrifices necessary to defend itself much less join in an international movement to suppress aggression.

Meantime, our young men grow up in the shadow of the draft, serving longer periods in active service and reserves than almost anywhere else in the world; our Federal debt alone far exceeds the combined debts of all the governments of the world, while our total debt, public and pri-vate, has rocketed to more than \$600 billion. In this climate, savings and investments are constantly threatened by inflation, and we are burdened by a tremendous load of taxation, unprecedented in time of peace and legally unlimited.

By what stretch of the imagination can

one-worlders, Atlantic unioneers and international do-gooders claim that our national security and well-being has been enhanced by the foreign policy we continue to

POREIGN GIVEAWAYS

Let us review briefly a few of the many foreign giveaway schemes which have drained from the pockets of American tax-payers some \$150 billion in the last 15 years. Incidentally, it may be argued that some of that huge amount of money represents loans to foreign governments. May I remind you that our so-called foreign friends still owe us more than \$17 billion as a result of loans during World War I. If our so-called allies haven't seen fit to repay this money in 38 years, is anyone naive enough to believe that any of them will make more than gestures toward paying their debts arising out of World War II and the postwar period?

In the last 15 years we have seen the fantastic spectacle of Americans providing scores of countries with funds for one pur-pose or another. No corner of the earth has been neglected in our mad scramble

to finance the world.

We have made possible the building of air-conditioned, luxury apartments in the jungles of the Belgian Congo.

We financed the building of a railroad station in Rome that for sheer splendor makes Grand Central of Pennsylvania stations in New York look like tank-town facilities on a branch line rallroad.

We sent an expert to Italy to show the Italians how to husk corn; we sent a Pennsylvania track coach to India to teach the Indians how to run although their chief mode of transportation is their legs, and we recently sent a delegation of eight, handpicked American women to an assortment of foreign countries to pick a bevy of foreign women to visit this country. can taxpayers, of course, pick up the checks both ways for these international tourists. It's all part of the tub-thumping propa-ganda by the State Department, Foreign Operations Administration and United Nations to keep the multibillion dollar giveaway show on the road.

COFFEE "EXPERTS"

We send experts to Brazil to tell the Brazilians how to raise coffee but we do nothing about the speculation in coffee that has gouged millions of dollars out of the budgets of American housewives.

We underwrite a super highway in Thailand and commercial aviation in Pakistan and Turkey. We build air bases in Great Britain under terms whereby the British can cancel American rights to the bases at any time, and with no provision whereby we can recover any part of our investment.

We build hydroelectric power dams in France and Italy, and we build power projects in Iran which authorities say are economically unjustifiable and when Iranian money is available for the work.

Besides the money that has been handed over to individual countries, we have given to such organizations as the European Payments Union, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration, Intergovern-mental Committee on Refugees, International Refugee Organization, Organization of American States, United Nations Rehabilitation Relief, and a score of others. And more frosting goes on the cake in the form of miscellaneous, overlapping programs.

Henry Wallace, in a flight of fancy during World War II, said the United States must make sure everybody in the world has the opportunity of drinking a quart of milk a His successors, if they have their way, will throw in a deep freeze for every Eskimo

and a power mower with leaf-chopping at-tachment for every Hottentot. Few Government agencies have been omitted in this dishing out of the taxpayers money to foreigners. The Defense, Commerce, Agriculture, State, and Treasury Departments have all been involved. Of course, Harold Stassen's Foreign Operations Administration, and its predecessor agencies, all bearing perfumed titles, have played the leading role.

And not only have the American people been called upon to financially support a good share of the world, but they are called upon to defend it as well.

UTTERLY PANTASTIC

Altogether, some 50 nations with a combined population of more than a billion people look to the United States to come to their defense militarily and fight their bat-

The spectacle of a nation with only a fraction of the land area and population of the world attempting to finance and defend peoples in every corner of the earth is utterly fantastic.

This policy is the handiwork of a small group in this country who either have spent a considerable part of their lives in England and France or who have business interests abroad. This group apparently finds it fruitful to support the decadent and tottering Empires of Great Britain and France, countries which are unwilling to join wholeheartedly with us in meeting the Communist world conspiracy. These internationalists, wealthy and influential politically, their influence stemming from interlocking directorates and vast control over business and industry, do not represent the American people. They have shown little concern over high costs of living or taxes as long as this country spends billions to subsidize their favorite foreign nations and stands ready to defend those nations when they won't fend themselves. It is these people or their hired hands who keep alive scores of organizations, each with a propaganda mill, to perpetuate the cruel fantasy that the Ameri-can people have it within their capacity to solve all the ills and evils that exist in the world.

UNITED NATIONS

Let me now, and briefly, discuss the United Nations. I would remind you first of all that Alger Hiss, who recently completed a peni-tentiary sentence for lying about his Communist activities, was one of the chief architects of the United Nations Charter. I would also remind you that Harry Dexter White, who died suddenly and mysteriously while under investigation for his alleged Communist connections, was another of those who had a hand in drafting the United Nations Charter and in piloting it through the San Francisco Conference. Is there, then, anything strange or coincidental about the fact that Soviet Russia has three votes to our one in the United Nations General Assembly; that every possibility and every move to make this organization an effective instrumentality for security and peace is subject to a Communist veto?

If there was any virtue in the Korean war—and God knows the killing of more than 35,000 American boys plus the wounding of 100,000 more can be nothing but stark tragedy—it was the complete proof of dismal failure on the part of the United Nations. Not only did it fail to punish aggression for the aggressors still stand and thumb their noses from the ame vantage points they did in June 1950, but it demonstrated that collective action under the United Nations is a sham and a farce.

The proof of this is that Americans, despite all the eloquent phraseology of the U. N. Charter, did 95 percent of the fighting and dying and 100 percent of the financing of the war in Korea. I am speaking of U. N. participation. Please remember that South Korea was not and is not a member of the United Nations. The cold, bloody record of that war is that 45 member nations of the United Nations with combined populations of more than a billion persons, contributed not a single combat soldier. When the showdown came in the United Nations, there was then as now no real sense of moral obligation or responsibility.

PROFITS AS USUAL

On the contrary and at the height of the Korean war—while Americans were being slaughtered on the battlefields and suffering the agonies of Red Chinese prison camps—it was profits as usual for most of our alleged free-world friends. The British Supreme Court at Hong Kong, for instance, fined the President Steamship Lines more than \$60,000 for refusing to deliver a consignment of medical supplies, including wonder drugs to the Red Chinese. American officials of the President Lines rightly held that these medical supplies were contraband and would be used to patch up Chinese Communist soldiers so they could be returned to the front and kill more Americans.

Does anyone in this room recall a single word of protest even from the United Nations or our State Department concerning this outrageous fine levied by the British upon an American firm which, unlike the British, refused to stab American soldiers in the brok?

Only recently we witnessed another shocking defeat in the United Nations when \$180,-000 in back salaries and damages were approved for 11 American employees of the U. N. who were fired for refusing to answer either to a grand jury or the Senate Internal Security Committee as to whether they were Communists or engaged in Communist activities. The case of these 11 fifth amendment Americans was carried to the administrative tribunal of the United Nations and to the so-called International Court of Justice, both of which upheld the payments.

Henry Cabot Lodge, chief United States representative to the United Nations, described the huge awards as unjust and outrageous but he capitulated to the decision that the payment be made.

TOO MUCH RESPECT

Another representative to the United Nations was the first to capitulate and with the public assertion that he had too much respect for the International Court to op-

pose its decision. This statement despite the sordid fact that three Communist judges sit on the bench of the International Court and thus were in a position to pass judgment on 11 persons suspected of being part and parcel of the Communist subversive movement.

I wonder if this individual would have the same respect for an appeals court in this country on which sit felons, charged with passing judgment on American citizens?

In the closing days of the last session of Congress, the House and Senate passed a resolution stating in clear language that no funds appropriated then or thereafter from the United States Treasury could be used to pay the award of \$180,000 to these 11 characters who sought refuge behind the 5th amendment. Then, you ask, how will payment be made?

We now discover payments will be made by the simple and shabby device, approved by the weak-spined United States representatives to the U. N., of levying an assessment upon the salaries of United Nations employees. This simply means that honest, loyal American employees of the U. N. are now to be taxed on their salaries to compensate 11 persons who were fired from their midst for alleged disloyalty to the United States. This is unbelievable.

Incidentally, Mr. Lodge will pay no part of the assessment. He informs me that his salary is paid by the State Department. I might add that it is considerably more substantial than the salary paid to a stenographer or some other underling at United Nations headquarters. Of course, there will be no deduction from the salaries of congressional representatives to the U. N.

SOVEREIGNTY UNDERMINED

There are many more examples of how our sovereignty is being undermined in the United Nations. I shall mention only 1 or 2.

In 1952, the Government refused to issue visas permitting two foreigners to enter this country to attend a United Nations conference. In refusing, our Government presented to the U. N. a congressional reservation, which reserved the power of the United States to issue visas to allens seeking to enter this country to attend meetings. What happened? The U. N. decreed that the congressional reservation had never been approved by the U. N. General Assembly. Then, dictating to the State Department of the United States, the U. N. demanded and obtained, entry permits for the two unwanted foreigners.

Another example is to be found in the recently published United Nations handbook on standards of conduct in the International Civil Service. This handbook states that the conduct of the international civil servant must clearly reflect his obligation to the international organization, and any appearance of disloyalty to that organization must be considered incompatible with his status. Under the circumstances, is it any wonder that disloyal Americans have been uncovered in the employment of the United Nations and its subsidiary organizations? Still another example is the World Health Organization decision last year which assessed the United States for \$350,000 more than Congress had appropriated for this agency. United States representatives protested but were of course outvoted. Here is an example of the ability of foreigners to levy taxes upon Americans.

In this brief discussion of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization also deserves mention for it is through this agency that the internationalists and one-worlders attempt to influence the people of America, especially our youth.

UNESCO PROPAGANDA

Typical UNESCO propaganda goes something like this, and I quote from a UNESCO

publication; "Our children should be educated to prepare themselves for citizenship in a world society. As long as the child breathes the poisoned air of nationalism, education in world mindedness can produce only precarious results. It is frequently the family that infects the child with extreme nationalism. The school should therefore combat family attitudes that favor jingoism." Such propaganda has but one aim: To poison the youth of this nation against America and to prepare them for a role in the internationalists, one world.

What these propagandists find most difficult to overcome is the fact that in terms of culture, civilization, and consciousness this is not one world in which we live. And to try to make it one, against all the realities of life and nature, is far more likely to awaken the spirit of rebellion than the spirit of harmony. And when those in the United States work for world government on the premise that it will solve all the problems of the people of other lands, they refuse to recognize history which teaches that nations are rarely if ever benefited by what they do not do for themselves.

Probably no more flagrant instrumentality for the destruction of the constitutional rights of Americans is to be found than that which is embodied in the so-called Status of Forces Treaty

of Forces Treaty.

Under this treaty, American servicemen stationed in certain foreign countries, who have taken an oath to support and defend the Constitution of the United States, are subject to trial in foreign civil courts by foreign judges and incarceration in foreign prisons.

JAPANESE SENTENCE AMERICANS

Since this treaty became effective, it is reported that many American boys were brought to trial in foreign courts and some are now serving in filthy foreign prisons for various offenses, some of them minor and effectively stripped of their constitutional rights as American citizens.

Let us take the case of France where there are thousands of American troops and where communism is rampant. There is nothing to prevent a Communist cell from framing or bringing trumped-up charges against one or more American boys. In that case they would likely be arrested by American military police who would be compelled under the Status of Forces Treaty to turn the alleged offender or offenders over to a civil court for trial.

In Turkey, France, and other European countries American servicemen have been tried by the courts of those countries under procedures that are totally foreign to them. It may well be pointed out here that in certain countries of the Middle East the penalty for petty larceny may be the lopping off of a hand.

It should also be pointed out that as the result of another agreement entered into with Japan in 1953, at least 26 American servicemen are now serving terms ranging up to 15 years in Japanese prisons after being convicted in the civil courts of a country whose nationals only a little more than 10 years ago were practicing barbarity in almost every form upon American soldiers.

Perhaps these individuals were guilty. If so, there are American military and civil courts before which trial could be had. The point is that the Constitution of the United States either has meaning or those who are responsible for setting it aside, without benefit of amendment, ought to be decent enough to make sure that every American conscripted for military service and sent to duty in a NATO treaty country, is properly advised that he no longer has the protection of the Constitution which he has sworn to uphold and defend with his life, if necessary.

DECEPTION

Yes, the American people in the last two decades have been the vicitims of much de-

ception and have lost more in the way of sovereignty than many of us can comprehend.

The hour is late, but there is still time to save America if we will but return to policies that are first of all in the best interests of this country and its people.

In advocating such a return to reason and sanity, one is quickly branded by the internationalists as an isolationist. I asked these internationalists: Were Washington and Jefferson isolationists?

Our Founding Fathers were not isolationists, but rather vigorous advocates of international intercourse based upon reason and understanding, and I am sure all of us here today advocate the same course in our dealings throughout the world.

In this connection, permit me to quote a passage from a speech made in 1852 by Henry Clay. He said:

"By following the policy we have adhered to since the days of Washington, we have prospered beyond precedent; we have done more for the cause of liberty in the world than arms could effect; we have shown to other nations the way to greatness and happiness.

"But if we should involve ourselves in the web of European politics, in a war which could effect nothing, where, then, would be the last hope for the friends of freedom throughout the world? Far better it is that, adhering to our wise Pacific system, and avoiding the distant wars of Europe, we should keep our own lamp burning brightly on this western shore as a light to all nations, than to hazard its utter extinction amidst the ruins of fallen or falling republics in Europe."

These words as spoken by Henry Clay more than 100 years ago are as full of meaning and wisdom today as they were then.

CENTRALIZATION OF POWER

We have many important issues and problems in this country that desperately need consideration and solution but transcending all of them is what position we take and what we do as a matter of foreign policy. No other single issue has the impact of foreign policy upon every home and the lives of every man, woman, and child. Our forefathers understood this and wisely guided the young nation from the pitfalls that today confront us.

We must immediately adopt a foreign policy that is within the ability of the American people to honor and support. We cannot go on indefinitely financing and policing the world, piling up burdens which the children of tomorrow cannot possibly carry or endure.

No less important is the fact that the course upon which we are presently embarked means steadily increasing centralization of power in Washington. The great and free institutions under this form of government—economic, political, educational, religious, and cultural—all depend for their perpetuation upon a diffusion of power.

Another step that must be taken immediately is to revise the charter of the United Nations and make it an effective instrumentality for collective security or abandon it to those who are now using it as a lethal boobytrap.

It is distressing to note that even some who have seen the error of our ways in the last two decades now sadly say it is too late for us to turn back; that we have become so enmeshed in the affairs of nations all over the world that our course can't be altered.

The hour is late, but there is still time to trim the wick of our lamp and make it burn more brightly on our own shores and the shores of the Western Hemisphere. We not only can but we must turn back if we are to save this great constitutional Republic as we know it and as we cherish it.

Should Legislative Hearings Be Televised?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, November 20, 1954:

Should Legislative Hearings Be Televised?

Congressional investigating committees are an essential part of the United States

are an essential part of the United States Government to serve as a check on the growing power of the executive department.

Even as I speak, this subject of investigating committees—their activities and conduct—is the real background for an unusual session of the United States Senate.

The development of television makes it possible for most American homes to watch the proceedings firsthand.

It also creates problems in turn.

The issue at present is concentrated on personalities and is highly charged with emotion.

In the larger sense we shall have to decide whether or not legislative hearings should be televised and, if so, under what conditions.

Perhaps most people want televised hearings.

On the other hand, the American Bar Association, the Federal Bar Association, and the New York State Bar Association are in opposition to them. An article by Church and Wasilewski throws much light upon the subject. It quotes John W. Davis, of the American Bar Association, as saying in the report of his committee: "The television camera is a force the power of which is only beginning to be appreciated. Granted that it greatly enhances the public interest in current events, it can also circulate with great speed baseless accusations which may be to the irreparable injury of the person accused. It may often, perhaps usually, be the case that this public view of any proceedings is only intermittent. The result may well be a distorted impression of the facts and a consequent prejudgment of the witness by the viewers, without regard to the legal presumption of innocence to which the witness is entitled."

"Your committee is well aware that newspaper reports may also by their necessary brevity give a distorted impression of the facts, but this regrettable circumstance affords no justification for further distortion incident to the use of television and broadcasting.

"Your committee is not prepared to say televising or broadcasting of an unwilling witness is such an infraction of his right of privacy as to be unlawful; yet even where the consent of the witness is invoked there would seem to be an element of unfairness in putting upon him the burden of consent or protest. His very unwillingness to consent might be treated in certain quarters as an unfavorable symptom. These unfavorable aspects become all the more true where the television or broadcasting is concentrated only on selected witnesses or incidents not calculated or intended to represent the proceedings as a whole."

That is the very careful and conscientious opinion of the legal fraternity.

However, public opinion has a different

There is no concern that people are misled by political campaign speeches with their exaggerations and their attacks upon the character of rival candidates. People seem to do pretty well in arriving at the truth regarding candidates and issues.

It does not seem logical that they should now be considered immature to witness the investigative functions of Government on the

TV screen.

Such hearings are fact-finding proceedings. Their purpose is to show whether or not legislation is needed in a certain field or to expose such dangers to the security of the Nation as subversion or corruption.

The full publicity given to televised statements before congressional committees makes it impossible for a witness to lie, or blunder. \Someone in the huge audience is sure to spot the contradiction and come forward with the true facts.

Representative government is not merely a schedule of free elections with no thought as to what happens in between. The people have a right and a duty to participate in government, and there is no better way than through the media of mass communications, which gives them a front seat to observe how public business is conducted.

We must never forget our constitutional guaranties of a public trial and a free press.

As the Messrs. Church and Wasilewski well state: "Members of congressional committees are elected. In televised hearings they appear before their constituents and make their records. It can be a record of fairness or of partiality, of courtesy or of abuse, but it is a personal record for which they must one day stand up and be counted."

It is too early to determine the effect of television appearances upon the political careers of investigatory committee members. Television, however, has led to a move for reform of legislative hearing procedures. Congressional committees, historically, have made their own rules. Witnesses have been treated with dignity, with frivolity, or with abuse, as the committee saw fit. Prior to the advent of television, the public and the bar showed little concern over such procedure. The presentation to the public, by television, of a relatively few hearings, seems to be the principal spur for demands that reform of congressional hearing procedures be under-This has served to reawaken interest in government. It is an accepted fact that an informed and alert electorate is essential to the survival of a republic; yet, as government becomes centralized, vast, and complicated, personal participation dwindles. Television, by recreating in citizens a town-meeting sense of immediacy, can help reverse this trend. Communications media capable of stimulating such interest should not be curtailed.

It will come as a surprise to many people who regard the televising of hearings as something bizarre to learn that religious services have been televised from St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York, and from the Cathederal of St. Peter and St. Paul in Washington, without any loss of dignity or reverence. Furthermore, the proceedings of the United Nations are telecast regularly, through camera equipment set up in an entirely separate room.

The argument is put forth that television cameras invade the witness' right of privacy.

This is nothing new.

Whenever a person becomes a part of a newsworthy event he is no longer anonymous. Newspapers have been reporting such matters and the persons involved in them for many generations.

Another criticism is that participants are

Another criticism is that participants are encouraged to put on an act. Committee members are accused of badgering witnesses for the sake of impressing the folks back home. But it seems to me that this wide audience is the best protection for the wit-

ness. If unjustly treated that fact is given the widest publicity exactly as it happens. The American people have a genuine sense of fair play, and they can be counted on to react strongly against fakery or injustice.

Out in Oklahoma, they have had success ful results in the telecasting of State legislative sessions and even of a murder trial.

In commenting on the latter, Trial Judge Van Meter stated, "The coverage was handled in such a manner as not to hamper or influence the trial in any manner. tention of the attorneys, the jurors, the witnesses, and the court, was not distracted in any appreciable manner. So long as the court is informed of what is to be done and has control of the situation there should be no objection to this new means of informing the people. In my opinion, if television is used in an educational and factual manner as it was in this case, without any of the spectacular portrayal, it should be very helpful. There is no question in my mind but what there is a need for people generally to know more of their courts in action. Many people rarely have any contact with the courts. Too often what is said or shown about courts is not a true portrayal. If television can present courts as they actually function, this should be a real public

As to the legislature, one of the members noted a sudden improvement in behavior. "Not that the Oklahoma Legislature had any lack of it," he said, with tongue-in-cheek loyalty to his colleagues, "but the customary reading of newspapers while in session, feet on desks, small caucuses held in the aisles, etc., were nonexistent while the camera's red light was on."

Even today in committee hearing rooms of the Congress, apart from the few executive sessions, there are seats for the public and complete recognition of the right of as many people as possible to attend an open hearing as physical limitations of the room will allow.

It is hard to understand why there is so much to-do about extending the audi-ence via television. The machine itself is not prejudiced, even though the human beings whose actions it transmits are not always so objective.

The fact that television's first reports have revealed some problems in legislative proce dure should inspire us to correct them. So TV shall become, as it will soon, the most effective instrument in conjunction with press and radio for taking people into full partnership with their representative government.

Words Versus Actions

-EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following newspaper article which appeared in the Times Leader-Evening News, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., on January 13, 1955:

WORDS VERSUS ACTIONS

The charge of the Anthracite Institute that the Federal Government is unsympathetic to the hard-coal industry is supported by the record of the past four decades.

It is hard to understand, for anthracite has suffered under Democratic and Republican administrations. This is more than ordinary indifference; there have been occasions when it has been pretty close to being punitive.

It was bad enough when the authorities in Washington falled to do something for anthracite. These moves are infinitely worse since they actually injure the industry by furnishing unfair competition and de priving the product of local mines of markets.

And the region as a whole has fared no better than the industry. During the Sec-ond World War, the powers in Washington refused to utilize local manpower and facilities although they were pleading for production elsewhere and spending vast sums on housing and plants that were unused here. That mystery has not been explained and probably will not be.

When local delegations go to the Nation's Capital, they are invariably received with courtesy and given a hearing, but subsequent actions do not match words. Just when we think an understanding has been reached, the knife is plunged in the back

The area is more bewildered than the industry must be.

If Mr. IMARD is telling the truth, and there is no reason to suspect he is not telling the truth or what he believes to be the truth, Government has again invaded a field of private industry that should be left to State control, and the consequence of such action may be disastrous to all concerned.

Who benefits if the expansion of the natural-gas industry is stopped? Certinly not would-be consumers of natural gas, industries and individuals. Certainly not the gas

industry itself.

The ostensible purpose of all regulation by Federal and State agencies of industrial operations, transportation, and so on, is to protect both the public interest and that of the industries regulated. No industry can stand still. It either expands or it declines, and the latter course leads to extinction.

A situation has been created in the natural-gas industry with which Congress should have the power to deal. There is the possibility, however, that legislation enacted by Congress to exempt natural-gas producers and gatherers from jurisdiction of the Power Commission will be pronounced unconstitutional by a liberal Supreme Court.

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EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JACK B. BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave of the House to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert in the RECORD an editorial from one of Texas' leading daily newspapers, the Beaumont Enterprise. The Enterprise complimented most highly our distinguised colleague, Mr. FRANK IKARD, of the 13th Congressional District of Texas. The Enterprise recognized the importance of the splendid analysis our distinguished colleague made on January 10, 1955, concerning the regulation of natural gas by the Federal Government, and which appeared in the RECORD of that date. I feel privileged to insert in the RECORD this tribute to my fellow Texan.

The editorial follows:

NATURAL-GAS REGULATION

Representative IKARD, of Texas, voices the considered opinion of State producers and gatherers of natural gas in saying they should be exempt from regulation by the Federal Power Commission.

What will be the outcome of the battle between the natural-gas industry on State levels and Federal bureaucracy in Washington cannot be predicted now but the industry has presented some convincing arguments to prove that the Federal Government should keep its hands off the producers and gatherers of natural gas inside the States. Speaking in the House, Mr. IKARD said:

The effect of the Commission's order freezing gas prices at the wellhead has been practically to stop cold the industry's national expansion. • • • Consequently, some communities which would soon have been supplied with natural gas will go without it.

"If this and other heating fuels are sub-jected to the kind of regulation enforced by this order, competition will stagnate, and lack of competition is the best way to exploit consumers.

Beaumont Enterprise Praises Congress- The Coming of the Poles to Texas and in Particular to Karnes County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the following remarks were made by Dr. A. P. Coleman, president of Alliance College, Cambridge Springs, Pa., on May 7, 1954, in Karnes City, Tex., commemorating the centennial of Karnes County:

Judge Pickett, distinguished guests, citizens of Karnes County, Texans, the opportunity you have given me to address you on this great centennial occasion is one that will have a profound effect on my thinking, and perhaps on my actions, all the rest of my life. Coming here, I have been forced think back to the origins of the Polish people, to reflect on what they have stood for in world history, and, above all, to weigh and appraise their peculiar contribution to the opening up of this great American land of

Like most Americans, I suppose, I had taken the Founding Fathers and the pioneers for granted. But in order to achieve perspective in the various words I was expected to say to you in the course of this celebra-tion, I had to go further and dig deeper than this. I had to think myself into the days of the pioneers' coming, and into the conditions on this continent and in Europe which, on this side invited, and on the other, made inevitable their great decision.

The sufferings of the Polish pioneers in untamed Texas have often been rehearsed, as have the sufferings of the Pilgrims in that first grim winter of 1621. The hill of death overlooking Plymouth colony is immortal in American symbolism. In Panna Maria there was no hill, but there was death, and the giant live oak tree there is our symbol, symbol of the spirit which over-

As an historian, though of only amateur pretensions, what I find inspiring in the coming of the Pollsh pioneers to Karnes County, and to Texas generally, is not the sufferings they endured. After all, in the act of uprooting themselves from their Silesian homes they probably suffered more

acutely before ever setting foot beyond the home border than they did in all the hard, lonely years of struggle in Texas. That act of uprooting was the really great suffering. What I am interested in is the forces which impelled the pioneers to uproot themselves in the first place.

Behind the Poles' decision to migrate, and impelling them inexorably toward the decision, was the interplay of gigantic historical forces. Silesia, whence they came, had been occupied, and was being absorbed by the Prussians. Within Silesia, Germans and at least three different branches of the great Slavic family lived and labored together, and to all four elements, the local Germans and Czechs and Lusatians as well as the Poles of the area, Prussianism was something abhorrent, to be escaped from.

To the folk of Silesia the year 1848 gave momentary promise that Prussianism might be banished, in a great revolutionary upsurge of a more liberal spirit. But the hope was born only to be blighted. Tyranny and oppression reigned the more openly after 1848 than before, and it was this change for the worse that brought the ploneers of Panua Maria and Czestochowa to Karnes County.

In the struggle of the Silesian people during the last century the great motivating force was a deepseated yearning after freedom. Prussianism was a chain, and the chain must be broken: the folk must break free

Slogans have come down to us from this period. Here is one of them:

"From the struggle we'll ne'er resign; We've the strength of justice within, By the might of that strength divine, We'll fight to the end and win."

It was in this spirit that the pioneers of Karnes County, among them the fellow countrymen of my own ancestors, tore themselves from their ancient foundations and crossed the ocean seeking homes. These pioneers have been classed as belonging to the so-called economic immigration into the United States, and thus have been given a slightly lower rank in the hierarchy of our citizenry than such figures, for example, as Carl Schurz, or Generals Kosciusko and Pulaski, who were of the elite, political, or idealistic immigration.

As I study the case today, this seems a wrong view. Knowing what it was the pioneers of Karnes County were ficeing from in their desperate journey to our shores, knowing it was far from mere scarcity of bread that impelled them. I find these folk of the second or third wave of immigration hardly less idealistic than their predecessors. All, allke, sought liberty. All yearned to be free, to be caught no longer in the web of Europe's ancient caste system, its intrigue and stagnation of opportunity, its denial of full franchise to all.

On a later occasion I shall speak more specifically of the coming of the Polish pioneers to Karnes County, and in particular, of their part in founding Panna Maria. This time I shall rest content if I have implanted one thought in your minds, a thought possibly revolutionary to your previous thinking. A better life, a freer life: This was the objective of the Polish pioneers and their neighbors from Silesia. Is there, can there be, greater idealism than this? Do not these too deserve to be classed among the idealistic immigrations?

In a poem written between the two great world wars by a Silesian, about his own people, we find these lines:

"And so, behold, there comes toward me, out

of the ages' abyss,
A man—one of those who sow with the spirit, appointed—

A man—worker, gigantic and nameless.
Who by lifting his hand can alter the pattern of history."

These men of Silesia, these pioneers who founded the earliest settlements in Karnes County, were men of that mold. By lifting their hands they did alter the pattern of history. They helped give us the great State of Texas, and bound it by ties of blood and sweat and their own tears into our glorious Union forever.

Peace Through Strength — McCormack Hits Peaceful Coexistence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a news item appearing in the December 16, 1954, issue of the Dorchester Argus-News, of Dorchester, Mass., entitled "Peace Through Strength—Mc-CORMACK Hits Peaceful Coexistence," carrying portions of a speech made by our colleague from Massachusetts, Mr. McCORMACK, before the Kiwanis Club of Dorchester, Mass.:

PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH—McCormack Hits PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

In what may well be termed a major foreign policy address, Congressman John W. McCormack, speaking before Tuesday's meeting of the Dorchester Kiwanis Club, said:

"As long as the Communists hold to their intent of world aggression and domination the only thing they will respect is power. We are dealing with cold, ruthless, world killers."

The Congressman's words will have a strong bearing upon future United States foreign policy. The local Representative will surely hold one of the key posts in the next Congress, as majority leader of the House. In any case he will be one of the inner circle of congressional leaders to meet with the executive branch of the Government in planning our path through world affairs.

Congressman McCormack went on to say: "Of course, we must try negotiation. If we don't make progress this way and get affirmative information we will at least get negative information, by which we can better appraise our problems.

"In any case, the term 'peaceful coexistence' breeds complacency which is a very dangerous thing."

Describing the proposed policy of peaceful coexistence, the Congressman went on to say that we know what it means to us. We look forward to a world living in peace and harmony. "But what does it mean coming from the Kremlin? It means that they want a breathing spell. We are justified in examining this policy closely, but we must not forget that the Communists are out for world domination.

"Ideological communism is directly opposed to the natural law of God and the birthrights of freedom of man.

"To the Kremlin this policy means admitting Red China to the United Nations and freezing the status of Western Europe so that they can chain the Red-dominated countries in their present condition."

CITES PRESIDENT AND DULLES

Quoting from statements of President Elsenhower and Secretary of State Dulles, Congressman McCormack said that the President himself has said that he believes the Reds are intent on world revolution, while Dulles recently remarked that despite the

protestations of the Reds' coexistence policy their deeds speak otherwise.

STRONG PUBLIC OPINION

"We are indeed fortunate that we are living in a democracy. Public opinion is one of our greatest weapons. Its power is greater than that of the President, Congress, and all elected officials. Public opinion can be sound and rational or it can be emotional. We must strive for the former.

"The importance of a sound public opinion cannot be overemphasized. In a dictatorship there is no such thing. In order to mold a sound public opinion the people must be given information so that they can properly appraise and evaluate the facts. With the facts we can outmatch, outthink, outproduce the Soviets even if we don't have their manpower. The will of our people to be free is our greatest asset," he continued.

HERE ARE THE KNOWN FACTS

"There is no secret about the fact that the Reds have 175 army divisions in Western Europe plus 80 satellite divisions. We don't know how many divisions the Chinese Reds have. Russia also has 300 reserve divisions that can be activated in 90 days. They have 300 submarines, and their overall naval tonnage is greater than that of Great Britain. Their air force is well on the way to be all jet equipped.

"When the American people are given the facts they are capable of making up their own minds. But these facts speak for themselves."

WHY HELP EUROPE?

Congressman McCormack went on to say that many people ask him why we should help other countries. As a legislator, he said, he does not have the right to appropriate \$1 to help other countries unless it is in the public interest of our country. He said that he often answers with a question, "What will happen if we don't?"

Elaborating on four major points, he continued:

"The Communist picture is that they are trying to take over Western Germany, Western Europe, in fact any country they can get their hands on by any means. In Western Europe they do not want the 200 million people for the population, but they do want the productive capacity and the brains. In overall productive capacity we are 3 to 1 over the Reds and Western Europe is 1½ to 1. Together we are 4½ to 1. But if the Reds had Western Europe's 1½ their capacity would be too close to ours for comfort.

"Whatever country dominates Western Europe economically also dominates Asia and Africa.

"Western Europe is our first line of defense. Military leaders have said that if we lose Western Europe we could never get another beachhead in Europe as we did in June

"If we lose Western Europe the probabilities are pretty good that we would also lose South and Central America with their weak ties to us and strong ties to the Old World."

In conclusion, the Congressman said:

"We are not yet committed to this policy of "peaceful coexistence." We must strike a happy medium between this policy and sound national defense. We now have a powerful offensive Air Force. What about our defenses? Will we have time in an atomic war to build our military power after a sneak attack as we did after Pearl Harbor?"

MUST BE STRONG

"As of today the Red leaders have not changed their intent of world domination, world aggression, world subjugation.

"If we are strong they will respect us through fear. Strength is what talks to the Communist leaders.

"The road to peace is through strength. It is much better to have strength and not need it than to need strength and not have it."

All Men Are Created Equal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following excellent editorial that appeared in the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass., on January 16, 1955, which warrants the serious consideration of every Member of the Congress of the United States:

ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL

Did you know that current United States Government holdings of edible food surpluses are valued at \$6 billion?

And did you know that the annual expense of storing this 26 million tons of foods is 4 times the cost of operating our Congress?

Further, were you aware that this vast surplus could feed every man, woman, and child in the United States for a full year—and that if it were loaded into 40-car freight trains, it would fill 100 such trains every day for a year?

To bring the picture down out of the atmosphere of virtual incredibility, can you comprehend that, if you were to go out into the highways and byways and find 100,000 starving people, you could feed them all they could eat around the clock for a whole year and still they would be able to consume only one-fifth of 1 percent of this fantastic surplus?

This isn't our word for it. The figures come from an organization known as the Cooperative for American Remittances to Everywhere, Inc. This is more familiarly known to you are CARE, which is carrying on a campaign to move this gigantic supply to the free world's hungry peoples, and claims that it can be done for a nickel a day and still give each person receiving it generous feedings loaded with calories.

CARE claims that such distribution would be one of the best counter-Communist moves this country could make, and we are inclined to agree, even though it is a common practice for people to bite the hand that is feeding them.

We are confounded by the figures. Our imagination is staggered. We are unable to comprehend the enormity of the supply. It is a mountain of food the like of which never before existed.

Every one of us, every day, eats his fill of the good things produced in this wonderful land of ours, and still we have so much left over that it costs us millions of dollars annually to store it.

Where does this surplus come from? It's a simple question and the answer is simple. If a man operates a farm and it produces 10 dozen eggs a day, and all he can sell in the market is 6 dozen, the Government buys the rest and stores them away. That keeps the price up and the farmer happy and reasonably prosperous. The same applies to milk, cheese, butter, corn, wheat—all the basics which are produced so abundantly in abundant America.

So, we can feed a good part of the hungry world. If we have the will to do it, we can send all this bounty beyond our borders to alleviate misery. And, by so doing, we would rid ourselves of a monumental economic headache.

So much for food. What about clothing? We have \$6 billion worth of food cached away. One billion dollars is \$1,000 million. We have \$6,000 million worth of extra food, for which the Government has paid the producers handsome subsidies.

But what about clothing? There isn't an ounce of woolen or worsted cotton material stockpiled by the Government in the form of surplus for which subsidies have been paid to producers. Material for clothing is not perishable in relation to foodstuffs. Yet the Government has steadfastly refused to listen to pleas to keep mills operating in labor-surplus areas by stockpiling textiles.

Is there some difference between an American who produces cloth and an American who produces dairy products? Isn't one as much entitled to subsidies as the other to earn his daily bread?

Once again this year Congressman Thomas J. Lane has filed a bill calling upon the Government to set up a system of procurement of worsted fabrics by Uncle Sam which would help to keep looms turning in our textile industry, especially in areas of large-scale unemployment; and we believe that includes just about every textile-producing community.

munity.

How far will this proposed legislation get?
The man is trying—has been for years. But, while nothing is done for the textile worker, we have accumulated six thousand millions of dollars worth of perishable food.

Who was it that said, a long time ago: "Want in the midst of plenty."

The Federal Government and the Anthracite Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article which appeared in the January 12, 1955, Anthracite Institute Bulletin, Wilkes-Barre, Pa.:

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND THE ANTHRACITE INDUSTRY

The most casual review of the attitude of various agencies of the Federal Government toward anthracite over the past few decades leads to the inevitable conclusion that it has been unsympathetic, to say the least. While the following is far from complete, it serves to illustrate how this industry has been hampered in maintaining its rightful position in the overall fuel economy.

In World War I, the Fuels Administration announced that anthracite would be denied to the West and South and other sections of the country which had ample supplies of other fuels. Thus, hundreds of thousands of anthracite consumers were forced, by Government edict, to convert from anthracite, despite their preferences.

In the early 1930's, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements program resulted in admitting large tonnages of foreign anthracite into this country free of duty, at the very time our product was required to pay duties on entering Canada.

In World War II, the Solid Fuels Administration imposed restrictions on anthracite sales. This had the wholly arbitrary effect of changing the status of anthracite from a plentiful fuel for its then existing customers, who were compelled to share their supply with former users of competitive fuels which could not serve their-peacetime customers.

Currently, the Department of State, through its General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), is permitting foreign oils to invade the very heart of the anthracite and bituminous coal markets in unlimited quantities. It is estimated that the foreign oil which entered the United States last year was the solid fuel equivalent of 59 million tons, and the volume of imports is increasing.

Also currently, the Federal Power Commission, by authorizing natural-gas pipelines to invade the northeastern States without regard to the effects on existing fuel and transportation industries is a further example of the influence of Government on the

normal marketing of coal.

The latest incident occurred 2 weeks ago, when the Commission was persuaded by the testimony of two gas-utility witnesses, neither of whom reside in the region, that it was in the public interest to authorize the introduction of natural-gas service in communities where anthracite is mined. The proposal had been actively opposed by counsel and witnesses for anthracite producers, the United Mine Workers of America, the presidents of the affected railroads, the railroad brotherhoods, and the local chambers of commerce and industrial-development funds. No one who lives in this area appeared to advocate the future displacement of our product in our own area, yet our formal request for oral argument on the issues was denied by the Commission.

It is indeed difficult for the coal industry

It is indeed difficult for the coal industry to determine just wherein the public interest lies under such circumstances.

It is increasingly apparent that the time is long overdue for the formulation and adoption of a national fuels policy, not only in the interests of conservation of energy resources for national security, but as an accepted guide to the determination of the public interest by governmental agencies concerned with regulation of fuels.

The Marble Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I desire to call the attention of my colleagues to the possible destruction of one of the Nation's old and well-established industries.

West Virginia is the center of the marble and novelty production in the Nation. The following article in the Parkersburg Daily News, January 9, 1955, is a graphic portrayal of what will happen to at least six plants, now operating, if the newly proposed Japanese treaty is approved in connection with the renewal of our Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

The article follows:

UNLESS SITUATION CORRECTED ALL MARBLE PLANTS WILL CLOSE JULY 1

(By Marie Wood)

Harassed for months by a United States foreign tariff policy that has seen United States small business sacrificed to Japanese interests, heads of the American marble industry, heads of the American marble inprecedented step.

All members voted unanimously to demand that Washington immediately "correct

the United States tariff situation in which the United States marble industry and 20 other small United States businesses are bearing the full cost of the United States foreign tariff policy," or the American marble industry will shut down July 1.

The action was preceded by many months of effort to convince official Washington that the American marble industry can't continue to operate in the face of a United States tariff policy which sees Japanese marbles shipped into the United States at prices that are below the cost of raw materials used in the American marble industry.
In making their demand of Washington,

the representatives of the marble industry drew the following conclusions-predicated upon their own experiences over the past 5 years, plus the contents of the 37th annual report of the United States Tariff Commis-

sion for 1953.

1. That the American tariff policy has been one to sacrifice small industry to foster world markets for United States exports of large machinery-with the United States dollars which pay for these American exports acquired through the sacrificing of small business.

2. That the American tariff policy has been pointed toward a determination that Japan and other foreign countries not yet in the Russian orbit, shall trade with the United States rather than with Communist Russia and its satellites—a policy already a failure since one of the first things the new Japanese prime minister did upon taking office was to announce trade would be carried on with these countries.

3. That the American tariff policy aready has done more economic damage to West Virginia than to any other State in the United States, because of the type of industry in West Virginia, and it is damage which

will materially increase.

4. That already West Virginia population has decreased 6 percent in the last 5 years with West Virginia business off 4 percent in the fact of increasing good business generally in the United States-and the big reason West Virginia's record is what it is, the tariff trade policy of the United States.

Specifically the marble industry heads cited such figures as these: Japanese marble imports have cost American marble plants 60 percent of their sales within the United States, plus all their foreign markets, with employment reduced from above 900 to below

American marble production costs are 200 percent above those production costs in Japan due to low cost of Japanese labor, raw materials and taxes—with overall Japanese taxes 15 percent against United States Federal taxes of 52 percent, plus the various other taxes.

The average monthly wage of a skilled machine operator in a Japanese marble factory is \$41.66 and unskilled wages at \$16.66with child labor frequently utilized at much,

much less

United States marble factories pay skilled machine operators an average of \$300 a month and unskilled laborers approximately \$200 a month, with American labor working 40 hours against Japanese workweeks of 50 to 60 hours.

Japanese marbles then are loaded as ballast with shipping costs to the United States \$10 per 2,000 pounds and shipping costs on nonconference United States flag vessels and on Japanese flag vessels are considerably

The marble industry heads yesterday said bluntly that they are halting purchases of raw materials and liquidating inventories.

This stop comes as a result of all efforts having proved futile after plea after plea to the Tariff Commission, Customs Bureau, and other Washington officialdom.

Six of the seven marble plants in America are located in West Virginia, the seventh in Ottawa, III., and all were represented except the Illinois plant which sent a proxy.

The companies are:

Parkersburg's Vitro Agate Co., largest mar-ble plant in the world; Pennsboro's Champion Agate Co.; Cairo's Heaton Agate Co.; Ravens-wood's Novelty Works, St. Marys' Marble King. Inc.; Clarksburg's Master Glass Co., and the

Peltier Glass Co., of Ottawa, Ill. Clinton F. Israel of the Clarksburg firm Clinton F. Israel of the Clarksburg firm acted as spokesmen, with others attending including: H. A. Fisher, Herbert Spencer, and Howard Hildreth, of Parkersburg's Vitro Agate; Paul Cox, of Ravenswood's Novelty Works; Ralph (Pat) Michels, of the Penns-boro Champion Agate; Roger Howdyshell, of St. Marys Marble King; W. J. Heaton of Cairo's Heaton Agate.

Natural-Gas Ruling Hurts Free Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OP

HON. JACK B. BROOKS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, in any consideration of the very important question of regulating this Nation's natural resources, we are obligated to examine closely the possible effect Federal regulation might have on our competitive, free-enterprise system, which enables both family and industrial consumers to benefit from competitive prices. Mr. Lewis H. Haney, writing for the New York Journal-American in the December 9, 1954, edition, has outlined the dangers of stifling free competition with overregulation in a short, concise article. Mr. Haney's article, dealing with the Supreme Court decision in the Phillips Petroleum case, is well worth our time and interest. Preserving our system of free competition is fundamental to Americans and, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include Mr. Haney's article, as follows:

NATURAL-GAS RULING HIT (By Lewis Haney)

Natural gas has grown in importance. Today 75 percent of American families deupon gas service, and one-fourth of the Nation's energy needs are supplied by gas. Since the war demand for gas has more than doubled, mostly at the expense of coal. There are over 21 million natural-gas customers, supplied by over 4,000 producers.

This is why the recent Supreme Court decision in the Phillips Petroleum case is so important to all of us. It rules that the Federal Power Commission can fix the price of natural gas and otherwise control its production. For years the Natural Gas Act of 1938 was supposed to exempt competing producers from such controls, as was plainly the intent of Congress. Now a condition bordering on the chaotic has arisen. Gas sales across State lines are tending to be reduced, expansion of the industry to new areas checked, and many industries are considering moving to the Southwest, where the bulk of the gas is produced.

One result would be higher costs and prices for millions of consumers in other areas.

The court appears to have thought that because the distribution of gas by pipeline is regulated as a public utility service and a monopoly the Government should also regulate production of natural gas by the thousands of competing concerns which drill wells, collect the gas, and deliver it to the big distributing gas companies.

VIGOROUS COMPETITION

But the difference is plain. Instead of being a monopoly requiring a franchise to use a right-of-way and necessarily subject to rate regulation as a common carrier as are pipelines and railways, the thousands of relatively small gas producers compete vig-orously. In Texas, the largest one supplies only 8.7 percent of the production. Of course, gas is competing with coal and oil.

If the court's decision about gas producers were right, why not subject the producers of coal and oil to Federal control and pricefixing? The producers of coal and oil also ship their product by pipeline or rail to consumers across State lines. But we let them run their own businesses as competitors, while regulating the rates charged by the rallways and pipelines. This is as Congress intended it to be in the gas business.

DANGERS CITED

The case for competitive private enterprise in gas production is strengthened by the efficient large output and the low price of the product. As Hines Baker, president of Humble Oil & Refining Co., has shown, the supply of gas has increased as demanded, and the price has not risen as have the prices of coal and oil. It is the cheapest fuel.

Remember, only one-tenth of the delivered price of natural gas goes to the producer. The other 90 percent goes to the distributors. and this part is or should be subject to regulation.

The danger to our economic system of the court's decision is clear: Federal bureaucratic control would spread to coal and oil production-the total fuel supply.

The obvious remedy is to amend the Natural Gas Act of 1938, so as definitely to exempt natural gas producers from Federal price-fixing and production controls. Possibly the producers' present long-term contracts with gas companies could be made more flexible, and the transmission companies could be more carefully regulated as separate public utilities. But the main thing is to encourage the maximum production of natural gas at a competitive price, and this only competitive private enterprise can do.

Let's Make Employment and Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very interesting editorial from the Boston Daily Record, Boston, Mass., October 5, 1954:

LET'S TALK SENSE

We are not greatly impressed by prosperity panaceas dreamed up in the middle of political campaigns.

Long experience-a good deal of it too bitter to swallow-has taught us that these enticing blueprints for a brighter future are apt to be nothing more than vote bait.

As soon as the polls are closed and the ballots counted, everything usually goes back to normal and we trusting souls can't be blamed too much if we suspect that the late Wendell Wilkie did not stray far from the truth when he scoffed at campaign promises and dismissed them as meaningless hot air.

Political panaceas would not be necessary at this time in Massachusetts if we had received the things we wanted and did not get during the past 2 years.

Business and employment would have been stimulated tremendously by the construc-tion of the \$300 million aircraft carrier at Quincy.

But the contract for this mammoth vessel eluded us and went elsewhere.

The depressed textile centers of Lawrence. Lowell, New Bedford, and Fall River wouldn't bothering much about politics if the defense orders they so eagerly anticipated had materialized.

But something strange and mysterious happened, and the orders never proceeded

beyond the false hope stage.

So now, as the November election creeps up on us, we hear a lot of talk about attracting new industries, about rehabilitating old industries, about inducing investors to drop their spare cash on lagging cities, and about making it possible for additional thousands of jobless people to collect unemploy-

ment relief money.

But all this fanciful talk does not hide the drab fact that the \$300 million carrier bypassed Massachusetts and the defense orders behaved similarly.

And that brings us to the real point of this whole editorial, which, simply stated, is:

If the politicians must talk, let them talk

The men and women of this great State, with its wonderful tradition of free private enterprise, need work and wages.

They don't need another dose of socialism in the form of thinly disguised doles and handouts.

The dredging of the Merrimack and Connecticut Rivers would create employment in a few months for thousands of men and would, at the same time, equip those neglected streams for low-cost barge transportation.

Then, all the languishing manufacturing centers on their banks would become inland ports; and the various industries, made more accessible to the sources of raw materials and the markets of the world, would be in a position to compete much more easily and effectively with their rivals in the South and West.

And let's face it: The cost of the dredging would be considerably less than the amount of money which we have given away to France, India, and other foreign countries in a single week.

What the Bill of Rights Means to Me

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

 IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. DOYLE, Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent of the membership of this distinguished legislative body for me so to do, I am pleased to herewith present to your attention an essay entitled "What the Bill of Rights Means to Me," and to further inform you that this very splendid essay was written by Miss Joan Gordon, 12122 Cornish Avenue, Lynwood, Calif.; she being a worthy student of the Lynwood High School and a member of the senior class of this outstanding school, which is in one of the

important communities of the great 23d district.

Recently this essay won first place in the essay contest sponsored by the Realtors Board, who have their businesses in the great 23d district, which I have the honor to represent, this my 5th term.

Because of her victory in competition last November, said essay is now to the attention of the National Association of Realty Boards. I am sure you, Mr. Speaker, and all of my colleagues of this 84th Congress join with me in congratulating her upon this unique and significant writing. I present it with pleasure and with the consent of the writer and of her parents.

The essay follows:

WHAT THE BILL OF RIGHTS MEANS TO ME The Bill of Rights is a scrap of paper, some words.

The Bill of Rights is my brother speaking to the student council.

It's my mother handing out the clothes early in the morning, talking to the neighbor of anything and everything from the best place to plant camelias, to the national

defense appropriations.

It's my father eating lunch with the men on the warehouse dock, discussing anything-the big fight, big game, big race-or communism.

It's my grandmother reading the Bible. It's the pastor calling on our family with

flowers from the Sunday service.

It's the fact that there are more than 27 different denominations meeting in my own little town.

The Bill of Rights is a group of 10 articles amending the Constitution.

It's the right to lock our door.

It's the boy we used to play hide and seek with on summer evenings, going off to boot camp.

It's his mother's tears, his father's pride. It's the day my dad went off to jury duty and came with a renewed interest in our court procedures, even though he was never required to try a case.

It's the President shaking hands.

It's campaign promises and the noise of election time.

The Bill of Rights is the demand of our ancestors as they insured our freedom.

It's our neighbor as he collects signatures for a petition and presenting of it himself at the town meeting.
It's my dad taking off his coat after church

and reading the Sunday papers.

It's my mother writing to our Congress-

It's our town library, quiet, dignified; filled with volumes of ideas, thoughts, challenges.

It's the fervent excitement of our main street at parade time.

It's squabbling over the best ways to combat smog.

It's my father watering the lawn just before dark, relaxing after a day of labor for his family.

It's the flag in front of our school.

It's a teacher eating dinner with our family; afterwards talking about education, as he helps with the dishes.

It's the Cub Scouts having a cookout in the city park; a father coaching the sixthgrade hardball team; a recreation leader reading stories in the hot, summer afternoon to a group of quiet children.

It's the good, quiet feeling that comes after the high-school band plays the Star-Spangled Banner.

It's my grandfather telling about the old days-buffalo, Indians, wagon trains, and then switching on the TV for an hour of Hopalong Cassidy.

It's the sounds of Independence Day and the feeling of Chrismas, club meetings, milk on the back doorstep, our dog barking at the mailman, the washbasket full of clean clothes, smell of furniture polish on Saturday morning, popcorn banging in the skillet, brother washing the car.

The Bill of Rights is a scrap of paper,

some words.

It's freedom. It's security.

It's liberty. This is my Bill of Rights-It's America.

The Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, the condition of the coal industry has been discussed in this House upon many previous occasions by me and by other Representatives of coal-producing areas. Various proposals have been advanced as solutions to the economic ills confronting this basic industry, and I think it is worthwhile to call to the attention of the Congress some articles written on this subject by Mr. Monroe Worthington, of Beaver, W. Va. The articles recently appeared as a series in the Beckley Raleigh Register. I shall not insert all of the numbers in the series but, with the permission of the House, I shall present one of Mr. Worthington's articles today, and others will follow within the near future. The arti-

Canal Would Open New Market in PROPOSED STATE CANAL WOULD OPEN NEW MARKET IN CANADA

Canada":

cle herewith is entitled "Proposed State

(By Monroe Worthington)

There is a way West Virginia can get a lot more of the Canadian market, which is expanding, and the world market for coal. The same way would bring the State a far larger share of the steel production, and thus increase the State market for coal at the same time.

Will the State demand it? It's doubtful. For, while favors from either Democrat or Republican administrations are not passed out alphabetically, almost every State says 'Me, too" in a louder, more convincing voice. While one dam project in Wyoming or California or Tennessee costs a quarter of a million dollars, a miserable \$10,000 is appropriated to investigate the feasibility of a dam on Possum Hollow, W. Va.

STATE NEEDS CANALS

To get its share of the Canadian and world market for coal, as well as a far larger share of the Eastern and and Midwestern market, West Virginia needs a canal. This canal has been proposed before. It has been declared to be feasible and fully justified.

The Corps of Engineers, United States Army, has made exhaustive surveys of different routes. One which they declare is entirely feasible leaves the northernmost curve of the Ohio River, through its tribu-tary, the Beaver River; through the Mahon-River past Youngstown, and Niles; through an entirely excavated canal to Farmington, then through the Grand River Reservoir, which would be formed by damming up the Grand River, and to Ashtabula, and Lake Erie.

The report made by the United States engineers has been returned to the Pittsburgh office for revision. There were naturally objections to it, as there are to many proposed improvements. Owners of the land to be flooded were not all happy, for instance. But information given in the report, dated May 24, 1948, is still of interest.

The canal was to have a minimum depth of 18 feet, and a minimum bottom width of Two parallel chambers were to be provided at each lock, thus permitting one boat to proceed each direction at the same time. Marked economies would result in transport costs, the engineers found, and there would be substantial flood-control benefits. The total first cost of the project was then estimated at \$439 million the Federal Government contributing all of it but \$23 million.

Were it constructed, low-water freight rates on coal would be offered to West Virginia producers who would ship to Michigan, Minnesota, Indiana, Chicago, all the American and Canadian Great Lakes ports, all the cities served by the Eric Canal and the Hudson River; all the world reached by the nowbeing-constructed St. Lawrence seaway.

But it will hurt the railroads many coal operators will object, forgetting that the railroads have turned their backs on the coal industry; that much of the present curtailment in the production of fuel is due to the 150 million tons of coal no longer used by the railroads.

COULD BRING STEEL MILLS

One of the big reasons for constructing the St. Lawrence seaway was that it would let fron come to the Great Lakes from Canadian and South American points. While the steel industry is currently running at less than full capacity, it will be expanding again. When it does, consider that West Virginia coal and West Virginia limestone could meet this ship-carried ore at a West Virginia point, and produce low-cost steel most profitably for all concerned.

The limestone?

There's millions, even billions of tons of suitable grade along the Greenbrier River. And that suggests a project which may subject your reporter to ridicule and even abuse. But Bonneville and Grand Coulee Dams, the Panama Canal, the TVA, and many another project, would never have been built had someone not stuck his neck out, years before construction actually started. So here goes.

If steamships are to be admitted to the

Great Lakes, by way of Canada, with financial help from the United States in the hundreds of millions, then why not open up water transport from the Atlantic Ocean to the Kanawha River, with its connecting streams, the Ohio, the Mississippi, and Missouri, and their tributaries? It would add immensely to the Nation's wealth and security, furnishing many jobs during construction.

CANAL TO ATLANTIC URGED

How, you ask, could it be done?

River boats with 9-foot draft come up to Kanawha Falls; locks to the slack water at Kanawha Falls and Gauley Bridge would be easy to construct, the lift being about 21 feet. Canalize the New River to Hinton; the Greenbrier River to a little past White Sulphur Springs, which is 5 miles from the Virginia line. Construct either a canal with numerous locks and dams or a navigable lighted and ventilated tunnel through or over Allegheny Mountains, to link the closest tributary of the Jackson River. Canalize this to its junction with the James River, near Clifton Forge. Improve this to Lynchburg and to Richmond, where ocean liners can already travel. Tonnage over this course would be as great or greater than through the Panama Canal. A 9-foot draft would be

sufficient to permit large-scale barge trans-

West Virginia coal, which is noncompeti-tive in the east coast markets because of competition of foreign oil, would find a larger market. There would be an immense market for West Virginia limestone and for the incredibly pure mountains of glass sand along the Greenbrier.

This idea is not original. The Virginia Assembly authorized an investigation of its feasibility 140 years ago. The report of the commissioners indicated that canalization of the Greenbrier would be comparatively easy (the fall is less than 7 feet to the mile), but "the velocity of the current and the enormous rocks which often interrupt it, the number and magnitude of the rapids and falls, the steepness, cragginess, and abruptness of the banks, constitute the great impediments which at present exist to navigation between the mouth of the Greenbrier and the Great Falls of the Kanawha."

CONSTRUCTION IS EASIER

This report was made 52 years before the invention of dynamite, a century before anyone dreamed of a bulldozer. Tasks which were almost impossible to a man with only a pick and shovel become comparatively easy with today's gigantic construction machinery. The greatest change has come in the past quarter century or less, for bulldozers are one of the latest blessings of man's ingenuity. So it is that even as late as 1925 the author of the Mercer-Summers-Monroe volume of the West Virginia geological survey thought the plan impracticable, although he, too, knew how advantageous it would be. "From Meadow Creek to the junc-It says: tion of New River with the Great Kanawha at Gauley Bridge the total fall is 615 feet in 47.8 miles, or at the rate of 12.87 feet to the mile. This section would require more than 50 dams, hence the use of New River for steam navigation would be entirely pre-cluded by the enormous cost."

The Panama Canal, which was seriously proposed by Balboa 400 years before it was actually built, has locks up to 30 feet high, at Pedro Miguel, although most of them are a little lower. No really high dams could be built along the New River without flooding the main line of the C. & O., obviously impossible. But if 30-foot locks were used, then 21, instead of more than 50, would do the job.

Since the river is narrow at points where locks are most needed, dam construction costs for such low structures would be comparatively small.

Canada, on its own, built the Welland Canal, linking Lake Erie and Ontario. It is 27 miles long, with a rise of 326 feet-just about that of the New River at its worst. Welland Canal is 30 feet deep, 200 feet wide. Most of it was blasted out of solid rock. The New-Greenbrier-Jackson-James Canal would be far less expensive, per mile, because it would follow the rivers for most of the distance, with only scattered boulders to blast The swiftness of the water would disappear when they are impounded by dams.

The writer does not expect to see this canal completed during his lifetime; perhaps not even started. The battle over its feasibility, cost and advantages he bequeathes to engineers, politicians, and industrialists. But two more things should be said.

Steamboats have traveled on the New River. Evidence to this effect was brought out by the Federal Government, in hearings at Minton, several years ago, when it was officially proven and declared to be a navigable stream.

COAL PUMP IS SOLUTION

Lest someone condemn this project, on the ground water would be needed along the wholly new part over Allegheny Mountain, and ask if kindly Mother Nature would be expected to rain the locks full of water, when a ship wanted to pass, this is not an objec-

tion. Water from the upper reaches of the Greenbrier, which veers northward from the desired path for the proposed canal near the Virginia line, would be impounded by storage dam on the Greenbrier. The same could be done on the Virginia side. Enough water to keep the canal filled, and to float ships, and raise and lower them through the locks, would be pumped. The city of London has for many years pumped perhaps a billion gallons of water from the Thames River with Humphrey pumps. They are operated di-rectly by coal, without making steam, with no rotating parts, and little to wear out. Such a pump can easily have a 10 or even a 20 foot diameter discharge line if needed. They are inexpensive. The coal to operate them is at hand. The pumps are so efficient the TVA seriously considered using them to repump water so it would run repeatedly through its hydroelectric turbines.

So if you like the benefits to be derived from this project, work for it. If you think it fanciful and foolish, don't condemn past and future proposals to benefit the coal business in this State. Consider them too, on

their merits.

Must Congressmen Have Additional Pay?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, I hope I never get to the point where I think I know it all. I have been opposed to an increase in congressional salaries, because I was of the opinion that Members were getting enough to pay their way on a standard of living that would be commensurate with the dignity of the office. So many Congressmen were telling me that it was impossible for them to live as they should on the present pay. This concerned me, and I was anxious to know just how they lived.

I was told that the dignity of the office demanded that I go to parties, give parties, and dress for occasions befitting our station. It seems that clothes make the man here in congressional estimation. I determined to try out this course of dignity for 2 weeks and see for myself what money was needed. Fortunately, I was invited to many functions and fortunately had friends whom I wanted to entertain.

The first requisite was a formal suit and a hat of the established makeup approved by the President. My cow hat would hardly do, although it cost more than one of these muley Homburg hats. I inquired of a tailor about dress suits. He reported that \$175 was about as cheap as he could furnish one, but said. "Don't worry, I will rent you a suit for \$10." "Lord," I responded, "you don't mean to say that these august Members of Congress go to parties in rented clothes, do you?" "Why, yes," he responded, "a large percentage of the Members do that very thing." This was an eye opener for me to realize that these splendid mannish figures I had seen floating across the society surface of this Capitol were just ordinary men in rented suits. I thought what a sham and a pity this was, and determined right there if I were going to do any buzzing around in society, by the Eternal, I would at least own the outfit.

Well, I rigged up, and while I looked like a cranberry merchant in the little Homburg hat, I felt at ease because I knew the society in which I was about

to enter, approved.

I had more trouble with this spike-tail suit. When I tried it on, it seemed too tight and I did not dare to bend over. I complained to the tailor, and he said it was made that way so I would be stiff and formal in my appearance. It seems these tailors are used to building trousers for "cathamned" diplomats but not for he-men. I tried it on in the office and a lady came in. I graciously bowed as I supposed I should learn the Sir Walter Raleigh act, and to my astonishment I heard a good ripping noise under my coattail and quickly erected myself. When the lady went out I made a checkup of my outfit and found the trousers had split right down from the waist to the end of the seam. But my confusion ended, for the spiketail took care of all embarrassment. I then learned that this spike-tail was for. It will cover up a multitude of errors.

I went out to parties and gave them. I was quite stiff and starchy and unnaturally erect-on account of this trouser trouble—and my everyday friends thought I was getting "uppish" in long service in Congress. We took in nice places with nice people, and I remember the first party I entertained. There were eight people, the men all dressed lightly and the ladies much more so. I thought when I started to that dinner that \$50 would do, but when the waiter began figuring, I lost heart-I knew I was stuck. The steaks were \$32, the drinks \$15, and the tips \$3, plus taxi fares and tips again. These tip receivers do not have any mercy on a poor man under these circumstances, and the guests seem to pry in to your affairs and find out just how much you tipped. They probably want to know right from the beginning whether you are traveling under the orthodox requirements of a Member of Congress, or whether you are in fact a tightwad. Well, when I got the bill the \$50 did not do, and I reached in my coat pocket-there was not room in my trousers for a billfold-and pulled out a \$100 bill. I felt like impressing this party that I never carried any change less than that.

I kept up the rounds for a week, just to see what it cost a Congressman to live in proper style while performing his duties to the people. My invitations increased when that \$100 was exhibited. I met many nice people I had not met before, I kept up the appearance of being very stiff and formal—I had to on account of my pants—and in all, I think I made the desired impression and convinced these people that I was a regular hard-working Member of Congress and of whom his friends were proud.

When the week ended I found I had spent \$500, and it just occurred to me that I would have to abruptly end this profligate system of expense, or I could not live here in that fashion on \$12,500

annually. I am back now on my standard of living, but feel that this experiment was worth all it cost. I would like to keep up that program, but I cannot do it on the salary I am getting. Probably \$25,000 as the President demands for Members of Congress would not do the job either, because you know most of this \$25,000 will be taken by the Government for taxes, especially when you have any other income to which this salary is attached for tax purposes.

I did not like to exclude myself from this gorgeous round of pleasure, but I finally asked myself this question: "What are you in Washington for, to work for the Nation and North Dakota, or to entertain?" I finally—I was compelled to—concluded that I had better go on just as I had done for many years, doing what I was elected to do and deny myself this grand and glorious society life. I am back now on ham and eggs and liver sausage, and at least feel at home. I will not continue this experiment for the second week—I would have had to borrow money if I did.

Please do not misunderstand me, I favor this social life. I would like to keep it up. When we are bawled out by the people if we do and do not on certain legislation a Member begins to feel like a worm, but this wormy feeling all disappears when you get into one of those formal affairs. The only time I have felt important since coming to Washington was when I wore one of these make-ups and was dishing out the money to everyone who came along. I am perfectly willing to try to do my work and do some society flitting, but I must have more pay to do it. If the people of North Dakota have no objection I will take this \$25,000 or as much more as I can get to carry out the orthodox way of congressional living.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Boston Post, Boston, Mass., Saturday, November 27, 1954:

ST. LAWRENCE POWER

Advocates of the St. Lawrence seaway, whenever confronted by well-attested arguments that the seaway would not benefit the commerce of the United States, except that it might cause shifts from the Atlantic Coast ports to the Great Lakes cities, usually fell back on the argument that, in addition to being an aid to shipping, it would bring a big increase in cheap electric power for New York and New England.

But Robert Moses, head of the New York

But Robert Moses, head of the New York State Power Authority, and a recognized expert, now says that the proposal to bring the St. Lawrence power down to New York City is ridiculous. He said the cost of the transmission lines would be prohibitive; that, even if New York City could obtain all the power, It would cost more than generation of the same amount of power in steam plants. As far as New England is concerned, our own experts here say that the St. Lawrence power, under the most favorable conditions, would not provide more than about 5 percent of our increased needs over the next 10 years. The St. Lawrence seaway may help Chicago, Cleveland and the other Great Lakes ports, but it will do so mainly at the expense of loss of business for Boston, New York and other Atlantic ports.

Social-Security Benefits for Widows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, one of the finest traditions of our country is the sustained concern which Americans have always shown for the protection of widows and orphans. We are proud of

our record in this regard.

But, if I may so, this is an area in which our social-security system is too often discriminatory. As this law is now written, a widow is entitled to a benefit only if she is at least 65 years of age or if she has minor children in her care. Because I am convinced that the widows of this country are entitled to full survivor benefit rights, without the above restrictions, I have introduced a bill, H. R. 2189 which will allow widows to collect social-security benefits whether or not they have reached the age of 65 and whether or not they have children under their care.

I wonder how often the Members of this House have had the unhappy task of explaining to widowed constituents that they will have to wait until their 65th birthday before they would be entitled to social-security benefits? How many times has the letter from a despairing widow described her tragic circumstances. Sometimes she is ill and unable to work. Sometimes she cannot find a job because of lack of work experiencefor the good reason that she has spent her life in the home caring for her family. Sometimes she has managed to live for a time on accumulated savings-but has been unable to stretch those savings until her 65th birthday. Still the only answer we can make, under existing law, is to tell her she must get along somehow until she is 65.

My first consideration in introducing H. R. 2187, then, grows out of humanitarian reasons. I believe that appropriate benefits for the widows of wage earners should be part of any genuinely protective social-security system in America.

I am convinced, as well, that there are equally good reasons drawn from the cold facts of our time which call for enactment of my bill. Let me review them for you briefly.

First of all, statistics show that there is, on the average, a difference of about 3 years between the ages of husband and wife. Because wives are usually younger

than their husbands the family is often, under existing law, actually removed from the social security benefit role at the time of the death of her husband is over age 65 and receiving his own retirement benefit when he dies, that benefit is stopped at the time of the widow's bereavement unless she has also reached the age of 65. In too many cases, therefore, the widow is denied a benefit at the time she most needs one—at the death of the family breadwinner.

Secondly, all studies show that the average woman is less likely to have an adequate retirement income, from any source, than are men. The median income for persons with income is substantially lower for women than for men in all age groups. More specifically to the point, perhaps, is the data assembled in a recent survey of widows receiving oldage and survivors insurance benefits which showed that only 10 percent had independent money retirement income of \$1,200 or more per year. In considering my proposal, therefore, I ask you to bear in mind the evidence that roughly 9 out of 10 of the widows of workers covered by the social security system are in need of the protection of its benefits because they do not have adequate income from other sources.

We know how difficult it is for older persons with little work experience to find a job. We know that it is especially difficult for the older woman to secure any work, other than the most menial, because of the many years she has devoted to the role of wife and mother. So we surely cannot believe that widow's benefits have been withheld until the 65th birthday for the reason that, without such benefits, they could easily take care of themselves.

The only argument which has been presented to me against the proposal made in H. R. 2187 for providing benefits for all widows of insured workers, is that it would cost too much. I am informed that the level premium cost of providing such benefits would run somewhat in excess of 1 or 11/4 percent of payroll. If this is the case, I maintain that such costs are warranted if we propose to have a social security system which offers any kind of genuine assurance against hardship caused by the death of the family breadwinner. For my own part, I believe such added costs are more than justified in the name of the kind of protection they would furnish the wives and mothers in our country at a time of great tragedy.

Let us remember that the breadwinner has, throughout his working life, made regular contributions toward such protection for his family. He has had no way of anticipating when and how his death would occur. Is it equitable to say to one man: "Your wife will be entitled to benefits because she is 65 years of age"—and to another, "Your wife is not entitled to benefits because she is not yet 65 years of age."

Let us remember, as well, that because of his early death the breadwinner himself will usually receive no benefits at all whereas, if he had been fortunate enough to live to a ripe old age, both he and his wife would have been receiving benefits for each month beyond their 65th birthday. For this reason, alone, it seems only just to me to make up to the bereaved wife for the benefits her husband will never receive—in spite of his payroll contributions.

I urge your support for my bill H. R. 2187 in the names of the wives and mothers of this country. Surely reasons of humanity and of equity argue for the enactment of this legislation. In my confirmed opinion, we can never feel that we have provided really genuine security against distress caused by loss of wages until we have enacted this legislation.

The Defense Manpower Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOSEPH F. HOLT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to the following editorial. I believe that a new long-range reserve program is essential to the safety of our country.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of January 15, 1955]

THE DEFENSE MANPOWER MESSAGE

The President's message on manpower for defense is necessarily a complex one. A nation of such size and diversity as the United States cannot form a plan for the training and mobilization of its youth on a simple, rigid formula. If the program is not to work unfairly and become too great a burden in peacetime, it must have flexibility. It must offer a variety of choices to men of military age while at the same time it distributes the duty of serving over as wide a field as possible.

The President pointed out that the general plan is intended to provide for armed forces in being, for trained reserves that can be mobilized swiftly in case of necessity, and for an additional pool of reserves with some training who could be brought in under a general mobilization. Extending selective service for another 4 years is a primary requisite if the first condition is to be met; so, too, are the pay increases which the President urges to attract professionals into the Armed Forces and to keep them there.

As for the Reserves, the President hopes to sharpen the distinction between those who would be ready and available to be called back when occasion should first demand and those who—because of combat service or possession of essential civilian skills—should be deferred until general mobilization is necessary.

Then there are to be various inducements, including outright compulsion, to supplement voluntary participation in reserve training programs. One group, composed of men between 17 and 19, will be allowed to enist for 6 months' active duty, on condition that they will take active part in the Reserve for the ensuing 9½ years. This is to insure a supply of younger men for the Reserve, as well as a core committed to follow the full reserve training program.

The National Guard will have its role in reserve training more clearly defined. It will be primarily a reserve group, composed of men who have had basic training, and the compulsions used to keep other active Reserve components at strength can be ap-

plied to the guard. At the same time, the States will be permitted to form another militia force, to take over the guard's peace-time duties of preserving order and to support civil defense whenever the guard is called into Federal service. It might seem that this last group could form the real State guard, and that the National Guard as such should simply be absorbed into the Active Reserve. However, there is practical value in maintaining the traditions, the organization, armories, and the camps of the guard, as well as avoiding the constitutional and political problems which a radical revision of the guard system would entail.

Congress is said to be willing to accept extension of selective service and additional pay for career soldiers without much dispute, but is more guarded over the fate of the reserve provisions of the President's plan. No doubt there is room for debate, perhaps for amendment, of the reserve plan. But the main point—a genuine Reserve, trained and ready—is an absolute essential.

Adjustment of Salaries for Judges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I insert the views of my friend, Bernard A. Grossman, for the Federal Bar Association of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, on the subject of adjustment of salaries for judges:

Federal Bar Association of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, New York, N. Y., January 7, 1955. Hon. Emanuel Celler,

Chairman, House Judiciary Committee.

MY DEAR CONGRESSMAN: We note with satisfaction, and with the pride of a friend who has been militant in the general councils in that direction, how the new session of Congress has opened, and has greeted the new year with the Celler bill and the Multer bill and the other contemplated legislation for proper salaries to our underpald legislators and Federal judges. This association wants to be heard again on the subject, and wants to speak for at least the amount recommended by the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries.

We know how concerned you have been over the years with the inherent delicacy of the matter. But such concern is contrary to the laws of nature and to a realistic recognition of the problem, and it is not necessary.

I have watched the mother of the species feed and feed its young to overflowing—but there always comes a point at which she must take something for herself that she might carry on for the common good. I have seen the mother of a litter in my own kennels nuzzle her own portion over to a gobbling young one, and wear herself down unnecessarily in the midst of plenty—but there always comes a point where she must stop the sacrifice, or else incapacitate herself from serving the common good. I have seen the hostess at a social function lavishly fill and refill the plates, and embarrass the guests by her delicate inattention to herself.

So it is with a feeling of inherent delicacy as to increasing legislative and judicial salaries to what is proper in these times. It is a delicacy that violates nature and a realistic recognition of the problem.

As you know from the many, many Congressmen who have spoken with you over

the period, in our name, or about our activities, we have been campaigning for increases for many years. As far back as 1948, when financial needs were less, and savings not as badly invaded, we were proposing a schedule of \$22,500 for judges and Congressmen, with \$25,000 in the circuit courts and \$27,500 to the senior circuit judges; \$35,000 in the United States Supreme Court and \$40,000 to the Chief Justice; \$15,000 to ref-erces in bankruptcy, and the putting of United States Commissioners on a salary basis. It seems we have now reached the point where increases will finally be provided for.

In that 1948-49 period, our representatives went to Washington to present our position for an increase across the country. They were well and helpfully received by your good self, and others. When hearings were held before Hon. FRANCIS E. WALTER, this association was represented by two of its members: Congressman Eugene Keogh and Congressman Abraham Multer. Hon. James F. Donnelly of this association also appeared for our special committee in the matter, and testified and presented a printed memo of our position. What they then said is subour position. stantially what we again say today, and what has been so ably and emphatically set forth in the report (1954) of the Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries. The Commission, in short, has officially found what we and many others have always maintained unofficially: That by virtue of unavoidable double expenses, an average Con-gressman operates at a yearly deficit of \$3,000 to much more, as far as his Federal salary is concerned; and that the Federal judiciary, which passes on every man's property, his reputation, and even his very life, more so today than ever, are not paid proportionate to their responsibility, nor to the scale of their brethren in city and State service, nor sufficient to uphold a standard of living ap-

propriate to their position.

This is not a time nor a situation for inherent delicacy. It calls for a realistic recognition of the unfairness of the situation, and meeting it, on a realistic level. And so I say, for this association, that we note with satisfaction, and with the pride of a friend who has been militant in the general councils in that direction, how the new session of Congress has opened with the Celler bill, and the Multer bill, and with the other contemplated legislation for proper salaries to the underpaid legislators and Federal judges. And we trust the amount eventually fixed for them will be at least the amount recommended by the 1954 Commission on Judiciary and Congressional Salaries.

Earnestly yours,
BERNARD A. GROSSMAN (For the Federal Bar Association of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut).

Congressman Hinshaw Reelected Chairman of California Delegation

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, once again the California delegation has elected our colleague, Carl Hinshaw, as chairman. We from California are proud of our chairman and his splendid record of service in the House of Representatives during the past 15 years.

At this point, I wish to place in the RECORD an editorial from the Pasadena Star News of January 11, 1955, in which that newspaper pays tribute to our colleague. The editorial follows:

Representative CARL HINSHAW, Republican, of Pasadena, has been reelected chairman of the California delegation in the National House of Representatives. That this action by his confreres was expected takes nothing from the compliment paid the youngish Pasadena Congressman who is, nevertheless, dean of California Members of the House in

terms of years of service.

The California Members of the House, both Republican and Democrat, organize in each successive Congress for the purpose of considering any legislation favorable to Cali-fornia and with no partisan politics in-volved. Mr. Hinshaw is an energetic chair-man. It may be said also during all the time he has represented this district in Congress he has worked diligently for the best interests of the coast without regard to partisan considerations.

Irish Partition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following letter to the editor, by Mr. William J. Conlon, of Lynn, Mass., which appeared in the Lynn Telegram-News, Sunday, October 24, 1954:

LETTER TO EDITOR

DEAR EDITOR: I am sending you that letter on Irish partition that I mentioned in my previous letter to you. Its title is "Grati-tude Where Gratitude Is Due." I am very pleased to note that 168 Members of the House of Representatives have recorded their opposition to England's enforced hold on the 6 northern counties of Ireland. Democratic Representative JOHN E. FOGARTY, of Rhode Island, is seeking to have the Fogarty resolution immediately acted upon by the full House. That resolution, if passed, would express the sentiment of the House, namely, that the free Republic of Ireland should embrace not 26 but 32 counties and that the voters of all Ireland should be granted opportunity to declare themselves granted opportunity to declare themselves in this matter. During the premiership of Lloyd George, the 6 counties were cut off from their 26 sister counties without a legal mandate of all the Irish people. Next to love of God, an Irishman loves his

Country. In County Armagh, as in County Wexford, County Tyrone, and County Tipperary, Irishmen look on Dublin, not London, as their capital city. They look upon the Republic of Ireland, not Britain, as their beloved country.

It galls the proud spirit of the Gael to be looked upon as a British subject. Well it may, for Ireland's civilization, her laws, and learning stretch far back beyond the establishment of England's Parliament.

Until the flag of the Irish Republic floats over all Ireland, Irishmen will not consider themselves free. America owes a big debt of gratitude to Ireland. Sons of Erin have proved their love and loyalty in America's every struggle since our tortured colonies be-

gan their fight for freedom from England's tyrannical oppression. The commander in chief of our successful Colonial forces titled a Wexford Irishman, one Jack Barry, "Father of the American Navy," and Commanding General George Washington publicly thanked their Irish troops for their heroism and bravery and loyalty. In our Civil War, it was an escaped so-called Irish rebel—he who delivered his classic sword speech from the dock in Tipperary, who led his soldiers, est to the workers" in the dread struggle at Fredericksburg. Meagher's soldiers wore their sprig of green. Barry and Meagher are but single examples of Irish help and valor in two of our country's struggles. Irish defenders of this country's Star Spangled Banner in every struggle everywhere would fill a book.

America is surprisingly slow to show her gratitude to Ireland. Our lawmakers have been importuned time and time again to speak out in condemnation of England's bold threft. America has given vast sums of money and thousands of precious young lives to other nations—here, there, and yon. (To our once tyrannical oppressor we have given most of all.) But for Ireland, our admirer, our friend and helper, we are slow to offer even a word of condemnation against Britain's foul imposition of a dividing line in the physically small but heroically great island nation. Speed the day when America's full House and Senate will publicly show gratitude where gratitude is due.

Very respectfully yours,

WILLIAM J. CONLON.

LYNN, MASS.

Danger of Lowering Tariffs on Japanese Crabs and Oysters

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, an international tariff-negotiation conference will be held in Genava, Switzerland, in February under the sponsorship of the countries associated in the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade. The Committee for Reciprocity Information has announced that it will consider granting reductions in the present tariffs on imported fresh, frozen, and canned crab and on imported oysters packed in airtight containers. It is my opinion that any reduction in these present tariff schedules would have a disastrous effect upon the American crabbing and oyster industries.

At the present time there is a 221/2 percent ad valorem tariff on imported canned crab and a 15 percent ad valorem duty on fresh and frozen crab. In spite of these tariffs, of the canned crab sold in the United States in 1954, Japan supplied about 60 percent while American producers supplied only about 40 percent. The situation has been growing steadily worse. For example, in 1950 crab imports from Japan were 1,761,000 pounds while in 1953 the figure had increased to 3,860,880 pounds-a more than 100 percent increase. Contrast this with the American canned crab pack which declined during these same

years from 137,490 cases to 114,886 cases—a more than 20 percent decrease.

Japan was able so to invade the American crab market not because of a superior product but simply because an average worker in the American crabbing industry is paid about as much in I hour as the average Japanese crabworker receives in I day. In order to maintain the high wages and standards of the American crab industry—which I believe must be done—the American crab industry must have the protection of the present tariff. Failure to provide adequate protection would take American crab—including the world famous Dungeness crab—off the market.

There is another great danger which would certainly come from the lowering of the present tariffs on crab. If additional markets were to be opened in the United States by lower tariffs on crab, Japan undoubtedly would seek to supply these markets. Crabbing waters which Japan had owned, controlled, and fished prior to World War II were given to Russia under the Yalta agreement. In order to increase her crab production, Japan undoubtedly would make a deal with Russia either to purchase Russian crab for sale on the American market or to obtain fishing rights from the Russians in Russian waters. Whatever course of action was followed would be to the financial benefit of the Soviet Union. I believe there is a great unanimity of opinion in this country that we should do nothing to aid or strengthen Russia. A further lowering of the tariff on crab might well have such an effect.

The American oyster industry also would be in grave danger were present tariffs on oysters in airtight containers reduced. At the present time, imported oyster products from Japan are selling for 25 percent under the prices of American producers on steamed canned oysters and up to 40 percent under American producers on smoked oysters, canned or in glass.

Again, in the oyster industry a great difference exists between the wages paid the American and Japanese oyster worker. Whereas in the Pacific coast oyster industry the lowest hourly wage is \$1.55 per hour, in Japan the daily wage is 90 cents or less.

Furthermore, the American oyster grower is required to meet numerous State and Federal sanitary regulations in order to protect the American consumer fully. The added cost of complying with such regulations must be reflected in the final costs of the products. By contrast, Japanese oyster products are inspected and regulated only at time of entry. They are not required to meet the United States sanitary regulations at the point of production, and this in itself gives the Japanese oyster producers a very definite and unfair price advantage.

Actually, it would be to the disadvantage of Japan to have the American oyster industry destroyed, as the oyster industry in this country is a substantial purchaser of seed from Japan. If American oyster producers have to shut down, the Japanese seed-oyster industry most certainly will suffer.

Those who are engaged in the crab and oyster industries recognize the need for helping industries in other countries. But it seems foolhardy to give such help at the cost of survival of our American industries. The very livelihood of many of the residents of our small towns on the Pacific coast would be in jeopardy if the tariffs on Japanese crab and oysters were lowered. Fair play demands that these people not have their existence imperiled by actions taken by the United States Government.

Through the Peacetime Benefits of Atomic Energy We Have a Relatively Simple and Inexpensive Way of Adding Tremendously to the Numbers of Our Friends Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the following address titled "Atomic Energy in Peace and War" was delivered by me before the 29th annual Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense at the Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., January 14, 1955:

Address by Representative James E. Van Zandt, Member of Congress, 20th District of Pennsylvania, Before the 29th Annual Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense, Statler Hotel, Washington, D. C., January 14, 1955

It is an honor to be invited to address the 29th Annual Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense.

on National Defense.

For many years, I have followed your activities and have admired the courageous and unfaltering position you have maintained on many vital and controversial issues.

In my estimation, your activities in the field of true Americanism, national defense, and the preservation of the American form of government are entitled to public acclaim.

May I digress at this point to pay a well-deserved tribute to the chairman of your conference, Mrs. David Daniel Good, of Osceola Mills, Pa., who I am proud to number among my constitutents.

Mrs. Good's legion of friends in Pennsylvania are might proud of her for she is an ardent exponent of your principles of red-blooded Americanism.

When I tentatively accepted your chairman's invitation to address this conference, I first thought of selecting the topic—"Is the United States a Constitutional Republic or a Democracy?"

I had in mind at that time of discussing the highlights of the Constitutional Convention in Philadelphia in 1787 when this budding Nation was constantly referred to as a Republic and not a Democracy.

The word "democracy" is not found in either the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution.

In fact, Thomas Jefferson, the founder of the Democratic Party always spoke of "the Republic" of "our republican form of government."

History tells us that when Benjamin Franklin was asked what kind of a government the Constitutional Convention had set up, he replied: "A Republic—if you can keep it."

In these trying days, as we fight to preserve our Republic, I would like to discuss atomic energy in peace and war, a subject that has occupied the attention of world leaders since that morning of July 16, 1945, when the first atomic weapon in the world was exploded at the Almagordo, N. Mex., test grounds.

Since that eventful morning of July 16, 1945, almost a decade has now passed during which the free world has depended for its security primarily on atomic weapons.

Government leaders and private citizens alike throughout the world are well aware of the growing strength in the United States stockpile of atomic and hydrogen weapons.

Here in the United States we have taken great pride in the accomplishment of scientific and industrial miracles, for these accomplishments definitely have prevented World War III and have caused the men in the Kremlin to hold their ambitions in check.

check.

At the same time, however, it is common knowledge that the Soviet stockpile of atomic and hydrogen weapons is ever-increasing; yet this fact seems to escape too many people.

When the Soviets had one weapon and we had many, there was good reason to believe that if they should attack our chances of being able to prevent any sizable amount of destruction to our own cities and military and industrial plants was good.

In addition, we had confidence in our own ability to retaliate with heavy atomic attack against the Soviet aggressor.

As the Soviet stockpile increased, it is no longer a secret that Russia's ability to wage an atomic war is now a definite reality.

Confronted with this threat of an atomic attack, neither an increase in our own stockpile of atomic weapons nor an increase in our own ability to insure massive retaliation can offset Russia's ability to engage in atomic warfare,

We are faced today with an absolute fact. If atomic war should come, many Americans would die in their homes and at their places of work.

I take little consolation in the continued assurance that we would be able to retaliate many times over.

That would be small comfort if New York, Chicago, San Francisco, and Washington were smoldering ruins.

What needs to be done is not so much a matter of simple patriotism as it is preparation for survival.

If we are to remain a free and vigorous Nation, we must take the maximum steps to insure that we can minimize the effects of massive Soviet atomic attacks against the United States.

We must make certain that we can maintain our social, economic, political, and administrative structure in spite of such attacks and continue on as a free Republic.

The American people in general have been lax in responding to the appeal of Federal Civil Defense Administrator Val Peterson to become civil-defense minded by realizing the devastating results of a Russian atomichydrogen attack.

It is my earnest hope that within the next few months Congress will appropriate the necessary funds so that Civil Defense Administrator Peterson will be able to improve and expand the present civil-defense program.

In my opinion, such a program must provide greater public education, for only if every American understands the threat with which he is confronted can we expect the support for a civil-defense program so essential to its success.

tial to its success.
So far I have been talking about what might happen if the bombs should start to fall

Frankly, it is a terrifying prospect and one we cannot ignore.

Yet falling bombs is only one small aspect of the total problem of living in an atomic age.

Therefore, we should not devote our attention to it and exclude the many other things which can be done.

One of the best ways to protect ourselves and our Nation against atomic attack is to see to it that war never comes.

I think there are two steps which must be taken simultaneously if we are to do all within our power to prevent an atomic war.

First, we must be prepared to absorb the worst an enemy can deliver and still strike back with terrible vengeance.

If we do that there will be no profit for the enemy in starting the attack at all. Secondly, we must speed the development

Secondly, we must speed the development and application of peacetime atomic benefits.

By so doing, the standards of living and of health throughout the world will rise so rapidly that peace will be more attractive than war as a means of achieving the humanitarian ends men desire everywhere.

As a member of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy and the House Armed Services Committee, I have long had an active interest in both these necessary steps.

During the last 2 months I have devoted a great deal of time in pursuit of the second point, namely, the development and application of peacetime atomic benefits.

With other members of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy, I visited 12 countries in November and December.

Most of these are backward countries where the people barely exist.

They never have enough to eat.

They never have enough to keep them warm and they have little hope for their own future or for their children.

The purpose of the trip was to see at first hand what we here in the United States might be able to do through atomic energy in order to raise the economic and health standards in these areas.

Our visit to these foreign nations was an aggressive and coordinated part of the "Atoms-for-Peace" plan launched by President Elsenhower over a year ago.

We intentionally went to countries which, for the most part, do not have a reputation for being in the forefront of modern scientific development.

Yet everywhere we went, we found large numbers of competent, well-trained scientists and technicians who were in close touch with their Government leaders.

We found that they have concrete ideas of what could be done through atomic energy for the betterment of their own people as well as the advancement of science.

In New Zealand we found that they had already used radioisotopes to study the growth of pasture land grasses.

As a result of their experiments they have made radical improvements in the number of sheep they can graze per acre.

As many of you know, a radioisotope is a chemical element charged in an atomic reactor and is easily traceable, whether in the human body, plant life, soil, or metals.

We saw New Zealand hills which we were told were brown 5 years ago because of the lack of certain vital trace elements in their soil.

Today they are lush and green as a result of atomic experiments which have proved exactly which elements needed to be added to the soil.

But the New Zealand program is seriously handicapped because the nearest sources of radioisotopes are in the United States and in England.

In New Zealand there is a real need for radioisotopes which will permit experiments to be conducted with radioactive elements. In Australia we found a broad and vigorous atomic program manned by well-trained scientists, engineers, and administrators.

The problems confronting the Australians in the field of atomic energy are more nearly parallel to those of the highly industrialized countries of Europe.

This was in marked contrast with most of the countries we visited.

Throughout the countries of southeast Asia and the Middle East, we repeatedly observed an urgent need for agricultural experimental stations using radioisotopes to improve crop yields and to improve the crops themselves.

We studied the health statistics with the public health officers in these southeast Asian and Middle Eastern countries and saw for ourselves what the principal diseases are.

We recognized, from our own knowledge of the work here in the United States, how modern medicine using the tools of atomic energy could bring early relief to the people of these countries.

Malaria, tuberculosis, cancer, cholera, these are but a few.

And in every country we found men and women ready, willing, and able to do the tob.

They need some equipment. They need some guidance. They need some assistance.

But the investment which needs to be made can be measured in a few thousand dollars in most cases, and the benefits which they stand to gain are scarcely measurable by any known standard.

The 83d Congress passed a revised Atomic Energy Act, which those of us on the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy worked many months to prepare.

This new law authorizes agreements for cooperation on peacetime atomic development with friendly nations.

I know that everyone of us on the trip came back with renewed enthusiasm for pursuing an international atomic cooperation program.

All of us acquired a better understanding of what needs to be done and when it should be done.

Frankly, small sums spent now in the proper places and in the proper ways will be far more beneficial both to the people to whom they are given and in the improvements in American relations abroad, than will vast sums given too late and with too broad a sweep of the hand.

Therefore, the time for a foreign atomic program is now.

It need not be a multimillion dollar for-

eign giveaway.

What is needed is a few dollars wisely and discreetly spent.

I was particularly impressed on this trip by the fact that the United States and atomic weapons are frequently spoken of as almost synonomous in Asia.

This is primarily the result of Soviet propaganda but it can be counteracted.

We need to strengthen our bonds of friendship throughout the world.

In this atomic-hydrogen age we cannot stand alone.

Through the peacetime benefits of atomic energy we have a relatively simple and inexpensive way of adding tremendously to the numbers of our friends abroad.

It is an indisputable fact that patriotism is the keystone of a strong nation.

But patriotism to be effective must be intelligent.

Blind sacrifice of time, even of life itself, is not enough.

As patriotic Americans we must stand ready to expend our energies, our resources, even our lives, in such a way as to prove most beneficial to our country.

It is not sufficient to confine our acts of patriotism to buying savings bonds and en-

gaging in the building of an adequate national defense.

We as a nation need to implement our efforts by developing friendly relationship with other countries so that should the horror of a third world war be visited upon us we will have stanch allies.

I should like to conclude my discussion by quoting former Atomic Energy Commissioner Thomas E. Murray, who recently said:

"I consider it the sober truth to say that atomic energy has resulted in the greatest change in man's relations with nature since the fateful day in the Garden of Eden.

"Man has within his grasp an unlimited force, the very source of all energy in nature—atomic energy.

ture—atomic energy.

"The difficulty is that this force is a potential equally for death as for life.

"The misuse of atomic energy means death on a scale that staggers the imagination."

Goodhue and Sullivan: Pioneers for Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanfmous consent to recognize, through publication in the Appendix of the Congressional Record, the constructive achievements of two men—Lyle D. Goodhiue and William N. Sullivan, Jr.—in developing the aerosol package, which has been a boon to American industry.

In an age that accents the evils of our times, rather than the good that is accomplished by patient, dedicated, and self-effacing men, it is a relief to note and pay tribute to the men who make progress possible.

I take particular and pardonable pride in the role played by William N. Sullivan, Jr., because he was born and brought up in my native city of Lawrence, Mass. I believe that the values and the vision he learned in this environment helped to inspire him in the work that won for Goodhue and Sullivan the 1954 achievement award by the Chemical Specialties Manufacturers' Association.

As a further honor, I ask that the following account of their accomplishment and their careers, as presented to the 41st annual meeting of the association in New York City on December 7, 1954, be published in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD:

The CSMA achievement award is the second major recognition of the work of Dr. Goodhue and Mr. Sullivan in developing the aerosol insecticide principle. In 1945 the city of Philadelphia presented them with the John Scott Medal, awarded annually under the terms of a bequest in 1816 by Scottish chemist John Scott in recognition of useful inventions or scientific contributions to human welfare or industry. Other recipients of the John Scott medal have included Mme. Curie (1921) for the discovery of radium and its properties; Orville Wright (1925) for the development of flying machines; Thomas A. Edison (1929) for numerous inventions, and Sir Alexander Fleming (1944) for the discovery of penicillin.

LYLE D. GOODHUE

Born on a farm near Newton, Iowa, in 1903, Lyle D. Goodhue was educated in the public schools of Newton and received his bachelor of science degree in 1928 from Iowa State College, where he led his class in the division of industrial science. The following year he received his master of science degree in plant chemistry from the same institution.

chemistry from the same institution. In 1929, Dr. Goodhue joined the Du Pont Co. as a research chemist at the Parlin, N. J., laboratories of its fabrics and finishes department, where he specialized in development of lacquer formulations. Leaving the Du Pont Co. in 1930, he returned to Iowa State and served as a chemistry instructor while studying for his doctor of philosophy degree in plant chemistry which he received in 1934. He then joined the Department of Agriculture's Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine as a research chemist in the Division of Insecticide Investigations. It was there that he met William N. Sullivan, and, in 1940, they began their research into aerosol insecticides. After trying smokes and finally thermal aerosols, they perfected the present liquefled gas-propelled aerosol in 1942.

Dr. Goodhue continued with the Department of Agriculture as a research chemist until 1946 when he joined Aerosol, Inc., of Neodesha, Kans., as a research chemist on aerosol problems. In 1947, he became associated with the Phillips Petroleum Co., in Bartlesville, Okla.; where he is now engaged in research work on agricultural chemicals.

Dr. Goodhue has been granted over 40 United States patents on insecticides and methods of applying them and has authored more than 80 technical articles on the chemistry of insecticides. Along with Edouard H. Siegler, he won the annual medal of the Eastern Branch of the American Association of Economic Entomologists in 1948 for their paper on Effect of Particle Size of Some Insecticides on their Toxicity to the Codling Moth Larva. He also has received a number of Army and Navy citations for his work with Sullivan, and, in 1948, received the Iowa State College alumni award.

He is a member of the honorary societies of Phi Kappa Phi, Phi Lambda Upsilon, Pi Mu Epsilon, Gamma Sigma Delta, Sigma Xi, and Delta Mu Delta in addition to Alpha Chi Sigma professional chemical fraternity, the American Chemical Society and Entomological Society of America.

WILLIAM N. SULLIVAN, JR.

William N. Sullivan, Jr., was born in Lawrence, Mass., in 1908, received his early education in the public schools of that city, and was graduated from the University of Massachusetts, with a bachelor of science degree, in 1930. The following year he joined the United States Department of Agriculture's Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine as a junior entomologist in toxicology at its Washington, D. C., laboratories.

In 1939, he received his master of science degree in entomology from the University of Massachusetts.

All of Mr. Sullivan's career has been spent with the Bureau of Entomology with the exception of 5 years during World War II when he served in the United States Army Air Force as a specialist in control of disease-carrying insects.

He was commissioned a first lieutenant in the Sanitary Corps of the Air Force in 1942 and assigned to Wright Field, Dayton, Ohio, where much of the research work in adapting the Westinghouse container to aerosol dispensing was carried on to perfection, After 3 months at Wright Field, Lieutenant Sullivan was attached to the Air Transport Command and assigned to introduce, and train personnel in the use of, the newly developed aerosol insecticide at United States air bases serving the north Africa and India theaters, in a move to combat spread of dis-

ease by insects among the Armed Forces. During the tour of duty, he traveled throughout British West Africa, north Africa, and to Karachi, India, in charge of disinsectizing United States planes to prevent their carrying the malaria-bearing anopheles gambia mosquito and other insects to South American air bases.

After 18 months of overseas duty Lieutenant Sullivan was transferred to the Army Air Force Center at Orlando, Fla., to develop methods of controlling mosquitoes in jungle areas by airplane spraying, and in July of 1946 he served as a radiological monitor on atomic-bomb tests at the Southwest Pacific atoll of Bikini. Released on inactive duty as a major in the Sanitary Corps of the United States Air Force in August 1947, he returned to the Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine where his current assignment is in the field of disinsectization of aircraft.

Mr. Sullivan is a member of Sigma XI, the Entomological Society of America, the Washington Entomological Society, and the Insecticidal Society of Washington, D. C.

Immigration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following address made by me at the annual dinner of the Association of Immigration and Nationality Lawyers, Hotel St. Regis, New York City:

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, this occasion on which you have so generously given me the opportunity to address you, affords me a most welcome chance to say some candid and informal words on the subject in which we are all vitally interested—immigration. I am grateful to you as well as greatly honored.

I can probably skip introducing myself. You know that together with the late distinguished Senator from Nevada, my dear friend, Pat McCarran, I am the coauthor of the much maligned piece of legislation sometimes called the McCarran-Walter Act and sometimes more scurrilous names—some of them not fit to be mentioned in this distinguished and, what is very important, mixed company.

Immigration is a vast part of the field of human relations, in which law can do as much harm as good. Immigration means people. Immigration affects human fate and human destiny. The law can help, but the law can hurt terribly. The law can inflict great hardship and on occasions it can hurt beyond possibility of remedy.

Men writing legislation in the field of immigration have to be more cautious than men writing laws that affect taxes, tariffs, shipping, banking, etc.

In the first half of the current century, a few words in a certain section of the imigration law of the United States meant the difference between life and death for many people escaping totalitarian brutalities. Conversely, mistakes in the enforcing of the law can mean untold human tragedles and suffering. An immigrant inspector on the New York waterfront is just as much a protector of our and our children's security as any soldier who, while on active duty, is in charge of protecting a vital military establishment. The same immigrant inspector may be guilty of causing harm to a human

being-often, harm and damage beyond re-

I could dwell long on the subject of immigration. This evening, however, is to be devoted to much more pleasant things than my speech, and I shall therefore ask your indulgence in permitting me to talk about but few aspects of the problem which have recently been brought to my attention.

Since its enactment in June of 1952, the Immigration and Nationality Act has been savagely attacked by various organized groups—in my opinion—almost invariably for wrong reasons and on false grounds. We all know that the only sane purpose of any immigration law is to regulate the admission of immigrants and to keep out allens who may harm or weaken our country. Of course, carried to its logical extreme, such a policy could be inhumanly harsh. It would keep out all nonproducing foreigners—as they are kept out by many countries—even to the point that means separation of families.

As you know, we do not preach that policy and we do not practice it. The old, the infirm or the unskilled still find entrance to the United States along with their younger, more energetic and better trained relatives. More than that, we specifically accord preferential treatment to relatives of United States citizens and residents of the United States, regardless of age. In that respect, our immigration laws are certainly superior to those of many countries which are much less critically looked upon in discussions held in the world's press.

I would like to remind you that even enemies of our form of government are not necessarily forever barred from entering into our midst. You know well, that reformed totalitarians, including reformed Communists, can settle among us permanently and that active members or organizations which we hate and abhor can enter temporarily if they can show that their enmity toward our way of life does not carry immediate danger to our country.

Surely, that much of self-protection on our part is about the simplest minimum demonstration of common sense. But it is precisely on this point that baseless criticism is being leveled at the Immigration and Nationality Act.

One of the most brilliant minds of our era, that of Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, has recently produced, over television, a new set of totally confused ideas. Appearing on Mr. Ed Murrow's program, Dr. Oppenhemier has ventured a few opinions regarding the purport and effect of our immigration laws. I had some correspondence with Dr. Oppenheimer since his execursion into the field of law, and I hope that I was able to explain to him how entirely wrong he was in what he said. Unfortunately, the false impression has been created in the public's mind, and I am, of course, unable to correct it, since I am unable to diffuse my mind as effectively as Mr. Murrow helped Dr. Oppenheimer to

However, I would like to use tonight's fine forum for the purpose of suggesting to Dr. Murrow that he might want to have me on his show and ask me some questions regarding atomic energy. I would certainly be as qualified to answer them as Dr. Oppenheimer is qualified to answer the legal questions propounded by Mr. Murrow. The viewers and the audience would be equally edified, I assure you.

Dr. Oppenheimer's chief concern was the alleged exclusion of scientists and the impossibility of calling scientific meetings in the United States. Let me tell you without delay that I am just as eager as Dr. Oppenheimer to have all possible scientific meetings held in the United States, and I see no reason why they cannot be held here. It is a matter of record that not only persons who have allegedly associated with Communist organizations, but actual members of the

Communist Party, have been admitted to the United States temporarily under one section that this audience is certainly well familiar with, namely, section 212 (d) (3) of the act. It is also a matter of record that a chess team representing officially the Soviet Union, accompanied by, shall we say, trainers or masseurs-obviously they were secret policemen-were admitted to New York to participate in a tournament.

You also know about the group of clergymen from behind the Iron Curtain who were admitted to the Evanston, Ill., meeting last August and permitted to offer their totalitarian and heathen preferences to a Chris-

tian gathering.

There are hundreds and hundreds of less publicized cases of admissions of similar people. I am informed by the Department of State that most of our institutions of learning have established, very successfully, permanent contacts with the Department which permit to overcome difficulties and avoid delays in the admission under the provisions made for specially learned academicians.

I believe that it is time for those of us who are honestly concerned with matters of immigration, international migration, and the security of our country to take factual stock of existing immigration law without reference to personal bias or emotions fed

on narrow, egotistic interests.

Another favorite target for criticism is the quota provisions of the present law. The trick in this is to make a sweeping statement that only so and so many immigrants entered in the preceding year, whereas in former years—unnamed—twice or thrice or more could and did enter, the blame, of course, being put on the iniquitous McCarran-Walter Act.

Now, there is dishonesty in this statement, perhaps an innocent dishonesty on the part of many who repeat the story

The number of entries in 1954—both for permanent and temporary residence—show in overall numbers and by specific categories that our present immigration law has not curtailed the flow of aliens into the United States

· In the fiscal year 1954—that is, July 1, 1953, to June 30, 1954-208,177 aliens were admitted to the United States for permanent residence, which was 22 percent more than came in the preceding year. That fig-ure includes the 821 persons who trickled in under the very strange provisions of the so-called Refugee Relief Act of 1953.

Half a million (566,613) entered as nonimmigrants, 25,000 of them as students, 61,000 of them on business, and over 400,000 for various other reasons, including tourist

travel, visiting, etc.

Do those figures justify the cry that we have closed the doors to this country?

Sweeping or frivolous abuse heaped upon a carefully considered law is, in my view, unethical to the point of betrayal of our whole judicial and legislative system. It is treacherous because it seeks not to amend and perfect, but to destroy, and to destroy for dubious reasons, and often in promotion of self-interest. We have a duty to those who honorably seek shelter and opportunity within our borders, but we should not ignore our equal obligation to our fellow citizens who have built, developed, and defended this

haven from tyranny.

I do not mean, of course, that every immigration law passed by the Congress is perfect and so, above rightful criticism. Not at all. As a dismal example of sloppy legislation, we have the so-called Refugee Relief

Act of 1953.

Last week, when the 84th Congress convened, I introduced a bill to amend that abortive measure in the hope of actually getting help for some people.

I have never made a secret of the fact that I consider the Refugee Relief Act of 1953 a fraud and a phoney. For political reasons, the majority party in the 83d Congress rushed through the House and the Senate an ill-conceived and half-baked proposal which was designed to please every body without achieving any practical results. In spite of my public warnings and in spite of my vigorous opposition on the floor, that unworkable law was enacted to the accompaniment of political drum beat-

The only thing that I was able to do last session in order to correct that deficient law was to insert a few amendments, permitting to reunite families and to permit close relatives of American citizens to join

them in this country.

My new bill goes further in that direction in trying to make certain that people who need resettlement in the United States and are deserving of that privilege would get it. I aim to:

Equalize the requirements in relative cases. under the act with the requirements of the Immigration and Nationality Act so that the same evidence is needed to satisfy consular officers that relatives will not become pub-lic charges if admitted into the United States:

Eliminate the requirement that sponsors of immigrants keep suitable housing at a specific address open and available for the entire period of time that the intending immigrant goes through the screening and processing machinery;

Prevent the extended separation of famin cases where all members of the family are not present to accompany the principal applicant to the United States from the place where the visa is issued;

Revise the requirement as to documentation which must be produced by an applicant in order to harmonize the requirements of the act with those of the Immigration

and Nationality Act in this respect.

I hope that the enactment of my amendwill correct the ridiculous situation in which out of a total number of 209,000 immigrants authorized to come to the United States under the 1953 law, thus far 13,056 have come up to December 31, 1954, or during one-half of the law's entire lifetime.

Well, I hope that I have made my point ear. I have tried to tell you that I am for honest legislation, for honest administration of law, and for honest criticism of

A CUTE MAGAZINE COVER HORRIFTED THE RED BISHOPS

(By Eugene Gonda)

Four Hungarian Protestant bishops took the lead recently in a new kind of Red propaganda aimed at the United States.

The four-2 Lutherans and 2 Calvinists were members of a Hungarian delegation which attended the assembly of the Council of Churches at Evanston, Ill., last August. The Lutherans were Laszio Dezsery and Lajos Veto; the Calvinists, Albert Be-reczky and Janos Peter.

Bishop Bereczky gave well-publicized lectures about his sad American experiences. Bishops Peter, Dezsery, and Veto wrote articles about the horrors of American life and the successes of Iron Curtain churches at the Evanston assembly.

The bishops agreed that the fingerprinting and other preliminaries to obtaining their United States visas were the most mortifying experience of their lives. "Humiliating treatment reserved only for gangsters," they described it.

Bishop Bereczky reported indignantly that New York customs officers even examined his shaving brush and squeezed a tube of toothpaste in their search for Communist propa-ganda in the bishops' luggage.

"In Hungary," Bishop Dezsery commented, "foreigners can go where they wish without being bothered by authorities."

Bishop Veto found fault with American food and food service.

"America cafeterias recalled production lines in factories," he said. "One of the slanders by the western reactionary press about Communist countries is that there people wait in line for food in collective restaurants. The truth is that America is the country of waiting in line in cafeterias.

"You can get only canned food in the United States," he went on. "It is not possible to buy beer in bottles there; even this is delievered in canned form. Milk is sold in square paper boxes. American food is tasteless and is permeated with all kinds of unpleasant odors of fish, metled butter, and food oil."

The bishops deplored the savagery of the American press, which they said is full of stories of murder, vice and flying saucers and of war propaganda. And they all cited the same horrible example in support of this charge.

Each of them described in his own way a picture on the cover of an unnamed American publication: "A father with two loaded guns terrorizing his young son in a sickbed and thus forcing him to take a bitter medi-

The writer succeeded in identifying the picture which so horrified the Hungarian bishops. It was on the cover of American Weekly, and it showed a smiling young Weekly, and it showed a smiling young father kneeling at the bedside of his little boy, who was grimacing over a spoonful of castor oil. The father wore toy holsters and a toy sheriff's hat, and he was terrorizing

the youngster with two cap pistols.

Bishop Bereezky was particularly upset
over the ill-treatment of American children. He told of seeing a newsreel of babies forced to compete in a crawling contest, and he cited as typical the case of the Florida swimming instructor convicted of manslaughter in the death of his 5-year-old daughter for forcing her to dive from dangerous heights.

Bishop Bereczky was also shocked by the inscription on an Evanston war memorial which read: "1916-1919" and "1941-." He protested: "Is it possible to proclaim with such ostentation chiseled in marble that World War II is not yet ended?"

Bishop Peter devoted an entire article published in many Hungarian newspapers to the Evanston memorial, and concluded that the United States was suffering from war

hysteria.

(George Tomlinson, head of the citizens' committee which raised funds for the Evanston monument, explained last week that no terminal date had been added because there still had been no official ending of the war with Germany. Moreover, he said, the shaft was in memory of men who had fallen in all conflicts since the Civil War, and the names of some 25 men killed in Korea had still to

be added.)
Bishop Peter was convinced that the bad attitude of the American press toward the Hungarian delegates at Evanston was directed by the State Department, and Bishop Dezsery was even more outspoken in his indictment of the Secretary of State.

"Secretary Dulles inadvertently blabbed out his hope of secing the Evanston conference dominated by American propaganda," said Dezsery. "Therefore he tried to exclude the eastern churches from the assembly. He mobilized against us the American Legion, that Fascist organization of war veterans, and all kinds of European exiles. But he did not succeed."

Dezsery said that an American minister told him that his sermons were censored by police, and that an American engineer complained that he was always being bothered by FBI interrogators. "But all this could not prevent American sympathies toward us," the bishop added. "Many people came to see us secretly and shook our hands warmly in the absolute privacy of hotel elevators.

Bishop Dezsery described the plight of the United States in the words of one of his American friends, a Protestant minister who now lives and works in Geneva, Switzerland. Dezsery quoted the anonymous clergyman

"The country before your eyes is no more that of Lincoln, but that of McCarthy. America is dominated by a hysteria of fear. No European country would live in such fear. The country is a total political and diplomatic failure. Nobody knows what to do.

"The American people normally are very dynamic, but now they are in a state of wavering and great perplexity. President Eisenhower was elected on a program of peace and social progress. This has proved to be an empty illusion.

"Believe me, the American people have lost their faith in everybody; they are only anxious for their future. While reading a newspaper, the average American can do nothing but turn the chewing gum in his mouth."

The number of automobiles astonished Bishop Dezsery, but he had an explanation for the phenomenon. "Americans sweat all their lives to pay for their cars and the mortgages on their homes," he said.

He also explained the use of parking meters: "Cops are paid by corporations owning parking meters for fining those who refuse to pay for their parking."

This instance of collaborationist clergymen preaching Red propaganda is not unique since the death of Stalin, and it coincides with the frequent mention of religious topics on Red broadcasts, with the astonishing authorization to celebrate Christmas and with rumors of the liberation of Cardinal Mindzenty. Stalin's heirs seem to be fol-lowing the almost forgotten pattern of the czars, who based their despotism on a close alliance between sword and aspergillum (a brush used to sprinkle holy water).

Hetch Hetchy Bill Beneficial to Both San Francisco and Mountain Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, I have again introduced legislation which authorizes the Tuolumne County Water

District No. 2 to develop the power potential of the Tuolumne River near the Hetch Hetchy Reservoir of the city of San Francisco.

The development would be partly on lands in the public domain, and the stretch of the river proposed to be developed is in the area covered by a license granted to the city of San Francisco in 1913 under the so-called Raker Act; thus development by the district requires action by the Congress.

The legislation I have introduced provides that the profits from this power development can be used only for assisting and expanding agricultural development and municipal water development in Tuolumne County. The legislation provides further that the electric energy from the development can be sold only to public agencies of the State of California and that the rights granted for the development cannot be sold, assigned or transferred to any private person or corporation.

This valuable power drop has been sitting idle for 40 years despite the great demand for electric energy that has existed in the area. It seems only right and appropriate that the local area, which furnishes the water, shares in the benefits from the development of its resources. Expansion of agriculture and the furnishing of low-cost electric energy to the power consumers through public agencies benefits not only the local area but our whole national economy.

When I introduced this legislation in the last Congress there was oposition from the city of San Francisco. I want to cooperate with San Francisco and have so stated to its officials. This legis-lation takes nothing away from the city-not a bucket full of water. As a matter of fact, the water available to the city would be increased as seepage and evaporation losses would be reduced to some extent. Financially, this proposal would benefit San Francisco as it would be paid for benefits from regulation of Hetch Hetchy Reservoir. Both San Francisco and Tuolumne County would benefit under this legislation.

San Francisco's development on the Tuolumne River has been a virtual gold mine to the city for over 40 years. The local area does not begrudge the city the benefits it has received. However, we do believe it is high time the local area look to its own future and therefore this Tuolumne County water district is requesting an opportunity to share in development of its own remaining re-

Under the provisions of the Raker Act. San Francisco cannot develop this power potential itself but some officials have taken the view that no one else should be allowed to develop it. San Francisco has had 40 years to fully develop and operate the Hetch Hetchy project. It

has failed to do this.

Congress in passing the so-called Raker Act of 1913 made clear its intention to limit the city and county of San Francisco in its use of the Tuolumne area to the requested purpose-water supply, and such incidental power as might thereby be developed; provisions were inserted requiring timely development by the city of as much power as was needed for municipal uses. The Hetch Hetchy project thus came into being, as a permissive use of Federal properties under tightly drawn restrictions, with limitations clearly specified. In other words, Congress passed the Raker Act to assist the city in meeting its water needs and the power development was incidental to the development of a water supply. Congress consented to the inclusion of power in the project only on the condition that it would be operated without private profit for the benefit of the power consumers of San Francisco and the power would not be sold or transferred to any private individual or corporation for the purpose of resale at a profit. Also, it was the intention of Congress that the people of San Francisco should be furnished low-cost electric energy, not that the city should use the project as a means of reducing its tax assessment. There is little possibility the Congress will amend the Raker

Act to permit exploitation of the resources belonging to all the people.

I am confident that hearings on this bill will help determine, first, whether San Francisco, which is generating power under a Federal permissive use of Federal property, should be permitted, in perpetuity, to bottle up this power potential, at present undeveloped and being wasted and surplus to any foreseeable power needs of the city; second, whether city officials have complied with the restrictions and limitations of the Raker Act with respect to the development and disposal of power from the Hetch Hetchy project; and third, whether Congress, in the Federal and public interest and entirely in keeping with the restrictions and limitations of the 40-year-old Raker Act, should not reexamine that act with the view toward amending it to permit the people in the immediate watershed area to obtain benefits public in nature which will permit local agricultural and community development in Tuolumne County in the same manner in which the earlier Federal legislation involving the same area was intended to bring public, and I emphasize, public benefits to the city and county of San Francisco.

The Dredging of the Housatonic River Must Be Completed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, it gives me a great deal of satisfaction that the budget presented to the Congress today contains a recommendation for an appropriation of \$750,000 to complete the dredging of the channel to Culver's Bar in the Housatonic River.

This recommendation, if passed by Congress, means the end of a mission designed to bring reduced utility costs to individuals and manufacturers in Connecticut. The last budget submitted to Congress contained an item of \$500,000 for this project. Subsequent action by the Congress reduced this amount to \$400,000. Today's figure of \$750,000 represents the Army Corps of Engineers' estimate of the amount needed to finish the work.

During last year's hearing on this project before the Civil Functions Subcommittee of the House Appropriations Committee, testimony was presented by an official of the Connecticut Light & Power Co. that plans call for the expansion of the company's largest steamelectric generating plant located at Devon, Conn., 4 miles from the mouth of the Housatonic River. It was estimated that by 1960, the Devon plant will consume a total of 1 million tons of coal a year, compared with 640,015 tons in 1953. The improvement in the chan-nel will permit the delivery of coal to

the Devon plant by larger barges and it is estimated that a saving in the delivered price of coal of 50 cents per ton will be achieved.

The project as authorized in House Document 449 of the 70th Congress provides for local contributions in the amount of \$150,000 on the part of the Connecticut Light & Power Co. and the amount of \$50,000 on the part of the adjoining towns in lieu of providing suitable bulkheaded areas for the deposit of dredged material.

Any savings in transportation costs to the power company are directly passed on to its consumers throughout the State of Connecticut by means of a fuel adjustment clause included in the rates of the company. Therefore, by the completion of this project, the taxpayers of Connecticut stand to gain as much as \$500,000 a year by 1960 in reduced power costs. It is my sincere hope that this recommendation will be passed by Congress with no reduction in amount.

Situation in Latin America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, last year as chairman of the Subcommittee on Latin America of the House Select Committee on Communist Aggression, I repeatedly warned of the dangerous situation existing in Central America. The report filed by the subcommittee also pointed up this danger.

Since the issuance of the subcommittee's report, a war has broken out in Costa Rica; the President of Panama was assassinated; in Honduras the Congress has been dissolved and the situation there is tense.

Central America is extremely important to the United States and the free world. In this area, the Communists obtained their first beachhead in the Western Hemisphere when they were able to seize control of Guatemala until they were driven out last June.

The unrest and tension which grips this area today could benefit the Reds and undoubtedly efforts will be made to capitalize on the situation. It is my hope that our Government and the other governments represented in the Organization of American States will do everything possible to alleviate the difficulties which presently exist in that area. It is my hope too that we will be ever alert to any Communist attempts to gain a foothold in our own backyard.

I wish to call to the attention of the House, an editorial in the January 13, 1955, edition of the San Diego Union, which discusses this problem.

The editorial follows:

WAR IN COSTA RICA—LATIN UNREST IMPORTANT TO UNITED STATES

The importance of greater United States interest in Latin America is proved again by the invasion of Costa Rica. The Costa Rican conflict supplies evidence

of the growing unrest in central America.

Not long ago the United States discovered
that the Communists were in control of
Guatemala. A successful revolt has thrown
the Reds out of the country. But other uprisings have followed.

A few weeks ago, Juan Manuel Galvez, Honduran president, was removed from office and then allowed to regain his post. More recently the president of Panama, Jose Antonio Remon, has been murdered under mysterious circumstances.

Now we have a small-scale invasion of Costa Rica, apparently from Nicaragua with Costa Rican opponents of the present government participating. A committee from the Organization of American States is investigating the conflict.

One of Costa Rica's proudest boasts has been that its teachers outnumber its soldiers. With an attitude such as this, it is ironical that the tiny nation now finds war within its borders.

The present troubles prove again that no nation can afford today to be without an army. The central American republic abolished its army in 1950. It now relies for defense upon its agreements with other countries and upon a police force of 1,000 to 1,500 men and coast and national guardsmen who number probably 500.

Costa Rica was adequately forewarned of the present invasion and probably gave its limited forces special training. But the nation commendably has in the past given much of its attention to education. With a population of 869,000, only a little larger than San Diego County, Costa Rica has devoted more than 12 percent of its budget to schools, an amount exceeded only by spending for public works and the nation's executive offices.

This is a nation which we normally would consider needing little attention. It is a nation making progress in numerous democratic fields.

In the past United States citizens have taken revolutions and small wars lightly when they flared up in Latin America. But this continued unrest provides a condition which today will be ideal for Communist agitators.

The United States is in a delicate position in which it will not want to step in with a military force. The Organization of American States, which includes 21 nations in this hemisphere, may provide the immediate means of quieting the trouble without widespread fighting. But there is an air of urgency to the proposals for the United States to become a closer partner with its neighbors.

Resolution in Favor of Reduction of Eligibility Age for Social-Security Payments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following resolution adopted by the House of Representatives; the Commonwealth of Massachusetts:

Resolution memoralizing the Congress of the United States in favor of the passage of legislation reducing the age at which persons shall be eligible to receive socialsecurity benefits

Whereas there is now pending before the Congress of the United States a bill spon-

sored by Congressman THOMAS J. LANE, of Lawrence, to reduce from 65 to 60 the age at which persons shall be eligible to receive social-security benefits; and

Whereas many persons who have reached the age of 60 years either have difficulty or cannot receive employment even though

they are in good health; and

Whereas in many cases persons between the ages of 60 and 65 by reason of the lack of social-security benefits either become dependent upon relations or welfare agencies because of inability to secure employment: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the house of representatives respectfully urges the Congress of the United States to give favorable consideration and enact into law the bill reducing the age at which persons shall be eligible to receive social-security benefits; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent forthwith by the secretary of state to the President of the United States, to the presiding officer of each branch of Congress, and to each of the Members thereof from this Commonwealth.

House of representatives, January 11, 1955. Adopted.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE,

A true copy. Attest:
[SEAL] EDWARD J. CRONIN,
Scoretary of the Commonwealth.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U.S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodle is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

Appendix

The National Highway Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement made by me in regard to the national highway program as submitted by the National Advisory Committee.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY HON, HARRY F. BYRD, OF VIRGINIA, RELATIVE TO THE CLAY COMMISSION HIGHWAY REPORT

I shall discuss the proposed new road plan at length in the Senate when the President submits it to Congress January 27. In this statement I am commenting briefly on the recommendations to the President by the National Advisory Committee for a national highway program.

The Committee's recommendations fall generally in two parts: (1) Continuation of the regular Federal ald to highways at the rate of \$623 million a year, and (2) expenditure during the next 10 years of an additional \$25 billion for the so-called interstate highway system. Federal expenditures on the 2 programs in 10 years would total \$31 billion. Including the interest, the expenditure will be \$42.5 billion.

The Committee estimates the \$25 billion would construct 40,000 road-miles designated by the Federal Government as interstate highway. This would be little more than 1 percent of all public-road mileage. The average would be about 800 miles per State. For this the Committee recommends borrowing \$20 billion at 3 percent interest and collection of \$5 billion in fees from filling stations, motels, etc., operating on the rights-of-way.

If the 30-year taxable bonds recommended by the Committee can be sold at 3 percent interest, and if they are paid off on schedule—the last maturing in 1987—the interest would cost more than \$11.5 billion. At this rate every dollar borrowed would cost taxpayers \$1.55.

Based on all recent Federal experience, I submit it is a violent assumption to predict these bonds will be paid off at maturity. In effect, we have not paid off a single dollar of Federal debt in 25 years. Continuing increase in the Federal debt is in prospect for an indefinite period.

It may be expected that even before the 40,000 miles are constructed, the program will be expanded in mileage, scope, and amount. It is certain that the system will be thousands of miles greater than contemplated in the Committee report.

As we grow, population shifts, and the impact on specific roads changes, and therefore our road needs shift and change. There

is no such thing as a permanent road because no one can predict years in advance what specific roads will carry the most traffic.

Actually the Committee recommends that the Federal Government assume virtually the complete obligation for the so-called interstate highway system (abolishing the 60-40 Federal-State matching requirement in this program) and that it be financed by methods which are unique so far as I know, and thoroughly unsound.

The Committee recommended to the President that the program be financed through a Federal corporation which, without either assets or income, would borrow \$20 billion from the public. The Treasury, under a contract with the corporation, would guarantee the corporation's bonds, but the debt would not be included in the record of obligations guaranteed by the United States. Annual appropriations to meet principal and interest payments would be requested, but the request could not be refused or reduced by subsequent Congresses, for 30 years, if the faith and credit of the Government are to be honored. If financial difficulty should develop at any time, the corporation with no further authorization sould make mandatory calls upon the Treasury for amounts up to \$5 billion outstanding at any one time.

Such procedures violate financing principles, defy budgetary control, and evade Federal debt law.

If the Federal Government can properly borrow money for roads in this fashion, without regarding it as debt, and spend it without budgetary control, it may be expected that similar proposals will be made for financing endless outlays which may be desirable for education, hospitals, public health, ets. In fact I am informed that such a plan is now under consideration for school construction.

This would mean operating the Government on two sets of books: One set for activities financed by borrowing outside the debt and expenditures outside budgetary control, and the other set for activities financed by borrowing on the record and expenditures under budget control.

Count it as you will, as we spend more than our income we add to our debt. The least the Government can do, in fairness to taxpayers, is to keep books and accounts in a manner reflecting the true state of our fiscal affairs.

When the Government contracts a bona fide debt, but arbitrarily removes it from classification as public indebtedness, it creates fiscal confusion and disorder, and destroys confidence in Government credit.

You cannot avoid financial responsibility by legerdemain, and you cannot evade debt by definition. The obligations of the Federal Government and all its citizens will still remain.

There is another grave objection to this Federal road plan, of importance equal to those I have mentioned.

GROWTH OF FEDERAL GRANTS TO STATES

Since 1934, Federal grants to States have enormously expanded in cost and functions. Every Federal grant elevates the control of the Federal Government and subordinates the authority of the States. Nothing is truer than the rule that power follows the purse. When the Federal Government makes a grant

it directs the exact manner in which the fund is expended, even though the expenditure is partly contributed by the States. Time and time again I have seen the iron hand of the Federal bureaucracy compel the States to do things that they did not desire to do, because of grants made by the Federal Government.

The growth in Federal grants is indicated by the fact that in 1934, 21 years ago, the total of such grants was \$126 million, for 18 grants-in-aid programs. Now the total of Federal grants is \$3 billion for 50 programs. This is an increase of 300 percent in programs and 2,300 percent in cost. Federal grants to States never end. They continue to expand.

The Committee's proposal contemplates the greatest increase in Federal grants suggested. A Federal agency will determine the location of the interstate road system, will fix the number and location of access roads, which may be considerable distances apart, will fix the fees for the activities such as filling stations, motels, restaurants, etc., that are located along the rights-of-way and will control construction standards, etc.

No one recognizes more fully than I the need of road improvement to meet the constantly increasing impact of modern-day traffic. A great deal of my public career has been devoted to the problems of a road construction in Virginia. As a substitute for the Committee's recommendations I propose:

1. That the 2-cent gasoline tax now being collected by the Federal Government be repealed, thus permitting the States to reimpose it.

2. Present Federal aid to primary, secondary, and urban road systems which, for many years has been integrated with State highway systems, be continued on the long-standing match basis. This amounts to \$535 million.

3. That the lubricating oil tax now collected by the Federal Government be continued.

4. A ½ cent per gallon Federal gasoline tax. Revenue from this tax plus the Federal lubricating oil tax, according to estimates of increasing use, shortly will be sufficient to compensate the Federal Treasury for this Federal aid.

Under such a plan States would retain as much control over their roads as they have had in the past; \$11.5 billion interest would be saved for additional road construction; and road revenue would be evenly distributed over future years to keep high-ways modernized to meet changing conditions.

Under the Committee plan principal and interest payments on the \$20 billion bond issue would dry up gasoline tax revenue for 20 years, from 1966 to 1987, with the exception of about \$300 million which is committed to matching funds of States for their primary, secondary, and urban systems.

In the next few days I will present on a yearly basis figures showing the plan I propose will result in more road development than can be accomplished under the Committee's plan; that it will avoid increasing the public debt, and that it will serve to preserve the soundness of the Federal budgetary system.

Foreign and Defense Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. KNOWLAND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the REC-ORD the text of the speech I made yesterday in Chicago, Ill., before the Newspaper Advertising Executives Association.

There being no objection, the speech was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SPEECH BY HON. WILLIAM F. KNOWLAND, OF CALIFORNIA

Foreign and defense policies are and need to be the people's business. The decisions that are made in the months ahead may well determine whether we are to have a free world of free men.

The wise men who drafted our Constitution knew well the history of the world up to their time.

They knew that where people had lost their freedom it was because of the concentration of power in one agency of the Government.

Not only did they set up three great coequal branches of the Federal Government as checks and balances one against the other but they made the Federal Government one of limited and specified powers, reserving to the several States or the people thereof all other powers.

It was Thomas Jefferson who said, "I have sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility to every form of tyranny over the mind

of man." The times call for frankness and where there is an honest difference of opinion the American people should be presented the

alternatives confronting them.

At the United Nations headquarters in New York a massive propaganda buildup is taking place to silence those who would analyze the facts of the recent visit of the Secretary General to Peking. The same arguments for voluntary censorship will be used later when the ultimate price of ransom is paid-lest we offend the killers in Peiping.

The Chinese Communist regime is the same one which committed the aggression in Korea; was responsible for inflicting 140,000 casualties upon us including 35,000 dead. That regime also killed in cold blood hundreds of Americans, with hands tied behind their backs, who were their prisoners.

It is the same regime which has consistently violated the Korean armistice and has prevented the neutral nations investigative teams from being anything but paralyzed, impotent examples of the free world's naive trust in a system which prides itself in treachery, assassination, and dishonor as legitimate weapons in the ultimate communization of the world.

Lest there be some who think I am not being slow to anger I will quote Lenin who said, "We must be ready to employ trickery, deceit, lawbreaking, withholding and concealing truth."

Communism is a global menace. not be stopped if Europe if allowed free reign in Asia. Lenin stated the basic concept when he said, "The road to Paris is through Peking."

In this age of the airplane and atomic power this Nation could no more return to

isolation than an adult could return to childhood.

We need and want stout allies but an alliance must be a two-way affair. A nation cannot buy friends any more than can an individual

The mission of Secretary General Hammarskjold was not a success and, in my judgment, no service is done the American people or those of the free world by pretending that it was.

Mr. Hammarskjold has returned without either the release of the prisoners of war held in violation of the armistice agreement or any prospective date in the future when they will be freed. He personally favors the admission of Communist China into the United Nations and his government has recognized that regime. In China he did not go to see our men and the conditions under which they are imprisoned. His mission was a failure by any fair standard or yardstick that Americans can use.

This is attempted to be glossed over by the statement that "When tensions are eased the members of our Armed Forces may be released." We already know the standards which the Communist Government has set for the easing of tensions. They are:

The admission of Communist China into the United Nations.

2. Reopening of trade, including that of strategic materials with Communist China.

3. The reversal of the American policy which holds that it is not in our national interest or that of the free world to have the island of Formosa, with its 91/2 million free Chinese, pass into Communist hands.

4. A reversal of our determination and of the free world to draw a line in the Pacific so that additional nations and their people will not pass behind the Communist Iron Curtain.

These surrenders will not be apparent all at once and for the most part, if accomplished, would be done despite the negative vote of the United States.

But first there will come the concessions which like paying other types of blackmail will be constantly enlarged:

. Assurances to the Chinese Communists relating to limitations and restrictions upon our pending treaty with the Republic China, now on Formosa, and other offshore islands.

This, I would point out to Mr. Hammarskjold is a dangerous game. The Chinese and North Korean Communists had understood from Mr. Acheson that the Republic of Korea was outside of our defense perimeter.

2. Assurances that while public opinion in the United States would not presently support Chinese Communist admission into the United Nations the Communist bloc and the neutrals would soon reward the Peiping regime for their generosity in releasing a fraction of our citizens held provided the American voice at home and abroad was throttled from telling the truth regarding the tyranny spreading its cancerous growth in Asia, Europe, and anywhere else they can subvert free nations.

Mr. Hammarskjold knows as well as does any other observer of the world scene that in Communist eyes there will be no lessening of tensions until the Communists are appeased in that manner.

What a vast difference the history books would records today if the men who gave us our Nation had not been prepared to take some risks. We would never have become or remained an independent free America.

How long can such a policy be followed without ending in disaster for ourselves as well as the other member states of the United Nations?

Our power was so diluted by the United Nations during the Korean action that the recommendations of our responsible military

commanders were constantly vetoed or ignored and our joint venture prevented the winning of the Korean conflict.

The United Nations record in Korea was not effective security in action. The United States furnished 90 percent of the manpower. Only 17 out of 60 members supplied any manpower at all. We supplied 450,000 in armed forces to 45,000 supplied by all other United Nations members.

Soviet chairmanship of the Security Council at intervals during the Korean war was like having the town arsonist to head the fire department. The Soviet Union admitted supplying arms, ammunition and moral support to the aggressor.

Will the same joint venture prevent us from securing the release of our own men in the uniform of the American Armed Forces without paying tribute to the Chinese Communist regime?

Before Mr. Hammarskjold and his associates at New York or their home governments commit themselves to appeasement in conformity with the current Communist line let them understand: Any such appeasement will be subjected not only to the most searching scrutiny by the American Congress but by a far more potent solemn referendum of the American people in 1956.

The time may be coming in the not too distant future when the people of the United States may have to insist upon a second

Declaration of Independence.

We did not change from a small colony of 3 million on the Atlantic seaboard to the great Nation of 165 million because we had the most people in the world. There have been a good many other nations that have had larger populations.

We did not reach our present place because we had the most resources in the world, for there are other nations which have greater

material resources.

I believe that we came to our present position of leadership because the founders of this Republic gave us a heritage of courage and a written Constitution that, better than any other document drafted by man, has given to our people the freedom-political and economic-without which this great progress could not have been made.

In this atmosphere the American spirit We were guaranteed the had free reign. right to worship God, each according to his beliefs.

To be sure, we have demonstrated time and time again that as a nation and as a people we are indeed slow to anger.

The religion and cultural background of the free people of China made them slow to anger. Their nation is today behind the Iron Curtain and millions have been liquidated, including men of religion, teachers, small merchants, businessmen, and non-Communist workers and farmers. The free people of Czechoslovakia were slow to anger, and are today behind the Communist Iron Curtain-though in the preceding election less than 20 percent of their people had voted the Communist ticket.

Some of our associates abroad apparently want to brainwash us of some of the history that has made America great.

But, there comes a time, as my old New England grandmother used to say, when we reach a point of righteous indignation, and out of this has come-cherished to each American generation, one succeeding the other—such terms as: "Give me liberty or give me death," "Don't give up the ship,"
"Remember the Alamo," "Damn the torpedoes; full speed ahead," "Perdicaris alive or Raisuli dead."

Despite the fact that in many instances e were faced with what appeared to be overwhelming odds, we have never found it necessary to sacrifice our national honor when a vital principle was at stake.

Nor must we ever permit any international organization to so dilute or undermine our spirit to the extent that Guiliver becomes chained by the Lilliputians and we are unable to even protect our own.

able to even protect our own.

The United Nations overwhelmingly passed a resolution giving support to the American position relative to the 15 American airmen being illegally held by the Chinese Communists.

While the Communists have acknowledged that they hold these 15 men in uniform, there are strong grounds for belief that they may be holding other unaccounted for Americans missing. During the Korean war there were more than 800 unaccounted for Americans in uniform who had fallen into Communist hands. We also know that they have 28 American civilian citizens still in Communist jalls, many of them having served there for 3 or 4 years. We know some of these have been in leg and arm chains for months at a time.

This Nation will want to know what additional steps the United Nations will promptly take to secure the release of the uniformed personnel? How long are we expected to be patient while our men are in Communist cells?

Are they prepared to apply against the Chinese Communist regime economic sanctions as well as moral condemnation by resolution? If these are not successful, are they prepared to support a tight naval and air blockade upon the China coast?

Or is the plan to silence Members of Congress, have a form of censorship over our press, radio, and television, lull our people into a sense of false security lest it offend the Communist leader at Peiping who as successor to the emperors of the old middle kingdom expects the representatives of the free world to kow tow and bring tribute to his august presence?

Since when did it become sound policy to reward the gangster with the Legion of Merit because he returns a part of his loot?

In the final analysis, however, neither the American Government nor the Congress can escape the responsibility for taking whatever effective steps are necessary to secure the release of these men wearing the uniform of this country. They do not wear the uniform of the United Nations though they did serve in the United Nations operation in Korea. As long as a single American is held in a Communist prison I shall not remain silent.

Some, though not all, of our present problems vis-a-vis the Communist world stem from the secret agreements of Yalta, Teheran, and Potsdam.

We should not consider all the people behind the Iron Curtain as being enemies of the free way of life.

At a matter of fact the people of Russia were the first victims of Communist tyranny from which we may hope they will some day be free.

Without the knowledge or consent of either the American people or their elected representatives in the Congress commitments were made for the postwar period which enabled the Communist conspiracy to gain control of Eastern Europe, China, and North Korea.

Since the year 1945, which saw the end of World War II in Europe and Asia, international communism has made great strides.

In January of that year there were less than 200 million people behind the Communist Iron Curtain. Today, Just 10 years later, there are over 800 million. The world's balance of power has been upset.

When 30 years ago Lenin said "The road to Paris is through Peking," he meant that China was the key to all of Asia with its billion and a half people. Once consolidated with the manpower and resources of Asia communism could turn with overwhelming power against the West.

Peace with honor is, and should be, the policy of the American people. This is certainly far different from a policy of peace at any price. Unless this is thoroughly understood, we could be lured into a sense of false security by the words of the men in the Kremlin which do not conform to their actions or their policies.

We must never lose sight of the fact that communism is the most brutal, Gedless tyranny the world has ever known. As a temporary expedient they may change their day-to-day tactics, but their long-term strategy remains the same under Malenkov as it was under Lenin and Stalin.

Some time between 1913 and 1915 Lenin studied the works of Karl von Clausewitz who is rated as one of the outstanding theoreticians of war. Clausewitz' statement that the conquorer always pretends to be peace loving because he would like to attain his objectives in a bloodless fashion (as, indeed, does the bank robber who kills only when resisted or disturbed in carrying out his mission) and that, therefore, aggression must be presented as a defensive reaction of the attacking nation was considered by Lenin to be a good idea. This idea is still at the bottom of Communist pacifist propaganda—peaceful coexistence.

The Kremlin's basic strategy is that communism will dominate the world, and free institutions and enterprise as we know them will be destroyed. Neither as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee nor as a party leader in the Senate has the slightest reliable evidence been presented to me which would demonstrate that the Communist leopard has changed its spots.

We and the free world must not allow ourselves to be paralyzed while nation after nation in Asia and in Europe is brought behind the Communist Iron Curtain. In such an event we might ultimately find ourselves as an isolated island of freedom in an otherwise totalitarian world.

Under such conditions, though the difficulties would be great, we might exist as sort of a continental Dien Blen Phu. However, we would not be able to maintain the same political or economic system which has enabled this country of ours to grow from a small colony of 3 million on the Atlantic seaboard to a world power of 165 million, the most productive industrially and agriculturally the world has ever known.

The doctrine of peaceful coexistence is being advanced by the men in the Kremlin, by the neutralist nations which do not desire to take sides as between freedom and slavery and by some of our people who have not necessarily understood the full implications of what the Communists mean by peaceful coexistence.

Their basic policy is and has been that they would permit a nation to peacefully coexist for such a time as suited the Kremlin's convenience and until they could either be subverted by communism from within or taken over by Communist aggression from without. They have in mind for us the peaceful coexistence the Thanksgiving turkey has (well fed and housed) until the axe falls.

Whatever their station in political economic or academic circles, those who lose sight of this basic fact endanger the freedom of this Republic and the hope of gaining or preserving a free world of free men. You could, of course, always buy temporary respite by a policy of appeasement, but the world should have learned at the time of Munich that "the road to appeasement is not the road to peace." It is only surrender on the installment plan.

Proposals almost certain to be made if and when a big four conference is held:

 Recognition and approval of the present borders of the Iron Curtain.

2. Communist China in the United Na-

This would mean the perpetual slavery of hundreds of millions of people without hope of ultimate freedom. It would mean a complete repudiation of the doctrine of liberation.

On November 15 in the Senate of the United States, in discussing coexistence, I raised a number of questions. They were:

"Are 'coexistence' and 'atomic stalemate' synonymous terms? If they are not, just what is the difference? Is the former merely an inevitable prelude to the latter? And what of our foreign policy and our defense policy when such an atomic stalemate takes place? Does not atomic stalemate mean inevitable Communist nibbling aggression, rather than peace in our time? How many years remain when we still have some initiative left? These are some of the basic questions before the Government and the people of the United States."

These questions have not as yet been fully explored. They will be during the present session of the 84th Congress. Without partisanship or factionalism we must face up to the facts and the challenges of our generation.

If we will only show the same courage and common sense that motivated the men who sat in Philadelphia and, under divine inspiration, gave us first the Declaration of Independence and then the Constitution of the United States, there are none of our domestic problems we cannot solve and there is no foreign foe we need ever fear.

Conservation of Soil: Our Greatest Resource

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address I delivered at the National Agriculture Limestone Institute in Washington at noon today.

On this occasion, I spoke on the subject Conservation of Soil: Our Greatest Resource. If we are to preserve our productive capacity we must conserve our soil. We should ever remember the lesson of China, where neglect of natural resources contributed to impoverishment of its people, political instability, and social discentent. Such an example should teach us we cannot continually mine our resources without replenishment, that to do so would invite national disaster. We should remember that it can happen to us.

that it can happen to us.

President Eisenhower, in his recent message to Congress on the state of the Union, said we must direct greater attention to the needs of low-income farm families. Many of these farmers are being strangled slowly by intense competition in the farm markets today. They constitute the group leaving the farm today, causing a reduction in family-size farms.

A properly financed, continuously adequate soil-conservation program, with prominent roles for lime and fertilizer, would enable these farmers to produce better quality crops in greater quantity, and permit them to compete more effectively with lower cost producers.

A betterment of his economic position would make farming more attractive to the low-income farmers and help keep them down on the farm. Further, the farmer's welfare is integrally bound to the Nation's welfare. He is a big buyer of finished steel products, oil, and chemical supplies. If we are to maintain a balance between agriculture and industry we should bend every effort to make farming a healthy, attractive, and thriving business.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS OF HON. FRANK CARLSON, OF KANSAS, AT NATIONAL AGRICULTURE LIMESTONE INSTI-TUTE, STATLER HOTEL, TUESDAY, JANUARY 18, 1955

Mr. Chairman, it is a genuine privilege and a real honor to speak to the delegates and members of the National Agriculture Limestone Institute at its annual meeting. Your organization is representative of an industry that means much to the national welfare and the well-being of the American farmers.

It is most appropriate that I discuss with you the subject Conservation of Soil: Our Greatest Resource.

Your interests are not confined to soil conservation, but you have a direct and personal interest in the international and economic problems of the Nation.

I trust you will pardon me if I refer back to the Old Testament and use a verse of scripture as a text:

"And there saw we the giants, the sons of Anak, which come of the giants: and we were as grasshoppers in our own sight, and so we were in their sight." (Numbers 13: 33.)

These glants stand out as symbols of great difficulties—great obstacles. They are in every field of our activities. We meet them in our international problems—we meet them in our domestic problems—certainly we meet them in the field of agriculture. We must overcome them or they will overcome us.

Fortunately, our Nation has been blessed with men and women who had vision, great courage and an overcoming faith.

Two giants or obstacles in agriculture have been and are agriculture surpluses and production restrictions.

The stress of reduced demand during the depression years and the necessity for downward readjustments in agricultural output at the end of World War II have forced us to think a great deal about these two problems.

But as a long-run solution, acreage control of production of food, raw fibers, and the other products of our agricultural industry's as distasteful to the American mind as the restriction of output by an industrial monopolist would be.

Our greatest hope for the permanent solution of both the surplus and restriction problems thus lies in the direction of expanded consumption at home and abroad. Given sufficient time and a realistic approach to the problem of existing surpluses and the need for acreage diversions to prevent their continued accumulation, we can grow up to our present capacity.

It is entirely possible that within the nottoo-distant future, instead of worrying about curtailment, we may be having to think and plan for increasing agricultural production even in peacetimes, just as we have had to do several times during war periods in the past.

When one considers the prospects of our working out of these surpluses and the surplus productive capacity from which they come, four points come to mind:

 We are faced with a tremendous growth in demand resulting from an unprecedented increase in population.

2. We can hope and expect a continually rising standard of living for all these people.

3. With modern technology and research at work for us, there is almost no limit to the possible new uses and hence new demands for agricultural products which may be discovered.

4. Even though the export market for agricultural commodities has declined in recent years, there are still millions of underfed, underclothed peoples of the world who are anxious and willing to buy our products if they can find or be helped to find ways to pay for them.

Population growth, if we look far enough ahead, will alone have a tremendous impact upon the surplus problem. Population which today is 163 million is estimated at 190 million in 1965.

Within the next decade we shall thus be faced with substantially the situation which an excellent Department of Agriculture report, issued only a few years ago, entitled "The Fifth Plate." foresaw for 1975.

For every four people sitting down to a meal and consuming the products of agriculture today there will be another person, a fifth mouth, to be fed at the dinner table 10 and 15 years from now. While the figures on the rate of population increase have been variously presented, each time new estimates are made the earlier estimates seem to appear more and more conservative.

If all of us are to eat as well of pork products a decade hence as we have been doing, agriculture will have not only to produce as it did in 1950, but an additional amount equal to all of the pigs produced in Iowa and Nebraska in 1950.

If we are to do no more than maintain our per capita beef consumption, we will have to add to our national production an amount equivalent to the entire 1950 production of the great producing States of Texas, Oklahoma, and Minnesota combined.

With no increase whatever in lamb consumption per capita, we will need somehow to increase production by an amount greater than that of the combined production of Montana, Wyoming, Utah, and Nevada.

On this population count alone, it looks like our surplus problem may, in due time, give way to one of trying to make every 5 of our present acres produce as much as 6 acres do today. That will call for larger and larger dosages of capital in the form of lime, fertilizers, better seeds and machinery, together with improved farming practices generally.

Incidentally, the report already referred to notes that we can build up acres by using lime and that the tons spread during the agricultural conservation program in the single year 1949 resulted in 20 million tons more hay and pasture forage which, if converted to beef, would equal 1½ billion pounds live weight.

In our great concern for the problems of this agricultural surplus era there is a danger that we may overlook other important phases of our agricultural policies and programs. We should be careful in our thinking not to deemphasize the agricultural conservation programs. We must be ever aware of our duty to preserve the Nation's soils for future generations in a sound and adequate manner even during this period of temporary surpluses.

Only a few years ago we exerted every effort to increase production of practically all crops to meet demand. Who can say the same situation won't face us again a few years from now? Our conservation efforts must remain on a level consistent with the needs of our soil today and in the years to come if we are to faithfully discharge our obligation to the welfare of our farmers and city dwellers today and to those yet unborn.

In addition to the growth in population, we all look forward to a continually rising standard of living for those who make up that population. And a rising standard of living means in part improved diets for those at every income level.

While Americans today are on the average the best-fed people in the world, we cannot be content with present standards. The whole trend in income distribution is certain to be such that those who must now live on restricted or inadequate diets will be enabled to raise their standards and partake of more and more healthful foods.

As costs of producing various crops are realined, the grains which in the short run present embarrassing surpluses may well be applied to greater uses as animal feed. Our increased population and our rising standard of living will call for increased consumption of meats which is one sure way of cutting into our recent cereal surpluses.

The third outlook which we may expect to help minimize our surplus problem over the years ahead lies in the development of new uses and new demands for agricultural products. New and better uses for our crops present several aspects all moving forward simultaneously.

By lowering the costs of production and distribution of established crops through technology, new markets are constantly being tapped. The discovery of wholly new products and wholly new uses for established farm crops is another way in which demand for the products of our farms can be increased.

Still another front lies in the development of new crops, thereby facilitating the acreage shifts necessary to reduce production in some of the older crops, such as wheat and cotton, which are currently in surplus.

The constant trend toward lower agricultural costs by improved strains and the utilization of wastes makes it increasingly possible to sell agricultural raw materials in competition with other materials in their fields.

It is not necessary to illustrate each of these types. It is only necessary to recall the shifts in acreage made possible by the expanding industrial uses for soybean oil.

Back in 1924 American farmers harvested just under 5 million bushels of soybeans. In 1954 our soybean production was a record-breaking 343 million bushels, with a market value of nearly \$1 billion. Thus in the short space of three decades we have seen the development of a new major crop in this country and with it a new major industry.

We need only recall the expanded demand for products resulting from development of freezing and dehydrating processes, and such things as the spectacular use of hulls from rolled oats to produce furfural as a selective solvent used in the petroleum industry and as a raw material in the manufacture of chemical intermediates.

Who shall say what the future limitations may be upon our national development? In agriculture, what new crops will tomorrow bring? What new uses for old crops? In a world just now entering the atomic age, some of the most exciting laboratories ever known to man may be right on our farms.

While corn is not one of our surplus problems, the possibilities of readjustment are demonstrated in the shift from corn to new resistant combine grain sorghums in the southern great plains States and in central and western Kansas.

As an outgrowth of experiments conducted at the Kansas Agricultural Experiment Station in cooperation with the Kansas Industrial Commission, new types of hulling and milling equipment now permit the manufacture of flour and livestock feeds from grain sorghum, the flour being widely used in making gypsum lath or wallboard.

Varieties and suitabilities of grain sorghum have meanwhile been improved by research,

giving further impetus to the search for new uses of products and byproducts.

It was reported a few years ago that new industrial uses for grain sorghum had already provided added outlets for the crop from 2 million acres. The expansion would doubtless be even more dramatic if we had the later figures.

Last but not least among the ways which promise to help us work out from under agricultural surpluses is increased agricul-

tural exports.

Export markets have long been vital to our farm population. These export markets have unfortunately suffered in recent years and would certainly have fallen off considerably more had it not been for our foreign aid programs.

As the President observed in his January 10, 1955, message on foreign economic policy, "no single group in America has a greater stake in a healthy and expanding foreign

trade than the farmers."

During the recent year there has been some improvement in the export of farm crops, but during the past few years, agriculture has suffered a serious decline in the loss of foreign markets for farm products.

During the years 1951 to 1953, we lost the export markets for farm crops produced on 20 million acres of our farmland. The crops that suffered most from this loss of export markets were wheat and cotton.

The value of the farm crops exported for the years 1952 and 1953 declined from over \$4 billion to \$2,800,000,000, or a decline of 31 percent.

The average value of farm exports during the past 5 years has been \$3,500,000,000.

The last session of Congress provided for program of disposal of farm products under Public Law 480. This law authorized by the last Congress, provides for the disposal of \$1 billion worth of farm surpluses during a period of 3 years.

It is estimated that during the fiscal year ending next June 30, we will have sold or given away abroad under this program \$578 million worth of surplus farm products.

This program is functioning well and much credit must be given to the Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Benson, for the zeal with which he is pursuing it.

The long-run potentialities of foreign markets may be illustrated by the case of cotton, one of the products which in recent

years has tended to be in surplus.

With a rapidly growing world population, there is no question that a need exists abroad for all of the cotton that can be produced in the United States, as well as in the countries which have lately become our competitors in this field of agricultural production. Per capita consumption of cotton in 1948 was, for example, 3.3 pounds in Asia, 6.2 pounds in Latin America, and 7.5 pounds in Europe, compared to 28 pounds in the United States.

Granting all that may be said about the increasing role of synthetic substitutes, it is still true that if per capita consumption of other parts of the world were brought up anywhere near levels prevailing in the United States, surpluses such as that of cotton

might well give way to shortages.

The key to future exportation of more

agricultural products is, of course, essentially a matter of imports. We ought not to hope to solve our agricultural problems permanently by aid programs, dumping, or giving away excesses

The potential foreign buyers must be permitted to earn the wherewithal to pay for the grains and fibers which they need and

would buy

The problem of international trade and the making of reciprocal trade agreements is one that requires the most diligent studykeeping in mind the interests of agriculture, industry, and labor.

The President has submitted a program calling for an extension of the Executive authority to negotiate tariff reductions, the easing of customs administrative burdens, and steps to encourage United States investment abroad, as measures that should contribute to an expanded trade with foreign countries.

Action will be taken on this program in this session of Congress and as a member of the Finance Committee of the United States Senate, I hope to be helpful in writing a program that will give agriculture its proportionate share of the agricultural export market. The farmers are asking no more, and they are entitled to no less.

All of the ways I have discussed for increasing demand for our farm products will be reduced to empty talk if the soils of our country are not maintained in a condition which will help us produce to

meet demand in years to come. I am as concerned as anyone else over our surplus problem but for one additional and all-important reason-that our preoccupation with it will obscure the ever-present necessity to constantly maintain and increase our soil-conservation efforts.

We must step back from the individual trees and look at the entire forest-we must view the problems and values of soil con-

servation in proper perspective.

In discussing a conservation program we should not think of it so much as benefiting this or that class of farmers or that only certain groups of farmers deserve to partici-We are dealing here with a program in which the entire Nation-every man, woman, and child-has a stake. For the soil of our Nation is a large part of our real wealth-our strength in a day and time sorely in need of such strength.

Our soil has contributed immeasurably to our country's prosperity, to the health of its people, to the creation of the economic glant we are in the world today and to the universal prestige we hold because of our economic power. We believe our way of life represents a force for good in this world; the productive power of our soil and our industrial might have elevated us to world leadership and have given us an opportunity to influence, by our position, the rest of the world to a way of life which would mean peace and

Considering soil conservation within this frame, who can say an appropriation of \$200 million or \$500 million or more is enough to accomplish an objective so interwoven with the welfare of this Nation?

It is disheartening to me to find so much emphasis being placed on the saving of dollars in connection with our soil-conservation program. Mere saving of dollars is economy if this practice becomes a habit and our soil deteriorates to the point where it threatens our productive capacity and ultimately far greater expense becomes necessary in order to rebuild the fertility level.

Economy is important but in soil conservation, as perhaps in national defense, there are other values to consider. It is easy to that so many billions of dollars can be trimmed from the defense budget. On the other hand, can anyone say positively that twice the expenditure isn't needed in view of the fast-changing race for the latest

weapons of destruction?

Today we hear about the imminent possibility of intercontinental missiles which can destroy cities in a matter of minutes. When this becomes a reality the sums we are spending for defense today may be paltry in com-parison with the outlays we may have to make.

The same may be said for soil conservation, The consequences of continually chipping away at appropriations for this vital pro-

gram could be ghastly to behold in years to come.

If we could only visualize the specter of ruin which would face our farm communities and the resultant threat to our economy as a whole following in the wake of neglected and inadequately financed soil conservation practices we would not be so anxious to save dollars alone. We should con-serve the real wealth of the Nation—the soil—and not so much the dollars that merely measure value.

In a sense the surplus era upon us gives us an opportunity to produce better quality With fewer acres in production we can concentrate on greater and more intelligent applications of lime and fertilizer, producing higher quality crops in substantial quantity and at a reduced real cost.

There is another area in which an adequate soil conservation effort can be helpful in the maintenance of a strong agriculture. For many years farm population has been steadily declining. In 1800 about 75 percent of our total population tilled the soil: today less than 20 percent make a living from the soil.

President Eisenhower, in his recent message to Congress on the state of the Union, said we must direct greater attention to the needs of low-income farm families. Many of these farmers are being strangled slowly by intense competition in the farm markets today. They constitute the group leaving the farm today, causing a reduction in familysize farms.

A properly financed, continuously adequate soil conservation program with prominent roles for lime and fertilizer would enable these farmers to produce better quality crops in greater quantity and permit them to compete more effectively with lower cost producers.

A betterment of his economic position would make farming more attractive to the low-income farmer and help keep them "down on the farm." Further, he farmer's Further, he farmer's welfare is integrally bound to the Nation's welfare. He is a big buyer of finished steel products, oil, and chemical supplies. If we are to maintain a balance between agriculture and industry, we should bend every effort to make farming a healthy, attractive, and thriving business.

The condition of the Nation's soil determines the quality of food products grown. Since we are what we eat, the fertility level of our soils has a direct bearing on the state of our health. Of the 4 forces determining the nutritious quality of food plants grownair, sunshine, water, and soil—only 2, water and soil, are considered variable.

To the extent that we can control our water resources and the chemical components of our soil we will control the nutritive value of crops grown. When our soil becomes deficient in calcium, nitrogen, and other elements the deficiency shows up in crops and livestock.

These mineral-lacking food products give us a poorly balanced diet affecting our health. We cannot afford the chance that our soil would deteriorate to the point of endangering our health. We should remember that a nation is only as strong as the backbone of its people.

If we are to preserve our productive capacity we must conserve our soil. We should ever remember the lesson of China where neglect of natural resources contributed to impoverishment of its people, political instability, and social discontent. example should teach us we cannot continually mine our resources without replenishment-that to do so would invite national disaster. We should remember that it can happen to us.

United States Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, on Sunday night it was my pleasure to deliver an address on the subject of United States foreign policy.

At that time, I stated my vigorous opposition to any rash attempt on the part of the United States to impose a unilateral military blockade on Red China at this time.

I send to the desk the text of my Harrisburg address, supplemented by additional comments which I made to the press yesterday when this issue came up for further discussion.

I ask unanimous consent that both items be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address and press-release were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SEVEN KEYSTONES OF NONPARTISAN FOREIGN POLICY

(Address by Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, ranking Republican, Senate Foreign Relations Committee, in Harrisburg, Pa., at Jewish Community Center, at 100th anniversary of the center movement in the United States on Sunday, January 16, 1955)

I welcome this opportunity to survey with you current and future problems of Ameri-

can foreign policy.

It is particularly appropriate to come to the capital of the great Keystone State on so constructive an occasion as this—to consider the strengthening of nonpartisan foreign policy.

I shall refer to seven keystones of a sound international program for the United States—an enlightened modern program in this age of great challenge from international communism; this age of great opportunity; this contracted world of the jetatomic era.

JUDGING STATESMEN OR DEMAGOGS

It seems to me that our fundamental mission in international relations is to construct keystones of peace and justice and prosperity.

It seems to me that the one great standard by which you or I should judge those who are active in the field of foreign affairs at home and abroad is this:

Have they, like statesmen, built for better relations? Or have they, like demagogs, tried to tear down the edifice of better relations?

Have they planted good will in the hearts of men?—America for her allies, and her allies for America?—good will for us in the more than 1 billion hearts of the uncommitted segment of the world? Or have they planted seeds of discord, poisonous dragons' teeth of hatred?

Have they contributed to a better, more rational, more clear-cut understanding of the difficult, complex problems of our time? Or have they—in the chronic habit of the demagog—served to becloud issues, inflame them with emotional fury, so that problems become more and more difficult to solve?

These are questions by which you or I or anyone else should judge not only the men in public life who work on foreign affairs, but individuals in private life who also participate in this crucial subject.

SECRETARY OF STATE'S NOTABLE SUCCESSES .

With that standard, you and I are going to look at all the world's stage.

If time permitted, I would have liked to consider in detail some of the great advances which have been made during the past couple of years.

They represent successes which already assure for our distinguished Secretary of State an enduring mark in history as one of the greatest men who has ever held this high office.

I refer to such notable achievements as the settling of the Italian-Yugoslav dispute over Trieste; the English-Egyptian agreement on the Suez Canal problem; the settlement of the Anglo-Iranian oil dispute; the independent replacement of the Communist-dominated Government of Guatemala by a strong, able government representative of the will of those fine people; the great milestone represented in the Manila Pact; the very encouraging progress toward bringing into being of the new Western European Union; our mutual defense treaty with the Republic of China; and other impressive advances.

OTHER PROMISING FIELDS OF ACTION

I would have liked to discuss with you some of the current phases of our foreign policy program which are particularly promising.

One such program is the President's famous atoms-for-peace plan. It is one of the most promising of all suggestions for helping to resolve East-West tensions and to assure cooperation within the free world as well.

I should have liked to refer to the vital mission of our United States Information Agency which is doing such a fine job in our battle for the minds of men throughout the world—a peaceful battle using instruments of radio, press, motion pictures, and, yes, television.

In that latter connection, may I point out that in the last Congress; steps were taken toward the setting up of an International Telecommunications Commission, one of whose phases would be the development of international television. Action, unfortunately, was not completed by the Congress, although important spadework has been performed by an intra-Cabinet committee. I am hoping that the 84th Congress will flash the green light for international TV through the proposed Commission.

The use of the miracle medium of television throughout the world offers dramatic possibilities, particularly for dispelling lies and misunderstanding, generated by the Soviet Union against the free world.

DANGER SPOTS ON WORLD SCENE

And, too, if time permitted, I would have liked to take a detailed look at some of the specific danger spots in the world, particularly some of the scenes where force of arms is still the order of the day: Like the guerrilla war in Malaya; the border strife in the Holy Land; Mau Mau terrorism in Kenya; the fighting in Costa Rica; the air and sea strikes to and from Formosa and the Chinese mainland.

I would have liked us to consider problems which do not now involve clash of arms, but which represent sources of deep concern to us like the problems in southern Vietnam and elsewhere in southeast Asia; problems along the uneasy border of our devoted ally, the Republic of Korea.

But time does not permit us to look in detail at each of these specific phases, and so I should like to turn to some of the more general principles which do apply throughout the world. They are principles which will serve as guides to us in weighing the future foreign policy of our country. SEVEN BUILDING BLOCKS FOR PEACE

I should like to refer to 7 keystones—7 building blocks for an effective foreign policy: They are, as I see them: (1) Non-partisanship, (2) vision, (3) good will, (4) patience, (5) restraint, (6) partnership, and (7) spirituality.

NONPARTISANSHIP ESSENTIAL IN FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The first keystone is nonpartisanship. Without this keystone, we cannot possibly speak with one clear, eloquent, firm voice to the world.

But fortunately, we are going to continue to do so.

And so, I want to pay tribute now to the responsible leaders of both our major political parties who will help assure continuing nonpartisanship, notwithstanding the overall political division between the executive and legislative branches.

The relatively smooth transition of legislative control is, in my judgment a remarkable commentary on the vitality and worth of our two-party system.

Here too, in Harrisburg, next Tuesday you will be inaugurating a new Democratic Governor. Your new legislature will in turn be divided—with each of the parties in control of one Chamber.

You look forward however to responsible two-party government, I am sure.

In Washington, we have already had our legislative transition. Just 3 days ago, at its first meeting the Senate Foreign Relations Committee formally changed hands, as have all the other committees on Capitol Hill.

The particular smoothness with which this transition was made in our own committee was, I believe, an inspiring demonstration of responsible party and individual leadership.

In this crucial field of foreign affairs there is (on both sides of Capitol Hill) going to be basic continuity, I am happy to say. There may, to be sure, be some changes, as the new majority exercises its prerogative of review. But in the broad outline of past and current foreign policy, in the basic attitude of full and wholehearted cooperation with the executive branch. I am delighted that there is going to be sincere and cordial continuity. There is continuity in staff. There is continuity in teamwork.

At our committee helm, a Republican Senator from the Midwest has been replaced by a Democratic Senator from the southland, the esteemed Senator Walter F. George, of Georgia. Your speaker tonight was and is succeeded by this distinguished American, who has served in the Senate—as one of its most universally respected statesmen—who has done so longer than any other present man of that great body and who is now honored by serving as its President pro tempore.

I, in turn, who have been pleased to serve longer than any other current Republican but one—Senator Bridges—am honored to serve with Senator George and with a group of fine men which includes—as a neophyte, as a freshman for this Congress—the beloved Veep, our former Vice President Alben Barkley.

From men such as these and from our other associates, you can anticipate—with pleasure—the most responsible form of nonpartisan cooperation in foreign affairs.

VISION NEEDED TO BUILD THE PEACE

We turn to the second keystone.

In the Book of Proverbs, we read that "without vision a people perish."

Never has that been truer than in the dangerous world of the atomic-jet age. Without vision, as to the defense needs of our Nation, the economic-political, spiritual needs, this Nation could not survive.

Without such vision, indeed, this Nation could never have been born. But, 170 years ago the Founding Fathers had a vision—of a constitutional Republic, a Nation of checks

and balances, of separation of powers. And they had the courage and perseverance to

bring that vision into being.

In our own time, far-sighted men had the vision of establishing a United Nations. It was to be an organization which would achieve goals which neither the League of Nations nor any previous similar effort in attained: the goal of a history had ever world of lasting law and order, of enduring peace and justice. And great progress has been made in this noble United Nations organization.

AN ILLUSTRATION OF VISION: UNICEF

And men had other visions as well. They had the vision of a United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund which would tend the innocent little victims of war and of poverty and disease.

UNICEF, founded in 1946, now operates in 80 countries. Its services are estimated to have reached 25 million children in 1954. UNICEF surveys indicate that 600 million

children, two-thirds of all those living, are without adequate food, clothing, shelter, sanitation, or minimum medical protection.

Millions of them will die in childhood or live warped lives for want of ordinary care. And to help meet this need, UNICEF (which is not a hand-out organization) draws contributions from nearly 100 countries and territories. It does so on a matching basis with the governments of the benefiting countries. Thus, it has provided vaccine for the inoculation of 30 million children; penicillin to cure 3 million children of yaws. It has protected more than 13 million against malaria. This work, it seems to me, is one of the most impressive illustrations of international humanitarian effort. Incidentally, it is backed unanimously by every member of the U. N.

In the not too distant future, a UNICEF movie made by the world-famous comedian, Danny Kaye, with the splendid cooperation of Paramount Pictures, will be released. It will afford another opportunity for men of good will everywhere to become better acquainted with this fine organization-this organization founded and administered by

men and women of vision.

It was such men who are responsible, too, for the World Health Organization, which has done such outstanding work toward banishing epidemics and disease; the Food and Agricultural Organization, which has helped uplift farm production; the World Bank, which has helped assure credit for sound new enterprises.

And other men have had the vision to bring into being other vital parts of our system of collective security and interna-

tional justice.

I refer, for example, to the Office for European Economic Cooperation and its 18 member nations-the Council of Europe, the pioneering Coal and Steel Community.

I refer to the builders of our worldwide system of defensive alliances-bilateral and multilateral-which have done so much to help achieve equilibrium in this troubled

Without this type of vision, our chances for peace would perish.

GOOD-WILL EMISSARIES NEEDED

I turn now to the third keystone-good will

Here we need men and women who will build friendship, who will build warm understanding, who will combat the termites of racialism, chauvinism, provincialism.

We need men and women who will unite free men, irrespective of barriers of race and religion and nationality.

Fortunately, we have witnessed many fine

examples of messengers of good will.

I am thinking now, for example, of the outstanding good-will trip which was made by the very competent brother of the Chief Executive of our country, Dr. Milton Eisen-

hower. It was a trip which inspired the people of Latin America. That trip was later successfully followed up by the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American Affairs, Henry Holland, and by the efforts of Secretary of the Treasury George Hum-phrey and Under Secretary of State Herbert Hoover, and others at the Inter-American Conference at Patropolis.

I am thinking, too, of the able work performed particularly in the Far East by the Vice President of the United States when he and his charming wife visited 19 countries and 2 Crown colonies in one of the most successful and fruitful such visits ever made by a high-ranking officer of our Nation.

I am confident that DICK NIXON'S forthcoming trip to Central America, beginning on February 6, will be similarly productive of good will.

But harmony and good will are spread by private citizens as well. Hundreds of thousands of American tourists and servicemen traveling or living abroad, embodying courtesy, tact, and fellowship toward foreign peoples, contribute to this process.

Every American, too, who sends a CARE package to relieve foreign need, every American who writes a constructive letter to a friend or relative or business acquaintance beyond the seas, every American who attends constructive international conference. such as the recent meeting in Vienna of the World Veterans Federation, or such as international church gatherings, fraternal, scientific, or other groups, dedicated to the cause of peace and freedom, can also serve to en-

gender good will.

Likewise, I refer to every artist who serves to cement relations between our two peoples. I am thinking now, for example, of the spectacular success of the traveling troupe which has been presenting the folk opera, Porgy and Bess. This outstanding group of Negro artists has probably done more to dispel falsehoods about racial relations in the United States than an almost infinite amount of words on the part of diplomats.

I am thinking, too, of the great job which has been done by individual artists like the great Marian Anderson-in helping to establish a framework of good will for us throughout the world.

WE NEED PATIENCE, NOT ARBITRARY ACTION, TO RELEASE AIRMEN

The fourth building block is patience. This is one of the most difficult of all to achieve. It is often hard to be patient before injustice, before resisting international

Such a crime has been committed in the imprisonment of 11 American airmen. There is no patriotic American who does not feel a burning moral indignation against this out-

And, yet, if we are to be true to the needs of these airmen: if we are to be true to the needs of our Nation and of the world, must continue to explore every reasonable diplomatic channel through the United Nations for the orderly release of these men.

Naturally, we all regret that immediate release was not effected through the recent trip by the U. N. Secretary General. But the fact that it was not an immediate and complete success does not for one moment detract from the fact that it did effect progress toward our objective.

In any event, we must not rush into hasty ill-considered, impulsive action. I, for one, definitely and absolutely oppose at this time any arbitrary steps involving the use of force—such as a military blockade—to effect the release of these men. I particularly oppose any unilateral forceful action on our part at this time. Talks with Peking are going to consume more time. But remember that the problem of these imprisoned airmen is related to the problem of other Americans-civilian and uniformed-whom we have very strong reason to believe are

still unjustly imprisoned behind the Iron Curtain.

I say, there is too much of a tendency for some of us to become so aroused by a single incident that we forget the overall picture, that we forget that hasty ill-considered action could start a chain reaction leading to diplomatic-military complications of the direct sort.

Nothing that is very good in this world is accomplished overnight.

Rome was not built in a day, nor was this

American Republic. The United Nations is today less than 10 years old. It has been learning, evolving, experimenting the hard way as has every simi-

lar institution. Look back to our own history and consider the difficult conditions which prevailed in this land when we, as a nation, were but 10 Remember that more than a halfcentury after we were established as a nation, not only had we not succeeded in solving our problems, but we were engaged in a long and

bloody War Between the States. Why, then, should we be so impatient when we are dealing not only with the Reds but with other men who do not speak the same language nor share the same geographic area as ourselves, diverse men and 60 diverse nations throughout the world-nations which are at different strata of development, nations which have different cultural, historical, religious, and political outlooks?

Let us indeed, as President Eisenhower has so eloquently suggested, have the courage of

patience.

THE COROLLARY OF RESTRAINT

Hand in hand with the building block of patience is the building block of restraint. We are the world's greatest power, but if we are to be the world's wisest power, we must play our role with restraint. The world will all the more respect us if we use our position with discretion and judgment.

Perhaps the best recent illustration of intelligent restraint came during the recent dangerous days when our ally France was debating the Western European Union in her National Assembly. That occasion afforded a remarkable illustration of United States self-restraint and Communist wildness.

On the one hand, our United States officials scrupulously refrained from either any word or deed which might in any way have been misconstrued as affecting the right of the French nation to decide its own course. On the other hand, the Kremlin ordered all sorts of threats, demonstrations, all sorts of propaganda, to try to stampede the French National Assembly into rejection of the pacts. But the Kremlin's efforts backfired, and France rose to the occasion and the Assembly ratified the WEU.

There will be other occasions when we must be similarly patient, similarly self-re-

One such occasion remains, of course, right now in connection with the problem of our imprisoned airmen.

The situation remains delicate. We will not be contributing to its solution if we fail to keep check on our emotions.

That does not imply weakness on our part. Actually, restraint is an act of strength. It does not mean timidity; restraint is an act of courage.

It does not mean softness toward communism. Anybody can easily hurl well-deserved epithets and denunciations at the Reds-in Peking and Moscow. But it takes a man of character and judgment to work quietly for his objective, against the Reds, but through the appropriate means at the appropriate time.

WE WILL NOT APPEASE RED CHINA

Let there be no mistake.

We are not going to appease Red China or the U. S. S. R. We are not going to surrender to blackmail. We are not going to allow Red China to shoot her way or blackmail her way into the United Nations. We are not going to appease.

You may recall that when Neville Chamberlain flew to Germany in September 1938, that great prophet, Winston Churchill, remarked, "England has been offered a choice between war and shame. She has chosen shame, and she will get war."

We will never choose the course of shame. But neither will we choose a course of war if war can possibly be avoided, as we know

it can.

Peace is our goal. Peace is our nature. Peace we will attain—with strength, with preparedness, but with restraint.

We approach now the two final keystones, as I see them, in the arch of peace.

TRUE PARTNERSHIP WITH EQUALS

The sixth keystone is genuine partnership. We Americans must make up our minds that we are in this international picture as partners and, contrary to a few persons' ideas, not as commanders. As a matter of fact, we have never as a nation sought to order any nation around. We have sought to lead by inspiration, by the soundness of our position, by our willingness to sacrifice and respectfully to ask others to do likewise.

We are not going to arrogate unto ourselves

all wisdom:

We are not going to try Atlaslike to hold up all the rest of the world. Every other free nation and group of nations must and

will do its part.

One of the soundest features of the activity of our Secretary of State has been his clear recognition of the great contributions which foreign statesmen like Premier Mohammed All, of Pakistan, or President Magsaysay, of the Philippines, can make, have made, and will continue to make toward world peace and justice; the contributions which the statesmen of Europe similarly make.

At times, they will differ with us. But, as good partners, we will work with them and we will present the facts to them as we see

them.

We will never try to order or boss them or anyone else around. It would not work, even if some people were so rash or blind as to recommend it to us. Some few Americans do unfortunately continue to seem to think we ought to adopt an "ordering" approach. But, they are wrong, they are in a very small minority; and they are completely unrepresentative of the sound thinking of the United States Government and of the American people as a whole.

I point out that the great neutral, uncommitted area of the world is especially not going to take orders from anyone. It is coming into its own. It is feeling its new strength. It has a right to have its position understood and to be given consideration. That we will do, and we in turn will ask that it join in its own enlightened self-interest in our partnership, in our team as sovereign

equals.

SPIRITUALITY: THE GREATEST SOURCE OF POWER

And lastly, my friends, is the keystone of our spiritual strength. I need not elaborate on the fact that our greatest power is spiritual power—the rightness of our cause under God.

This power should never be underestimated, for it is the strongest power in the world.

CONCLUSION

It has been a pleasure to be with you this evening.

In this list of 7 keystones, I have not, of course, attempted to cover all of the necessary ingredients for a world of peace and justice and prosperity.

But I think that if we can develop these particular keystones, just as you have built this center, then our children and our children's children will say after us that "they did well of their responsibilities in their time."

SENATOR WILEY URGES SUPPORT OF EISENHOWER POSITION

(Statement by Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin, ranking Republican, Senate Foreign Relations Committee)

I want to emphasize that I remain 100 percent in favor of the patient position recommended by President Eisenhower and by Secretary of State Dulles who rightly oppose any rash unilateral action at this time to free our United States airmen.

I am convinced that the American people as a whole support the President's commonsense, restrained judgment and oppose any impulsive action such as a unilateral mili-

tary blockade.

The chances are that for us to try to impose such a blockade at this time all by ourselves might (a) result in the immediate death of the airmen themselves; (b) cause neutral countries to unite against us and against the blockade; (c) cause a wide open split among our allies; (d) overcommit our available naval resources; (e) worst of all, possibly precipitate us into a war with Red China, which is probably just what the Kremlin desires.

Instead we must continue to explore every diplomatic channel available through the United Nations for the peaceful release of these men.

We must not allow our emotions to run away with us in our well-justified concern for our airmen. We must not let the Reds provoke us into an action which we might have deep cause to regret because of its possible backfiring against us.

Address Delivered by Hon. Herbert H.
Lehman, of New York, at the New York
Democratic State Committee Victory
Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the text of an address which I made at the victory dinner of the New York State Democratic Committee, at the Waldorf Astoria in New York City, last Friday evening, January 14.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

After 12 long years, we have again known victory in New York State. And all present evidence indicates that New Yorkers are pleased with what they did on November 2, and approve of the manner in which the men and women elected and selected for high office have gone about meeting the problems with which New York is faced.

We meet tonight to do honor to the men and women who led us to victory: the candidates and the hundreds and thousands of others at the county, district, and precinct levels—those who are here tonight and those who are not. We salute them all—the leaders and the foot soldiers of the Democratic Party. And let us not forget our

friends of the Liberal Party, too, and those independents who belong to no political party, but to the party of good government.

As most of you know, it was my privilege to play an active part in the recent campaign. I had my heart as much set on victory last fall as in any other campaign in which I have taken part, either as a candidate or as an advocate. And I have participated in almost all of them, over the past 30 years. I am proud and glad for any contribution I was able to make to the election of Adrian Burke, Arthur Leavitt, George DeLuca, and Averell Harriman.

I am happy to know that the chair I had the great honor of occupying during 4 terms as Governor of this State is now filled by that distinguished American, that fine Democrats, whom I have long known as an old friend and outstanding public figure, Avereil

Harriman.

I am confident that he will add luster to the high traditions of the Democratic Governors of New York.

But as we rejoice in our success of last November and at the fact that our party now controls the State administration, let us pause and reflect on some of the implications of the event of 2 months ago.

Political victory is not an end in itself, although sometimes it has a regrettable tendency to become so. At the terminus of political victory is the beginning of responsibility. The test of victory is how we utilize it. It is one thing to command success. It is another to deserve it.

The people, the voters of New York, will sit in final judgment on the manner in which the responsibility now given our party is discharged. From here on our accounting is not within the party, but with the people.

We must account for the manner in which campaign pledges are discharged. We must account for the manner in which day-today actions are taken, and day-to-day decisions are made.

We must prove to the people that the pledges made during the campaign, and the platform agreed upon by the party and subscribed to by our candidates were seriously meant and will be redeemed.

If our leaders and officeholders will be guided by these rules of conduct, and I am sure they will be, our party, which is on trial before the people, will be judged worthy of responsibility and deserving of victory, both in the past and in the future.

The challenge we face as a party in New York State has a striking similarity with, and relationship to, the challenge we have taken up as a party in the Nation.

In Washington, we have assumed not executive but legislative responsibility.

But the basic requirement is the same, to discharge that responsibility in a manner which the people will judge worthy of the trust placed in us last November.

In Washington and in the Nation, as in New York State, too, there is within our ranks a strong sense of party unity. And a basic party unity is, of course, greatly to be desired in preparation for the great victory that beckons us in 1956, for in that year win we must and win we shall.

In November 1956 we are going to put an end to the giveaway regime, to the regime of bluster and blunder, of compromise and surrender, of privileges for the few and sacrifices for the many.

We are fortunately rich in leaders who can take us to victory in 1956, although my own preference has been and remains that great and eloquent apostle and leader of liberal democracy, Adlai Stevenson.

Yes, we will have party unity in 1956, and we will win in 1956. But our party unity must be based on principle. Let us beware of making party unity an end in itself, or of decreeing and enforcing it at the expense of basic principle.

The Democratic Party nationwide, as in New York State, is strong enough, and broad enough, to give shelter to differing views and to tolerate minority opinions, from both the right and the left, on even the most critical subjects. From the pull and haul of honest differences within a party comes political scope, development and vitality.

Let us not make a false or fatal confu-

sion between party unity and party responsibility. A political party has an inescapable responsibility to facilitate, by every appropriate means, the practical fulfillment by party officeholders of the pledges and undertakings made by the party and its candidates at election time. A party has the duty to urge and induce its officeholders to abide by party principles and platform commitments and to justify to the public those departures which are made by reason of clearly demonstrated need.

But there is no warrant to throttle or stiffe minority views, based on principle, within the party, or to discourage access to the free market place of ideas for the airing of party differences. Differences on public issues within the party can and should be met forthrightly and with forbearance. The final arbiter in such matters will be the people.

I recognize the necessity of being politically practical and realistic. It is important to get things done as well as to talk about getting them done. The encouragement of party unity as a means of making real prog-ress in legislation and administration is clearly desirable. And often, it is better to take one step at a time, rather than none at all, and to walk slowly, when running proves impossible.

But let us never sacrifice, or try to justify the sacrifice, of essential principle on the altar of political expediency, and surely not when the object of the sacrifies is the false

god of rigid party unity.

At the end of that road lies corruption of political integrity, and, instead of victory, only disaster and political repudiation.

Let me make clear that I am not attacking a present situation; I am only warning against a danger, a tendency which shows itself today as no more than a cloud the size of a man's hand on the horizon of our recent victory in the congressional elections.

The Democratic Party is the liberal party of the Nation. That is its tradition and its justification for being. The Democratic Party has been victorious in New York State and in the Nation only when it has stood by its traditions, and with outstanding candidates, has offered a clear program of liberalism to the people.

With specific reference to the Democratic Party of New York State, its role in the Nation is clear and unmistakable.

Its function is to cast its full weight—the weight of the 15 million people of this State—on the side of liberalism and progress within the Democratic Party.

Its role is to fight for liberal principles and liberal candidates for submission to the

Nation as a whole.

I am confident that the Democratic Party of New York will continue to fulfill this function in the months and years ahead.

We must continue to battle ceaselessly for the principles of humanitarianism, for equal civil and political rights for all, for the development and conservation of our natural resources in the interests of the consumers and of all the people, for special consideration of the needs of the underprivileged. and for the advancement of the economic interests of the consumer, the worker, the farmer, and the small businessman. must fight unyieldingly for freedom, and the practices of liberty.

These must be our banners, in domestic affairs, and we must irresistably uphold and

advance them.

Surely we will go forward, under these banners, to victory in 1956, and to another

and even greater victory, in New York State, in 1958. Just as surely we will fail if we compromise these principles or surrender them, in the name of political expediency.

We have had a fine victory in the State and in the Nation. Now we must redouble our efforts and develop to the utmost our resources of imagination, of courage, and of leadership. With God's help we will succeed in our purposes, to the greater credit of the Democratic Party, to the greater welfare of our people, and to the greater glory of America.

The President's Budget Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a brief statement prepared by me regarding the President's budget message with reference to natural resources.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR NEUBERGER

This is a budget which spells economic hardship and adversity for the Pacific Northwest.

Despite the urgent need for deepening the Columbia River bar to a depth of at least 48 feet, no funds are included for initiating this urgent project. The commerce and trade of Portland, Oregon's major port, are being choked by the shallow and dangerous shoals at the mouth of the Columbia.

The pledge of Federal assistance for new hydroelectric development is tied specifically to the discredited "partnership" scheme, un der which private power companies would monopolize the bulk of revenues at the dams. This is a shotgun promise, telling the people of the region they must accept "partnership" or reconcile themselves to virtually no new projects at all.

In spite of the extravagant campaign promises made to the voters of southern Oregon by nearly every Republican candidate in the election of 1954, the Talent irrigation and power project in Jackson County receives not one cent in construction funds. Both Senator Morse and I urged Secretary McKay to honor his party's campaign promises to southern Oregon, but our plea has gone ignored.

The Bonneville Power Administration, which has been the lifeline of Northwest hydroelectric production, is to receive in the coming fiscal year only 66 percent of last year's budget. This symbolizes the gradual decline of Bonneville under the present administration, which hopes to see the great Federal agency superseded by private power companies.

Furthermore, the \$500,000 for advance engineering, which may go to John Day, does not even represent a full year's work under a normal program. I regret that the Governor of Oregon, who made many references to Congress in his inaugural message, never once recognized the fact that the budget is prepared wholly by the administration. was not the Oregon Legislature asked to urge upon the administration a budget which would do justice to Oregon?

It is alarming that the total sum to be spent on natural resources, which are the lifeblood of the Nation, is the lowest since 1950, amounting to \$953 million, as contrasted with \$1,358,000,000 in the 1953 fiscal year, for example.

Senator Morse and I will try to add to this budget some funds for such urgent Oregon undertakings as Columbia River deepening, the Talent project, an accelerated John Day Dam, and authorization and eventually construction of Hells Canyon.

The total disregard of the desperate need to deepen the Columbia bar to 48 feet is an indication of the budget's inadequacy. at least another year—unless we can amend this budget as it goes through Congress— Portland and Astoria will suffer in their com-petition with Puget Sound and California seaports.

Taxes on Cigarettes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I . ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the January 1955 issue of the Southern Planter entitled "Uncle Sam Takes 'King Size' Cut in Cigarettes."

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

UNCLE SAM TAKES "KING SIZE" CUT IN CIGARETTES

Someone has said that the Lord made the year too short for the tobacco grower. About 14 months are required to grow, cure, and market a crop of tobacco. Starting in October and continuing into November and December, growers begin clearing plant bed sites; treating soil to kill weed seeds, insects, and disease. In late January and February, plant beds are fertilized and seeded. Then comes the tedious task of bed covering, weeding, and pest control. Plant beds in March and April are often sprayed or dusted 2 or 3 times a week to control blue mold, wild fire, and insect pests. Weeding is a timeconsuming, back-breaking job. Watering is a regular chore. Plant pulling and transplanting time follows when the whole family must chip in to finish the job while soil moisture is available.

Meanwhile, the land has been prepared, the rows layed off on the contour to prevent washing, and plenty of plant food applied. In May, June, and July come hoeing, cultivating, side-dressing, worm control, suckering, topping and, finally, priming—all hand labor, requiring special skills that come only through experience. With all this work, the grower must worry over drought, floods, pestilence, and price.

The curing period in mid-summer is a dayand-night assignment—the hardest, hottest, and most highly skilled hand labor in southern agriculture. After curing, the leaf has to be packed, graded, and hauled to market. Before all this work is finally finished, it's Christmas and the New Year. Fourteen months of time, talent, and cash have gone into producing cigarette-type tobacco.

Yet, when the cigarettes appear on the market the farmer gets only 3.1 cents out of an overall average price of 22.7 cents per The manufacturer who has aged the leaf for a couple of years; cut blended and rolled it into cigarettes and merchandised them to the American people gets 5 cents. The wholesaler receives 1.3 cents and the retailer who sells the cigarettes across the counter gets 2.5 cents. State and local taxes take 2.8 cents. Then Uncle Sam steps in and takes a king size cut of 8 cents a pack.

Cigarette tobacco today is bearing a \$2 billion Government tax burden. In some States cigarettes are now selling for 28 cents a pack. Chief Justice John Marshall sald, "The power to tax, involves the power to destroy." With cigarettes being taxed 8 cents a pack by the Federal Government, and 41 States, the District of Columbia, and 300 municipalities now adding another 1 to 8 cents a pack, the unlimited power of Government at all levels to tax tobacco can eventually destroy this great southern crop. Cigarette consumption is already falling and foreign markets for leaf are faltering. Some relief at this Congress is imperative!

Tobacco farmers should concern themselves with this problem. They should demand some Federal cigarette tax relief at this session of Congress and halt immediately any efforts to tax cigarettes further at the State and local level.

City, State, and Federal taxes take 10.8 cents out of the average price of a pack of cigarettes. The farmer gets 3.1 cents.. For every dollar the farmer gets from cigarette

tobacco, taxes get \$3.48.

The Army's Handling of the Peress Case

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, on January 10 there appeared in the Washington Star an editorial entitled "A Sorry Performance." I ask unanimous consent to have the editorial printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record,

as follows:

A SORRY PERFORMANCE

If it does nothing else, the Army's 10,000word report of its handling of the Peress case reveals a classic example of not letting the right hand know what the left hand is doing.

Assuming that this report tells the whole story, there was nothing sinister in the promotion of Peress from captain to major. It was just that 1 branch of the Army concerned itself only with his professional qualifications, while another branch was spending some 14 months investigating evidence which made it immediately apparent that he was not fit to be an officer of any rank.

It may also be said that this report does two other things. One is to put Gen. Raiph Zwicker, target of Senator McCarthy's abuse, completely in the clear. It was no fault of General Zwicker's that Peress hung on as long as he did. The other is to introduce a certain element of extenuating circumstance into Senator McCarthy's attitude in this matter.

This chronological account discloses that the decision to speed the Peress departure from the Army via the honorable discharge route was made by Army Counsel John Adams and Lt. Gen. W. L. Weible after the McCarthy committee had started its investigation and in the face of a written demand from the Senator that Peress be retained in the service for court-martial. Perhaps the decision to let him out with an honorable discharge can be defended. But Sen-

ator McCarthy can hardly be blamed if he thought that the controlling motive was to get Peress out of uniform before he could look more closely at the handling of the case.

Statement by Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement by Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission.

This is in connection with the heading of an article which appeared in the Washington Daily News of Friday, January 14, 1955, entitled "How Admiral Strauss Doctored History."

This headline was withdrawn from later editions.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECCRD, as follows:

UNITED STATES
ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., January 17, 1955.
Hon. Harry Flood Byrd,
The United States Senate,

Congress of the United States.

Dear Senator Byrd: Following our telephone conversation on Friday, January 14, concerning the speech by Senator Gore, I promised to send you a factual account of the incident to which he referred.

The Washington Daily News on Friday published an article which was advertised by a front page headline in its early issue "How Admiral Strauss Doctored History." This article, in disregard of the facts, alleged that I caused the transcript of a news conference which I held on December 17 to be falsified for some improper reason. I am informed the headline was withdrawn in later editions.

The news conference was called for the purpose of explaining, in an orderly, detailed, comprehensive manner, the origin and provisions of the Mississippi Valley Generating Co. contract in order to put into proper perspective the misunderstandings which have been current concerning it. Each reporter who entered the conference room was given a formal, written statement of 36 pages, bearing my name; also reproductions of the charts, graphs, and tabulations dealing with the subject which were exhibited during the conference.

In my formal statement, pages 10 and 11, I discussed the manner in which the site at West Memphis, Ark., was selected and stated:

"The Corps of Engineers has reviewed the plot plan showing the proposed construction and made certain suggestions, all of which we are assured will be complied with in the final plans and specifications. They also have stated that the proposed construction appears to be acceptable to the Mississippi River Commission from the standpoint of navigation and flood control. The site also has been investigated by AEC engineers, has been discussed by them with representatives of the Corps of Engineers' office, Memphis district. They concluded, after reviewing all available data, that the site selected by MVGC is

adequately protected from Mississippi River floods by the Corps of Engineers project levee."

The precise and factual account of the role of the Corps of Engineers was given to the reporters not only in my formal statement but also in two of the supplemental documents which accompanied the statement: (1) a reproduction of a drawing of the site which carried an inserted legend of explanation, and (2) a statement as to the manner in which the site was selected, including discussions which were held among AEC engineers, engineers of the sponsoring companies, and the Corps of Engineers.

After the 56 reporters attending the conference had received my formal statement, I turned to a large reproduction of the site drawing which had been affixed to the wall and mentioned again how the site had been chosen but this was only a passing reference, ad lib, since the subject had been covered thoroughly in the formal statement.

The ad lib quotation was as follows:

"The Corps of Engineers and the engineers retained by sponsoring companies have examined some 16 sites on the river and have selected this as the preferable one. This elevation here shows the maximum flood record in the river, the 1937 flood. I understand that records have been made since 1880 or thereabouts, some 74 years of record, and the plant has been located at what the Corps of Engineers feel is a safe place."

In this quotation, an obvious slip of the tongue was recognized as such by all except one or two of the fifty-six reporters present since in reporting the news conference they naturally relied on the prepared statement.

I left town following the news conference but in my absence the Public Information Division of the Commission corrected the stenographic transcript for grammatical errors, et cetera, and in the course of this process the transcript was conformed to the text of the formal statement. This was done in order to eliminate anything that might appear to be a contradiction. Any person speaking ad libitum, whether he be a Member of Congress, a witness before a committee, or a person conducting a news conference, is entitled to the assurance that the intent of his statements will be clearly reflected in a simultaneously presented written record.

These facts as I have stated them were ignored in the newspaper article and which purported to show that I had "doctored history," presumably for some insidious reasons. There was no word in the article about my formal 36-page statement, which is factually accurate to the best of my knowledge and belief.

I may be unduly sensitive but it seems to me that this whole incident has very little to do with the merits of the controversy over the contract.

Faithfully yours,

LEWIS L. STRAUSS.

Military Reappraisal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. WILLIS ROBERTSON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Military Reappraisal," written

by Joseph C. Harsch and published in the January 14, 1955, Christian Science Monitor.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> STATE OF THE NATION (By Joseph C. Harsch) MILITARY REAPPRAISAL

WASHINGTON .- At first glance the remarks President Elsenhower made at his news conference this week on the subject of arms and war seemed to confuse more than to clarify the question.

He did not disclose decisions which would logically explain the sudden December cut in the Army budget. He did not make clear whether the United States is committed to the use of atomic weapons, or under what conditions, if any, they would be used. He upset a current tendency of soldiers to draw a distinction between tactical and strategic weapons and tactical and strategic use of weapons.

But there is, I suspect, an implicit disclosure of first importance in the very cloudiness and indefiniteness of what the President had to say. It lies, I think, in the fact that western soldiers, Viscount Montgomery of Alamein prominent among them, have increasingly been asserting that atomic weapons would be used in any future wars.

The pattern of such remarks during recent months indicates -that western military thinking has been moving steadily for some time toward what might be called the point of no return on use of atomic weapons.

In the background of this military inclination is the fact that when the Eisenhower administration first undertook New Look at the United States Military Establishment, the advocates of budget economy argued that the United States could not afford to maintain two armed forces, one geared to conventional warfare and the other geared to atomic warfare. In effect, the Pentagon was told by the Treasury Department way back in the early Eisenhower days to make up its mind which kind of war it would fight and to prepare exclusively for that kind of war.

Certainly the end result of a Treasury ultimatum to build one kind of an Armed Force or the other, but not both, was to push military thinking deeper and deeper such dispositions and deployments as would take the United States in the end past the

point of no return.

What President Eisenhower has in mind is certainly not entirely clear in any respect except that it does indicate a tendency on his own part to pull back from the point of no return. He has, it seems to me, gone through an agonizing reappraisal far more agonizing than any Mr. Dulles ever had to endure over France. He has taken military knowledge of his own, gained out of his own massive experience in warfare, applied this knowledge to the trend of military thinking, and come up with doubts and uncertainties

For example, he knows from experience that there is no clear line between tactics and strategy. It follows from this that current military thinking is on dangerous ground when it contemplates using tactical atomic weapons on the theory that such use will not necessarily lead to strategic use of

such weapons.

For another example, he knows that every military situation is unusual and different. Therefore he declines to commit himself to any general decision about how he would meet a specific situation.

Also, he has come to realize that political factors are as important in war as military factors. This implies that a military deci sion to use atomic weapons might well be vetoed at the last moment by overriding political considerations. Perhaps he has in mind here a possibility that the use of atomic weapons against cities would have political consequences which could well cancel out

any immediate military gains.

It seems fairly clear that Mr. Eisenhower recognizes the impossibility of assuming the nonuse of atomic weapons. He has specifically given first priority to the twin tasks of building United States atomic striking power and of building a defense against such striking power in the hands of others.

At the same time, he says that in his opinion the use of light, mobile United States forces in local situations would normally not involve use of atomic weapons. And his own previous remarks on the utter horror of atomic war suggest the hope in his own mind that the ability of United States Armed Forces to strike and to defend in the atomic area will have the effect of preventing atomic

It would seem that Mr. Eisenhower has reversed the early assumption of his advisers that the United States can choose between atomic and nonatomic armed forces. stead, he specifies the probability of nonatomic fighting in local situations. Apparently, there will be a nonatomic United States police force.

Apparently also Mr. Eisenhower is pulling back from the point of no return. This, in itself, is very important news for everyone.

Conditions in the Automotive Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Mr. George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, before the Automotive Warehouse Distributors Association, Chicago, Ill., on December 5, 1954.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Entering the automotive industry in the spring of 1909 and watching the development of that industry for nearly a half a century, its tremendous expansion in the transportation world, both in civilian and commercial use, it is necessary that all independent factors in that industry stop, look, and listen where the independent members are aded. Will it be free competition or a headed. controlled economy?

The indication is on the latter-with the reduced number of producers both in the automobile industry and in the rubber tire industry-both depending upon the other for successful operations with both the public and commercial users.

It is necessary for the public first of all to realize what would have happened in the automotive transportation during the critical days of World War II if it was then found that there were few in number in independent ranks who would have served to maintain the necessary essential automotive transportation. If, at that time, there were few in number in the servicing field our Nation would have suffered tremendously.

It is necessary to recall the critical days of the rubber tire situation, and each and every one of us knows that if wheels were to move on the highways they could not have moved unless rubber tires were available.

It is necessary to note that the late William M. Jeffers, former president of the Union Pacific Railroad, then Rubber Administrator, warned the Congress of these United States of the necessity for keeping in existence many thousands of independent factors in the automotive servicing field, and he based his opinion on the fact that this Nation would face a most critical condition if there was ever another world war should we be deprived of the services of many thousands of independent servicing institutions in the automotive field.

It goes without saying that my observations are formed by contacts with a wide acquaintanceship with automobile dealers in many sections of the country. They are under a severe handicap from the control exercised by the car manufacturers as to the way the independent automobile dealer can operate. I saw this coming in the late twenties or early thirties "Do as you are told or there will be another agent." "You will take shipment of cars whether you need them or not, and you will buy your accessories and parts where we tell you, or it will be just too bad." In many instances the dealer was told where he could finance his cars and in some instances how much money he could draw out of his own individual busines

I warned many of my automobile dealer friends to take a position at that time to oppose the monopolistic moves, but unfortunately for their own good, they failed to act-resulting in ever increasing monopolistic control.

After the termination of World War II when automobiles started to become freely produced and the sellers market prevailed, a congressional committee held public hearings due to the complaints of buyers that cars were being loaded with unnecessary accessories, and it appeared in public print that the responsibility for such action was placed upon the automobile dealers throughout the Nation. At that time, in my official position with the National Federation of Independent Business, I saw fit to make our views known, placing the responsibility where it belonged in the first instance-with the dictatorial action of the car manufacturers forcing the dealer to take the equipment as furnished or it would be just too bad.

After the statement appeared in the public press I was commended by a national official of the Automobile Dealers Association for the views expressed, and I asked: "Why didn't your people make a similar public statement?" and he answered: "You know the situation."

Following such action can only lead up to one thing-captive organizations in the automotive industry, and that free enterprise will cease to exist.

It is to be noted as to the increasing

monopolistic trend in the invasion of certain car manufacturers into the automotive parts business, that is destroying the business life of automotive jobbers who are a needed factor in the automotive servicing field.

This situation must be most serious-and it is—when in an unexpected communication from a top executive of one of the three major motor car producers early this year he wrote me, and I quote: "One of our competitors, for example, recently announced that it is strengthening its manufacturing and distribution system for parts and accessories. The company that intends to maintain its share of the market must, of course, meet moves of this nature."

In the rubber tire industry the control exercised by the four major factors to control the retail field is resulting in diminishing numbers of independent factors in that industry.

The National Federation of Independent Business, attempting to bring about a condition of "the greatest good for the greatest number" has instituted major moves through new laws in the Congress to arrest the trend of manufacturers operating in the retail field, and if we are successful in our efforts through this legislation which has been pending before the Congress for these past 12 years, such action can result in beneficial effects for the independent members of the automotive trade.

It is the federation again, utilizing the present law, the Robinson-Patman Act, which has affected for the first time in the history of the law a section of the act, quantity discount rule, which would bring for the first time fair competition in the retail field for the rubber-tire industry.

If the automobile dealers are to be relieved of the pressure being placed upon them to take excessive inventories of automobiles, accessories, and parts, the correction must be made at the source, and never can be corrected through new legislation.

This problem facing the automobile dealers of the Nation is nothing new. It has been going on for over 20 years-excessive shipments of automobiles, irrespective of what way the dealer might get rid of them.

The independent members of the automotive industry of this Nation, through their accredited leaders, must take a determined stand on this monopolistic trend, increasing in leaps and bounds in the automotive industry. Lip-service action on their part is not going to help their future if they desire to remain a member of the automotive field. It calls for vigorous action upon their partcalling a spade a spade, and let the chips fall where they may.

If the independent members of the automotive industry, through their leaders, take positive position it can result in a healthy future for their individual busi-nesses throughout the Nation, through which the public will be the beneficiary, as will the industry itself.

The problem facing your people was preto the national federation, and we have taken the necessary appropriate action, through Government law, to bring about the needed relief. I will go into that matter in detail extemporaneously. Your problem is a most serious one; and if not corrected through law would work untold injury to Nation's users of automotive transportation.

Shanks Village, Orangeburg, N. Y.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the RECORD correspondence I have received from a representative of some 550 families presently living in Shanks Village, Orangeburg, N. Y. Shanks Village was originally a military post, used as a staging area during World War II. Following World War II, the military barracks were used to house veterans and their families.

The tenants are now under threat of almost immediate eviction. The attached letter from Mr. Paul F. Mundt and the article from the New York Herald Tribune of Monday, January 3, 1955, explain the situation.

There being no objection, the letter and article were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ORANGEBURG, N. Y., December 13, 1954.

Senator HERBERT H. LEHMAN. Senate Office Building,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR SENATOR LEHMAN: There are now approximately 550 families in Shanks Village. Of these, more than 60 percent work in local industry. The eternal problem these people face is to find decent, permanent housing. According to disinterested and professional there are rarely more than five observers, rental units available in Rockland County at one time. These rentals are usually beyond the reach of the average Shanks Villager. Carrying charges for homes offered in new housing developments are also beyond their reach; cheapest homes in the vicinity sell for \$13,500. A fair-sized Negro population is prevented relocation, even in cases of high personal income, because of segregation practices. In a report prepared by Prof. H. Ashley Weeks during December 1953 and January 1954, it was concluded that the closing of Shanks Village would create a housing shortage in Rockland County of between 400 and 600 units. What are Shanks villagers doing about it?

First, they have financed legal action to the tune of \$2,500-plus to prevent the sale of Shanks. A case is now pending in Washington, D. C., before the United States court of appeals on the issue whether the Administrator of HHFA is required by statute to extend the life of Shanks Village.

Secondly, and most important, is this second effort: They have formed a corporation known as New Village Cooperative, Inc. After consultation with prominent builders, Louis Pink, of the United Housing Foundation, and established architects, a plan has been proposed to build on part of Shanks Village site approximately 200 units at an estimated cost of \$9,500 per each 2bedroom unit. The project would be interracial. In the opinion of these architects, etc., a very attractive project could be developed under FHA auspices and under section 213 of the National Housing Act.

While this plan was being organized, the attorney for New Village, Inc., Milton M. Carrow, had two conferences with officials of the Public Housing Administration in Washington. At both, they informed him the Administration was interested and would consider negotiating for a portion of the land when the plan became more concrete. On August 25, 1954, they were asked to open negotiations for the sale of 50 acres at market value. They refused, contending the site could only be sold as a part of the larger entity-Shanks Village.

Obviously, they knew villagers could not do this. In effect, the Administration refused to allow villagers to help themselves. At the same time, they threaten villagers with eviction. In a letter to Senator Ives, Commissioner Slusser of PHA states:

"The tenants of the temporary housing will be given a reasonable length of time to find other accommodations. Your attention is invited to the fact, however, that the tenants have known for at least 20 months that Shanks Village will be sold and the temporary housing subsequently removed."

This letter, written November 23, 1954, contains in this paragraph an inadvertent The period of at least political admission. 20 months corresponds closely with that during which the Republican Party has held power. In light of the refusal to sell villagers land upon which to house themselves, it is also a commentary on the Republican political philosophy. To translate it still another way, the Administrator is saying:
"We would rather sell to 1 real-estate

speculator (the few) than to the 500-plus families (the many).

Support from Republicans as well as Demhas been forthcoming in Rockland County. All favor the New Village Cooperative concept. The Rockland Journal-News has backed it editorially. But the Administration will not budge.

I am looking forward to your reply.

Sincerely,

PAUL F. MUNDT.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of January 3, 1955]

FOUR THOUSAND SHANKS VILLAGERS UNPRE-PARED FOR EVICTION (By Lyn Fernbach)

SHANKS VILLAGE, N. Y., January 2.—A feeling of frustration bordering on disbelief marked the beginning of the new year this week end for 500 veterans and their families who were told by the courts last week that the Government has the right to evict them from their low-rent public housing units.

The 4.000 persons affected are residents of a temporary housing project created for veterans and their families in 1946 from military barracks which, during World War II, served as a huge staging area for American troops on their way to European battle theaters.

CAMP CONVERTED

After the war, Congress appropriated \$12 million to convert the 8,000-acre camp site into an emergency housing project for 1,500 veterans and their families. The bill creating this project also provided that it be razed by 1951, but the date was post-poned twice. In January 1954, the Public Housing Authority finally served notice on the residents that they would have to vacate by July 1, 1954.

The veterans promptly formed the Shanks Village Residents Association and sued the Government in United States district court for an injunction against the eviction order on the ground that no equivalent housing was available to them.

When the tenants' request was denied, by the court, they appealed the decision in the court of appeals. This court rejected their plea unanimously on Thursday, leaving them only a faint hope that the United States Supreme Court would accept an appeal of the verdict.

NO DEFINITE DATE

Although no definite date for eviction proceedings against the tenants has been set by the Public Housing Administration, the agency has indicated that it is anxious to close the project, according to Milton M. Carrow, attorney for the Shanks Village Residents Association, and former tenant of the project.

Describing the court of appeals decision as erroneous and arbitrary, Mr. Carrow said yesterday that a request by the SVRA to buy a 50-acre site of the project for relocation of the tenants threatened with eviction had been turned down by the Government. He said the latter wants to sell the 8,000-acre tract only as a unit.

"The whole problem is just how we can make the Government understand that these people don't want a free ride, but just housing," Mr. Carrow said. He added that the tenants' attitude at the court's decision was neither one of anger nor violence but merely one of helplessness.

CAUGHT UNPREPARED

Most of the families still living at Shanks Village are in income groups which prevent them from finding housing within their means near their present jobs in Pearl River. Piermont, and Orangeburg, according to Mr. Carrow. Residents of Shanks Village interviewed yesterday indicated that the court's decision caught them unprepared.

'I can't argue with the decision," Robert M. Levin, 34, a village tenant who earns \$75 a week as a draftsman for the Gair Paper Box Co. in Piermont, said. "But I have checked everywhere, and I know that I just can't get a 3-bedroom apartment for less than \$115 a month.

Mr. Levin pays \$45 a month for his fiveroom home, including gas and electricity. He also enjoys the advantage of living in the country on a beautiful tract of land in the rolling country of Rockland County. It appears an ideal location for the Levins and their three children.

EARNS \$71 WEEKLY

Frank McDonald, 44, a tenant who earns \$71 a week as an attendant at Rockland State Hospital in Orangeburg, feels that as a Negro and father of six children he will find it impossible to get suitable housing near his job.

"I'll tell you what the situation is," Mr. McDonald said. "I have no place to go. It's tough for colored people to find housing, and especially if they have six children. I just don't know what to do."

Perhaps the villagers' sentiments were best

expressed by a cartoon in the Shanks Villager, a weekly paper published by Shanks residents under the editorship of Mr. Levin.

Showing a village family sitting by a Christmas tree, the cartoon's caption read: "Enjoy your Christmas tree this year—next year you may be living in it."

Commendable Reversal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an article by Dr. Edgar Fuller, executive officer for the State commissioners and superintendents on school construction, appearing in the New Republic for January 17, 1955, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD. Dr. Fuller is one of the Nation's outstanding experts on the need for school construction, in view of his association over many years with educational officials who administer education in all the States and Territories.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

COMMENDABLE REVERSAL (By Edgar Fuller)

What the public schools need from the Federal Government is substantial financial assistance for school construction, with full fiscal accountability by the States to the Federal Government but with State and local administration of all aspects directly affecting the educational programs of children. Every presumption should be made that the President's message marks a change in the administration's previous opposition to such a program. Better late than never.

The President's message at least makes it clear that there has been a change in the administration's 1953 position that Federal assistance for school construction must wait until after the White House Conference on Education late in 1955. Whether this is significant in terms of increased school facilities without further delay depends on the program the President will send to Congress

on February 15.
On this basis there is little reason for Most of the influences in and optimism. around the administration have committed themselves deeply to the 1953 position. commissions and committees appointed to make recommendations have been loaded with persons already known to be strongly opposed to Federal assistance for school construction, and their membership remains substantially unchanged.

The best evidence that the administration may yet go to almost any length to forestall the financial assistance needed came from the White House itself. The official text of the state of the Union message as released shortly before the message was delivered used the word "catalyst" in referring to the Federal responsibility for assisting school construction. At the last minute the word was changed to "agent." Webster says Webster says a "catalyst" accelerates a reaction but is itself recovered practically unchanged. the Federal Government as an "agent" will do remains to be seen, but if it seeks to be only a "catalyst" it may easily damage rather than assist in the construction of schools,

Well substantiated verbal and printed reports in Washington indicate that the Federal gesture may be only a new Federal agency, set up in corporate form to insure State school construction bonds, encourage establishment of similar authorities in the States, and perhaps grant small doles to a few school districts judged to be most in need. This is essentially the catalyst approach. It lends itself well to public advertising, but it would be fundamentally objectionable to most educators and citizens closely associated with the public schools. It would violate the basic policies of the leading lay and professional organizations on Federal and State administration of public education, which call for Federal administration in the United States Office of Education and State administration in the State education agencies.

Special State school building authorities are unconstitutional in some States. perience in a few States proves that they must pay much higher interest rates on bonds than local school districts or the States themselves. Such authorities spend public funds without public responsibility. They complicate the work of superintendents and school boards by usurping such educational decisions as the location, type and character of the facilities for teaching. Even when legally organized, they would be mere subterfuges to avoid tax and debt limits and substitutes for forthright solution of the problem.

Elementary justice demands that the potential change in the administration's program result in substantial Federal funds for school construction. Last year it increased Federal funds for highways from cash grants of \$585 million annually to \$885 million annually, and on January 27 the President will urge further expansion in a special message to Congress. Federal financing of physical facilities has been greatly increased in many fields at the same time comparable assistance has been denied for schools. Federal programs require increased matching funds in the States, thus providing powerful incentives to skim off State and local taxes and bonding capacity that would otherwise be available for school construction.

The national school facilities survey shows school building needs far beyond the practical ability of the States and local school districts to supply. There are serious needs in every State. Hearings of the Kearns subcommittee in the House in October 1954, brought testimony from 47 States and all but 1 Territory. The adverse testimony came from the National Association of Manufacturers and the administration.

Judging from the several bipartisan bills to provide Federal funds for school construction introduced during the opening days of the 84th Congress, it is unlikely that Congress will consent to further delays or to mere gestures in this field. Let us hope the President will participate in getting the affirmative action now he has called for, and that the program he sends to Congress on February 15 will be commensurate with the need and suitable for bipartisan enactment.

Fist Fight Led To Censure of South Carolina Members of Senate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OLIN D. JOHNSTON

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. JOHNSTON of South Carolina. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article published in the Charleston News and Courier of January 14, 1955, entitled "Nineteen Hundred and Two Fist Fight Led To Censure of South Carolina Members of Senate." The article was written by James A. Hoyt.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

as follows:

NINETEEN HUNDRED AND TWO FIST FIGHT LED TO CENSURE OF SOUTH CAROLINA MEMBERS OF SENATE

(By James A. Hoyt)

WASHINGTON.-When the Senators from South Carolina, Tillman and McLaurin, engaged in a fist fight on the floor of the Senate they were both, by unanimous vote, declared to be in contempt of the Senate and both were suspended.

Later both were permitted to apologize to the Senate, thus purging themselves of contempt, and both were restored to their rights as Senators.

The incident, in 1902, precipitated an interesting debate, much of which is more or less pertinent to the situation in the Senate in 1954.

The debate, primarily, concerned the power of the Senate which constitutionally may expel a Member, or declare his seat vacant, by a two-thirds vote, to suspend a Senator for a definite period by majority vote, thus depriving a sovereign State of its equal representation in the Senate.

Senator John L. McLaurin, of South Carolina, had cast the decisive vote for the ratification of the treaty of peace with Spain, the two-thirds vote being 56 to 27. The vote was in secret session, as the Senate rules then required. (One other Senator, James, of Nevada, was later permitted to record his vote in favor of ratification.)

Preceding the vote on ratification February 6, 1899, McLaurin had made a speech in the The day before Senate opposing ratification. the vote was taken the Aguinaldo insurrection had broken out in the Philippines. Mc-Laurin said the "firing on the flag" presented an excuse for changing his position.

It is a matter of political history that President McKinley and his administration were very anxious to have the treaty of peace ratified, giving the the United States, besides other things, title to the Philippines. Mr. Bryan, the presidential nominee of the Democrats in 1896 and later in 1900, had advocated ratification, although opposing permanent retention of the Philippines. However, the

Democratic leaders in the Senate had strongly opposed ratification, and among them was Tillman, as well as Bacon, of Georgia, Daniel, of Virginia, and Chilton, of Texas. Some of their speeches in opposition proved to be prophetic, in the light of events 40 years later.

ACCOUNT OF VOTING

In its account of the voting on ratification, the Associated Press said:

"The call of the roll proceeded quietly until the name of Senator McLaurin was announced. He created the first stir by a speech in explanation of his vote for the treaty. This was the initial break in the ranks of the opposition. Mr. McLaurin made a brief statement in explanation of his change of position, giving the opening of hostilities in Manila as the reason for it.

'I am as I have been from the first,' he said, 'irrevocably opposed to the expansion of our territory, and should have voted against ratification but for the news that has come to us over the cable in the past 2 days."

"He then went on to say that the attack upon our troops had brought about a new condition of affairs, and that he should vote for the treaty."

This statement, said the Associated Press, created excitement, which was increased when McEnery, of Louisiana, said he had decided on the same course. He made no speech.

As a matter of simple historical fact, Mc-Laurin thereafter under the McKinley administration controlled Federal patronage in South Carolina and his friends and adherents were appointed to the best Federal offices, such as Collector of Internal Revenue. McEnery had the same recognition in Louisiana. It was openly stated also that Mc-Laurin was slated for appointment to the circuit bench, but if such appointment had been made confirmation would have been doubtful, perhaps impossible, and it may be also doubted that McLaurin wanted a judicial post.

He was a very ambitious man, and it is much more likely that he visioned a more active political career, in which he would be the evangel of new commercial democracy in South Carolina and the South. There was powerful, if not popular, support for such a movement among southern indus-trialists of that day, and they undoubtedly encouraged McLaurin in that aspiration. His conflict with Tillman wrecked that incipient movement and wrecked McLaurin's career and ambition as well.

It was undoubtely Tillman who spoke the sentiments of his constituency. Even his hitherto, bitterest critic, the State, approved his position and condemned McLaurin, to whom it had previously been at least

friendly.
With Tillman and the State both against him, McLaurin was even then marked for slaughter if he came up for a second term (in 1902), but subsequent events made his

candidacy impossible, as we shall see.
Reelected in 1900, Tillman was supreme in South Carolina politics. In the summer of 1901 he and McLaurin met at Gaffney in a joint debate on the issues on which they disagreed; principally McLaurin's commercial democracy. He was in high favor with the McKinley administration, which saw perhaps a chance to break the solid South at last, and South Carolina Democrats had not had any Federal jobs for many years. The Gaffney debate developed into a dispute as to which Senator really represented the sentiments of their constitutents. A challenge was made to submit it to the voters of the State and the challenge was accepted.

Each Senator submitted his resignation to the Governor.

Gov. Miles B. McSweeney, an amiable little gentleman, who had in 1899 as lieutenant governor come into the governorship on the death of Governor Ellerbe and who owed his election as governor the previous year, 1900, to Senator Tillman's support, was Mc-Laurin's personal and political friend.

The Governor sent both resignations back to the Senators. What had promised to be a sensation turned out to be a fiasco. The Senators did not insist.

In 1902 the bill regulating the tariff for the Philippines was up in Congress. again, reopened the question of our ultimate

On February 22, 1902, 40 years to the day from the time when President Franklin D. Roosevelt was to order Gen. Douglas Mac-Arthur to leave the Philippines under siege, the bill was up in the Senate and Tillman had the floor.

He went back and reviewed the ratification of the peace treaty, 3 years before. He took up a statement by Senator Spooner as to Mr. Bryan's part in securing that ratification. Tillman agreed that the influence of Bryan was potent but insisted that even Bryan's influence had not been sufficient to induce the Senate to ratify the treaty. After Bryan had done all he could, he said, the Republicans still lacked the necessary

"You know," he shouted in his strident voice, "how those votes were secured."

IMPROPER INFLUENCE

Spooner asked him how were they se-

Tillman shot back that he had confidential information from the Republican side that

improper influences were used.
"Name the man," said Spooner, who always delighted in baiting the Pitchfork Senator.

"I know," asserted Tillman, "that the patronage, the Federal patronage, of a State has been parcelled out to a Senator since the ratification of the treaty. "What State?" asked Spooner.

"South Carolina," shouted Tillman.
"Then," said Spooner, "I leave you to fight

it out with your colleague." Tillman continued, asserting he knew that

his colleague voted for the treaty.

"I know that improper influences were brought to bear," he said, and then concluded his speech.

The junior Senator, who had been absent from the Senate Chamber while the senior Senator was speaking, entered and rose to a question of personal privilege, he said he had been in a committee meeting and had been informed of what his senior colleague had said. He had previously, he said, denied the charge.

"I now say, he continued with distinct emphasis on every word, as the newspaper account of the day related, and half turning to Tillman, who sat now 3 seats away. now say that the statement is a wilful, malicious and deliberate lie."

Tillman sprang with tiger-like ferocity at his colleague. Senator Teller, between them, was swept aside, as McLaurin advanced to meet Tillman. Blows were exchanged, Mc-Laurin being struck on the forehead and Tillman on the nose. The two South Carolina Representatives in the Senate of the United States clinced on the floor of that supposedly deliberative body. Senators separated them finally.

SECRET SESSION

The Senate immediately went into secret session, and after discussion, on a rollcall vote both were declared in contempt of the Senate 61 to 0. Later both were permitted to apologize. Tillman said he could not prove his charge, as McKinley was dead.

His Royal Highness Prince Henry of Prussia, brother of Emperor Wilhelm II, the Kaiser, visiting the United States, arrived in Washington the next day, to be a guest of the President at the White House. was accompanied, incidentally, by the Secretary of State for the Imperial Germany Navy, one Adm. Alfred von Tirpitz, whose namesake battleship roamed the seas in World War II.

The day after the fight the Prince and his party visited the Senate Chamber and were received in state but Admiral von Tirpitz could discover no signs of the land battle of the previous day. All was peace in the Senate. But the row was not over.

Senate. But the row was not over.

Col. Theodore Roosevelt, who was no slouch himself at hurling the lie, had become President, following the assassination of President McKinley in 1901. He had issued invitations to a state dinner at the White House in honor of Prince Henry, his royal guest. Senator Tillman, as became rank in the Senate, was invited, and had accepted. After the fight, President Roosevelt requested Senator Cockrell, of Missouri, to suggest to Tillman that he withdraw his acceptance. Tillman spurned the suggestion. President Roosevelt then withdrew the invitation.

That incident had important repercussions in South Carolina, with tragic consequences which cannot be related within the span of this article. It can only be said that it led to a development which played its part in the playing of N. G. Gonzales, editor of the State, by Lt. Gov. James H. Tillman, nephew of the Senator, in January of the following year.

Increase in Postal Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALAN BIBLE

OF NEVADA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. BIBLE. Mr. President, I have studied with great interest the President's state of the Union message and his subsequent messages, particularly those dealing with the budget, pay increases for Federal employees, postage rate increases, and foreign economic policy. It seems to me that in our efforts to obtain high levels of employment and prosperity through maximum encouragement to our business community, the present administration is very inconsistent. I specifically refer to the proposal to increase rates on business users of the United States mails.

In this connection, my attention was called to an article which appeared in the January 17 issue of Advertising Age under the caption "Mail Users Condemn Postal Rate Hike as Detrimental to Sales Promotion."

This report was submitted to the Honorable Sinclair Weeks, the Secretary of Commerce, through his printing and publishing subdivision, and is supported by economic data obtained from Department of Commerce sources. The report states, in part:

As the Government has so definitely committed itself to helping people produce goods, so should the Government do everything it can to help in the creation of markets, the sale and distribution of goods to the consumer.

I believe the time has come for continued study and appraisal of our Nation's postal policies before we rush head-Iong into a rate increase that will work serious hardship on our economy. I note that such a study was undertaken in the 83d Congress, and feel the subject should be fully studied and the study completed as a basis for reaffirmation of the Congress' position on postal rate matters.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the article published in Ad-

vertising Age.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

MAIL USERS CONDEMN POSTAL PATE HIKE AS DETRIMENTAL TO SALES PROMOTIONS

Washington, January 12.—Several groups of organized mail users joined today in a memorandum warning the Department of Commerce that proposals for increased postal rates may interfere with the development of sales programs which are needed to assure steady demand for the expanding output of the Nation's factories.

The groups contended that the Government has a big stake in everything that promotes an expanding economy. They pointed out that each 1 percent drop in national income-which might occur if advertising and sales are curtailed-would cut employment by 300,000 to 400,000 and clip \$1 billion from the Government's tax revenue. "Conversely," the report said, "a 1-percent increase in market absorption will increase both employment and Federal tax revenues proportionately."

The sponsoring organizations asked the

Commerce Department to:

"1. Provide the administration, the Congress, and the public with information showing the importance of advertising to the American economy.

"2. Oppose all legislation the adoption of which might impair legitimate advertising. "3. Make a continuing survey of advertising in America to determine its effectiveness

in fostering an expanding economy.
"4. Be prepared to advise on the following economic matters: (a) The contribution made by business mailers to the American economy through increased sales, the payment of taxes, the employment of individuals, and related economic facts; (b) the impact of postal rate increases on the volume of advertising, sales, profits, taxes, and employment; (c) the repeal of Public Law 199, which governs the size and weight of parcel-post packages, and the return of the fourth-class mail ratemaking power from the ICC to the Congress; (d) extent of the public service contribution made by the postal establishment.

"5. Cooperate with the Post Office Department in (a) the introduction of modern business practices; (b) obtaining the expanded use of postal facilities by business."

The memorandum was forwarded to Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks by Magazine Publishers Association, Direct Mail Advertising Association, Associated Third Class Mail Users, and Parcel Post Association. It reached the Secretary through the printing and publishing subdivision of the Commerce Department's business and defense services administration, which has been engaged in a study of the possible impact of postal rate increases on the printing and publishing industry.

"As the Government has so definitely consmitted itself to helping people produce goods," the memo says, "so should the Government do everything it can to help in the creation of markets, in the sale and dis-tribution of goods to the consumer."

After pointing out that the printing and publishing industry is small business—with 29,000 of its 30,000 establishments employing less than 100 persons—the memo argues, "Of all the Government agencies none so assists business in the sale of goods as the Post

Office Department. The selling messages carried by this agency create widespread demand for goods and services. Moreover, it serves as a major distributing agency to

With charts and Government statistics. the memo points out that consumer buying has lagged behind the increase in total dis posable income, and that the percentage of advertising volume has declined in relation to the early 1900's.

Warning that "the prosperity of the Nation requires an expanding economy," it declares, "That kind of prosperity is possible only if the demand for goods and services increases. Advertising creates increased demand. volume of advertising is controlled in large

part by postal rates."

Designed to recruit Cabinet-level interest in the business aspects of the postal-rate problem, the memo includes a Price, Waterhouse tabulation which suggests that the actual postal deficit is overstated by including subsidies and public services which should be charged to the general taxpayer. The tabulation was originally prepared for the special Senate Post Office Subcommittee which investigated postal-rate policy early last year.

Other portions of the memorandum discuss the current business problems of printed advertising media. Two charts, from Magazine Publishers Association, show magazine circulation at a peak of more than 160 million and daily and weekly newspaper circulation at 75 million per issue, but profits of 119 business, farm, and general interest magazines—which pay 45 percent of the second-class revenues, consume two-thirds of the paper, and carry over \$500 million in advertising—down from an 8.3-percent peak in 1946 to 2.8 percent in 1954.

Another table, based on ANPA data, said that profits are shrinking because publishers have been forced to accept 104.8-percent increases in newsprint prices, and similar increases for labor since 1945. Data obtained from DMAA showed that a half-cent increase in the mail rate for third-class matter would throw many mailers into the red, and sharply reduce the profits of the remaining ones.

The memorandum also argued against any action which would damage parcel-post service, pointing out that parcel post is the only existing nationwide distribution service carrying small parcels anywhere in the country for a reasonable cost. According to the report, 6 out of every 10 parcel-post packages are received or mailed by individuals or ultimate consumers. In 1952, the report said, each farm family received or sent an average of 16 parcel-post packages.

Peress Dispute Still Boiling

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, on January 10 there appeared in the Washington Star a most enlightening article by the distinguished columnist, David Lawrence. I ask unanimous consent to have the article printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

[From the Washington Star of January 10. 19551

PERESS DISPUTE STILL BOILING-WRITER CALLS ARMY REFUSAL TO FIRE DENTIST CONTEMPT OF SENATE; VIEWS RELEASE OF WHOLE STORY AS VINDICATION OF MCCARTHY

(By David Lawrence)

"Better late than never" may still be a wise maximum for the guidance of those in Government who try to cover up their mistakes and then find themselves confronted after all with the necessity of making a ciean breast of their errors—but in public controversies it is better to come clean at

Thus the office of the Secretary of the Army in making public a comprehensive report of exactly how the case of Major Peress, alleged Communist who got an honorable discharge, was handled clears up many a mystery and at the same time unwittingly vindicates Senator McCarthy, of Wisconsin,

For the Wisconsin Senator had insisted that the information sought by the Senate Subcommittee on Governmental Operations was not classified and did not involve security but concerned the administrative failures of an executive agency which are a

proper subject for inquiry by Congress.

It turns out now—as the new report reveals-that the derogatory information about Major Peress was known inside the Pentagon at least a year before the Mc-Carthy committee took up the issue. It develops also that General Zwicker knew all the facts and evidently the Wisconsin Senator knew that he knew them. Hence the refusal of General Zwicker to testify frankly before the Senate subcommittee appears now to have been either because he was ordered to cover up for his superiors or because he was gagged by his superiors who knew that if he told all the facts it would corroborate Senator McCarthy's line of inquiry.

If JOE McCarry had not yielded to his exasperation that day to make a denuncia-tory comment about General Zwicker-or. if he had later withdrawn it but insisted that there was a cover-up for which the general was not to blame—the Wisconsin Senator would have been on sounder ground. For the facts he sought so desperately were bound to justify his side—if he could have been patient.

Likewise if the Department of the Army had told all the facts last January that it now tells the public there would have been no McCarthy-Army row as the headlines called it nor any sensational hearings on the television which cost the Eisenhower administration so many votes in various election contests last autumn.

Senator McCarthy's idea all along was that it was better for a Republican Senator to expose weaknesses in a Republican administration than to let the Democrats have a field day-which is what may happen now.

For the Democrats are still resentful that they lost votes in the 1952 election because of the charge that they had been soft on Communists in Government and now the Democrats will point to the handling of the Peress case as an example of how careless, if not soft, the Eisenhower administration has been in handling a Communist issue.

What is most difficult to understand is why somebody in the red tape list of 61 officers in the Army-now disclosed to have had some part in handling the Peress case-didn't raise cain when he saw a notation on the application of Dr. Peress declaring that he refused to answer questions about membership in subversive organizations.

The new Army report shows that on April 28, 1953, Lt. Col. Ronaid F. Thomas, chief of the Counterintelligence Division, reported that there was adverse data on Peress and a letter about it was sent to the Surgeon General of the Army and to the Chief of the Intelligence Division of the Army General Staff.

This letter said that there was "sufficient evidence of disloyal and subversive tendencies to warrant removal of Peress from the service." It took several months for that letter to be acted upon and the delay is, of course, indefensible. Even when General Zwicker on October 21, 1953, wrote to the commander of the First Army that the retention of Dr. Peress was "clearly not consistent with the interest of national security" nothing was done for several months. Senator McCarthy got into the fray in January 1954 and demanded that Major Peress be courtmartialed and his honorable discharge held up.

It now is revealed that a decision to ignore the Senate committee's request and give an honorable discharge to Major Peress was made by John G. Adams, Counsellor of the Army, and Lt. Gen. Walter L. Weible, Deputy Chief of Staff for Operations and Administration. This was an action contemptuous of the Senate. It is perhaps the most flagrant case of disregard of a legislative committee by an executive official that has been recorded in a long time. One wonders what the Senate will do now to vindicate its honor, for it is plain that one of its committees was given the runaround.

Debt Payment by Britain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Britain Makes Debt Payment," by Mr. Ralph McGill, which appeared in the Atlanta Constitution under the dateline of January 1.

I agree with Mr. McGill that this financial transaction merits the attention of every American, for the reasons which Mr. McGill sets forth.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BRITAIN MAKES DEBT PAYMENT

Washington, January 1.—Yesterday, which was the one written in the bond. Great Britain paid in full her annual payment of principal and interest on the 1946 loans made by the United States. It was a payment on the debt of \$54 millions and interest in the amount of \$84 millions for a total of \$138 millions.

It seemed to me this financial transaction merits the attention of every American, who for so long has heard the whining accusations of the claque which hates the British and which has built up a feeling in this country that somehow the loans we make are never paid.

How much of a debt we, and every American citizen, owe Great Britain for standing alone as she did in all the desperate early months of the great war when the well-prepared and modernly equipped German army rolled to the channel, one cannot say. It is one of those gigantic intangibles which cannot be measured in terms of dollars or pounds. But owe it we do, and no honest person denies it, or wishes so to do. All western civilization owes her such a debt.

SAVED OUR CIVILIZATION

So, as she paid almost \$150 millions, which represent the equivalent of the total value of 4 months of exports from her factories and mills, it seemed to me well to note the fact, and not leave it buried in a paragraph or so on the financial pages. Especially so, since much of the debt was for lend-lease, which we might have written off, since it was used to save our civilization in the days when we sang The White Cliffs of Dover and Britain fought alone.

The debt which Britain incurred in 1946 was for two purposes. First, \$3,750,000,000 to provide dollars to buy goods from the United States; and, second, \$650 million to settle Britain's outstanding debt to the United States on the wartime lend-lease arrangements,

Marshall aid to Britain ended in 1950. From that time on the dollar aid which has been provided has been related exclusively to the joint defense effort. The object has been to cover marginal dollar purchases, so that Britain may undertake a larger defense effort than she could otherwise manage. This defense aid is now flowing to Britain at a falling rate. In 1953 it totaled \$286 million. In the first half of 1954 the amount was \$68 million.

Besides the annual repaying of the 1946 loans, Britain has been making, since 1952, regular half-yearly interest payments on the Marshall aid loans, totaling over \$8 million annually. Capital repayment on the Marshall aid debts will begin in June 1956.

Meanwhile, Britain has made a strong effort to pay her way in dollars by increasing her dollar earnings through exports. As a matter of interest, in 1946 her exports to the United States were \$140 million, and had risen in 1953 to a total of \$450 million. But in 1953 Britain's imports from the United States (including shipping and insurance) were \$711 million. There is, of course, a real need for Britain to export more goods to the dollar area, and it is her earnest hope that barriers impeding exports to the United States will be progressively lowered.

Gains in the Civil-Service Merit System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, there appeared in the Sunday Star of January 16, 1955, an article entitled "Merit System Gains in 1954 Called Best in Civil Service Commission History," written by Joseph Young. The article is very enlightening, and I ask unanimous consent to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MERIT SYSTEM GAINS IN 1954 CALLED BEST IN CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION HISTORY

(By Joseph Young)

Civil Service Commission Chairman Philip Young declared last night that the past year has seen gains made in the merit system that are "without parallel in any comparable period in civil service history."

In a special statement commemorating the 72d anniversary of the civil service system,

Mr. Young by indirection answered Democrats and Federal employee union leaders who charge the administration with systematically destroying the merit system.

The criticisms against the administration stem mainly from the White House job-clearance order concerning top civil-service jobs and various other merit positions. Under the order, agencies have to list these job vacancies with the Republican National Committee and freeze the positions for 30 days.

PRESENTS HIS CASE

Mr. Young presented the administration's case as follows:

- 1. The new career-conditional appointment system which goes into effect next week "opens the way to full careers under the merit system" for hundreds of thousands of indefinite employees who have been denied career status since 1950.
- "I believe that the new system, as developed by the Civil Service Commission and issued by the President, represents the greatest advance of many, many years toward providing the American people with a strong and stable career force to carry on the essential and complicated functions of modern Government."
- Mr. Young said that under the new system career appointments in the future will be made only through competitive examinations. In those few cases where the Civil Service Commission because of its inability to furnish a register of eligibles for a certain job, gives an agency authority to hire on the open market, the agency will be allowed to make only a temporary appointment which will continue only until the Commission can hold an exam for the job.
- "It should also be noted that the Presidential Executive order establishing the new system includes a strongly worded and unequivocal prohibition against political discrimination in the competitive service," Mr. Young added.
- 2. The CSC has completed plans to bring 35,000 excepted overseas jobs under the merit system. "This will be one of the largest blocks of positions ever brought under the merit system at one time in the history of civil service in the United States," the CSC chief declared.
- 3. Many beneficial benefits were enacted into law for Government workers.

BENEFITS LISTED

Mr. Young listed such new benefits as the group-life-insurance program, the Government employees' incentive-awards program, modification of the Whitten rider, unemployment compensation benefits, longevity pay boosts extended to the higher grades, and the annual-leave-law restrictions modified.

"We are not resting on the achievements of the past year," Mr. Young said. "A progressive program for 1955 has already been announced, and the CSC is prepared to give it vigorous support. Among the objectives we have set for 1955 are the following: Salary increases and improvements in pay scales under the Classification Act; group health insurance for Federal employees, partially financed by the Government; more and better training for career employees, and improvements in overseas personnel administration."

Mr. Young concluded: "These and other measures proposed for this year will continue our progress toward strengthening and improving the civil service and making Government careers more attractive and satisfying for the high-caliber men and women our Government needs. The trend toward better government through a better career merit system is very clear."

Rochambeau Pay and the Growth of a Friendship

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Rochambeau Day and the Growth of a Friendship," by Salome Mandel, which appeared in the December 1954 issue of Freedom and Union.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROCHAMBEAU DAY AND THE GROWTH OF A FRIENDSHIP

(By Salome Mandel)

On a bleak October morning, under a leaden sky, a small crowd stood at attention as the poignant sound of taps cut through the silence surrounding a lonely white cross, half hidden in the shrubs.

The date: October 19, 1954.

The site: A small Virginia town at the mouth of York River where, 173 years ago, Lord Cornwallis surrendered to the allied armies of Washington and Rochambeau supported by the French Fleet of de Grasse.

The grave: That of 50 unknown French soldiers, killed during the siege of the city.

The occasion: A tribute paid to their commander in chief, General Rochambeau, who had led the 6,000-strong French Expeditionary Corps from its point of embarkation at Brest, France, to Newport, R. I.; thence, in a long and strenuous march, through the States of Connecticut, New York (where they joined Washington's American Army), New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland to Annapolis; and finally, aboard ships provided by de Grasse, to York-

town, Va., and victory.

A momentous result which, in the words of United States Marine Corps Commandant Gen. Lemuel C. Shepherd, "turned the dream of American independence into reality" and "was due in a large measure to the fact that France, in the form of the mighty fleet under Admiral de Grasse and the valiant men under General Rochambeau, provided General Washington the means to achieve victory."

Yet, while the youthful Lafayette's generous idealism and unusual military skill had caught the people's imagination, the name of the older man, who actually commanded the expeditionary corps and was his country's military representative in the United States, had somewhat faded from the memory of the public.

Already Jefferson, in a letter to Madison dated February 8, 1786, seemed to be disturbed by the thought that Rochambeau "has deserved more attention than he has received." He suggested that a bust of Rochambeau be set up in the Capitol.

Jeffersen's suggestion met with no success. But time has not been able to erase completely from the heart of his countrymen the feeling that inspired it.

Some 2 years ago, a small group of history-conscious, fairminded Virginians decided to give this feeling concrete expression. This took the form of a resolution, introduced by State Senator Donovan and passed by the Virginia General Assembly, instructing the then Gov. John Battle to appoint a five-man, nonpaid Rochambeau Commission for the Purpose of arranging, in close cooperation with the seven other so-called Rochambeau

States, for the uniform marking of the route followed by the French Expeditionary Corps.

Chaired by Charles Parmer, the initiator and real soul of the project, the commission immediately went to work. As a result, Rochambeau celebrations have been held in several States. In Rhode Island and New York, for instance, public parks, named after Rochambeau, have been established. Finally, on October 19, 1954, in a Rochambeau Day celebration on the very spot of the allied victory, a model of the future bronze marker was unveiled and dedicated by General Shepherd, in the presence of Henri Bonnet, Ambassador of the French Republic; Senator Donovan; representatives of the States cooperating in the tribute; and numerous guests.

Among the highlights of the program, special mention should be made of the Huron March—the very march that greeted Rochambeau's aide, Chevaller de Chastellux when he visited Washington in his camp—as performed by the Drum and Bugle Corps of the United States Marines.

Frequently played in those days by French and American Army bands alike, the march—a part of Grétry's successful opera Le Huron—had since been completely forgotten in the United States. Is was rediscovered, on a hint from the French Embassy, by M. Sgt. W. O. Nickell, drum major of the Drum and Bugle Corps, who copied the score at the Library of Congress and arranged it for use on Rochambeau Day.

Another feature not to be forgotten was the lunch served by mess sergeants, under military tents, with a menu similar to the Rochambeau troops' V-Day rations: Cornbread and baked beans with cheese and lettuce to make it a real celebration. (Some of the guests wondered if history were to be thanked for the genuine French dressing served with the lettuce, instead of the shrimp-colored concoction usually served under that name.)

However important a man's achievements, his true greatness can be measured only by the capacity of survival and the impact of his life's work.

In this sense, it may be said that the highest tribute to Rochambeau and to his comrades in arms was paid by Ambassador Bonnet when he enlarged his address from the mere eulogy of a great compatriot to a global survey of the problems confronting not just the two ancient allies of the Chesapeake campaign but their new allies—their partners, as President Eisenhower would put it—as well.

The Franco-American alliance, Ambassador Bonnet said, "has proved its strength in times of peril in the history of both countries. It is based upon similar objectives in the international field, and upon a friendship which makes possible mutual frankness. It remains a permanent force in a world threatened by many perils in spite of the numerous sacrifices our two countries have made for the cause of freedom."

"The world," Mr. Bonnet went on, "is still deeply divided, at a time when all important problems have universal repercussions, and the solidarity of the free nations is more than ever the condition of their survival. No one of them, acting alone, can be assured of an independent future. In the absence of a global entente, it is by means of a balance of forces that security must be assured, as long as the Communist bloc will not show, by its actions, that it has renounced its expansionist plans."

DREAM OF LAFAYETTE AND WASHINGTON

This, of course, leaves us still very far away from the dream Washington outlined, in a letter (August -15, 1786) to his friend, Lafayette, of a mankind "connected like one great family in fraternal ties."

It comes much closer, instead, to the vision of another builder of the New World—Benjamin Franklin—who, in a letter dated

October 16, 1783, actually proposed to David Hartley, British plenipotentiary for peace, the conclusion of a "family compact between England, France, and America."

As a matter of fact, such a compact, although still limited as to its implications, already exists in the form of the North Atlantic Treaty. It differs from Franklin's idea mainly in the fact that the "family" has lately considerably increased in size, so as to include not only most of the countries bordering that new Mare Nostrum—the Atlantic—but its hinterland as well.

The recently issued declaration of Atlantic unity, by over 150 distinguished citizens from 8 NATO countries, urging their governments to make this most challenging and constructive experiment succeed, clearly shows their deep belief in NATO's vast potentialities and in the leading part it could play as a stabilizing factor in a restless world.

However, Ambassador Bonnet warned in his Rochambeau Day address, "whether it pertains to the military security of the free world or to its economic and political security, the corresponding tasks require continuity of effort, patience in achieving results, and mutual trust among countries defending the same values."

These happen to be the very virtues which helped the two great leaders, Washington and Rochambeau, to achieve against all odds the success of that other challenging experiment: the first of all Atlantic alliances, signed in 1778 between the United States, still struggling to be born, and the old French nation, without whose contribution, said General Shepherd—himself a Virginian whose forefathers fought at Yorktown—"the issue of the independence of this Nation would have remained in doubt."

And as they lived and fought side by side "in perfect concert and harmony," as Rochambeau put it (an utterance echoed by Washington when he wrote, in a letter to Congress, October 12, 1781: "The greatest harmony prevails between the two armies"), there emerged, as a result of that intercourse, something even more durable than a military victory, fateful as it was.

That something, pioneered by both the leaders and their troops during the 1781 Chesapeake campaign, was a new pattern for international relationship, based no more on the domination of one ally by the other, but on a genuine partnership.

HOPEFUL PORTENT

That the Franco-American alliance has been able, since, to weather all storms, is mostly due to the fact that, except for a few temporary eclipses, the relationship between the two countries has steadily followed the pattern established by Washington and Rochambeau; a pattern that has proved sufficiently solid and sound to become the cornerstone of a great Atlantic alliance—the one already in existence, and the one still in the making. The lonely white cross, half hidden is the shrubs at Yorktown, Va., has pointed the road not toward death and desperation but toward a new life and hope.

Social-Security Law and Benefits

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, there appeared in the January 17 issue of the New Republic a very interesting analysis

of our social-security laws by Mr. Nelson H. Cruikshank, one of the Nation's leading experts on this subject, who is attached to the legislative staff of the American Federation of Labor.

Mr. Cruikshank, in his article, analyzes the implications of the references by President Eisenhower in his state of the Union message to social security and the level of social-security benefits.

I ask unanimous consent that this interesting and instructive article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SOCIAL SECURITY—WHAT WAS NOT SAID (By Nelson H. Cruikshank)

In contrast to those of 1953 and 1954 this year's state of the Union message does not call for significant changes in the social security legislation. The scant mention of the Federal old-age and survivors insurance program is devoted to a recitation of the achievements of the 83d Congress in broadening the coverage and increasing the benefit levels.

Actually the administration deserves credit for the leadership it exerted in this field during the last 2 years. Except for the President's endorsement of a postponement of the scheduled increase in the rates of contribution to the trust fund—a position which he later abandoned—the beguiling slogans of the chamber of commerce to "end discrimination among the aged" and for "pay as you go" failed to enlist adherents from among Government officials in support of, their schemes to destroy the essential character of our contributory social insurance program.

It is unfortunate, however, that the President and those in his official family responsible for developing policy in this field (which includes the Council of Economic Advisers and representatives of the Treasury Department as well as the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare) should apparently feel that the modest improvements adopted last year represent a finished job. In this respect the message is more significant in terms of what was not said.

For example, there is the matter of the wage base. When the Social Security Act was passed in 1935, limiting to \$3,000 the earnings on which contributions annual were collected and benefits computed, this was not serious as about 96 percent of all workers' wages came under this figure. The 1950 amendment raised this to \$3,600 and last year's changes brought it to \$4,200. In view of the opposition of insurance companies and the chamber of commerce the increase did indeed represent something of an achievement for a Congress not particularly distinguished for its record in the field of social legislation. But the \$4,200 limit brings us up only to the 1949 level of wage increases. In other words, last year the administration asked Congress to do in 1954 In other words, last year the what it should have done in 1949 if it intended to maintain the same level of wage coverage it established in 1935. Failure to move the wage base up to a realistic level acts to hold down benefits.

Still more significant is the failure of the message to acknowledge the remaining gaps in the protections afforded by our social insurance. The most glaring failure of our present system is in protection to the income of a family whose breadwinner becomes physically disabled. The half-way approach to this problem through State public assistance authorized in the 1950 amendments, with its means-test requirements and capricious determinations of levels of relief, has proved its inadequacy.

In the one area of social security where the message calls for positive action, namely the adoption of the Kaplan Committee recommendation for combining the protection of the civil-service retirement system and OASI for Government employees, the chances of accomplishment are not improved by the oversimplified argument offered in its sup-There is a serious question as to whether it is really possible to provide socialsecurity coverage for civilian Government employees "just as in private industry." While it may be theoretically possible, the question is whether it is politically practicable in view of the fact that the employer (in this case the Government) will have to make what amounts to voluntary contributions to two systems which is not true in private industry. Government employees will want to take a long look at what the President refers to as "certain adjustments in the present civilian personnel retirement systems" before agreeing to any wedding of the two programs.

The message's references to unemployment insurance are scanty but eloquent—again mostly in terms of what is left unsaid. If the Federal Government is to do anything at all to recover the ground lost in this field during the past 10 years it must start with the simple fact demonstrated at the time the programs started nearly 20 years ago, namely that State unemployment insurance acts respond primarily to direct financial incentives: employer experience rating on one side and offsets against federally imposed payroll taxes on the other. Specifically this means any improvement at the State level will come only when the meeting of Federal standards relating to benefits, and eligibility are made a condition of the offset.

Press Release of the National Federation of Independent Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a press release dated January 3, 1955, issued by Mr. George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business.

There being no objection, the press release was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business said today that it is the opinion of many Members of Congress that small-business problems will receive considerable attention during the entire life of the 84th Congress, which convenes in a few days.

Small business is aware of the opinions expressed by congressional leaders, and it is expected that the President, in his message to the Congress on the state of the Union, will give ample consideration to the increasing basic problems faced by small business throughout the Nation, and will make the corrective recommendations as to the needed help to small business.

Burger added, that due to nationwide polls of the entire federation membership, all independent business and professional men, numbering approximately 100,000, the polls disclosed and directed that a definite pro-

gram be carried out by Congress to protect efficient small business.

1. A continuing vigorous enforcement of all antitrust laws: It is to be noted from the record that the present head of the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice, Hon. Stanley Barnes, has shown by his action, and not mere lip service, that his Department's actions in impartial and vigorous enforcement of the antitrust laws is in keeping with the original intent of Congress, and for which it was constituted. Congress should recognize this, and give the needed appropriation to the Antitrust Division of the Department of Justice.

The federation will urge such action on the new Congress.

2. Small Business Committees of the Congress: These committees, during the past decade, have proven the best business insurance in protecting the business life of small business. They must be continued and placed on parity with all other standing committees. Namely, standing committees' status with full legislative authority. It is to be noted that in the 63d Congress, 50 Senators urged such action in the Senate.

The federation will urge such action on the

new Congress.

3. Small Business Administration: During its short period of operation the agency has proven its help to small business throughout the Nation. The agency must be continued as a permanent agency for small business, and with full control of its administration in the hands of the Administrator, subject only to the control of the Congress. No other agency head or member of the Cabinet should have the veto power on major operations of the agency.

The federation will urge such action in the 84th Congress.

4. Small business will expect tax relief, so that they will be able to build up reserves to meet any and all economic trends.

The federation will urge such action in the 84th Congress.

5. Small business will expect the new Congress to enact legislation that will make it mandatory upon the armed services to give small producers a fair and just share in Government purchases.

The federation will urge such action on the the new Congress.

Progress in Dairying

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALLACE F. BENNETT

OF UTAH

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. BENNETT. Mr. President, on January 13 the Secretary of Agriculture delivered an address on the campus of the University of Minnesota, during the 53d annual Farm and Home Week. I ask unanimous consent that the text of the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Recorp, as follows:

PROGRESS IN DAIRYING

(Address by Secretary of Agriculture Benson)

It is a genuine pleasure to participate in this 53d annual Farm and Home Week here on the campus of the University of Minnesota. I am deeply impressed by the important contribution that meetings such as this are making toward better understanding of our agricultural problems.

This occasion exemplifies the leadership Which our educational institutions are taking in promoting group discussions and ex-Changes of ideas and information. I have long believed that research, education, and improved marketing practices offer the surest approach to our goal of a prosperous, stable, and free agriculture. It is encouraging to see that all of these steps are emphasized in your Farm and Home Week program.

I appreciate the opportunity to speak on this forum. For some time I have wished to talk frankly on several matters which are major importance to Minnesota farmers. Your kind invitation to appear was doubly

welcome for that reason.

Minnesota is fortunate in having the soils and climate which permit highly diversified farming operations. Only about 71/2 percent of the cash receipts of farmers in this State come from the basic commodities which seem to get most of the attention in farm-policy discussions. Dairying, hogs, and cattle-in that order-provide the major sources of farm income here. The feeding of hogs and cattle has been relatively profitable during the past year. The dairy industry has undergone some serious readjustments. that reason, I should like to talk primarily about this problem.

Sometimes it is necessary for us to look back to see how far we have come. Today I would ask you to look back for a moment— to the situation which faced the dairy industry of this Nation just 1 year ago.

Your Government was getting into the dairy business at an unprecedented rate. Milk production was booming toward new seasonal highs. Consumption was not only failing to keep pace but was trending dangerously downward, particularly in the case of butter. Surplus dairy products were piling up in Government storage at an alarming The industry was being out-promoted by its competitors at every turn. 'Despite price supports at 90 percent of parity, net income of dairy farmers had declined by more than \$200 million from 1952 to 1953. The dairy industry was sick. There were ominous rumblings that Government might be forced to invoke production controls.

All in all, it was not a very pretty picture. But this was, nevertheless, the situation which faced us just one short year ago.

Confronted by these facts and a law which specifically directed me to fix dairy price supports at a level which would assure an adequate supply, I announced a reduction from 90 to 75 percent of parity for the marketing year beginning last April 1. decision was not lightly made. It was reached only after long and careful consideration. I had no illusions as to its immediate popularity with many dairymen. Yet I believed then in all conscience, as I do today, that this adjustment-painful though it might be-was in the best, long-term interests of the Nation's dairymen.

May I say now that I received plenty of advice on this matter. Much of it was sound and most of it was well meant. gave full thought to all suggestions but one. I ignored the warning that the action con-

stituted political suicide.

Now, as we begin this new year, the time has arrived to take stock-to strike a sort of balance sheet—of the dairy situation since price-support levels were adjusted 9 months ago.

The first, and most impressive fact, is that milk production shows definite signs of leveling off. In December 1954, milk production was 1 percent below December of a year ago. Meanwhile, per capita consumption of dairy products is on the upturn. This is of vital importance to every dairyman in America. It means that the day is approaching when supply and demand will be brought into balance-not through a distasteful and uneconomic program of production controls but rather through increased use of the healthful dairy products which our people need.

Milk production during 1954 reached an estimated 124 billion pounds—a record total. The leveling-off process of recent months suggests that it will be about the same this year. At the same time, per capita consumption of butter increased by about 5 percent in 1954 a sharp reversal of the longtime downward trend. The average American also ate a fraction of a pound more cheese and drank a little more milk in 1954.

When we add to this the fact that our population growth provides about 2.7 million additional consumers each year, it becomes evident that we are rapidly bridging the gap between dairy supplies and demand. Even without any increase in per capita consumption of dairy products, this population growth alone provides a market for nearly 2 billion pounds of milk each year.

During 1954, milk consumption in all forms totaled about 118.5 billion pounds. If production during 1955 remains at the 1954 level-as we anticipate it will-our surplus of dairy products will be smaller than in either of the two preceding years. If the stepped-up promotional and merchandising campaigns of the dairy industry, which are beginning to show real results. meet our most optimistic expectations, we may well see an approximate balance between production and consumption by the latter part of this year.

When that happens—as it inevitably will if all of us are determined to see that it happens-prices of manufactured dairy products will move above the support level. support price will no longer be the ceiling price, as has been the case too long.

I am convinced that every dairyman in the Nation would prefer that to a system which makes the Government the market and ties the future of the industry to a mere formula. I am convinced further that this day will dawn for dairymen much sooner because the dairy industry and this administration elected to face the facts and refused to bow to political expediency.

Allow me to cite a few figures which support the conclusion that we are headed in

the right direction now:

In December-last month-the Government bought not a single pound of butter. This was the first full month in 2 years in which no purchases were made. During December of 1953 we bought more than 11 million pounds of butter and the heavy flow was just beginning.

During the final 3 months of 1954, butter purchases totaled only half a million pounds, as compared with 15 million a year earlier.

Government buying of cheese and nonfat dry milk has also declined sharply in recent months. Last month cheese purchases totaled about 11/4 million pounds, compared with nearly 7 million for December of 1953. This was the smallest amount we had bought in any month for 2 years. We purchased 11.2 million pounds of dry milk in December 1954-less than one-third the amount of a year earlier-and the second smallest total acquired in any single month over a 2-vear period. Only purchases for November were

Normally I prefer not to incorporate many statistics in a speech. But figures sometimes tell an interesting story. With your indulgence, I should like to cite a few more because they represent good news for every segment of the dairy industry, for the Government itself, and for the public.

Less than 6 months ago, Commodity Credit Corporation had 466 million pounds of butter on hand. At the beginning of January this enormous hoard had been reduced to 266 million pounds. It is growing smaller by the day. This butter is moving into channels or consumption in the United States

While it is true that most of these dispositions have been made at substantial losses, it is important that the butter is being It is also worth noting that nearly 20 million pounds of butter were resold into commercial-trade channels by CCC at prices which exceeded acquisition costs. Most of these sales were negotiated during the last 2 months. For the entire year of 1953, commercial-butter sales by CCC amounted to about 4 million pounds.

At the end of September 1954, CCC owned 435 million pounds of cheese. This inventory had been reduced by 100 million pounds by the year's end. Government sales of sheese in commercial-trade channels exceeded 116 million pounds in 1954, as compared with a bit more than 5 million pounds

during the preceding year.

CCC had on hand 92 million pounds of dry milk at the beginning of this year. Eight months earlier the Government inventory stood at 600 million pounds.

Despite record-breaking purchases of dairy products during the early months of 1954, we bought less butter for the entire year than we did in 1953. Cheese and dry milk buying were up somewhat for the year but the trend during the final months of 1954

was sharply down.

Altogether, CCC disposed of approximately 1.5 billion pounds of dairy products last year, as compared with 352 million pounds in 1953; more than 4 times as much. About two-thirds of the butter and one-half of the cheese was moved after August 1, when Congress gave us broadened authority to deal with the entire surplus problem. Most of the dry milk was sold at substantial discount for use in mixed poultry and livestock

Surplus butter holdings were distributed principally as domestic and foreign donations through school-lunch programs, church and welfare organizations, and charitable institutions. Millions of needy persons here and abroad shared in these donations. direct sales were made at reduced prices to foreign governments and United Nations agencies Further distribution was made through Foreign Operations Administration activities. These various outlets absorbed 264 million pounds of butter in 1954, as against about 100 million pounds for the preceding year.

In addition, the Department of the Army obtained more than 28 million pounds of butter from CCC stocks in 1954, nearly double the amount for 1953. We sold butter for use as a cocoa butter extender and for liquid milk recombining abroad. Butter was also made available to the Veterans' Administration. None of these outlets was employed during the preceding year.

School-lunch donations and welfare distribution at home and abroad accounted for the movement of 161 million pounds of cheese in 1954, approximately 5 times the total of a year earlier. At the same time 400 million pounds of dry milk, more than double the amount for 1953, went into these programs last year.

The effect of these overall disposal efforts, combined with the increased commercial demand for dairy products, is reflected in improved milk prices during recent months. For the final quarter of 1954 wholesale prices received by farmers for all milk averaged 86 percent of parity, the same as in March of 1954, when price supports were still at 90 percent of parity. Seasonal factors, as well as our improved supply position, are partly responsible for this strength. If we can come this far in the space of a few months, there is every reason to be optimistic about the future of the dairy industry.

In fact, I find that optimism shared by many dairymen with whom I have talked and by representatives of other segments of the industry. They believe, as I do, that we have yet to see the full effects of the aggressive

merchandising and promotional campaigns which have been steadily building up for several months. They know they have the finest food product in the world to sell—and at a bargain price. They know that there is a vast untapped market for this most nearly perfect food right here in America and they are determined to reach it.

The story of milk is being told today far better than it has in the past—through every conceivable advertising medium. The dairy industry is successfully employing many of the promotional tactics of its competitors. Its leaders have also recognized that there are two important steps in merchandising. First, to create a desire for the product, and second, to make it readily available everywhere.

It's rather sad, but nevertheless true, that it's far easier for many Americans to buy a bottle of pop or even an alcoholic beverage than just a plain drink of milk. In my travels over the country—waiting in airports and railway stations—I find that I can purchase candy, chewing gum, a variety of carbonated beverages—I can even insure my life or test my skill on a pinball machine—all by simply inserting a coin in a slot. But I can't buy milk with the same ease.

Why until a few months ago—even in the Department of Agriculture, where lights burned late as we sweated over the dairy problem—you couldn't buy a drink of milk except in the cafeterias at certain hours. You can now. You can also buy milk in thousands of other places where it wasn't available until the dairy industry got its

promotional campaign in gear.

We have had a magnificent response—here in Minnesota and elsewhere—to the new program approved by Congress which makes an additional \$50 million available this year and next for an expanded school lunch milk program. The armed services are cooperating in a move to increase the use of milk and other dairy products. These efforts represent more than a current contribution to the better health of our young people. They create the milk-drinking habit. They build markets for tomorrow as well as for today.

I have sought here to summarize what I regard as definite advances on the dairy front during this marketing year. The various facts and figures which I have detailed represent an impressive total on the credit side of the ledger. They indicate clearly that we are on the right road.

At the same time, I would not create the impression that all of our problems are behind us. As our continuing, though greatly reduced, purchases of cheese and dry milk indicate, production is still outrunning demand. The flush season is ahead of us. It will be little short of a miracle if the Government is not called upon to increase its dairy support purchase program over the next few months. Yet I am confident that what buying we are forced to do will be on a much smaller scale than it was during this period in 1954. That situation, as it develops, will be further important evidence of the fact that we are clearly emerging from the serious crists which gripped the industry such a short time ago.

I am not unmindful that dalry producers are caught in a perplexing price-cost squeeze. While final figures are not yet available, it is expected that they will show net income of dairy producers in 1954 was down some \$180 million to \$200 million from the preceding year, a decline of about 4 percent. Disturbing as this must be to all of us, it might be pointed out that dairy income declined even more between 1952 and 1953, despite supports at 90 percent of parity. To me this strongly suggests that the continuation of high level supports was not the answer, as some people have argued. If it were, the problem would never have developed.

I would rather think of the loss in dairy income as the industry's share of the cost of getting back on a sound foundation. The Government's share of that cost has been even greater. I do not regard either the industry's or the Government's contribution as an outright loss, however. Rather it is an investment in the future of dairying—an investment which will be returned many times in the years ahead if we have the courage and the determination to see this crisis through.

However much some individual dairymen may be pinched by the decline in income, they might well consider what their plight could have been had 90 percent supports been continued. Producers of the basic commodities who have been receiving price supports at that level have also been forced to take drastic production controls. In neighboring North Dakota, for example, 1954 wheat acreage was cut 20 percent below 1953.

It will be reduced again in 1955.

I am sure Minnesota dairy producers are thankful they are not faced with that kind of a production slash. High level price supports inevitably breed production controls. We have them this year on every one of the six basic commodities. To argue that dairying could somehow have escaped a similar fate—had maximum supports been continued—is to deny the very plain evidence to the contrary. As one who was engaged in dairying for many years, I might add my conviction that farmers would be no happier under milk production controls than I would be in administering them.

As every dairyman knows, his business is particularly sensitive to the factor of volume. His constant objective is increased production at reduced cost. He knows through hard, practical experience that a drop in production can hurt him just as much as a drop in price. Virtually every advance in dairying efficiency, on the farm and in the plant, is geared to large production. The careful upgrading of the dairyman's herd, the improvements in his feeding and milking operations, the better techniques in handling and transporting his milk are all primarily directed toward large volume marketing.

Farmers in our principal dairying regions might well consider another effect of production controls upon their operations. Any attempt to impose such restrictions by law would almost certainly be accompanied by a move to exempt small producers—just as they are exempted from the control provisions of some basic crop programs. The backyard producer—the 1 and 2 cow owner—would be permitted to operate as before, because of the tremendous obstacles involved in the enforcement of milk production controls.

Nearly 29 percent of all farms producing milk have only 1 cow. Seventeen percent have only two cows. Sixteen percent have either 3 or 4 cows. Thus, it would seem to be a fair guess that perhaps half of the farms producing milk would be exempt from production controls. The full burden would fall upon the larger and more efficient producers. Productionwise, if only 1- and 2-cow farms were outside the program, about 11 percent of the milk produced in this country would be completely unaffected by controls.

There is nothing startling about the fact that the dairy industry is adjusting to new conditions and situations. Such adjustments are constantly taking place—and, to a considerable extent, independently of prevailing milk prices.

For example, between 1944 and 1949—when prices of milk and butterfat averaged above 100 percent of parity—the number of farms producing dairy products for the market in this country declined by 19 percent. Yet the change in total milk production was less than 1 percent. The sharpest drop occurred on farms with less than 10 cows. In

Pennsylvania, 25 years ago, 47 percent of the total production came from herds of 9 cows or less. Today, in that State, only 18 percent of the milk comes from herds of that size.

There is a wide variation in dairy production costs in different areas of this broad Nation. There are even notable spreads among farms in the same area. One recent study in Pennsylvania revealed milk production costs ranging from \$3.50 per hundred to as much as \$9.50. I believe we need to ask ourselves whether we want an economic system that permits a producer with such almost unbelievable costs to provide our milk.

As all dairymen know, labor represents a large element of cost. Through the years the great emphasis has been upon obtaining increased production per cow and, with this, greater labor efficiency. To be more efficient, the dairyman need not necessarily work harder, faster, and longer. Rather the goal is to accomplish more, with less back-bending effort in a short time through planning, know-how, and laborsaving devices.

A survey by the Agricultural Experiment Station at Michigan State College pointed out opportunities for reducing milk-production costs by 45 percent, through the use of all available techniques and adjustments. This was done without increasing either the number of workers or the farm acreage. Gains were made primarily through the use of better-producing cows and improved

practices.

Now, of course, not every dairyman can achieve such an increase in efficiency. Many producers are already using most of the techniques employed in this test. But even they may increase operating efficiency and profits by using all of the available knowhow—the better breeds, feeds, and seeds and improved production practices. The dairyman who achieves only a part of the increased efficiency attained in the Michigan State test can offset the adjustment in price supports. It is still true in dairying, as in other segments of agriculture, that the individual farmer can do more for himself than Government can ever do for him.

Many would-be political leaders have been using high, fixed price supports as a smoke-screen to cover up one indisputable fact—the fact that it was the unprecedended demands of war, together with infiation, that kept farm prices high during the 10 years following Pearl Harbor. The parity ratio averaged between 100 and 115 during those years. Actually, it was cellings fixed by law at the top—not the 90-percent floor below—which set farm prices. Every farmer knows he would have received even more for his products during this period had there been neither ceilings nor price supports.

It has been apparent for some time that high, rigid, emergency supports were not the solution to our peacetime agricultural problems. These current problems have all developed under high, rigid price supports which remain in effect until the 1955 harvest. If farmers have experienced reduced prices and incomes, these reductions occurred under the old law which was supposed to prevent them.

There is nothing new or revolutionary about flexible price supports. They have been a part of our agricultural programs for nearly two decades. They have been endorsed at one time or another by every Secretary of Agriculture for 20 years, by the former occupant of the White House.

and by both major parties.

The financial pangs which go with readjustment to a peacetime economy are not new to agriculture. We have suffered them following every war in our history. Just as farm commodity prices go up faster than the general price level under the stimulus of war and inflation, they also drop further and faster than most nonfarm prices while the economy is read-

Justing to more nearly normal conditions. We are making the transition this time with fewer and less severe dislocations in agriculture and other segments of our community than ever before.

The depression which was so freely predicted a year ago falled to materialize. From an economic point of view, 1954 psoved to be the best peacetime year in history, although agriculture did not fully share in this prosperity. The changeover has hurt and is hurting most of our farm people.

Yet I believe all of the evidence indicates we have seen the worst. I am convinced that for agriculture the road ahead will be smoother than the one we have been traveling.

For several months now, most farm prices have been relatively stable. For the last 2 years, in fact, the parity ratio has averaged about 90, fluctuating narrowly between 94 and 86. It will be recalled that there was a 19 point plunge in the parity ratio during the 2 years preceding January 1953, when the new administration was installed.

We must not be content with mere stability of farm prices at current levels. But the price decline had to be halted before it could be reversed. The first half of that objective is being attained. The job at hand now is to get farm prices back into better balance with the general price level. This, I am confident, can be done under the Agricultural Act of 1954 which has as its goal a prosperous, stable and free agriculture.

Today I pledge anew to you and to all of our farm people that I will never knowingly sponsor or support any policy or program which I believe is not in the best interests of our farmers and all of our people, regardless of political pressure.

As the President pointed out in his state of the Union message: "Agricultural programs have been redirected toward better balance, greater stability and sustained prosperity. We are headed in the right direction. I urgently recommend to Congress that we continue resolutely on this road."

Now if I may leave one final thought with You, it is this: The future of American agriculture is bright—as bright as all of us have the will to make it. A kind Providence has blessed this choice land with vast natural resources—with soils and climate which, with American ingenuity, courage and freedom, have provided a standard of living unmatched elsewhere. May God guide us in the wise use of our abundance.

Proposed Interstate River Compact in the Pacific Northwest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, two outstanding members of the Oregon State Legislature recently discussed the Proposed interstate river compact in the Pacific Northwest, and demonstrated how it would react adversely to the State of Oregon and to the general progress of the region as a whole.

They cited book, chapter, and verse to show that the Federal power program should not be scuttled for a vague and nebulous structure, which could lead only to endless haggling and differences.

The TV and radio discussion by State Senator Robert D. Holmes, of Clatsop County, and State Representative Alfred H. Corbett, of Multnomah County, alerted many residents of Oregon to the dangers of the pending compact.

I ask unanimous consent that the discussion by Senator Holmes and Representative Corbett appear in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the discussion was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INTERSTATE COMPACT WOULD MAKE OREGON
LOW MAN ON THE COLUMBIA RIVER TOTEM
POLE

ANNOUNCER. The following program is sponsored and paid for by the Pacific Northwest Resources Forum, Kenneth Kraemer, American Bank Building, chairman. The first speaker you will see is State Representative Alfred H. Corbett.

Representative Corbett. Good evening. I want to speak to you about the Columbia River Interstate Compact, which proposes the allocation of electric power and of water among the States in the Columbia River Basin: among Nevada, Utah, Wyoming, Montana, Idaho, Washington, and Oregon.

As low man on the Columbia River totem pole, Oregon stands to lose by this compact. You should think about it now, before final action is proposed, because the compact threatens to block Oregon's future development at least.

I was disturbed to learn that the Oregon delegation to the drafting committee cast its vote for the dangerously worded agreement. One member of that delegation had foresight enough to vote "No." I have asked that man, Bob Holmes, Democratic Senator from Clatsop-Columbia Counties, to discuss the compact with us tonight.

Bob, can you give us some background and tell how the compact came to be drawn?

Senator Holmes. Actually the first exploratory work seeking such a compact was begun about 4 years ago. The Republican leadership of the Pacific Northwest States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana seemed to fear the suggestion of regional development under any type of a Federal program and were seeking some other means. Since that time, representatives of these States plus Wyoming, Nevada, and Utah have met in nearly 30 meetings, with this instrument as a result.

My Oregon colleagues on the Oregon compact committee know that I have opposed the suggested compact for several reasons:

First, I have felt that the overall committee was not representative of the people Out of some 50 memof the Northwest. bers there are only 3 or 4 Democrats, and while I certainly do not believe this should be a partisan issue, the very makeup of the committee in this respect seems to make it one. The thinking of the committee as a whole has not been representative. It has been dominated by the private power approach to the virtual exclusion of public power and middle of the road policies. Consequently I think that instead of trying to find out the best way to develop all of the resources of the Columbia Basin * * * this committee has been trying to prove that the suggested way is the only way.

Second, while the Intent of the commissioners was expressed again and again as that of making the whole compact recommendatory and advisory (which I might add is not in my opinion advisable if it is to mean anything), article 7, the apportionment of water and related problems, clearly establishes prior rights for upstream States for all beneficial consumptive uses of water

as against nonconsumptive uses for downstream States, with a "look-see" clause setting the year 2000 as a time to see how it has worked out. And so I think that this section clearly is in complete violation with the tenor of the document.

Representative Corbstr. The compact draft has been released for comment. What happens next?

Senator Holmes. The next step is for the compact as modified by any comments which may be accepted, to be presented to the State legislatures, and for a Federal consent bill to go before Congress. If these are passed, Oregon will be bound by the terms of the compact.

Representative Corbett. Maybe we'd better look at the proposed compact. As I understand it, there would be a commission consisting of the seven member States, and the delegates to the commission would meet and try and work out the resources problems of the Pacific Northwest.

Senator Holms. That's right. The four States of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and Montana would each cast two votes on the commission, while Wyoming, Nevada, and Utah are given one vote apiece. Eight out of the eleven votes would be required to take action.

Representative CORBETT. Then Oregon alone, with two votes, could not block an adverse decision. We would have to swing two more votes. How do we make out compared to the other States?

Senator Holmes. Oregon doesn't get anything we don't already have and we give up the possibilities of a bright future. The whole idea is wrong. As you mentioned, Oregon is low man on the Columbia River totem pole. We will make out better if we draw from a Northwest pool, than if the water and power resources are divided up among the States. I think this compact illustrates the dangers of a plecemeal Stateby-State approach.

Representative Cordent. Let's look at the

Representative Corserr. Let's look at the sections dealing with the allocation of power and water.

and water.

Senator Holmes. Article VI is important. It deals with the allocation of power among the States. It says in effect that the compact commission should recommend the manner of dividing the power among States. The method is to look at each new project—at each dam—separately and to decide how much power is developed from that project. Then each State is given at least as much power as is developed at all of the new dams located inside its boundaries.

Representative Corbett. In other words, the compact would recognize the principle of giving to the State in which the power dam is located, all power from that dam. I mentioned during the last session of the legislature that the Seattle Chamber of Commerce wanted this principle established, and that Oregon would suffer.

Senator Hollmes. Yes, that is true. And the compact goes even further. It provides that the reservation of power to each State shall include (1) the full amount of prime power developed at site, (2) a fair share of additional power produced at site and at downstream dams, by reason of storage at the project. In other words, Montana would get all of the power produced at the huge Libby project plus all or part of the downstream power benefits which come from the release of water stored at that dam.

Representative Corbert. That doesn't leave much power to be allocated to Oregon, if the upstream States and Washington should gang up on us.

Senator Holmes. And that's more than a possibility. Washington has many more dam sites than we have in Oregon, and this formula is good for Washington as well as for the other upstream States.

Representative Corserr. I have tried to work out this power allocation just to see what might happen under the compact. It isn't favorable at all for Oregon.

To start out with I am assuming that the

To start out with I am assuming that the compact will not affect distribution of existing dams between Oregon and Washington across the Columbia, like Bonneville. The Dalles, and McNary or the Willamette Valley dams. Presently we are drawing approximately one-fourth of the generation from the Federal system, which amounts to the equivalent of about 800,000 kilowatts.

But when it comes to new dams we would suffer. The remaining dam sites are almost entirely upstream. The only sites remaining in which we might share are John Day, Hells Canyon, Mountain Sheep, and Nez Perce.

From John Day, if you subtract upstream storage we would get less than 200,000 kilowatts as our share.

As to Hells Canyon, if Idaho Power Co. receives a license to build the dams, I do not believe that Oregon under the compact could claim any power.

Mountain Sheep and Nez Perce, we would share with Idaho, providing the dams were

built federally.

Insofar as I am able to get informed estimates, this means that out of the 30 million unharnessed power potential in the Columbia Basin, Oregon could look forward with assurance to receiving little more than 2 million kilowatts additional power, about one-fifteenth of the new construction. This is in bleak contrast to the one-fourth we are drawing now out of the Federal system.

Senator Holmes. It is unfortunate we don't have exact figures. The Oregon delegation did not do what I requested, and that was to get an independent expert to tell us exactly how Oregon would make out under the compact arrangement. It seems to me vital that we have this information before

going ahead any further.

I might also point out that if this compact is adopted it would also make it even harder for the United States to come to terms with Canada about Libby Dam. You remember that the United States complained because Canada insisted on being allocated substantial downstream power benefits due to release of stored water backed up into Canada. This compact would approve the principle of allocating downstream power benefits to the State—or the country—where

the storage project is located.

Representative Corbett. Now let's look at article VII dealing with the allocation of

water.

Senator Holmes. This part of the compact would give the upstream areas an absolute priority for almost 50 years for any consumptive use of water, over a nonconsumptive use of water in Washington and Oregon.

Representative Corbett. Let me explain the terms. Consumptive use of water means municipal use, irrigation use or industrial use which results in substantial amounts of water being diverted or consumed and not returned to the river. Nonconsumptive uses which are given second place, are use of water for navigation, for generation of power, and for such other purposes as pollution control, fish propagation, and recreation.

Senator Holmes. This means that upstream areas (defined as east of the Cascades) like whole areas in Idaho, could withdraw water for agricultural purposes, or for some water-consuming industrial purpose like a paper plant, even though it might severely cut down power production or make navigation increasingly hazardous in Oregon and Washington.

Representative CORBETT. Obviously we haven't discussed the whole scope of the compact. The power and water features are most important, and I think it is worth while summarizing them.

The power allocation proposed in the compact would cripple Oregon's future growth. Today and in the past 20 years, we have drawn power from the northwest pool.

Cheap power has been available anywhere and everywhere in the Northwest. Oregon has attracted industries here based on this cheap power, based on our favorable ports, our labor supply, our climate, and other factors.

Under the compact, arbitrary State barriers would be drawn. Oregon would have difficulty in attracting industries because of the small amount of power which would be permanently allocated to this State.

Senator Holmes. And I believe that the attempt to allocate priorities for use of water would intensify this movement of industry away from Oregon. Today as in the past, water rights are almost entirely based on first come first served. Oregon has as good a chance as any other State to use water. Some main-stem dams have certain priorities to the use of water. Under the compact, Dregon and these dams would lose their prior rights.

Representative Corbett. The trouble is that the compact ignores the present needs and anticipated future needs of people for water and for power. Instead of letting water and power be divided among people in the whole region, the compact tries to impose arbitrary patterns on the economy of the Northwest.

The compact also adopts a dangerous policy, from Oregon's standpoint, of giving absolute priority for 50 years for consumptive use of water. While it may seem today that there is plenty of water, we don't know what developments will come in industry, nor can we envision all the schemes that may be thought of to siphon off water. Under the compact, Oregon would be signing away all rights to object to such consumption of water during the 50-year period.

Senator Holmes. It seems to me the proposal to divide up the Northwest into competing pieces is all wrong. We have grown and prospered as a unit. As soon as we start breaking the Northwest into competing pieces, we start the process of State fighting State. All of us, especially those of us who live in Oregon, will suffer.

Representative Corbett. I think people in Oregon who are most closely affected—the leaders of farm, labor, and business organizations, should get copies of the compact and study its implications. These are some of the dangers we see. Get copies and make up your own minds.

Senator Holmes. You can get copies from Columbia Interstate Compact Committee, H. Calvert Anderson, 320 Symons Building, Spokane, Wash.

Read the compact and make your comments known. This is a problem which affects all of us in Oregon. Before anything as far reaching as this compact is adopted, there should be much more consideration of what is the best way to handle resources in the Northwest.

Representative Corbett. Thank you, Senator Holmes, for being with us today and helping to discuss the proposed interstate compact as it affects Oregon.

Troubled Waters: The Formosa Strait

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, there appeared in the January 13 issue of the weekly publication, the Reporter, which is published in New York, a very interesting and provocative special article

written by the editor of that publication. Mr. Harlan Cleveland, entitled "Troubled Waters."

This article analyses and discusses the recently negotiated treaty of military alliance with the government of General Chiang Kai-shek. The article makes a number of cogent points which surely must be considered by the Senate when this treaty comes before it for consent to its ratification.

I am not, myself, yet ready to subscribe to the thesis presented in this article, but it has given me much food for thought. It raises questions which must be answered.

I commend the reading of the article to all my colleagues in the Senate and to the people of the United States.

I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TROUBLED WATERS: THE FORMOSA STRAIT
(By Harlan Cleveland)

In a few weeks' time, the United States Senate will take up the Mutual Defense Treaty with the Republic of China. Its reception may not be as smooth as the administration thinks. Nobody will attack the aim: To defend Formosa from the Chinese Communists. But the document Secretary Dulles has signed contains two traps that could prove fatal to its ratification.

There is both an American and a Chinese reason for having a treaty. When President Truman issued his original order neutralizing Formosa and sending the 7th Fleet into the Strait of Formosa, his action was justified by the Korean war. But the war in Korea is over—or anyway Washington assumes that it's over. The new treaty provides a new justification to keep the 7th Fleet patrolling the China Seas.

The Chinese Nationalists want this treaty as long-term insurance. They know it carries no tangible benefit they don't already have. They know that the leaders of both our political parties are determined to defend Formosa. But they want a solemn treaty saying so.

TRAP NO. 1

The treaty itself is short and simple. Following the NATO model, it says the United States and China will each act in accordance with its constitutional processes to meet the common danger created by an armed attack against the territories of either of them. For purposes of the treaty, China's territories are defined as Formosa and the Pescadores Islands.

There was so much political nonsense in this country 2 years ago about unleashing Chiang that the new treaty has been widely interpreted as releashing him. But he was never going anywhere without American support, and he at least has known it right along.

The treaty is not, however, a mere ratification of the obvious. The important point is that, for the first time in an instrument requiring Senate action, the United States formally recognizes that Formosa and the Pescadores are part of the Republic of China.

For the better part of 10 years, the United States has been carefully ducking every chance to say that Formosa belongs to China At Cairo, to be sure, Roosevelt joined with Churchill and Chiang in declaring their "purpose" to restore to the Republic of China "all the territories Japan had stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores." But the Cairo Declaration did not require Senate action, and when we got around to signing a peace treaty with

the Japanese in 1951, there were two rival Chinese governments to reckon with. Our major ally, Britain, recognized the Communist one. We could therefore agree with the British on only a single sentence: "Japan renounces all right, title, and claim to Formosa and the Pescadores." We had to leave out the whole question of who was to inherit these strategic chunks of earth.

The point is not just a legal nicety. The Communists have repeatedly charged us with aggression for the help we have given to the Nationalists in defending Formosa. They regard their fight for Formosa as an internal Chinese matter, and the Soviet Union backs up the claim that Formosa is Chinese. Indeed, on this point the Nationalists agree. The juridicial status of Formosa is not an lasue in China's continuing civil war. Both sides are sure the island belongs to China.

The question is, To which China? We recognize only one of the governments claiming the right to wear the China label, but we can't help seeing that our claimant is the less powerful of the two. We don't have the military strength to enable our man to establish his claim beyond the offshore islands he now controls. If we formally recognize Formosa and the Pescadores as territories of Chiang's China, won't our friends the British, who are stuck with their recognition of the Communists 4 years ago, be forced to consider the islands as territories of another China run by Mao Tse-tung?

In order to keep Formosa free from Communist control we may later want to argue that the island isn't necessarily part of the China that now controls the mainland. If instead we bind the islands to the mainland's fate by treaty, we tie our own hands and the hands of our allies in the Far East.

One trap in the China Treaty is thus the recognition of Formosa and the Pescadores as part of China. This may well have been inadvertense: The extraordinary fact is that this question was not even discussed in the negotiations leading up to the signing on December 2, 1954.

TRAP NO. 2

The other trap cannot be something the hegotiators overlooked. It is the effect of the treaty in brushing aside the United Nations. Suppose that tomorrow the Chinese Com-

Suppose that tomorrow the Chinese Communists should launch a real attack on Formosa. Our treaty would obligate us to come to the rescue. But would we get any help, any military aid or moral support, from the British and other friends with interests and armed vessels and warplanes in the Far East?

The help is there for the asking, if we ask through the United Nations. Mr. Anthony Nutting, Britain's Minister of State at the United Nations, said it very clearly the other day: "A Chinese Communist attack on Formosa is an attack upon a member of the United Nations and would, no doubt, call for collective action by the United Nations in which we would, of course, be involved as a member of the U. N." This remark, made on the "Meet the Press" television program, whipped up a brief political gale in England, but Nutting's superiors took pains not to contradict what he had said.

How does the treaty deal with the United Nations? In a resigned sort of way, it repeats the 1949 NATO formula on the subject:
"Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall be immediately reported to the Security Council of the United Nations. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security."

By specifying the paralytic Security Council as the organ in which we would raise the matter, the treaty ignores the possibility of action by the General Assembly under the "uniting for peace" resolution worked out

by Secretary Acheson in 1950. As now written, the treaty is a blueprint for going it alone.

We were able to act in Korea through the United Nations because it had previously guaranteed the integrity of South Korea. Now that the United States Government is clear that it wants a neutralized Formosa, not a Knowlandish adventure on the mainland, isn't it time for the United Nations to share with us the danger in the Formosa Strait?

The Chinese Nationalists would not be happy about the United Nations taking jurisdiction over their fight with the Chinese Communists, any more than the French wanted the United Nations in Indochina until it was too late. But in this era of unlocalized wars, Americans can hardly agree that Formosa is anybody's internal matter.

The American Association for the United Nations has already suggested a line of action that both the British and we could support. "The United States," says the American Association for the United Nations, "should join in sponsoring or supporting a proposal that the United Nations, without regard to the question of recognition, as to which its members are presently divided, should at once call upon both the authorities now in control of the government on Formosa and the authorities now in control of the government on the mainland of China to cease the use of armed force against each other in this area in the interest of world peace." Such an action would bring many of the free nations into the fray on the day a Red invasion force began its attack on Formosa. The backing of our friends in the United Nations, added to our own well-known determination not to let Formosa be taken over, should deter the invasion if any advance warning can deter it—and defeat it if the Chinese Communists were so rash as to ignore the collective warn-The Mutual Defense Treaty bypasses the United Nations, and makes it practically impossible for our Allies to help us even if they want to. The Senate will have to decide whether it wants to assert that we will go it alone in the world's No. 1 trouble spot.

IS THIS TREATY NECESSARY?

How did a treaty that so hobbles our freedom of action ever see the light of day? The real reason, which cannot be found in the official explanations, can be bluntly stated. The Elsenhower administration needs a treaty with the fire-eating wing of the Republican Party.

publican Party.

The Chinese Nationalists want to be reassured about the defense of Formosa, but they are in no position to insist that we codify our policy in treaty form. Senator KNOWLAND and his followers want the same assurance, and they have the political power to compel it.

Now it's entirely proper for the Secretary of State to wish for a peace settlement with the Senate Republican leader. Partisan passion about China has been a feature of our politics for too long already. Americans should be able to get together on the simple proposition that the Communists will be kept out of Formosa and the Pescadores—that, as Secretary Dulles has said, "Those islands are not for trade or bargain or anything else."

But let's not settle our internal fights by international treaty. For if the Mutual Defense Treaty is ratified as it stands, we shall have sealed ourselves in a puzzle box and thrown away the key. If there is war in the Strait of Formosa, we shall have blocked off the avenue of getting some help from our allies through the United Nations. And if there is peace, we shall have given the Reds a better claim to Formosa and the Pescadores than they could ever have thought up for themselves.

Universal Military Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, one of the most controversial issues facing the 84th Congress is the question of universal military training. I spoke in favor of it in 1947 when most of the people of my congressional district were against it. Now they are in favor of it because they understand the issues involved.

The following very fine article written by Myrick Land, which appeared in This Week Magazine on January 16, 1955, is worthy of the attention of every Member of the Congress:

Universal Military Training Is One of the Hottest Issues in Washington Today— Congress Fears It, But Here Are Findings That Show the Kids Want UMT

(By Myrick Land)

This month as our new Congress goes to work the spotlight will focus on one of the strangest mix-ups ever to confuse Capitol Hill.

A new military training bill is almost certain to reach the floor. Until last month high administration officials spoke out in favor of a universal military training program requiring that every able-bodied 18-year-old boy take 6 months of military training.

But at present writing the administration is proposing a much more limited program. Apparently it has backed away from UMT because most Congressmen consider it political poison. They're convinced most Americans won't stand for it. Many of their constituents have the same impression.

Yet the strange fact is that the 18-year-old boys themselves—and their parents—are overwhelmingly in favor of UMT. I have two nationwide surveys to prove it.

This odd misreading of the public pulse by Congressmen may have serious effects upon our teen-agers. Many youth leaders say that if the present draft act remains in operation, boys will face years of military insecurity.

MARKING TIME

They will begin marking time at 18, waiting to see whether or not they will be drafted. They may have to wait as long as 4 or 5 years for their call. Some will give up plans for attending college. Nearly all will run into a blank wall when they start looking for decent jobs.

The unlucky ones may crack up during this nerve-racking period, according to specialists in youth problems. Military insecurity has been an important cause of teenage crimes.

By taking one simple step, the 84th Congress could save our teen-agers from this difficult, sometimes dangerous, period of uncertainty. At the same time, Congress would begin strengthening our national defense.

The country's top military experts say that universal military training is the fastest and fairest way to build up our military reserves, which are now dangerously weak. Upon completing 6 months of UMT, many youngsters would be enlisted into the Regular Army. The hundreds of thousands not needed to keep the Army up to its authorized strength would go directly into a huge reserve force, and would be required to remain

in the Active Reserves for several years, taking a certain amount of refresher training from time to time.

Through UMT we could build up a readyto-fight reserve of 2 million men in about 5 years. Eventually, we could maintain a 5- or 6-million-man reserve if that is considered necessary.

It isn't even necessary for Congress to pass a new law to bring this about. There's a perfectly good law on the books—the Universal Military Training and Service Act. This act was passed way back in June 1951, and promptly forgotten. Under the act, UMT was supposed to go into operation as soon as Congress gave the go-ahead sign. But Congress has never given the signal. The act will die on June 30, 1955—unless our new Congress gives it a reprieve.

In the past, high officials in the administration have spoken in favor of UMT. But this endorsement carried little weight with its traditional opponents. For 10 years UMT has been receiving high-level support from leaders of both parties. But no Congress has ever put a UMT law into effect.

What are the chances that the 84th Congress will take action on UMT this time?

I put that question to Senator Lyndon

Johnson, of Texas. Senator Johnson, the

Senate's new majority leader, is noted for his ability to predict how Congress will vote weeks before a proposal reaches the floor. The Senator told me:

"I am afraid prospects for UMT are doubtful."

I checked with other Senators and Congressmen from various sections of the coun-Without exception, they also doubted that the new Congress would dust off the half-forgotten UMT Act and put it into operation.

What will be the arguments for letting UMT die? Although the debate hasn't started yet, it's easy to answer that ques-

"This is a democracy where the people rule, and the people are against UMT."

Those are the words of the widely respected Edwin C. Johnson, Colorado's new Governor, who was a bitter foe of UMT during his long senatorial career.

A surprisingly similar viewpoint was expressed recently by a strong supporter of UMT, Senator RALPH FLANDERS, of Vermont.

"The policy of universal military training has been one which the parents and children of America have come to view as the negation of the free life which is the ideal of western civilization," Senator Flangers said, in a speech favoring UMT.

Some economy-minded Congressmen are worried about costs at a time when the Government is pledged to a reduction in spending. But the feeling that the voters won't stand for the law is still the biggest roadblock.

What basis is there for this feeling?

I spent 6 weeks pinning down the answer. I started by checking with the Institute of Student Opinion, an organization which concentrates on discovering what teen-agers think about controversial questions. It is sponsored by scholastic magazines, a major publisher of magazines for use in classrooms. The institute sends out printed ballots, and gets the help of thousands of teachers in its polls of the country's teen-agers. The students vote by secret ballot.

The institute's 1954 poll on universal military training was one of the biggest it has ever taken. The ballots were marked by 48,399 high-school students in 48 States.

AMAZING REPLIES

Here's how the institute phrased the question:

"Under present world conditions, do you favor the general principle of compulsory military training for all fit young men?"

And here are the amazing replies:

Sixty-six percent of the high-schoolers came out flatly in favor of UMT.

Eight percent hadn't made up their

Only 26 percent—1 teen-ager in 4—opposed the idea of UMT.

Views of high-school girls included in the poll almost exactly paralleled those of boys.

These startling results among high-school boys sent me searching for a guide to adult opinion on the same question.

I examined the latest findings of Gallup's American Institute of Public Opinion. Here's the way Gallup's pollsters put the question to a cross section of the Nation's voters:

"Would you favor or oppose requiring every able-bodied young man in the country, when he reaches age 18, to spend 1 year military training and then join the Reserves?

You'll notice that Gallup was asking the country's parents to make twice as great a sacrifice as the UMT bill provides-1 year of training instead of 6 months.

Yet, a whopping 72 percent of the adults they favored this 12-month UMT program.

Six percent hadn't made up their minds. Only 22 percent-approximately 1 voter in -opposed.

Most of the adults said they favored UMT because they felt it would keep the United States out of war. They thought the additional military strength would keep any potential enemy from risking war. But what about the teen-agers? Why did

66 percent of them vote in favor of UMT? I started checking with youngsters in all parts of the country.

They soon convinced me that they knew why UMT had been proposed and how it would work. And they were able to tell me exactly why they favored it-or, in the case of a sincere and vocal minority, why they opposed it.

The 1 teen-ager out of 4 who disliked UMT seemed to settle on 1 of these reasons;

'UMT would be asking for war.'

"It seems to me that this plan would make America look like an aggressor Nation.

"I feel that compulsory military training symbolizes the gradual swing of the United States toward command by force. I feel that the strength of a truly great nation does not lie in military might.

"Six months of military training wouldn't be of any value to either the boys themselves or to the country."

DANGLING MEN

The range of arguments brought up by the 66 percent who favored UMT was much wider. Here's how they shaped up:

 They think it is necessary: "Let's face it," said "Butch" Fitzpatrick, of Salem, Ohio. 'These are bad times-3 wars since 1914. think we should train every 18-year-old who can pass a physical."

In Saginaw, Mich., Tom Dunning said: "If we have a war with Russia, we'll need all the men we can get."

"If a crook knows that a man has training in judo, and is proficient in it, he would think twice before he jumped him for his wallet," said Donald Schurman, of Baltimore.
"I think the same principle applies in international affairs."

2. They're tired of being dangling men: "I like the UMT plan a lot better than the draft setup we have now," 17-year-old Hubert Gainer, of Philadelphia, told me.
"Under UMT you'd go right in at 18, get your training over with, and get out. Under the draft, you just have to hang around and wait until the draft board decides it needs you. Once you get a draft card, you can't get a decent job."

Another teen-ager standing nearby chimed in: "Yeah. And that's when a lot of kids get into trouble. Nothing much to do, and feeling kind of mad at the world."

MILITARY INSECURITY

On this point, incidentally, a number of adults go along with the Philadelphia teen-ager's comment. William E. Titus, a former justice of the peace in Huntington, N. Y., named this feeling "military insecurity."

"'Military insecurity' starts at about age 16," Titus says. "Boys began to say: What is going to happen to me? Will I be drafted? How will Mom take it? Will my girl wait? And there are hundreds of other questions. all unanswered until Uncle Sam makes his final, often long-drawn-out decision.

"Youthful insecurity caused by the present draft law could be abolished in good measure by UMT and with it would go much of the juvenile delinquency which has arisen to

plague us in recent years."
3. They think UMT is fairer than the draft: "I don't think the present draft system is fair at all," said Eugene Hatfield, of Norman. "There are men I know of that were drafted at an early age when they were still in high school. Then there are men running their own businesses that are physically fit that should have received their draft notices long ago. I can't understand why one gets drafted and the other doesn't."

"You don't have to worry about the draft if you're a politician's son," a Baltimore youngster told me. "The draft board manages to misplace your records."

"If you're a big brain, the draft board says."That's all right. You go on off to college." Then you go to college, and get married, and have a couple of kids, and before you know it, you're out of the draft for good. Why don't they take the big brains?" a mournful Philadelphian asked me. "Don't the Army need any brains?"

4. They feel the military training will do them good: "Military training builds boys up physically," commented Ray Aceto, of Cleveland, "They have to learn to take orders and carry them out. And they have to learn how to get along with others.

"I'm for UMT because I feel every boy needs the strict training which is found in the Army and not found in the home any more," said Anthony Sepan, of Philadelphia-

On this point, "Butch" Fitzpatrick, the Salem boy, said: "We high school kids are just a little scared and afraid to admit it. This is a fast-changing world, and we're being pushed out into it without enough preparation. We are expected to know twice as much as our parents did—in the same amount of time. UMT would treat us all alike, and after finishing the training we would be a little older and a little better prepared to face this complicated world.'

As I checked with students in high school after high school, I think I discovered the reason for Congressional timidity about UMT.

NOISY MINORITY

The whole idea of training every 18-yearold is opposed by a minority which manages to make enough noise to sound like a majority. I noticed that many youngsters who favored UMT were startled to learn that they were expressing a popular rather than an unpopular opinion.

By speaking up forcefully and frequently, the opponents of UMT have practically ve-toed the UMT act. One result is that the United States now has a reserve force so small that Secretary of Defense Charles B-Wilson refers to the reserve situation as a scandal. Under UMT, we could quickly build up a ready-to-fight reserve of 2 million, 3 million, or even 5 million men.

For or against, the youngsters of America were not afraid to take a stand on UMT-

Will we be able to say the same about the Members of our 84th Congress?

Report of the CIO Standing Committee basis for decent and effective trade unionism. "Departures from morality and high ethion Ethical Practices

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, on June 22, 1954, I introduced S. 3649, a bill requiring the public disclosure of certain information in order to strengthen the administration of labor-management health, welfare, and retirement plans, At the time I introduced the bill I made clear to the Senate that we were attempting to suggest a constructive proposal to help eliminate as much as possible abuses in this vital area of labor-management relations. The development of health, labor, and retirement funds in union-management agreements has been one of the great advances Which collective bargaining has made in recent years and one of the best ways of safeguarding those advances was to be vigilant and guard against abuses of these funds by a few irresponsible and selfish people.

It is a matter of great satisfaction to me to learn that the American trade union movement is taking concrete steps to stamp out the shady and dishonest practices that have come to its attention. It is my understanding that both the CIO and A. F. of L. are interested in cooperating with Government to help

meet the need.

Within recent days I have had an opportunity to examine a report of a standing committee on ethical practices established by the CIO. It is a report which deserves wide distribution. The committee held extensive hearings, made a series of thorough studies, and has recently prepared a set of findings and recommendations which I desire to bring to the attention of the Senate.

Therefore, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from the report of the CIO Standing Committee on Ethical Practices relating to their findings and recommendations and conclusion.

There being no objection, the excerpts from the report were ordered to be Printed in the RECORD, as follows:

CIO STANDING COMMITTEE ON ETHICAL PRACTICES

(Jacob S. Potofsky, Chairman; Joseph Curran; James G. Thimmes; Arthur J. Goldberg, Director)

PART I. THE FACTS

The Congress of Industrial Organizations has always demonstrated deep concern with the ethical standards of our labor movement.

For a number of years the CIO convention has adopted a statement of ethical practices. The 1953 statement of ethical practices fol-

lows in part:

"In previous years, conventions of the CIO have adopted statements emphasizing the determination of the CIO and its affiliated unions to wage war on unethical practices within and without the trade-union movement, and to take all necessary steps to emphasize the democratic rights of individual trade union members. We reaffirm these ttatements of CIO policy as a fundamental

cal principles are evil and harmful to society, regardless of the circumstances or surroundings in which they take place. Public officials who betray their trust and businessmen who use corrupt methods and bribery to gain their ends are both equally guilty of wrongdoing; they can no more—and no less—escape blame for their actions than the racketeers who prey upon the labor move-ment, seeking to use its respected organizations as a front for nefarious personal gains.

"Each American loses an essential part of his rights and privileges as a citizen wherever corrupt practices flourish. High ethical standards are essential to our democratic way of life and the well-being of our people. Freedom from political corruption depends upon freedom from both moral and legal

"The CIO joins all decent Americans concerned for the future welfare of our Nation in expressing our unqualified opposition to such practices by individuals, corporations, special interests and organizations.

"As for our part, we in the CIO are determined to continue those policies which have made our organization clean, decent and

honest, and to keep it so.

We adopt this statement of principles on ethical practices and individual rights in the firm determination that our members shall not be denied their right to an honest, decent, democratic trade unionism singlemindedly devoted to the advancement of the interests of American workers and the welfare of the Nation. The strength of our dedication to this principle was demon-strated in our forthright action 3 years ago in expelling 11 Communist-controlled unions with a membership of almost 1 million.

"We call upon other elements of our society-particularly all branches of Government and industry-to act with equal vigor against dishonesty and unethical practices wherever they may be found within their ranks. We ask them to join with us in attacking and stamping out racketeering and immoral elements in American life.

"Morality is an individual as well as a social matter. An eternal vigilance by all segments of society against the weakening of moral standards within their ranks will bring a stronger democracy."

This statement of principle has never been a dead letter in the CIO. The officers and executive board of the CIO have implemented this statement as the occasion required.

Recently the officers and board have given specific attention to the implementation of the ethical-practices statement in the field of welfare funds.

This important area of union activity is one of vital concern to the CIO which pioneered in the development of welfare programs through collective bargaining. It was therefore natural that when the New York State Department of Insurance, investigating the administration of welfare funds in that State, disclosed that there had been in some instances abuses in administration on the part of leaders of a few local unions of a CIO affiliate, that the president of the CIO, Walter Reuther, moved promptly and forth-rightly to rectify the situation.

President Reuther immediately sent a letter to President Max Greenberg, of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union, calling upon him "to take prompt remedial action against the local officials involved in the malpractices disclosed at these hearings." President Reuther also said that he would expect "a full report of the corrective actions taken by your union against the individuals named in these hearings and any others against whom there is a legitimate charge of racketeering or maladministration.

President Greenberg, of the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union, reported to the October meeting of the CIO executive board as to what actions had been taken. As President Greenberg subsequently told the standing committee, the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union immediately steps to protect the interests of the members of this handful of locals and also to demonstrate affirmatively that we in the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union will not for one moment tolerate any abuses of moneys held in trust for the benefit of our members. Accordingly the five local unions were suspended and administrators were appointed. Three of the locals acceded to the international's suspension order. In a fourth we had to take physical possession of the local offices, an action that was anproved by the membership of the union at a meeting a few days later. The fifth local union was expelled from the Retail, Wholesale, and Department Store Union for refusing to accede to the suspension and to the appointment of an administrator.

The international union executive board also adopted a resolution on ethical practices which commended President Greenberg for taking effective disciplinary action and condemning the abuses of local union funds.

The executive board of the CIO gave careful and thoughtful consideration to the entire question of ethical administration of welfare and other union funds and unanimously adopted a statement on this subject. This statement is as follows:

Statement of policy on the administration of welfare and other union funds

During the past several years, CIO unions have negotiated pension and welfare agreements with employers throughout American industry.

This precedent-making development has brought tangible and substantial benefits to millions of union members and their families. Through the collective-bargaining process, the unions of the CIO have thus been responsible for a major assault on the hazards of insecurity arising from old age, death, disability, and illness.

Thousands of these welfare plans, achieved through collective-bargaining processes, are now functioning. Hundreds of thousands of families have benefited, hundreds of millions of dollars in benefits have been paid out to workers and their families. People who might otherwise have suffered privation and want have been able to preserve their dignity, self-respect, and standard of living, despite family catastrophe. These welfare plans are a testimonial to the vitality and flexibility of the collective-bargaining process in the American free-enterprise system.

The administration of these welfare plans varies. Some are administered jointly by unions and employers; some by employers; some by the unions alone. Whatever the method of administration, the objective in all cases is the same-to provide the maximum benefits at the minimum cost to the workers and their families. It is a characteristic of all well-administered welfare funds that the cost of administration is a small part of the total income of the fund.

The vast majority of these welfare plans are administered as they should be, as a sacred trust on behalf of the beneficiaries, The CIO is proud of this record of constructive achievement on the part of its affiliates in this field of human welfare.

We have been determined from the outset that the administration of welfare funds shall meet the highest ethical standards for the handling of fiduciary funds.

Year after year CIO conventions have reaffirmed, in our annual statement on ethical practices, our determination to prevent any corruption in the handling of funds belonging to, or held in trust for, our members or their families.

We have said, and we now repeat, that there is no room in the legitimate labor movement for crooks or Communists.

In the recent past a few cases of financial corruption in the handling of welfare funds on the part of certain local officials have come to light.

These situations, few as they are in relation to the whole picture, cannot be condoned. Even a few are far too many. They are shocking and disgraceful.

We commend President Reuther for the prompt and effective manner in which he demanded and secured remedial against these abuses, involving local unions a CIO affiliate in the New York area.

We unreservedly approve his statement that the CIO does not recognize any autonomous right of crooks and racketeers to use the good name of the CIO as a cloak for their corruption. The CIO executive board will unhesitatingly use its powers, under the CIO constitution, to preserve the integrity of our movement and to keep it free from any taint of corruption.

At the present time several Federal and State agencies are investigating the administration of welfare funds.

The CIO unreservedly welcomes every legitimate investigation of welfare funds and their administration.

The CIO pledges complete cooperation, in the firm belief that the pitiless light of publicity should fall squarely on those who betray their trust in the handling of welfare funds-whether these betrayers be union officials, corporation officials, or insurance company officials. There is no place in the labor movement for corrupt union officials, and they should go to jail, along with every embezzler of welfare funds, regardless of

The CIO pledges its cooperation to all legitimate efforts on the part of law-enforcement officials to make certain that proper punishment is meted out to these malefactors.

The CIO, furthermore, will not delay action to prevent or remedy abuses until a case has been formally established in the courts Just as we did in expelling Communist unions, we will, in accordance with our own democratic procedures, take prompt and effective action on our own initiative against financial corruption by union officials.

There is considerable discussion, as a r sult of recent revelations, of the need for remedial legislation. We have no illusion that a simple act of law will eliminate abuses in this area, any more than laws against murder eliminate killings.

There is, of course, no substitute for character and honesty in people in positions of trust. There is no substitute for internal union vigilance to insure that union office is held as a trust by responsible individuals.

Fair, thoughtful, and well-considered legislation, however-if inquiry demonstrates a need-can help minimize abuses in the administration of welfare funds.

The CIO pledges cooperation to all legitimate inquiries as to the need for legislation; and if legislation is demonstrated to be necessary, we likewise pledge full cooperation in formulating fair laws to help make certain that welfare funds are honestly administered. It goes without saying that the CIO will regard as inappropriate and antilabor any attempt to curtail the area of collective bargaining in this highly beneficial field of human welfare under the guise of preventing abuses in administration.

The CIO executive board empowers and directs the president of the CIO to appoint a special standing committee-

(1) promptly to investigate any charges or allegations of maladministration of welfare or other union funds within the CIO, and to report to the president and executive board of the CIO their recommendations for prompt remedial action; and

(2) promptly to formulate recommendations for standards for welfare funds; and if demonstrated to be necessary, for appropriate legislation to help make certain that welfare funds are honestly administered.

PART II

Findings

1. The standing committee has relied on an unusually authoritative body of facts as the basis for its findings and recommenda-The staff has examined the relevant literature in the field and reported on it to the committee; the questionnaire referred to above has provided a review of the practices of CIO unions in health, welfare, and retirement programs. The hearings gave the committee an unusually penetrating insight into the complex problems posed by these programs.

2. The extension of collective bargaining interests to the field of health, welfare, and retirement programs is perhaps the most significant development in industrial relations of the post-World War II period. These negotiated plans have undertaken to fill a serious gap in community resources for the protection of the individual against the hazards of ill health, old age, and unemployment.

3. The significance of these negotiated plans is stressed by the notable inadequacy of Government benefits to deal with these problems. And here again the labor movement is performing a historic task in a democratic society by seeking to deal with social problems through the medium of voluntary organizations. As the CIO has sald in other places, these voluntary efforts at best are far from adequate to deal with the total problem of health and old age, and our concern with improving the administration of health, welfare, and retirement programs should not be construed as lessening our conviction that the Government responsibility is fundamental in this field.

4. It would be nothing short of tragic if the dishonesty and chicanery practiced by a few individuals were to obscure the monumental contribution of these health, welfare, and retirement programs to the security of people who work for a living.

And the fact is, virtually everybody who has had anything to say on the subject has said that the incidence of such dishonesty and shady practices is isolated to a few local situations. The vast majority of these programs have been efficiently, honestly, and conscientiously administered.

We reiterate, however, the position which the CIO has taken from the very beginning of the revelations of maladministration Even though these instances are few and local it does not lessen our obligation to eliminate every opportunity for such dis-honesty, to remove the evil doers from the labor movement, and from the business community; and to exercise every caution against the repetition of such instances.

5. The CIO is concerned with more than actions that may be technically illegal. There are practices which may be technically legal but which merit condemnation and extermination on the ground that they violate the basic tenets of trade union ethics and morality. Indeed, it is the concept of ethics and morality that has provided the motivation for the initiation of these programs in the first place and the effective administration of these programs in the overwhelming number of cases.

The CIO will move to root out any practice in the administration of these health, welfare, and retirement programs which makes it possible for individuals to derive unjustified personal profit or advantage from the administration of such programs. As far as unions are concerned, we must rely both on trade union morality and our own internal high standards to keep our programs beyond reproach. What we count on as our greatest asset is the dedication of millions of union members and their elected leaders to the

great cause that the labor movement represents.

6. The recommendations that follow are concerned with standards of administration which, if adopted by this convention, will constitute CIO policy in this field affiliated unions. The problem of legisla-tion, if any, will be the subject of a forth-

coming report by this committee.
7. We want to make it clear that the which follow recommendations are meant to deal with the content of health, welfare, and retirement programs. In this highly fluid area of collective bargaining, there are no blueprints for health, welfare, and retirement programs that can be drawn for all unions at all times in all places. The historic autonomy of the international unions to run their own collective bargaining affairs, is not impaired by these recommendations.

The focal point of these recommendations is the administration of health, welfare, and retirement programs; and within the framework of administration we seek to set down recommendations that will make for better administered programs without in any way affecting the content of the programs. is also fair to say that these recommendations represent the overwhelming consensus of the expert advice and guidance which the committee has received from all sources inside and outside of the labor movement.

8. The recommendations that follow are in the first instance necessarrily directed at CIO affiliates with substantial administrative responsibility in connection with health, welfare, and retirement programs. does not mean that only such CIO affiliates are concerned. On the contrary, we believe that the standards set forth in the recommendations can be studied with value by all the other elements in the health, welfare, and retirement field.

The CIO is determined to take all necessary steps needed to insure that health, welfare, and retirement funds are administered in accordance with the highest ethical standards. This is essential to the well being of the men, women, and children who are the beneficiaries of these beneficient programs.

The CIO is determined that these programs shall be clean, decent, and honest and they shall be kept so.

Recommendations

1. The trustees or administrators of health, welfare, and retirement programs, whether union, company, or joint, and all others exercising responsibility in connection with such programs, have the obligation to make sure that maximum benefits are provided from the money available. These plans should be administered as a sacred trust on behalf of the beneficiaries. Their ad-ministration should meet the highest ethical standards for the handling of trust funds.

2. All welfare funds should be audited at least semiannually by independent certified public accountants who should certify that the audits fully and comprehensively show the financial condition of the funds and the results of the operation of these funds.

3. There should be full disclosure and report to the beneficiaries at least once a year by the trustees or administrators of all pertinent facts concerning the administration of welfare funds, including detailed financial reports and audits which shall specify the salaries, expenses, and fees paid in connection with the administration of the program. to whom paid, and how much, and for what

4. Persons occupying full-time paid positions with unions or companies should not receive additional compensation for acting as trustees or administrators of their own organization's health, welfare, and retirement

5. Where welfare benefits are carried through an insurance company, the carrier should be selected through genuinely com-Petitive bids on the basis of the lowest net cost for given benefits provided by a responsible company. The company should war-rant that no fee has been paid directly or indirectly to any representative of the parties in connection with the coverage provided.

6. The insurance carriers should be required to file statements with the trustees or administrators of welfare programs, specifying claim experience, commissions paid by the carriers, to whom paid, retentions, and amounts of dividends received and to whom paid. This information should be made available by the trustees or administrators

to the beneficiaries.

7. Brokers performing no service in connection with insurance coverage for welfare programs should receive no commissions or Other fee payments. Laws, if any, requiring such commission payments should be repealed. Savings resulting from nonpayment of unearned commissions should be utilized for greater benefits for the beneficiaries of the program.

8. International unions which negotiate Welfare programs, or whose locals negotiate

such programs, should:

- (a) Establish and enforce specific standards and conditions of performance relating to health, welfare, and retirement programs, incorporating the foregoing recommenda-
- (b) Have expert advice available for the negotiations and administration of such programs.
- (c) Provide for both internal and independent audits of welfare programs administered by locals and other subordinate bodies in order to insure proper administration.

(d) Provide training programs for union representatives in the techniques and standards of proper administration of welfare programs.

(e) Carry on educational programs for the members who are the beneficiaries of such programs as to the content of the programs and their rights thereunder.

(f) Act promptly to correct abuses in the administration of such programs wherever abuses occur.

CONCLUSION

This is only the first report of the standing committee. There will be additional reports, including one dealing with legislative proposals. And, of course, the standing committee stands ready at all times to discharge its mandate "promptly to investigate any charges or allegations of maladministration of welfare or other union funds within the CIO."

A Young American Is Looking Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I appreciate the consent that has been given to me by the House to extend my remarks in the RECORD and include a letter which I have received from Barry R. Billmann reading as follows:

WOODLYNNE, N. J., January 10, 1955. Hon. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON.

DEAR SIR: I am only 10 years old but I am planning to join the Naval Academy. I read the item in the paper about new candidates, and I am very interested. Of course, I won't be out of high school till 1963, but I would like to get my name in early, as my daddy

was in the Navy and he is a fine man, and I shipments of oysters into the United want to be like him. Hoping to hear from you soon, I am,

Very respectfully,

BARRY R. BILLMANN. P. S.-If you want me before then my phone number is Woodlawn 4-9179.

I have replied to this young man that if it is my good fortune to still be a Member of Congress in 1963 I will be glad to honor his request and nominate him for admission to the Naval Academy. I am certain that any boy 10 years of age who is looking forward already to admission to the Naval Academy and who is not deterred by the years that must intervene is entitled to favorable consideration. He is the kind of stuff that America can depend upon in the future. I feel honored to have such a boy residing in the congressional district which T have the privilege and honor to represent.

Tariff Rates on Ovsters Should Not Be Lowered

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RUSSELL V. MACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955 Mr. MACK of Washington,

Mr. Speaker, oyster taking and processing is an important American food industry. In an average year about 60 million pounds of raw oysters, valued at \$25 million to \$30 million, are taken by American oyster fishermen from American waters. The value is further increased by the canning or deep-freezing of these oysters. The industry employs large numbers of people, both on fishing boats. on the oysterbeds, and in the canneries.

A proposal will be under consideration at the International Trade Conference in Geneva which starts next month to lower the tariff on imported oysters. If the present tariff rates on oysters are lowered, increased quantities of oysters, mostly from Japan, will flood the American market, thereby working great hardship on American oysterbed owners, oyster fishermen, oyster cannery owners and workers.

American oyster cannery labor cannot and should not be expected to compete with the low wages prevailing in the oyster canneries of Japan.

The Japanese women and girls who work in the oyster canneries of Japan receive a wage of only 8 cents an hour, compared to a wage of \$1.50 an hour in the oyster canneries of the United States.

Men who work in the canneries of Japan at cleaning, shelling, smoking, and shoveling oysters receive an average wage of \$0.197 or less than 20 cents an hour. In the United States, the average wage for similar labor is \$1.50 to \$1.78 an hour.

In short, the hourly wage paid in the United States is 15 to 20 times that paid in Japan. Unless reasonable tariffs or quota limits are imposed on Japanese

States, Japanese oyster producers will drive the American oyster industry out of business.

The United States Tariff Commission should be proposing increasing the duty on Japanese oysters instead of the Committee on Reciprocity Information now considering lowering the tariff on Japanese oyster imports.

Will Congress Vote Raises?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, salary increases have been recommended to the Congress for armed services personnel. Federal workers, and Federal judges. The question now is, Will Congress vote a raise for themselves?

In that connection, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article, written by Doris Fleeson, which appeared in the December 31, 1954, edition of the Evening Star of Washington, D. C .:

WILL CONGRESS VOTE RAISES?-OPPORTUNITY SEEN FOR PACKAGE FEDERAL SALARY INCREASE FOR ARMY, JUDGES, UNITED STATES WORKERS, AND LEGISLATORS THEMSELVES

(By Doris Fleeson)

With pay raises in prospect in 1955 for a million Federal workers and the Army and with dignified but nevertheless plaintive urgings in this respect arising from the judiciary, Congress may get up enough nerve to get into the act with a raise of its own.

Although Congress is the only agency of Government with power to set its own rate of pay, it has always been notably reluctant to pay itself well. This modesty in dealing with itself has, employees of other branches of the Government complain, kept the whole level of Federal salaries low.

In 1946, Congress voted a \$2,500 tax-free expense fund in addition to Members' regular \$12,500 salary. The tax-free provision failed to set well with taxpayers and in 1953 Congress withdrew it. Now Members of both Houses receive \$15,000, all of it taxable.

This may appear to be substantial in rural or small-town America. Yet Washington remains one of the Nation's most expensive cities, and running for office is becoming progressively more costly. Especially if he has growing children, a Member's salary does not go very far.

Some of the better known Members, espe cially Senators, eke out additional income by writing or lecturing, but these methods are by no means open to all. At times the means have run from the dubious to the outright

illegal.

The judiciary also can make out a strong case for both salary increases and more money for general administrative expense. Federal judicial salaries have not been raised in 9 years, a period in which living costs have gone up sharply. District judges now receive \$15,000 and appeals court judges \$17,-500. Lawyers point out that a man sufficiently able to serve on the Federal bench could make much more practicing law. They fear that low salaries for judges will dim the ambitions of the ablest men to serve and that the quality of Federal justice will be lowered.

Virtually the entire Federal bench is in agreement that Congress has been niggardly with the judicial branch. Complaints vary in importance from weakness of the Federal probation system enforced through lack of funds, to lack of typewriters and lawbooks. Sometimes, as happened in the last session of Congress, judgeships are created without provision for operations of all the new courts.

President Eisenhower vetoed the 1954 pay raise for civil servants which was passed by Congress. This year, however, he has announced he is for a raise and Congress almost certainly will pass the required legislation.

There is some hope that Congress will consider all the pay-raise plans together so as to avoid inequities.

Not much of this is calculated to bring happy thoughts to Treasury Secretary Humphrey as he struggles with the deficit. His hope of keeping it in the neighborhood of \$3 billion may soon seem terribly optimistic.

Gallup Poll Shows Overwhelming Support for Alaska-Hawaiian Statehood

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, a recent Gallup poll shows that both parties in this country overwhelmingly favor state-hood for both Alaska and Hawaii. According to the poll, the Republicans favor admission of Alaska by a 5 percent margin over the Democrats, and admission of Hawaii by a 6 percent margin over the Democrats. So the Republicans should support both statehood bills or a joint bill.

The article by George Gallup, which I include in the Record, points to some fear that admission of these two Territories would disturb the present balance in the Senate. It is not the intention of the authors of statehood legislation to make the election of Representatives and Senators from these two areas effective prior to the election in 1956. That procedure will relieve all misgivings on that score. The article by Mr. Gallup follows:

ALASKA, HAWAII BILLS IN FAVOR
George Gallup, director, America

(By George Gallup, director, American Institute of Public Opinion)

Public sentiment in favor of admitting both Hawaii and Alaska to statehood in the Federal Union is greater than ever, according to the latest nationwide poll by the institute, despite the perennial failure of statehood bills in Congress.

A majority of the American people have voted in favor of statehood in every poll on Hawaii since 1941 and on Alaska since 1946. Today's poll, however, finds the majorities on both questions greater than ever, with \$2 percent approving statehood for Alaska and 78 percent welcoming Hawaii into the Union.

President Elsenhower would give Hawasi priority over Alaska in the matter of state-hood and many GOP Congressmen are opposed altogether to admitting normally Democratic Alaska, but rank-and-file Republicans across the country are even more in favor of admitting Alaska than are rank-and-file Democrats.

A representative cross section of the voters was asked separate questions about each Territory.

The vote:

	Alaska	Hawaii
Favor	Percent 82 9 9	Percent 78 12 10

Here is the vote on Alaska's admission by party affiliation:

	Demo-	Repub- licaus	Inde- pendents
Favor Opposa	Percent 80 10 10	Percent 85 8 7	Percent 82 8

The vote on Hawaii by party affiliation:

	Favor	Oppose	No opinion
Republicans Democrats Independents	Percent 81 75 80	Percent 11 14 9	Percent 8

President Eisenhower, in his state of the Union message, urged approval of Hawaiian statehood, but advised against admitting Alaska until its "complex problems are resolved."

Statehood bills have been introduced at every congressional session for many years, but have met opposition from several quarters

One important obstacle has been the fear of a shift in the political balance in the Senate in recent years over such issues as civil rights legislation.

If Hawaii, which is normally Republican, were to be admitted during the present session of Congress, 2 more GOP Senators would increase the number from the present 47 to 49.

That would make the composition of the Senate 49 Democrats (including Senator Wayne Morse, of Oregon, who has said he will vote with the Democrats on matters of organization) and 49 Republicans, leaving Vice President Nixon to break a tie vote in favor of the GOP.

However, if Alaska, which is normally Democratic, were also admitted during the present session, the Democrats would have 51 seats to the Republicans' 49.

The drive for statehood took on renewed impetus as a result of World War II, in which both Hawaii and Alaska played a strategic role, geographically. It was largely from bases in the Hawaiian Islands that the naval and air war against Japan was fought.

The islands in the Hawaiian group comprise only 6,407 square miles of land, but the census count of the population in 1950 was 499,704, compared to Alaska's 128,643. Alaska is more than twice as large as Texas.

Hawaii became a Territory in 1900, Alaska in 1912.

The Late Willis W. Bradley

SPEECH

HON. JOHN J. ALLEN, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 18, 1955

Mr. ALLEN of California. Mr. Speaker, it was with great regret that I learned of the death of my former colleague, the Honorable Willis Bradley. He and I came to Congress at the same time and were both assigned to the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries. We worked together closely during the entire period of his service. I learned to know of his great ability in the field with which he was concerned. Particularly in the field of legislation and information concerning the Panama Canal was he recognized as an outstanding authority in the United States.

It was a pleasure to work with him. It was equally a pleasure for Mrs. Allen and me to enjoy the company of Captain Bradley and his wife on the many occasions during which we were together. I extend my sincere sympathy to Mrs. Bradley. The country and particularly the district which Captain Bradley served has lost a very fine American.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

Appendix

Inaugural Address of Gov. George M. Leader, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith the inaugural address of the Honorable George M. Leader, the new Governor of Pennsylvania:

My fellow Pennsylvanians, inauguration as Governor of Pennsylvania is a proud, a solemn thing.

I would not be-frank if I did not confess a stirring in my heart and a challenge, bold and emphatic, in my spirit. This is a post I sought; this is an opportunity I asked of my fellow Pennsylvanians. And the people of Pennsylvania gave it to me.

Today, when I take office by their vote, I owe them the performance they were promised. With God's help, I will work unremittingly in my term of office, sparing nothing of my strength, to accomplish the full scope of the program for Pennsylvania which we set forth as my pledge and the pledge of the Democratic Party.

That program, in its essence, is a simple

It is the assemblage of the great resources of this State, of the energetic people of this State, of the wisdom and the hope and the God-given intelligence of our leadership in every phase of community endeavor, into a common effort which will benefit us all.

Our great, our overriding concern, is the

economy of Pennsylvania.

Our effort is to find in that economy the source of a rising living standard, the full employment of our people, the provision of an environment which will bring today's opportunities to every home and every child in Pennsylvania.

I ask you today-you who wish me well, you who will work with me-to lift up your sights, to think of government as something more than a dreary contest for power and privilege, to think of our obligation to our present trust and to our future hope.

Pennsylvania through the years has made great progress, no matter who was governor or what party was in control. The energy of its people assures that much; the interplay of ideas, the effect of our enterprise, will bring us forward even when official leadership may fail.

But I take office in conviction that we can do more-much more.

It is my belief that there is a great potential of leadership in this sprawling framework of State government; that the stately Words "Commonwealth of Pennsylvania" mean something more than a commission to an office or a party to a trial.

I intend to do all that is in me to summon up that leadership; to make it effective; to make it helpful; to make it imaginative and alert to the problems of the people of this

I see the State government as the coworker and friendly partner of local government and community agencies everywhere in Pennsylvania, helping them to develop their resources and overcome their obstacles.

I see the State government as a vigorous spokesman for Pennsylvania before the Congress and the national administration, acting quickly to protect our people's interests, calling on Federal agencies to treat us fairly, alerting the Nation to Pennsylvania prob-lems which have national implications and with which we cannot deal alone.

I see the State government as the helpful friend of business and of labor, of the city and farm, as an agency which exists to help the people do, as Abraham Lincoln said, what they cannot do for themselves acting individually.

Good government acts to prevent injustice,

to prevent exploitation, to guard the humagainst oppression by the strong.

But, in a sense, those things are negative. As this administration will see it, this State government will also be a positive force for accomplishment. We will not sit by, wringing our hands, while any phase of our community life deteriorates, or while whole regions slip into stagnation, chronic unemployment, and decay.

We consider that we have a positive mandate to act.

We will carry out that mandate.

We will act in the fields of social prog-ress, the things of humane concern, such as public health, the care of retarded children and the mentally ill, the advancement of public education, the prevention of discrimination among our people.

We will act to conserve and to develop for our wise use the natural resources of our State, to purify its streams, to increase its opportunities for outdoor recreation, to keep sense of the forest and the field in our lives. The more complex, the more urban, our civilization becomes, the more we must preserve our right to restore ourselves by contact with the land and the water as God bequeathed them to us.

But all these good things have their source in one great fundamental-the enduring prosperity of the people of the State; the development of constantly increasing employment opportunities in our economy for today's population, and the rising population of tomorrow.

We must face the fact that growth and development are not automatic. We are in competition with other States and other regions. The relative growth pattern in this country is not necessarily favorable to us. We cannot depend upon the simple course of nature to protect us. We grew on a traditional energy source coal. Others now share with us the newer energy sourcesoil, natural gas, and the atom. We have in too many instances an aging industrial plant; newer industrial areas often gain an advantage in more efficient facilities.

To this date, we have not made a coordinated statewide effort to provide plant sites. Our effort, private and public, to attract new industry has not been emphasized enough, not been supported enough; it has been altogether too little.

But it is certainly not too late.

I pledge you today that the primary work of this administration will be to make Pennsylvania a good competitor, a winning competitor. This State must do more than hold its own. It must rescue its areas of distress: it must gain its proportional share of our national expansion.

This governor will be proud to be a salesman, an advocate, for Pennsylvania,

In that work, I am sure I will be joined by every Pennsylvanian.

In human affairs, there are times of passive resignation, of acceptance. In the stress of our daily lives, we may ignore community problems, regard them as something for others to solve or to ignore as they will.

Then of a sudden, a flame is kindled an example set, an impulse stirred. That has happened in Pennsylvania.

Our period of passivity is ended.

Our time of flame, of concentrated endeavor, of tireless, ceaseless work has now begun.

For the 4 years of this administration, and I hope for unnumbered years to come, this will be the theme of the State government and those who staff its agencies.

The governorship confers on me the titular leadership of my party—the Democratic Party-in the State. I intend to exercise that leadership as boldly and as strongly as I can, so that our party meets its respon-sibilities, redeems its pledges, and is an effective instrument for Pennsylvania's progress.

I have every confidence that our party will not fail our program or the State.

Nor, while I concede cheerfully the right of the opposition to oppose, do I believe the Republican Party will adopt a policy of willful or malicious obstruction. I have too much confidence in Americans, regardless of their party, to fear their basic attitudes on grave matters of public interest. Particularly, I know my former colleagues in the Senate, men with whom I served.

I cannot conceive that they will not unite with us in the cause of Pennsylvania's future.

We may have differences. We'll try to thresh them out.

Where our views cannot be reconciled, will have a mutual right to ask the people to judge between us.

It is known to us all that the State faces a crisis in its own structure. The outgoing governor, who shares this platform today, told the legislature a week or so ago, that his predecessor in office had not informed him of the burdens he was passing on, of the commitments made, the funds pledged, the lack of revenue to meet the State's

I will plead no such surprise, because we campaigned on the statement that the succession of Republican administrations had each practiced some deception of the people and each other-that, in effect, the administration would be a receiver in bankruptcy.

I must say today, however, that it is even worse than we thought.

As we must now forecast the deficit for this biennium, it will come to a staggering total of approximately \$86 million. That deficit must be financed in the budget which the legislature will adopt for the blennium that is ahead.

The budget figures for the coming biennium, compiled by the outgoing administration, including the current deficit, indicate that the State's revenues would be more than \$500 million short of covering its expenditures. Even if the general sales tax were reenacted, the revenue would still be \$400 million short.

Two things are obvious:

The general sales tax enacted by the 1953 legislature does not produce even a scant fourth of the amount needed to cover the State's income shortage.

And secondly the people, in what amounted to a referendum in the governorship campaign, instructed us to let the general sales tax die.

And die it will.

Our first task will be to revise the budget figures assembled by the outgoing administration, and to cut them wherever it is possible. We have developed plans which I will submit to our new department heads for reducing operating costs. We are planning a revitalized and more stringent administration of our revenue department to increase our tax income.

But I cannot be so optimistic as to predict that these measures will solve our basic

problem.

Past legislatures have made enormous commitments which are now the pledged faith of the State, and it has not enacted a tax program that is adequate to raise the money to honor those commitments.

That is the recipe for bankruptcy.

And, as might be expected, this adminis-tration inherits the full impact of a reckless fiscal policy in which each Republican governor in turn, and each Republican legislature, followed a policy of "after us, the

Well, the deluge is on.

But the people did not elect us, did not change their government after 16 years, so that we could rake over the past and bemoan our bad luck.

They elected us to solve the problem, and

solve it we must and will.

It is our plain duty to attack the problem of the State's services and the State's finances all along the line. We can tolerate no more postponement. We must provide an answer, and it must be an answer which the people of the State are willing to accept.

For my part, I will oppose half measures. And I suggest to our Republican colleagues that, inasmuch as their party bears the responsibility for the State's fiscal crisis, they join with us in an honest bipartisan statesmanlike attempt to reach a meeting of the minds on a finance program which will make

Pennsylvania solvent once again.

I would like to say this as to the philosophy which will imbue our administration. It will not be an administration that believes in party feuding as the prime function of government; it will have no hate; but will have no vindictiveness. It will not adopt the political technique of exhuming the past to pollute the present. It will not follow the old game of politics as usual, in every situation, under every circumstance.

I am loyal to my party and want it to succeed.

But that very loyalty joins with my conscience to tell me that party success can only follow public success; that any party deserves to win and to hold office only if it attains the objectives which it has promised and gives a competent administration of the affairs which are committed to its trust.

I may say that I detest, and will not tolerate, laziness and sloppy performance of a public duty. No one in my administration, no matter who he is, is going to draw pay from the State without rendering a fair return in work performed. This administration will be no hayride for anyone; it is going to be work, hard work, and more work.

I will be impatient of failure.

It follows that I will be merciless toward corruption, and strictly judge offenses against ethics, even if they are within the letter of the law.

This administration will not suffer itself to be wrecked or sabotaged by self-seekers whose interest is not the State, not its people, and not the Democratic Party.

But again, those things are negatives.

They are the least that can be expected; they are the lowest common denominator of decent government.

It is an article of faith with me that government can do much more; that it can expand its views; widen its horizons; draft into public service and into public thought, the whole imagination and vision and skills of a great community.

will be our cardinal principle to be always open to ideas; to seek the participation in our State's affairs of Pennsylvania citizens, regardless of their party, who have a zeal for public service: to set up new standards for the State's services; to improvise; to modernize: to excel.

We will have a sober respect for experience and tradition, but we will be unafraid of experiment, willing to take risks, ready to adopt bold measures if they promise to advance the interests of the State

It is our desire, our promise, that we will pass the State government to our successors as a stronger government, a better government, a more solvent government than that which we receive.

The next Governor of Pennsylvania, so far as we can help it, will have no cause to complain that this administration has not

faced its own problems.

And, above all, it is our desire, our premise, and our pledge that we will build toward an enduring economy in this Commonwealth—fruitful and prosperous farms, a rising living standard, new and expanded industry, more and more job opportunities for Pennsylvanians.

Let those who will call it idealistic, the

stuff of dreams, visionary.

But in this Bible on which I took my oath today, these familiar words, from Proverbs, chapter 29, verse 18, appear:

"Where there is no vision, the people

In Pennsylvania, I promise you, there will

YORK COUNTY BOASTS FIRST GOVERNOR

George M. Leader today became the first York Countian ever inducted as Governor of Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia leads all counties in the Commonwealth with seven chief executives sent to the statehouse in Harrisburg.

The next highest includes the counties

Luzerne, Allegheny, and Centre, with three each.

All but 3 of Pennsylvania's 38 governors have been native sons. The three born out of the State were Robert E. Pattison, Quantico County, Md., elected in 1882; Gifford Pinchot, Simsbury County, Conn., elected 1922; and John K. Tener, County Tyrone, Ireland, elected 1910.

The proximity of Governor Leader's birthday Monday and inaugural celebrations today has occurred twice before in the history of

the Commonwealth.

Gov. James H. Duff was inaugurated in 1947 on the day of his 64th birthday, and Gov. William Bigler was sworn into office in 1852 just 9 days after celebrating his 38th milestone.

Federal Agency's Work Cuts Waste

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Speaker, I am very proud of the fine record made by the regional office of the General Services Administration under the direction of Robert Bradford. The regional office is located in San Francisco.

The General Services Administration does all of the irksome chores of Government housekeeping. Its operations and responsibilities are many. GSA stockpiles rare and essential materials so necessary in our defense effort.

Here is the first of two articles appearing in the Los Angeles Times outlining

the work of this Agency:

FEDERAL AGENCY'S WORK CUTS WASTE-GSA ALSO CHARGED WITH STOCKPILING SUPPLY OF CRITICAL MATERIALS TO PREVENT SHORT-AGES

(By Ray Zeman)

(This is the first of two articles about the General Services Administration, the agency created by the Hoover Commission to cut waste in Government.-EDITOR'S NOTE.)

If war comes tomorrow-or next month, or next year-factories throughout America will pour a flood of orders onto a new Federal agency, the General Services Administration.

It has stockpiled 93 different critical materials throughout the Nation to prevent crises like World War II's rubber and aluminum shortages.

Sometimes the pile is only a few pounds of some metal like platinum, whose production is controlled entirely by Russia.

Sometimes the pile is literally a mountain

of crude rubber or ingots of aluminum, man-

ganese or copper.

The size and location of these piles are secret. Someone in Moscow might like to know. But their value can be told. It's bebetween \$5,500,000,000 and \$7 billion. And it's growing.

While increasing these stacks, the General Services Administration is tackling a different job in trimming 360,000 tons of Federal Government records.

Imagine these records on a train. They would fill 11,454 freight cars.

Imagine them in stacks. They would equal 131/2 Empire State Buildings.

FIVE HUNDRED THOUSAND CARINETS

Imagine the job of trying to get Government employees to quit adding to those stacks at the rate of 10 billion documents a year-enough to fill 500,000 filing cabinets costing \$25 million.

That's the job the GSA is tackling-all the way from Administrator Edmund F. Mansure in Washington to Robert B. Bradford. regional director in San Francisco, to Mrs. Margaret H. Bayless, Los Angeles business service center manager.

The GSA sandwiches these little chores between others like supplying a pencil, 100 trucks, 40 miles of cable, or 1 million other items for other Federal agencies. It may buy or sell a defense plant or put one in mothballs. It's talking about a new \$18,540,-000 Federal office building and \$3,950,000 customhouse for Los Angeles.

TOP OF THE TARLE

And, under Hoover Commission orders, it is eliminating the notorious 5-percent "gimme" men by laying all deals on top of the table, with no opening of bids in the back room.

It's making bidding on Government supplies and projects a one-stop service at 1031 South Broadway in Los Angeles, instead of runs all over town or to Washington.

Bradford, Mrs. Bayless, and Frank A. Chambers, regional director of GSA's business service centers, yesterday told how the redtape-cutting agency was started July 1. 1949, by the Hoover Commission on Government Efficiency and Economy.

The Hoover group arranged a three-way executive split. The Bureau of the Budget handles money, the Civil Service Commission handles people, and the General Services Administration handles property. Bradford adds that the GSA also gets "everything else."

NO TRADITION

"Our biggest advantage," Bradford said, "is that we haven't a lot of tradition to live down, going back to 1812."

All operations are decentralized to regional offices, with Washington handling policy only.

Bradford, 44, is a veteran of 20 years' Government service. During World War II he was with the War Production Board. Later he was a zone administrator of surplus property, disposing of war plants valued at hundreds of millions of dollars.

Nationally and locally, the GSA is putting business methods into government. It has a complete internal audit system like a corporation. Bills can be paid in the field without Washington approval. A standard 20-day discount plan is used.

FEDERAL HOUSEKEEPER

As the Government's landlord, the GSA is responsible for all public buildings, leasing, cleaning, and repairing them.

"The Government owns 17 buildings in Los Angeles and leases 185." Bradford said.
"That's a crime. It's paying too much rent in this town. The only big building the Government owns is the Federal Building. It's paying about \$1,500,000 a year rent in this city. When it gets through it doesn't own anything.

"We hope to get a general government office building for Los Angeles in the near future. The customhouse might be part of it or might be separate. All work will be done by private contract."

Bradford was referring to the \$18.540,000 office building, a multiple-story structure to be erected in the area bounded by Commercial, San Pedro, Market, and Los Angeles Streets, and the \$3,950,000 customhouse. Peter A. Strobel, United States Commissioner of Public Buildings, has suggested the customhouse be outside the civic center, perhaps somewhere in the area bounded by Olympic Boulevard, Los Angeles Street, Washington Boulevard, and Figueroa Street.

LEASE-PURCHASE BILL

Bradford praised Senator Thomas H. Kuchel's subcommittee of the Senate Public Works Committee for getting passage—and President Eisenhower's signature—for a lease-purchase bill for acquisition of more public buildings.

"Until now, we've been limited to 5 years on leases," the GSA Director explained. "The Kuchel bill permits 10- to 25-year leases, with the option to purchase. This is just the way you buy a house on payment. The property stays on local tax rolls until the Government finishes paying for it and takes title."

California has 245,000 Federal civil service employees, more than work in Washington, D. C., or in any other State. Half of them are in the Department of Defense. Two-thirds are white-collar workers and one-third are blue-collar, without desks.

Nationally there are 2,400,000 Federal civilian employees but another 4 million are directly dependent upon the Government, such as workers in aircraft plants making planes for the Government.

CUT IN WRITING

The GSA is trying to get the Federal employees to cut down on the 1 billion business letters written by Government agencies every year at a cost of at least \$750 million.

"Every carbon copy of a letter costs 8 cents," Bradford said. "If 5 copies are made, its 40 cents. We're trying to cut down.

"We're using what we call 'birth control' in trying to stop records before they start. Government agencies create nearly 10 billion documents a year.

"We have moved many records from downtown Los Angeles to a 54,000-cubic-foot storage annex at 2401 East Pacific Coast Highway, Wilmington. "We released \$176,250 worth of empty cabinets here for other use. The Federal Government has almost stopped buying file cabinets since this program started. Nationally, it bought 97,000 of them in 1951, about 38,000 in 1953, and 5,000 in the first half of 1954.

"The Hoover Commission estimated you save \$27 a year for every file cabinet you empty and put the records in a storage center.

"The one at Wilmington has shelves 11 feet high. It's a low-rent warehouse, not in a congested area, and everything is stored in 6-cent cardboard boxes, under sprinklers. The Internal Revenue Bureau was choking to death with records in the Federal Building downtown. Now it—or any Federal Judge—can get records stored at Wilmington in a day or less."

Moving of files and other economies have resulted in office space trimmings so that the 114 square feet average per person in this region (California, Arizona, Nevada, Hawaii, and the Pacific) has been cut to 106 square feet per person since 1950. Bradford estimates the saving in office rentals at \$2,400,000 a year.

STILL TOO MANY

Bradford summarized: "Too many Government records are still made, filed and kept too long, too expensively and too inefficiently."

Is the GSA making progress?

"We report to Congress every year how much we save," Bradford said. "The figure was \$80 million year before last and \$130 million last year in provable savings. This year it will be way over \$150 million."

General of the Armies of the United States

SPEECH

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, on January 26, 1955, a great American will celebrate his 75th birthday. General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, who served as supreme commander in Pacific areas during World War II and in Japan in the years following the war, will be honored at a civic dinner in Los Angeles, Calif., on that date.

It is my thought, Mr. Speaker, that a grateful nation should take additional action to commend him for his years of service. To further that purpose, I am introducing a bill today to revive the office of General of the Armies of the United States. This is the rank which was conferred upon the late General Pershing following World War I. In such a position, the Nation had the benefit of his experience and advice in the years following his active service, including the period of World War II. To date, no such promotion has been given to any of the World War II officers, although a number of them hold the rank of General of the Army, the five-star rank which was created during World War II.

I urge that the Congress and its appropriate committees take prompt action to pass this bill with the hope that General MacArthur could be appointed to such rank on his 75th birthday.

My bill contains a limitation in that the rank would be conferred upon only one officer who served on foreign soil during World War II.

It is interesting to refer to the precedents which exist. In 1866 U.S. Grant was promoted to the rank of general as a reward for his service in the Civil War. Previously, in 1799, Congress passed an act authorizing the appointment of a general of the armies of the United States which would have allowed the promotion of George Washington to such rank but his name was never sent to the Senate. It would appear that General Pershing was the only Army officer appointed to the rank of General of the Armies. In view of the precedent of honoring our military commanders, I urge enactment of my bill.

The text of the bill follows:

A bill to revive the office of general of the armies of the United States

Be it enacted, etc., That the office of general of the armies of the United States is hereby revived, and the President is hereby authorized, in his discretion and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate to anpoint to said office a general officer of the Army who, on foreign soil and during World War II, has been especially distinguished in the higher command of military forces of the United States; and the officer appointed under the foregoing authorization shall receive pay in the sum of \$ per year and such allowances as the President shall deem appropriate; and any provision of existing law that would enable any other officer of the Army to take rank and precedence over said officer shall not be effective: Provided, That no more than one appointment to office shall be made under the terms of this act.

Benjamin Franklin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, on January 18, 1706, a great American was born—Benjamin Franklin. I believe it is only proper that the anniversary of his birth be commemorated by refreshing in our memory a few of the highlights of a life devoted to public service.

With that thought in mind, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial, written by my good friend, Harry H. Schlacht, which appeared in the January 15, 1955, edition of the East Side News:

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN (By Harry H, Schlacht)

On Monday America will celebrate the 249th anniversary of the birth of Benjamin Franklin.

We salute his memory in humble and reverent tribute.

We pledge our renewed fidelity to our country for which he did so much to create.

Of him it may justly be said that a crown would have lost its splendor upon his brow, for it was adorned with the wreath of freedom.

In whatever light we address his character, it is replete with instruction and inspiration.

From whatever position we survey him, it is an inspiring and fascinating picture.

Yes, there never was another who lived a more virile and varied and masterful life in his day.

He may properly be called the godfather of our country.

His name is a sound whose charm was borrowed from his thoughts and deeds which gave it perpetuity.

No high-raised marble marks his birth-

No pilgrims kneel before his dust or offer incense on his golden shrine.

His life is one of the world's treasures.

The world was his school, and necessity was his teacher.

He rose from bare beginnings.

He owed nothing to parentage or patronage.

He enjoyed no early education, but he lived to stand before kings and parliaments.

He won his place in the front ranks of the world's scientists, diplomats, statesmen, men of affairs, and men of letters.

His public life ran the full gamut of activities.

It was he who, as a delegate from Pennsylvania, submitted his Albany plan of union to the first American Colonial Congress in Albany on June 19, 1754, thus laying the foundations for the birth of a United States.

His plan, which was unanimously adopted, was followed by a general resolution, declaring that a "union of all the Colonies is absolutely necessary for their security and defense."

In 1775 he was a member of the Second Continental Congress and also served on the committee to draft the Declaration of Independence.

In 1766 he appeared before the House of Commons to explain colonial opposition to the stamp tax.

In 1776 he was sent by Congress as one of a committee to negotiate a treaty with France.

He was welcomed by the French leaders and became immensely popular during his stay from 1776 to 1785.

He also signed a treaty of commerce and a treaty of defensive alliance with France.

He was appointed in 1781 commissioner, with Jay and Adams to negotiate peace with Great Britain.

He was later a member of the Constitutional Convention in 1787, and 3 years later he signed a memorial to Congress asking for the abolition of slavery.

He died at the age of 84.

His writings are still widely read after more than 2 centuries.

His utterances are engraved in our hearts as it is stamped on his soul.

They are known round the world and his life will be further emphasied when the Nation at large will be celebrating his 250th birthday in 1956 amidst a surrounding of patriotic color and pageantry.

We may not be able to achieve his greatness but we may strive to imitate his goodness.

What a glorious legacy to the youth of America is the history of his patriotism, of his faith and self-sacrifice in the service of his country.

Let young and old read his writings.

Let us all refresh our minds with the recollections of wise sayings and of his virtuous deeds,

May his spirit shelter us from all species of oppressions.

May his spirit preserve forever our liberty and the glory of our Nation.

West Virginia Pottery Industry Reports on Tariffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT H. MOLLOHAN

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MOLLOHAN. Mr. Speaker under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement on behalf of the United States Potters Association presented before the United States Tariff Commission and the Committee for Reciprocity Information by Mr. Joseph M. Wells, secretary-treasurer of the Homer Laughlin China Co., of Newell, W. Va.:

STATEMENT OF JOSEPH M. WELLS, SECRETARY-TREASURER OF THE HOMER LAUGHLIN CHINA CO., NEWELL, W. VA., IN BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES POTTERS ASSOCIATION, BE-FORE THE UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMIS-SION AND THE COMMITTEE FOR RECIPROCITY INFORMATION, DECEMBER 1954

This is my 15th appearance before a governmental body in the past 25 years, in an effort to obtain fair and adequate tariff protection for the pottery industry of the United States. So far all my efforts, and those of my many associates, have ended in complete and dismal failure with the result that, in spite of the enormous increase in population and buying power in this country in the past 40 years, there has been no significant increase in the production of dinnerware.

The only bit of apparent success we ever attained (which promptly proved entirely futile) was the addition, in the 1930 Tariff Act, of a few cents specific duty to the existing ad valorem rates. This was granted, we feel sure, only because the British pottery industry supported our petition, in an effort to give them a little protection in the American market against competitive Japanese exports to the United States. As soon as the law became effective, Japan depreciated the yen and both we and the British were in worse shape than before.

By 1935 imports of Japanese dinnerware were breaking all previous records and continued to do so until they were practically barred from our markets in 1938. This situation has been exactly duplicated since 1946, when our markets were again open to them. And remember, our imports from Japan are still subject, with exceedingly small exceptions, to the rates in the Smoot-Hawley Tariff Act of 1930.

We have studied the recent statement on United States tariff policy from the Committee for Economic Development. The conclusions arrived at should cause no surprise in view of the make up of the research and policy committee which produced it. Of the 32 men named as members of this committee, there is just one whose business would suffer directly from the tariff reductions proposed. I note that he and only one other dissented from the recommendation.

Early in the report the statement is made "The effectiveness of our efforts to expand world trade is not, of course, dependent on our policies alone. How other countries respond to our lead is equally important, and their response should condition the course of our tariff policy."

Just how long, may I ask, does it take our executive department to determine the response of foreign states to our lead? For more than 20 years we have been drastically reducing our tariffs until today our average tariff level on dutiable items is about 70 percent below the level of the 1931-35 period. No other country can exhibit a record ap-

proaching this, and the almost universal response has been for other countries to build higher and higher their barriers against the importation of American products. Where minor tariff reductions have been granted, they have been completely nullified by quotas, exchange controls, import licenses and currency manipulation and devaluation.

Later on in the report appears the following: "Adoption of a clear-cut policy of tariff liberalization would be signal evidence of our concern for the economic welfare of other free nations." It seems a little strange to the lay mind, that a clear-cut policy in effect for 20 years should still not be considered adopted. We are wondering when, after all these years of our great concern over the economic welfare of other nations we should start to show some concern over the welfare of the dozens of our own industries and hundreds of thousands of their employees who are suffering from the continually rising imports of competitive products at prices far below our costs of production.

Again the Committee for Economic Development says in one place that the tariff liberalization policy it recommends should be gradual and selective. And in another, "Situations of hardship can be anticipated and avoided in most cases if tariff reductions are preceded by a careful examination of the possible results, product by product and industry by industry." Now that is all we askbut then they flatly recommend authorization for the President to reduce all tariffs by 5 percent per year through the period (a minimum of 5 years) of extension of the Trade Agreements Act. Also that he reduce any tariff now above 50 percent of an import's value, to that level. It would be interesting to know just when you should start, and how much you should reduce the 70 percent duty on decorated china without causing hardship, when at least two members of the Tariff Commission, on the recent application of the chinaware manufacturers for an increase, found that, in order to enable them to meet Japanese competition, the ad valorem rate would have to be raised to 284 percent.

The Committee for Economic Development report strains the point that the purpose of the peril point and escape clause is to prevent serious hardship rather than to prevent any reduction in domestic output. Then they attempt to define serious hardship as reduction in output and employment on a substantial scale, where a major part of the labor and facilities released would be unable to find suitable alternative employment or use within a reasonable time. Tell me, just who is going to develop satisfactory definitions for the words, "substantial," "major part," "suitable," and "reasonable time."

The Committee seems to recognize one of the fundamental weaknesses of its position in the following phrase, "Although it is doubtful that lower tariffs would increase our trade with Western Europe and Japan in the next few years, the longer run effects could be important if our tariff policy could be put on a stable basis so as to minimize uncertainty." There has been no time in There has been no time in the past that we have heard of, when the tariff policy of this or any other trading country has been on a stable basis. For more than a hundred years, up until the present administration, our tariff policy has regularly changed with each change of the par-This also has been true, to a ty in power. lesser extent perhaps, in most other countries.

However, we should recognize that a change in the value of a country's currency has a much more serious effect on its foreign trade than any normal tariff adjustment. And just when, since the First World War, has there been any certainty of the value of the currency of any one of the great powers, including the United States?

We want to register our complete disagreement with the Committee for Economic De-

velopment's statement that "In general, increased imports at costs and prices below those involved in domestic production raise our standard of living."

Imports that undercut our market when it is in a surplus state will threaten the whole economic structure. They will go counter to all the special provisions made to cushion our economy against deflation, such as unemployment insurance, social security, minimum wages, obligatory collective bargaining, farm-price supports, bank-deposit There are all well-imbedded insurance, etc. interferences with a free market; but the reduction of tariffs is in the opposite direction and will tend to undo the effects of these measures.

Unfair foreign competition makes more difficult the planning of production; it puts a damper on investment and on plans to expand production facilities. Therefore it undermines the conditions necessary for continuing prosperity.

Also it must be realized that there are 4 or 5 times as many workers employed in industries and agricultural pursuits that are exposed to injury from imports in varying degrees than are employed directly or indirectly in production and servicing of goods for export. This is necessarily so since the manufactured products most vulnerable to foreign competition, almost without exception, require a very heavy labor cost in their production.

There is another situation of the greatest importance to our foreign trade that has been ignored entirely by the Committee for Economic Development. That is the steadily decreasing percentage of the dollars we spend for imports that is coming back to us in the purchase of our exports.

The trade policies of other nations are new clearly designed to accumulate dollar reserves for these nations. Our dollars are now considered more valuable for their own sake and what they will buy from other nonconvertible currency nations, than for what they will buy from us. In spite of the steady increases in United States imports, and of the growing demand abroad for United States products, our export of goods has not grown correspondingly. Our merchandise exports (exclusive of military shipments) decreased just about one billion dollars from 1952 to 1953, and for the first 8 months of 1954 there was a shrinkage of over \$300 million dollars from the 1953 figures. Please note that during that 20-month period Western Europe, where our loss of exports was greatest, was enjoying the greatest improvement in general prosperity of probably any given period in all its past history.

It is all too clear that the mass production exporting industries and international bankers, so heavily represented on the Committee for Economic Development, are interested chiefly in increasing our exports and believe this can best be done by increasing our imports, regardless of what those imports consist and regardless of the effect of those imports on dozens of smaller American industries and millions of American workmen and

farmers.

Those of us who believe the American producer should have a fair chance to meet foreign competition in the American market and who want the purchasing power of the American worker to be maintained, also desire an increase of imports-but of imports that do not directly compete with the commodities produced in our country. And we know the way to increase those imports far beyond anything in the past, and to increase the overall demand for the products of our exporting industries far in excess of any possible increase in the foreign demand, is to have full employment at our factories. farms, and mines with American rates of pay. Unfortunately, there is no possibility of full employment of our trained workers in the pottery industry under present tariff rates, and what further reductions will do to us is not hard to guess.

In all the circumstances, it is incredible that our State Department, who seem now to be in complete control of tariff policy, would be so hell-bent on building up individual industries in foreign countries, particularly Japan, at the cost of destroying similar industries in the United States. This becomes even more amazing when the records show that the enormous grants we have made to revive foreign industry have been used largely to enrich the owners and stockholders and at the expense of the workers. A special report prepared by the National Industrial Conference Board of the National Electrical Manufacturing Association shows wage rates in all European countries are now a smaller percentage of the American wage rates than they were in 1938. In 1938 British wage rates were 37 percent of those in the United States. In 1952 they were only 28 percent. In France the comparison was 43.3 percent in 1938 and 31 percent in 1952. In Italy it was 22.7 percent as compared to 19.5 percent. In Germany 46.6 percent as compared to 22 percent. In the Netherlands percent as compared to 20.4 percent. Please note that in Germany and the Netherlands the gap between their wages and ours is more than twice what it was prewar. Is it any wonder that communism remains a constant threat in Western Europe, when the result of the use of the money we have given away, from the taxes of our citizens, for the rehabilitation and modernization of foreign industry, has resulted in the foreign worker getting a smaller and smaller share of the wealth he produces?

Now we are told we must further reduce our production and lay off additional employees so our foreign competitors will have still more dollars to use, inevitably, as they have used our gift dollars in the past. We cannot see how anyone can take the position that it is more important politically, economically, or morally for a Japanese potter to have a job than an American. only too evident that the health, happiness, and prosperity of the American potter is of no interest or consequence to the free traders and their amazing following in the administrative and congressional branches of the United States Government. What is not so clear is why these groups make the Japanese potter their fairhaired boy at the expense of the British and French potters. It is my impression the English and French were our allies in the last two wars and that it was the Japanese who despoiled Pearl Harbor and killed thousands of our young patriots.

British, French and German exporters are just as hard hit as our domestic producers by Japanese exports of china and earthenware to the United States. As a matter of fact, only a short while ago representatives of English exporters petitioned our State Department to do something to reduce American imports of Japanese china.

Exporters of dinnerware from Great Britain have already indicated their approval of the establishment of fair and flexible quotas by the United States on imports of china and earthenware. Every other country except Japan would obviously benefit by the establishment of such quotas.

So long as we maintain the "most fa-vored nation" policy, and production costs vary from nation to nation, the quota is the possible plan that will be fair to all countries. Nothing could be more unfair to England than to apply the same rates of duty to their exports as to those of Japanwhen English wage rates are three times those in Japan.

Attached to the copies of my brief you will find a sheet showing combined operating results from 1947 to 1953, inclusive, of 23 United States plants manufacturing earthenware tableware. These plants are responsible for more than 85 percent of all earthenware tableware produced in this country. You will note the headings are: sales; earnings before taxes; earnings after taxes; total dozens shipped; total wages paid production

employees; and total man-hours worked. The column of "total wages paid" does not include wages and salaries paid executives and supervisors.

Also you will find attached a copy of a report the Tariff Commission was enough to have prepared at our request last month. This report you will note covers United States production and imports for consumption of earthenware table and kitchen articles and chinaware household table and kitchen articles. The earthenware articles come under paragraph 211 of the Tariff Act of 1930 and the chinaware articles under paragraph 212. In each of these classifications, the report covers both dozens and This record covers the years 1935, 1937, 1939 and each of the years from 1947 to 1953, inclusive. Also the figures for the first 6 months of 1954.

On this report we question the figures that appear under the one classification "Earthenware Production in the United States." footnote under this classification states that all figures are estimates except for the year 1947. For that year the reported United States production was 42,285,000 dozens. You will note under that year on our report we show our production as 27,293,281 dozens. Adding 15 percent to this figure to cover estimated production by companies not covered in our report, we arrive at the figure of 31,-400,000 dozens. This is some 25 percent less than the Government figure; and, with all due respect, we believe our figure is more nearly correct than the one appearing on the

We also believe that the estimates that have been used for the later years, particularly for 1949 and 1950, are considerably wide of the mark. You will note the Government figure for both years is 45 million dozens, while our adjusted figure for 1949 would be less than 25,100,000 dozens, and for 1950, 26,600,000 dozens. We are confident the figures for these years, as reported by our companies, are correct.

The columns in our report to which we would particularly call your attention are "Earnings after taxes," "Total dozens shipped," and "Total man-hours worked." These are much more important in reflecting the trend in our industry than "Total sales. Sales figures being affected, of course, by price increases that have been necessary because of advances in wages.

Let us consider first what has happened to earnings in the 7 years covered by the report. These 23 companies reported earnings after taxes in 1947 as \$4 million on sales of \$56 million, or a profit percentage of 7 percent on sales. That figure dropped steadily, with the exception of a slight increase in 1950 over 1949, until in 1953 we show total net earnings after taxes of \$255,815, or less than one-half of 1 percent on sales of \$53 million. Of the 23 companies reporting, 12 showed actual losses for the year's operation. In 1952 the profit figure was \$942,504, or 1.6 percent on sales. Those figures leave little doubt where the industry is headed financially. And remember 1952 and 1953 for industry generally were two of the most prosperous years in our history.

Now consider the figures on our report under the column "Total dozens shipped." Against 27,293,000 dozens shipped in 1947, we have slipped to 19,337,000 dozens in 1953-a loss of just about 30 percent. During that same period, our population increased more than 7 percent, and spendable income went up more than twice that percentage. Just how much faster must an industry lose its home market to qualify as being seriously injured?

Now consider what has been happening to our employees. From a total of 25,700,000 man-hours worked in 1947, we were able to supply for our employees only 16,700,000 hours of work in the generally prosperous year of 1953. A reduction of 35 percent.

As an indication of what we can expect in earnings and employment for the full year

of 1954 as compared to the very poor year of 1953, let me cite the experience of my own company, the Homer Laughlin China Co., of Newell, W. Va., in unemployment compensation. We are the largest employer in the industry and have about 2,600 people on our payroll at present. For the first 10 months of 1953 we paid out in unemployment compensation \$12,314. For the first 10 months of 1954 the figure was \$78,263-just about 61/2 times as much as in 1953. are quite sure this is fairly representative of the industry as a whole.

It is painfully evident we are far past the threatened-with-injury stage, and for at least 3 years have been suffering actual and serious injury. It is just as evident, in comparing import and domestic-production fig-ures, that a major portion of that injury is due to imports under present tariff rates.

By way of contrast, let us see what has been happening during those years, in imports from Japan of earthenware table and kitchen articles. We find the first postwar year in which these imports appeared in any quantity was 1948. In that year Japan shipped us 185,000 dozen. The increases since then have been spectacular, until in 1953 they amounted to 2,245,000 dozen, or more than 12 times the 1948 quantities.

What is equally impressive and particu-

larly pertinent to the proposed tariff reductions, is the increasing percentage of imports from Japan of this type of tableware, to total imports from all countries. In 1948, imports from Japan amounted to only 11 percent of the total and in 1953 to 62 percent. Even with the American industry in its usual role of the forgotten man, it is rather difficult to understand why we should make changes in tariff rates that can only result in giving Japan a still greater advantage over all other countries in the American market.

You will note from the chart that our import of Japanese chinaware, table and kitchen articles has followed the same pattern as the earthenware. From 54 percent of our total imports of this class of ware in 1948, the Japanese share has jumped to 80 percent in 1953. These imports from Japan are just as hurtful to us in the earthenware branch of the industry as are the earthenware imports. We find that comparably decorated dinner sets from our earthenware factories are selling in the department stores at approximately the same prices as china din-ner sets from Japan. And no woman in her right mind is going to choose an earthenware. set when she can get one in chinaware at the same price.

The ability of the retail merchant to offer these sets at comparable prices is explained when we see that the average price per dozen for china dinnerware in Japan is \$1.30 per dozen and the average price the American manufacturer has to get for earthenware is \$2.70 per dozen. It is our understanding \$2.70 per dozen. that, with duty, freight, insurance, etc., Japanese chinaware lands at our ports at just about twice the factory price in Japan. So that the average price of Japanese china landed in the United States is \$2.60 per dozen or 10 cents per dozen less than our average factory prices of earthenware.

Allow me to show you an example of this Japanese chinaware and American earthenware competition. Here is a plate showing a pattern made by the Homer Laughlin China Co., of Newell, W. Va., for exclusive distribution by the Montgomery Ward Mail Order Co. Here is a Japanese china plate with a comparable pattern, sold by the company. For a 100-piece dinner set in the American made earthenware pattern, their catalog price is \$62.50. For the same set in Japanese chinaware their catalog price is \$59.95, \$2.55 less for the chinaware set. You will be no less surprised than were we, when we were advised that our set would be dropped from the next Montgomery Ward catalog.

A man, very active in our industry, has just returned from a tour of the Orient. During his stay in Japan, he was taken on a

guided trip through the plant of the Noritake China Co. in Nagoya. This company is much the largest manufacturer of china tableware in Japan. He reports this plant and its equipment, as much more modern than the average American plant and in some respects, as well ahead of any plant in this country. Also in certain departments, with elaborate belt conveyor systems, the production per man hour is substantially greater than in our most modern factory. So that the differences in production per man-hour has practically disappeared and wage rates became directly comparable.

It is the difference in wage rates which constitutes the enormous advantage Japan enjoys in production costs. The average pay for the employees in the Noritake plant is just about \$10 per week of 48 hours, or 20 cents per hour, and we are told this is more than is paid in any other pottery in Japan. The average rate for an employee in our domestic factories is \$1.70 per hour with many men in the more skilled trades earning more than \$3 per hour. This difference in wage rates acquires such enormous importance because more than 65 percent of our total cost of production goes to labor.

Our representative was told at the Nagoya Chamber of Commerce that all potteries had been working at full capacity for some years and several were at present considering an

expansion program.

So, gentlemen, we have here now, in front of us, a situation that I dare to say has never been duplicated in all of history. An aggressor nation, which violated all the rules of humanity and war in its efforts to bring us to our knees, has a prosperous and flourishing dinnerware industry. In our own country the same industry is steadily losing ground. Yet, we have what appears to be a majority of the leaders of both our political parties determined to follow a course that will further benefit the Japanese and, to even a greater extent, injure the American industry. If any individual in any other country suggested such a national policy. he would be thrown in the nut house.

In view of all the circumstances, we cannot believe there is any possibility that your Commission will arrive at a peril point below the present rates of duty in paragraphs 210, and 212. We do believe careful and serious consideration of all the facts will convince you that additional protection is necessary to prevent further serious injury to, and eventual extinction of, the American pottery industry. And that the only way to supply that protection, fair to ourselves and foreign competitors, is through the establishment of a flexible quota.

Composite report from 23 American earthenware manufacturing companies

	Sales—Less allowances and returns, pre- paid freight, packages, discount	Earnings before taxes	Earnings after taxes	Total dozens shipped	Total wages, production, employees, including all premium and vacation pay	Total man- hours worked, production employees
1947	56, 620, 850	6, 688, 246	4, 150, 350	27, 293, 281	32, 896, 817	25, 681, 758
	50, 409, 591	5, 552, 471	3, 428, 569	27, 466, 052	35, 796, 623	24, 895, 846
	52, 705, 241	1, 998, 548	1, 158, 447	21, 862, 812	31, 504, 426	21, 472, 919
	54, 881, 791	3, 467, 055	1, 951, 892	23, 365, 968	31, 505, 141	20, 596, 834
	59, 670, 911	3, 790, 339	1, 811, 416	22, 987, 942	34, 124, 490	20, 958, 997
	58, 789, 381	2, 275, 621	942, 504	22, 701, 589	34, 617, 634	20, 385, 137
	53, 508, 651	1, 026, 227	255, 815	19, 337, 151	31, 744, 522	16, 793, 501

Earthenware and chinaware household table and kitchen articles: United States production and imports in specified years 1935-53

		l States action				Imports f	or consum	otion		
Year		Earthenware table and kitchen articles 1 2			kitchen	Chinaware household table and kitchen articles				
	Earth- enware	China- ware 2	United King- dom	Ger- many	Japan	All	United King- dom	Ger- many	Japan	All countries
				(Quantity	(1,000 doze	n pieces)			
1935 1937 1939 1944 1948 1949 1948 1949 1950 1951 1952 1953 1954 (January- June) *	22, 200 24, 500 27, 000 42, 286 45, 700 45, 600 (*) (*) (*)	120 140 170 728 874 908 857 808 814 (4)	795 803 794 916 1, 053 1, 002 1, 090 1, 122 1, 035 985 454	59 41 7 3 3 8 29 46 49 63	3, 764 3, 934 1, 874 9 183 520 735 1, 241 1, 970 2, 245	4, 870 4, 992 2, 879 1, 237 1, 645 1, 877 2, 173 2, 778 3, 396 3, 605	30 43 73 188 292 350 534 623 556 441 210	300 317 138 118 487 410 350 446 427 529 242	4, 545 5, 379 3, 122 206 1, 125 1, 847 3, 375 4, 157 3, 283 3, 915 2, 208	6, 149 6, 147 3, 566 655 2, 070 2, 778 4, 459 5, 354 4, 347 4, 940
			Value	(\$1,000)			1	Foreign val	lue (\$1,000)
1935 1937 1937 1947 1948 1948 1949 1959 1959 1952 1952 1953 1953 1954 (January	22, 164 25, 711 29, 182 68, 144 73, 500 78, 000 84, 000 84, 000 (9)	750 930 1, 200 7, 958 10, 606 11, 875 12, 542 13, 036 15, 621 (4)	1,009 1,263 1,231 3,141 3,604 3,310 2,935 3,417 3,321 3,160	70 50 10 31 22 55 145 168 161 198	1, 398 1, 313 524 26 170 411 524 906 1, 252 1, 420	2, 836 2, 905 2, 045 4, 372 5, 004 5, 042 4, 862 6, 075 6, 129	220 407 398 1, 604 2, 459 2, 783 3, 139 3, 946 4, 066 3, 105	506 534 242 371 1, 862 1, 884 1, 566 2, 385 2, 302 2, 887	1, 862 2, 706 1, 682 414 2, 064 2, 564 3, 915 5, 767 4, 751 5, 148	2, 986 4, 239 2, 598 3, 090 7, 124 7, 961 9, 339 12, 841 11, 600
June)	(9)	(9)	1, 399	50	657	12,840	1, 489	1, 249	2, 950	6, 328

¹ Includes a very small amount of hotelware.
2 Quantity estimated except for 1947; value estimated for years after 1947.
3 Does not include kitchenware, or casual china; estimated from census and industry report for years before 1947.
4 Not available.

^{*} Preliminary.

* Imports by countries do not include individual entries for immediate consumption valued at \$250 or less; figures for total quantities and values for January-June bave been computed to include such entries.

Veterans' Administration Regional Office, Montgomery, Ala.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT RAINS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. RAINS. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Harley A. Smith, who, for many years has been manager of the regional office of the Veterans' Administration at Montgomery, Ala., has done, and is doing, an outstanding job. At the beginning of January he sent a letter to the employees of the regional office of the Veterans' Administration which gives an overall picture of the work which is being done at the Veterans' Administration regional office. It points up such an outstanding job until I think it should be incorporated in the Congressional Record.

The letter follows:

VETERANS' ADMINISTRATION, REGIONAL OFFICE

Montgomery, Ala., January 13, 1955.
FELLOW EMPLOYEE: Another year has gone by. This is a time when we like to think of things ahead and make plans and resolutions for the new year.

It is also a time for reflection on what we did and how we spent our time in the days that are forever gone. On this score, we in this regional office of the Veterans' Administration can look back with pride in the amount of service we have brought to the veterans of this State.

The figures I recite below are not just figures. They are so many services that we have been privileged to bring to those who have earned it. Every single thing we did was done for the purpose of bringing a service to a veteran or his dependent.

All of us are interested in knowing, I think, that in the year just passed over 4,500 veterans, who had never done so before, flied a claim for compensation or pension. There were more than 40,000 actions taken by the rating boards and more than 14,000 other actions were taken on claims. Nearly 70,000 letters, including form letters, were written about claims for compensation or pension. At the end of the year more than 50,000 veterans in Alabama were receiving compensation or pension. Nearly 600 veterans made personal appearances before rating boards. Automobiles were awarded to 40 veterans in the State and more than 300 actions were taken by the committee on waivers.

In the year 1954 more than 7,500 veterans applied for guaranty of loans to buy homes and over 5,000 loans on homes were guaranteed. This brings the total of home loans guaranteed for veterans in Alabama to more than 44,000. During the year nearly 9,000 appraisals were authorized and over 12,000 appraisal reports were reviewed. More than 13,000 certificates of reasonable value were More than 11,000 certificates of eligibility were issued. Over 700 applica-tions for direct loans were received and nearly 500 such loans were made, making the total of direct loans in Alabama to date more than 2,000. Over 21,000 service actions on loans were made during the year and taxes and insurance were kept up on more than 3,000 properties. More than 20 homes were acquired and 175 were sold by this office of the VA. More than 1,100 homes have been acquired and nearly 900 sold since the beginning of the program and we still have nearly 300 owned by the VA. Over 500 mortgages were acquired during the year and at the end of the year the office held nearly 3.000 mortgages.

The finance division paid directly to veterans as compensation or pension, disability allowance, or subsistence allowance nearly \$61 million. Over two million was paid to institutions for tuition, books, and supplies. About seven million was paid out for other purposes. Nearly \$00,000 checks were certified for these payments. At the end of the year more than 72,000 veterans were being paid some benefit regularly. Nearly 60,000 actions were taken by the agent cashier in receiving and paying out money. Nearly 130,000 documents were processed in the accounting section. Over 90,000 vouchers were examined and more than 500 employee pay accounts were maintained.

Over 600 veterans or dependents of veterans had to be provided with a guardian or other fiduciary during the year, and at the end of the year more than 7,000 veterans or dependents were under fiduciaries. The value of the estates administered by such fiduciaries at the end of the year was more than \$8 million, of which over three million was invested in Government bonds. More than 5,000 accounts from fiduciaries were audited during the year. Nearly 2,500 field examinations were made and about 800 legal opinions were written. Over 300 legal actions were taken in connection with loan-guaranty work.

A few more than 100,000 contacts were made by veterans and others, and over 45,000 telephone calls were received. Contact division made over 3,500 rating-board appearances, helped to fill out over 2,400 applications and prepared more than 26,000 pieces of correspondence.

More than 100 different items were maintained in stock at the end of the year. During the year over 20,000 items were received and more than 26,000 issued. Nearly 5,000 items were purchased at a cost of over \$100,000.

Medical service was given in the clinic to more than 10,000 veterans, and over 12,000 were given service by hometown doctors on authorization of the regional office. The clinic brought dental service to more than 1.600 and authorized service to more than 66,000 through fee-basis dentists. In the medical service over 18,000 laboratory tests were made, more than 23,000 X-ray pictures were taken, and over 16,000 prescriptions were filled. The social service talked to over 6.000 veterans and members of their families. They conducted nearly 600 social surveys and made more than 1,500 other reports. Over 1,200 electrocardiograms were made in the clinic and more than 200 artificial refills were given. Nearly 900 appliances such as limbs, eyes, etc., were issued to veterans at a cost of over \$46,000; and 902 appliances were repaired at a cost of \$12,000.

In the year 1964 over 900,000 pieces of mall were received in the regional office and over 850,000 were dispatched. Over 600,000 veterans' flies were pulled and refiled. A total of nearly 500,000 files on veterans (claims and R. and E.) were maintained. Over 16,000 new files were established, and nearly 60,000 new applications were processed.

More than 12,000 files were transferred out and nearly 10,000 were transferred in. Nearly 400,000 thousand index actions were taken. Almost 20,000 travel authorizations were prepared. Nearly 5,000 messages were sent and about 6,000 were received. More than 1¼ million impressions (mimeograph, etc.) were made. Over 6,000 requests for forms were milled. More than 1,600 different forms were maintained in stock. Over 400,000 tabulating machine cards were punched and the same number verified. More than 111 million cards were run through the machines in tabulating machine section.

in tabulating machine section.

In the year 1954 more than 2,000 veterans were given vocational counseling; over 500

entered vocational rehabilitation programs of training; and more than 200 were rehabilitated. Training officers made more than 10,000 personal supervision contacts. A total of more than 18,000 applications for education and training was received and more than 16,000 certificates of eligibility were issued. Nearly 15,000 veterans entered for the first time a program of education and training, and 26,000 interrupted their training. Over 60,000 authorization actions in education and training cases were taken. More than 800 surveys of education and training institutions and establishments were made. At the end of the year more than 20,000 veterans were in training.

In the year 1954 more than 800 personnel actions were taken, reflecting some change in status of an employee, and more than 100 different type positions were allocated by classification action. At the end of the year there were 504 employees on duty with the regional office.

These are striking figures but they are not just figures. They represent something we did to provide a service to a veteran—making somebody's life just a little more enjoyable.

I am proud of the volume of service you have rendered and still prouder of its high quality. I am proud of you as a fellow employee who enjoys with me the privilege of serving. As the administrator said when he was here, "What more satisfying job could we ask?"

HARLEY A. SMITH,
Manager.

Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the efforts of the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights to promote good interracial relations in our community have been recognized and praised by many outstanding leaders both on the local and national scenes.

The Milwaukee Commission has made considerable progress in easing intergroup friction and in furthering cordial relationships between members of minority groups and the community as a whole. They have shown how much can be accomplished by sincere, voluntary efforts of citizens interested in safeguarding the rights of all individuals, without regard to race, color, or creed.

Last fall, the United States National Commission for UNESCO met in Milwaukee. On that occasion, certain members of the Milwaukee panel of the UNESCO Citizen-Consultation Group endorsed and submitted to the commission a statement prepared by Mr. Bruno V. Bitker, member of the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish at this point to call to the attention of the membership of this body Mr. Bitker's statement, together with a letter of transmittal signed by Dr. Adolph Suppan, discussion chairman of the Milwaukee Citizen-Consultation Group, and by those members of his group who endorsed the statement. In addition, I wish to insert an editorial

which appeared in the Milwaukee Journal on June 6, 1953, describing the work of the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights.

The matters follow:

OCTOBER 13, 1954.

To the Members of the United States National Commission for UNESCO, Municipal Auditorium, Milwaukee, Wis.

(Attention: Hon. George N. Shuster, chairman.)

DEAR SIRS AND MESDAMES: Article I of UNESCO's constitution provides for promoting human rights and fundamental freedoms among the nations. The need for the United States giving its full support to the principles of the United Nations Charter with respect to human rights is of obvious importance to the position of the United States before the world.

The attached statement prepared by Mr. Bruno V. Bitker, a member of the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights, is being sent to you with the strong endorsement of those members of the Milwaukee panel of the UNESCO Citizen-Consultation Group, whose names appear on this letter.

We urge your consideration of this docu-

Sincerely yours,

Adolph Suppan, Director of Extension, Wisconsin State College, Discussion Chairman, Milwaukee Citizen-Consultation Group; Mr. Maurice H. Terry; Rev. Everett W. MacNair; Mr. Sharon L. Hatch; Rev. Ensworth Reisner; Mrs. Margaret M. VanWagenen; Mr. Kalvelage; Mrs. George P. Ettenheim; Mr. Charles Gruender; Mrs. Carl Romanik; Mr. Laurence F. Giese; Mr. Arthur W. Else, Jr.; Miss Virginia Huebner; Mr. George Hampel, Jr.; Mrs. Isadore Weiss.

STATEMENT OF BRUNO V. BITKER, ATTORNEY-AT-LAW AND MEMBER OF THE MILWAUKEE COMMISSION ON HUMAN RIGHTS, BEFORE THE UNITED STATES NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR UNESCO, MILWAUKEE, WIS., OCTOBER 14, 15, AND 16, 1954

Prior to World War II. during the ponderous growth of international law, human rights were a matter of concern solely to the individual state. They were wholly domestic matters. But the ruthless denial of basic rights and the utter disregard of human life that were part of the Nazl practice, suddenly assumed international nificance. Not only was there a general revulsion at the inhumanity of the dictatorships, but the world speedily recognized the connection between the brutal treatment by a state of its own citizens and the savage attacks upon other nations.

Tragically, the period since the close of war has furnished no assurance that the treatment by the present dictatorships of their own nationals will not again lead to aggression against the rest of the world. is mid-20th century and long beyond the time to speak for man.

During the ages there has always been some who have attempted to establish, by force if need be, customs, rules, even laws which would deny basic rights to certain fellow humans. The same fight against the denial of these rights has been carried on by peoples as far apart in time and place as Vedantic India, classical China, the early Jews, the first Christians, by Greece, Islam, medieval Europe, right down to our

Through the years of history, written declarations of the rights of individuals as against each other as well as against the state, have appeared and reappeared. Long before the United Nations had formalized a statement of principles, written declarations had appeared in one form or another in early Poland, in Czechoslovakia, in the British Magna Carta (1215), in the Habeas Corpus Act in England (1697), in the American Declaration of Independence, in the Prench Declaration of the Rights of Man.

More recent declarations appear in such documents as the Atlantic Charter (August 1941); in the Chapultepec Conference Act (March 1945); the Convention adopted by the Council of Europe at Rome (November 1950); the statements adopted at various international conferences of American states, including that adopted only a few weeks ago at Caracas.

The League of Nations may have been the first faint realization that an international political entity was more than a dream. But even the League of Nations failed to recognize that human rights were a matter not of mere local interest, but of international concern, a matter of world peace.

The failure of the League to provide international obligations for protection of human rights was thus described by Prof. Rene Cassin, the French delegate on the Human Rights Commission. He said, in part:

"I was personally present at the dramatic debates which took place at Geneva between March and October 1933. At this time, the only way in which the criminal actions of Hitler Germany toward her own nationals could be brought to the notice of the Council of the League of Nations was to resort to the indirect procedure of invoking the Polish-German treaty on the protection of minorities concluded in 1922. On the day on which the Assembly dared to refer to the general principles authorizing the legally organized International community to protect human rights, even in a sphere not covered by some special minority treaty, Hitler took advantage of the Third Reich's absolute sovereignty over its citizens and denied the League of Nations any right of inspection; and on October 14, 1933, Germany left the League. It is well known what attacks against the national independence and what massacres sprang from the impunity with which Hitler's first great crimes were committed."

It is little wonder that Gen. George Marshall, while Secretary of State, when referring to the significance to international peace of the obligation upon all states to observe human rights, commented that "governments which systematically disregard the rights of their own people are not likely to respect the rights of other governments and other people and are likely to seek their objectives by coercion and force in the international field."

It was natural that this obvious connection between maintaining world peace and observing human rights should find expression in the charter of the new world organization. When the charter was drafted in San Francisco in 1945, and as subsequently ratified by the United States Senate, its references to the recognition of human rights was so clear as to leave no doubt that human rights were within the province of the United Nations. Many of the delegates at San Francisco believed an international bill of rights should have been written into the charter But the controlling number of governments then felt that such provisions could be considered separately and adopted subsequently by way of an appendix to the charter.

A few references to the charter provisions will indicate how much a part of the charter of the new international entity was the idea of protecting human rights. At the outset, as a means of premoting peace in the world, the charter preamble asserts that "We, the peoples of the United Nations, determined . to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights in the equal rights of men and · · · do hereby establish an interwomen national organization known as the United Nations."

To Americans this has a familiar ring, Our own Declaration of Independence says that "All men are created equal . . . that they are endowed with certain inalienable rights * * * (and) that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men."

It is to secure these rights that governments are formed. And it is to secure these rights that the international organization, the United Nations, was formed. nificant, too, to note that the United Nations Charter says, "We, the peoples of the United Nations," not "We, the sovereign powers," or "We, the emperors," but "We, the peoples." Again this is a familiar phrase to Americans, Our own Constitution opens with "We, the people."

I do not cite our Declaration of Independence nor our own Constitution merely to assert that because we used these words, they must be right. I cite them only because our use of these words and our assertion of the ideals of the equality of man has had a great effect upon the world. It has placed upon us a special obligation to further these principles within the family of nations.

Again and again the charter speaks of human rights. The purpose clause (ch. I. art. I) asserts that the United Nations is created to promote "respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion." The General Assembly (ch. IV, art. 13) is required to assist in the realization of these rights and freedoms and by articles 55 and 56 of chapter IX each member nation is required to promote observance of these rights and freedoms. Indeed, the Economic and Social Council (ch. X, art. 68) is directed to set up appropriate commissions "for the promotion of human rights." This appears to be the sole provision in the charter requiring the establishment of a specific commission.

Little wonder then that the President of the United States in June 1945, at the closing session at San Francisco, said:

Under this document (the charter) we have good reason to expect the framing of an international Bill of Rights, acceptable to all the nations involved. That Bill of Rights will be as much a part of international life as our own Bill of Rights is a part of our Constitution. The charter is dedicated to the achievement and observance of human rights and freedoms, and unless we can attain these objectives for all men and women everywhere, without regard to race, language, or religion, we cannot have permanent peace and security."

Now, what is the record since 1945? On the side of collective security the program has been surprisingly better than many of the early critics of the United Nations had prophesied. Nor would I minimize the numerous other functions successfully carried on by specialized agencies of the United Na-Above all, I could not forget that in Korea we did not fail nor did we repeat the shameful performance of the League in But on the vital obligation, the Ethiopia. duty of protecting human rights, the picture is one of slow disintegration from the proclamations and ideals of 1945.

During the first few years, considerable energy and time was devoted to bringing into being something akin to an international bill of rights, such as had been envisioned at San Francisco in June of 1945. It is true that a universal declaration of human rights emerged from the General Assembly in 1948. It is true, too, that a genocide covenant was finally approved and has since been adopted by the requisite number of nations to be effective as to the signatory nations. But even this treaty, designed to prevent the systematic destruction of people on racial, religious, or cultural grounds, exists on paper only. It has yet to see the light of day in our own Senate.

Political organizations at best are not eternal. Like manmade buildings, they can crumble with the passage of time. The United Nations will disintegrate someday. But ideas never die, and perhaps we must settle for a mere declaration of principles instead of a series of formalized commandments. If nothing else comes out of this attempt to unite mankind, the universal declaration of human rights will stand as the record that there were men of good will in this day who recognized these inherent rights.

There is little doubt that the very adoption of the universal declaration marked a step forward. But the 5 years since that event have been years of retrogression in protecting the most elementary of human rights. This is true not only of Iron Curtain countries, but in Asia, in the Middle East, in South Africa, even in parts of Latin America. It is obvious that the efforts to achieve genuinely binding obligations toward protecting the simplest human rights have become increasingly difficult.

Perhaps the moment of greatness passed

Perhaps the moment of greatness passed with 1945. It may be too late in this chapter of world's history to retrieve that loss. Fortunately, however, the charter has its own built-in retriever. This is the provision for a general charter revision conference in 1955. This could be our chance to move forward from the point where San Francisco left off.

It would be utopian to expect to spell out a covenant which as of now would be acceptable to all member nations. But there are some principles which should and must be recognized if the goal of universal peace is to be approached. These are the basic human rights which in some manner must become a world code of rights. They are simple and easily understood.

These fundamental rights encompass freedom of speech and of press; freedom of religion and of worship; freedom of assembly; freedom of petition; freedom from unreasonable search and seizure; freedom from arbitrary arrest and punishment; and, above all, the right of every human being to share these freedoms equally with his fellow human beings without regard to race, sex, language, or religion.

These are rights which human beings throughout the world have come to understand. They constitute the common denominator among all men upon the face of the earth. They come into existence with the birth of every man. They appertain to every man without regard to his nationality or color, or to the status of his parents or social beliefs, or to his store of or lack of knowledge. These rights are the clothing of dignity to every individual. Man now senses that he need not loathe himself because of his skin, or submit to punishment, or be denied basic rights by the fact of his birth.

When our Constitution was drafted in the early days of the new American Republic, it had neglected to spell out human rights. This defect was speedily cured with the almost simultaneous addition of the first 10 amendments, which we have come to know as the Bill of Rights.

Perhaps such an addition could be made to the charter. If nothing more, the rights so generally referred to, could be made more precise, be defined, even given names. If nothing more, the individual whose rights are violated should have the right of petition. If a judicial determination on a complaint through the International Court of Justice is now too visionary, perhaps some means of mediation could be established.

The fallure to provide a means of receiving and acting on individual complaints, no matter how informally, is particularly disturbing. As the Secretary General of the United Nations reported, this defect in proceeding has brought "disappointment and disillusionment to thousands of persons all over the world who, through the publicity activities (regarding the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) have been led to believe that one purpose of the United Nations is the

achievement of cooperation in promoting and encouraging of universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms."

At the session of the Commission on Human Rights held at Geneva in April 1953, our Government retreated from leadership in drafting covenants. It announced its proposal for a new action program to consist primarily of studies relating to specific aspects of human rights and for annual reports of the status of these rights in local areas, with emphasis on education.

It is unfortunate, however, that Secretary of State Dulies found it necessary to announce that the United States would not now seek ratification of the Genocide Covenant nor press for a final drafting of a human-rights covenant. Presumably he did so to appease the supporters of the Bricker amendment, which, in great measure, was aimed at the proposed treaties on human rights. But while Mr. Dulles paid the price of peace, the administration was forced nevertheless to go through a prolonged fight against the Bricker proposals.

Rules in some form must be adopted, recognized and observed. The adoption of an international bill of rights would not, for example, insure to an Iron Curtain national a fair tury trial. But then thousands of years have passed since the Ten Commandments were handed down and they are not yet universally observed. Their existence nevertheless has helped attain their objectives. Our own Bill of Rights does not guarantee that our civil rights are not at time violated. But their inclusion in our Constitution gives them legal status and our courts provide the means of attainment. So with an international bill of rights. These rights would then acquire the prestige of the charter. fact of their existence would sooner or later pierce national barriers. Even the great debate that might precede the adoption or rejection of such a program would itself be educational toward a worldwide recognition of these inherent rights of man.

The United States is in the unique historical posttion of having demonstrated in a practical manner the effectiveness of a bill of rights. We are under a moral obligation to lead the fight for the recognition of human rights everywhere. This is a means of attaining the goal of world peace. I urge consideration to the proposals outlined herein.

[From the Milwaukee Journal of June 6, 1953]

MILWAUKEE HUMAN-RIGHTS GROUP IS CITED AS EXAMPLE TO BE EMULATED

The warmth with which Milwaukee is trying to build good intergroup relations in this community is being felt afar off. That is shown by a letter from Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., commenting on the 1952 report of the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights.

Lodge halls it as showing how much can be accomplished by earnest voluntary effort of citizens to promote the rights of all individuals, regardless of race, color, or religious affiliation. He is a United States delegate to the United Nations and is calling the Milwaukee report to attention of the U. N. Human Rights Commission. It will help that commission in formulating a new action program to promote greater recognition of human rights, worldwide.

Those familiar with the work of the mayor's commission on human rights and that of other cooperating bodies and individuals understand that it covers a good deal more than combating discrimination against members of minority groups in housing, employment, or public accommodations. It aims higher than protecting civil rights under law or constitution.

The 1952 report of the Milwaukee Commission tells of progress in easing intergroup friction and in trying to remove the chief

cause of that friction—prejudice. The commission tries actively to promote cordial relationships between members of minority groups and the community as a whole.

Hospitality to 10,000 Negro delegates to a Baptist convention here in 1952, for instance, was outstanding. Homes of whites as well as Negroes were opened gladly to these delegates in the City of Fellowship.

Milwaukee can justly take pride in its progress along these lines and the example it is setting. We can be proud of widening recognition of such achievements. All reflects credit on the community and the Milwaukee Commission on Human Rights for the leading role it has taken.

Acadian Bicentennial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDWIN E. WILLIS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, this is a most proud and happy year for the Acadians of Louisiana, as the State and Nation join in observing a yearlong bicentennial celebration marking the Acadian migration from Nova Scotia 200 years ago and paying tribute to the loyalty, courage, character, and accomplishments of their descendants who have had such an important part in Louisiana's history and development.

I have the special honor and privilege of representing the Third Congressional District of Louisiana where so many of these fine Acadian people reside and which is truly the center of Acadian life and traditions in this country. I have the further pleasure of making my home in St. Martinsville, the heart of Louisiana's Acadian area, where the bicentennial celebration will be climaxed with a pageant in Longfellow-Evangeline State Park, dramatizing the migration.

Launching the celebration in a most significant manner, members of a large delegation of Canadian business, civic, and cultural leaders have visited Louisiana this month as goodwill emissaries from the Canadian counterpart of the bicentennial year in Canada. Many events have been arranged in honor of the visitors and they have received a royal welcome. The Times-Picayune New Orleans States, in that newspaper's issue of Sunday, January 16, expressed the spirit and meaning of this visit and its background, in the following editorial:

WELCOME TO CANADIAN ACADIANS

Coming to New Orleans Monday and Tuesday after visits around the State in what Louisianians have long known as the "Acadian" country, are some 135 Acadians from Canada—descendants of some of those French colonists of Nova Scotia who either were not torn from their homes and families or who succeeded in returning when the scared Governor Lawrence had relaxed his ban. Included in the group to do honor to the 100 families who found hospitality and lands in Louisiana after 1755 when they were exiled from Acadia (Nova Scotia), are distinguished Canadian civic, governmental, religious, and social leaders. Some

of the visitors are Acadians from New England.

Until Governor Lawrence headed the British colony of Canada, the Acadians had been permitted to take a restricted oath of allegiance to the British crown—excepting only the requirement to bear arms against their former fellow countrymen. The British Lords of Trade and ministers had long accepted this limited oath. But Lawrence, panic-stricken by groundless fears of an uprising of French colonists during the bitter French and Indian War, decided to take action on his own.

The memory of Lawrence will be held in particular distaste during this Acadian Bicentennial Celebration for the ruthlessness with which he carried out the exportation of the Acadians. There was brutal disruption of families and complete disregard for the safety of an exiled people. Several ships foundered. The American colonies disallowed new settlements and most colonies even denied landing rights. The courage and perseverance of the Acadians in their attempts to survive and to reestablish their families is almost legendary.

Louisiana-in 1755 a Spanish colony of Frenchmen—gave generous hospitality. The first of many Acadian settlements seems to have been in St. James's parish in 1756 when Yet some the Mouton family reached there. of the refugees who were sent to Georgia and the Carolinas and then traversed the wilderness to the Mississippi and paddled downstream, may have settled just below Baton Rouge at an earlier time. The first official mention tells of 193 families arriving in 1765 from Santo Domingo where they had found temporary refuge, and given lands in the Opelousas district. Later arrivals spread throughout the Teche country and westward. The mislon of distinguished visitors from Canada this week is far different from the first arrivals. They are joining with us in paying tribute to the great courage and accomplishments of the Acadians of both countries.

The newspaper in my hometown, the Teche News, edited and published by Mr. Marcel Bienvenu, himself a member of a pioneer and greatly respected Acadian family, conveyed the following welcome in French, the language of the Acadians which is so frequently heard in southwest Louisiana:

Vous Er Les Bievenues

Nous sommes heureux d'annoncer, pour samedi prochain (le 15 janvier), l'arrivée dans notre ville d'une dé legation de Canada français. Ces délégues, venant de la Nouvelle-Ecosse, du Noveau-Brunswick, de l'Isle du Prince-Edouard, de l'Ontario et du Québec, nous joindront nous autres Acadiens louisianais, pour célébrer avec nous le deuxiéme centenaire de l'expulsion des Acadiens de la Nouvelle-Ecosse en 1755.

Sans doute leur visite ne manquera pas d'évoquer en nous un couvenir bien triste, notamment "le Grand Dérangement." cette expulsion qui força nos aïeux de quitter leur chère Acadie, d'abandonner les foyer où furent nés leurs enfants, de quitter une vie tranquille et heureuse pour affronter un avenir incertain.

Mais nous sommes convaincus également que la visite de nos amis canadiens nous apportera une très vive joie, car leur séjour parmi nous—malheureusement trop court nous permettra de connaître des personnes qui sont nos frères spirituels.

Les événements historiques et les frontières géographiques semblent nous distinguer comme Canadiens et Américains, mais ils n'ont pu rompre les liens du passé et même du présent: une langue commune (où devrait-on dire deux langues communes?), une religion commune et surtout les traits de caractère que nous ont transmis nos

ancêtres. Ce peuple, noble, dévoué, patriotique, a bravé la mort plutôt que de renoncer à sa foi, à son pays; ce peuple nous a confié une foi inébranlable, une foi qui nous a soutenus dans toute les vicissitudes de la vie.

Voici donc l'héritage commun qui nous lie, les Canadiens français et les Acadiens louisianais, ce trésor spirituel légué par nos ancêtres, ces aventuriers intrépides. Il nous ont transmis un courage noble, une générosité de coeur, une fidélité à dieu et à la patrie et une foi chrétienne profonde. Travaillant dans une région sauvage ils ont façonné pour nous, leurs fils, "l'Amérique": les Etats-Unis et le Canada.

Soyez assurées, très distingués messieurs et mesdames de la délégation canadienne, que l'accueil que nous vous faisons est sincére et cordial, car ce n'est pas en qualité de touristes que vous venez nous visiter, mais votre visite a pour nous une valeur historique. Nous vous remercions du grand honneur que vous nous faites en venant parmi nous pour nous apporter l'amitié et la bienveillance de nos frères de Canada.

En vous offrant, messieurs et mesdames, le plus chaleureux accueil nous souhaitons que votre séjour à St. Martinville vous laisse un souvenir ineffaçable à votre retour au Can-

Mr. Speaker, in just recognition of the services the Acadian people have rendered through their devoted and patriotic contributions to the Nation's welfare and prosperity, I feel that a tribute from Congress is most deserving and I have therefore introduced today a resolution which would carry out this purpose. I believe my colleagues will wish to join me in paying this worthy honor.

Federal Commission To Study Copyright Laws Proposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill creating a Federal commission to study the copyright laws and to make recommendations for their revision.

We are living in an age when every encouragement must be given to the free interchange of ideas. The development of methods of mass communication have provided the means of bringing creative work to millions of people simultaneously. These methods include books, periodicals, newspapers, and sheet music as well as motion pictures, radio, television, and phonograph recordings. A constantly growing part of the population of our country is being reached via these technological advances, and a constantly growing number of people are employed by the industries that have grown up in these fields.

With industries as large as those in the field of mass communications there are many problems of equity and justice involved. Performing rights in musical works were first recognized in 1897. The Copyright Act of 1909 imposed limitations as to musical compositions where performances were public and for profit. Legislation to end the exemption granted to jukeboxes by the act of 1909 has been introduced in nearly every Congress since 1926.

There seem to be certain important respects in which the copyright laws differ from the patent law which grants a patentee the exclusive right to make, use, and vend the invention or discovery. The inventor seems to be better protected than the author and composer, yet the advancement of science and the useful arts was written into the Constitution as one of the basic concerns of this Nation, and of the Federal Government.

If the arts are among those activities which make our civilization endure and flourish, as President Eisenhower declared them to be in his recent message on the state of the Union, then it is time that a study be made by an impartial, blue-ribbon Federal commission of the exceedingly complex subject of the copyright laws.

Some of the issues involved have been ably set forth in a series of three editorials which appeared in the Billboard magazine during the month of December 1954, and I include them here for their informational value.

The articles follow:

[From Billboard magazine of December 4, 1954]

LET'S JUST GET THE FACTS

(This is the first of a series of editorials on copyright legislation. The Billboard believes Congress should confine its 1955 legislation on this subject to appropriating money for a factfinding commission to be appointed by the President to explore changes in the entire Copyright Act of 1909)

Proponents of copyright legislation designed to remove the existing jukebox exemption have already laid plans for the introduction of bills in the new Congress convening in January. Thus, for the fourth time in as many years, legislation will have been initiated. And there is little doubt but what one or another of the proposed bills will reach the hearing stage; and so for the fourth time in as many years, jukebox operators on the one hand and licensing organizations (spearheaded by ASCAP) on the other, will be presenting the same old conflicting evidence.

Justice moves slowly, often necessarily so. Evolution in the copyright law, as in any major law, moves ponderously. And there is justice in this slowness; for it is difficult to undo the damage caused by a new law that is a bad law.

But those of us who have followed copyright hearings over the years cannot fail to wonder if this annual performance before Congress is not impeding, rather than contributing to progress. Is this series of return engagements the only way to cope with the problem? Isn't there something wrong—and futile—in repeatedly throwing at Congress the responsibility for resolving an issue so complex?

Can any useful purpose be served in going through the same routine again with the same principals—ASCAP on the offensive and the operators on the defensive? The same pro and con arguments will result. The same time and money will be wasted.

A new approach is needed. And the way to begin is to take Congress off the hook until the log jam of conflicting and blased testimony is broken by a factfinding commission working in an atmosphere that is free of pressure, bitterness and fear.

The Billboard believes the 1955 Congress should confine itself to legislation that en-

ables the President to appoint a factfinding commission to undertake the study of all facets of the Copyright Act of 1909. The jukebox exemption is only one important phase to be studied. There are others, some of which will be considered in next week's editorial, "Inequities Versus Interdependence."

[From Billboard magazine of December 11,

INEQUITIES VERSUS INTERDEPENDENCE

(This is the second in a series of editorials on copyright legislation. The Billboard believes Congress should confine its 1955 legislation on this subject to appropriating money for a factfinding commission to be appointed by the President)

It is dangerous to attempt to modernize the Copyright Act of 1909 by piecemeal legislation. There are many areas of the act which need clarification. More important, the music industry has grown under this 1909 law to vast proportions involving investments running into billions of dollars. We are only beginning to learn how sensitive is the interdependence of all phases of the music business, one upon the other. If piecemeal legislation upsets this balance, there is no quick way of determining in advance how extensively several phases of the music industry could be damaged economically.

How easily the existing balance in the music industry could be upset can be illustrated by a review of some of the previous efforts to correct what were considered inequities in the Copyright Act. Today, after the passage of years, many would argue that it was extremely fortunate that justice moved slowly, so slowly that many of the proponents of changes in the Copyright Act changed their minds before it was too late.

What were some of these areas of dispute, areas where modernization appeared necessary at one time but later became either undesirable or of questionable necessity?

THE PERFORMING ARTIST

Is the performing artist entitled to a royalty when his disks are performed over radio stations? There is a long history to this problem, involving many top artists. Court battles were fought to force radio stations to pay artists every time artists' records were broadcast. The National Association of Performing Artists tried to establish this principle on a national and then on a statewide level. For a time the American Federation of Musicians took an interest in the matter. Such men as Fred Waring and Paul Whiteman were principals in the tangled dispute, and attempts were made to license stations.

Compare the reasoning in those days—and it seemed mighty logical reasoning—to the attitude today. It is now common practice for the artist and publisher, and often the songwriter, to pay heavily to promote the use of their records on the air.

THE RECORD MANUFACTURER

If the performing artist was entitled to royalties for the performance of his records over the air, what about the disk manufacturer? Diskeries years ago claimed as much. Some even went so far as to prohibit the playing of their records on the air. Some threatened to license such use.

Compare the advantages they thought they would gain then to the present competitive practice of literally flooding radio stations with free records.

MECHANICAL ROYALTIES

Such royalties are limited by law to 2 cents per side manufactured, paid direct to publishers on the basis of sides sold and then divided between the publishers and songwriters. Publishers and songwriters have often argued that it is not enough. Yet every day these same parties, by mutual agreement with record manufacturers, revise

the rate downward to give the manufacturers incentive to record their songs.

THE COMPULSORY LICENSING ACT

This is one of the most controversial phases of copyright. When a publisher issues a mechanical license to one record company to record his song, he must allow all other manufacturers the privilege of recording the same tune. There are some solid arguments in favor of a revision of this law. Many publishers and writers, for instance, feel that they can never adequately regain a rightful share of the control over their copyrights without the law being amended.

So where are we?

Why do artists no longer try to stop the playing of their recorded performances on the air?

Why has not the compulsory licensing provision been changed?

Why has not the songwriter and publisher pressed to get a raise in the 2-cents-per-side mechanical rate?

Why indeed? Very often, the original proponents of such changes experienced a change of heart themselves. They decided it was best, after all, to leave things as they were. In fact, had it not been so hard to achieve changes in the Copyright Act, damage far in excess of any good might have resulted. Often, the original proponents of change were protected by the very slowness of democratic legislative procedure.

And so we are on the verge of another attempt by ASCAP to amend the Copyright Act. What of that? Many who are aware of how attitudes have sharply changed in the course of years, feel it is best that the democratic process is grinding on ever so slowly.

These men feel that proponents are so bent on winning the simple piecemeal issue at hand—the end of the jukebox exemption—that they fail to view in its entirety the complex interdependence of the entire music industry. These cautious men cannot favor removing the exemption, when in their opinion, so much of the music business hangs in the balance—when it is possible that the intended beneficiaries of such legislation today may be sufferers tomorrow.

On the other hand, those in favor of removing the exemption argue that what is involved is the protection of a copyright—the right to collect a fee for performance of copyright songs for a profit. Widely held theory, among these proponents, states that a moral right to collect performance fees does exist and must therefore be exercised. Let the drive for revision lapse and they feel the entire principle of performance rights is in danger. These men hold that even should an amendment disrupt the current economic balance within the music business, the risk is worth taking in order to protect a principle so vital to performing rights and licensing societies.

Would another congressional hearing help to resolve this deadlock? Congress has heard the bitter pros and cons many times. The way must be found to gather facts and carry on research in an atmosphere free from pressure, bitterness, and fear. What is needed is a neutral factfinding commission.

Next week's editorial, Reasons for Fear, will discuss why a factfinding commission can—and should—dig deeper into all economic aspects of the music industry, if this issue is ever to be resolved.

[From Billboard magazine of December 18, 1954]

REASONS FOR FEAR

(This is the last of a planned series of editorials on copyright legislation. The Billboard believes Congress should confine its 1955 legislation on this subject to appropriating money for a factfinding commission to be appointed by the President)

Last week we discussed the dangers in-

herent in attempting to modernize the

Copyright Act by piecemeal legislation—the dangers involved in upsetting the peculiar balance of the music industry. We noted that piecemeal legislation could boomerang on the very segments in the industry that think they could benefit from a copyright amendment removing the jukebox exemption. Pointing out that another congressional hearing could contribute little, we stated that a factfinding commission was needed to gather testimony and carry on research. Such a commission would operate in an atmosphere free from pressure, bitterness, and fear.

A commission will be able to go beyond the organized groups in the jukebox industry and beyond the licensing organizations in order to better understand the opinions and problems of the individual jukebox operator, songwriter, publisher, and record manufacturer.

OPERATOR'S VIEWPOINT

The point of view of the individual operator is important to explore. Very often he is a marginal operator. He honestly feels an unfair music levy would drive him out of business. Like any other businessman, he would resent being forced by an outsider to stand an expense which does not show a tangible return.

This feeling of fear and resentment is increased by reason of the intricacies of copyright law. Like other ordinary mortals, he cannot understand it all. Nine out of ten operators will either admit this, or prove by their misstatements that copyright is a mystery to them. And herein lies the strength of the Music Operators of America.

THE MOA'S STRENGTH

The MOA's strength is derived from the operator being dependent on that organization to protect him against ASCAP. If MOA gives the least evidence that it will do anything but give ASCAP 100-percent opposition, it will lose the confidence of operators and may even disintegrate.

This complete opposition is going to exist as long as licensing organizations seek to collect fees without giving the operator the assurance that such fees will be equitable, and in proportion to value received.

A factfinding commission is in the best position to study the basic issues. There is nothing a new congressional hearing will uncover about operating jukeboxes that cannot be found in the records of previous hearings. But a commission quite properly may find the jukebox operator is willing to pay more to songwriters and publishers if reasonable payments will spell the end of ASCAP's annual attempts to put the jukebox industry in the same category as radio, television, ballrooms, etc.

COMMISSION'S POWERS

Just as a factfinding commission can talk directly to operators, bypassing MOA, so can a commission talk directly to songwriters and pulbishers, bypassing the licensing organizations. Such a direct means of ascertaining the basic facts and the personal interests of individuals in all phases of the music industry would seem logical, in view of MOA's complete opposition to ASCAP, and the latter's insistence that the jukebox exemption must be removed.

A factfinding commission will be able to examine all the complicated economics of the entire music industry, including the types of music royalties and music uses which are part and parcel of this controversy.

For example, jukebox operators feel they are paying songwriters and publishers for the use of the music these men create and exploit. They believe they are doing this through the mechanical royalty, a fee fixed by law at 2 cents per side. In the minds of the operators, this royalty totals a considerable sum—for unlike radio, for the most part, or television, the operator buys his records. The jukebox, in other words, represents a

real record market in addition to its value as a promotional medium for songs. And because records represent a sizable business cost to the operator, he tends to brush aside the argument that what is involved is performance right rather than a mechanical right.

ASCAP OBLIGATIONS

ASCAP, in its allocation of funds, has felt morally obliged to provide an incentive for music on a broad basis. It never forgets its financial obligations to those writers who once were but are no longer productive. For this—as well as other reasons—it can be said that ASCAP's distribution goes into the pockets of writers and publishers, but the distribution does not go directly, or totally, into the pockets of the copyright holders of a specific song.

In contrast, mechanical royalties from a song go direct to the specific songwriter and publisher of that song. These royalties are paid by the disk manufacturer to the publisher, who divides them with the writer. ASCAP does not administer these royalties.

Only a factfinding commission is in a position to determine whether writers and publishers are getting their fair share; only such a commission can place in proper perspective the different types of royalties and music uses. Only such a commission can objectively weigh all the moral and technical issues and resolve the conflicting points of view.

SUGGESTED LEGISLATION

Legislation could propose the establishment of such a commission by the President. The membership of such a body generally includes impartial citizens, and could include, ex-officio, several Congressmen. At the discretion of the President, representatives of different segments of the music industry could be named. The initial legislation would also outline the commission's purpose—exploration of the Copyright Act's effects on all facets of the music industry.

What would be the commission's authority? It would have power to assemble a competent staff, work closely with individuals as well as all groups involved in the controversy, and prepare a report. It is customary to set a time limit for the report, and in the case at hand 1 year has been suggested as reasonable. This would give the Congress, which created the legislation calling for the commission, the opportunity to study the report and act upon recommendation therein.

We consider such a commission the best means of correcting inequities where inequities exist. Let us not repeat the same wasteful, abortive performance we have seen in past years.

Flood Control Leader

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, members of the House Public Works Committee are very pleased to have Cliff Davis once again as chairman of the important Subcommittee on Flood Control. We who work with him know Cliff Davis for his devotion to this vital legislative problem which means so much to the welfare of the entire Nation. We are glad to note that his constituents are also aware of his accomplishments in this

field, as reflected in the following editorial from the Memphis Commercial Appeal:

FLOOD CONTROL LEADER

The seniority of Representative CLIFFORD DAVIS rebounds to the benefit of the entire lower Mississippi Valley in that he is now chairman of the Flood Control Subcommittee of the House Public Works Committee. It is his group which must pass on all proposed flood control projects.

Representative Davis is a sincere and vigorous advocate of sound water resources development, as his support of the St. Lawrence Seaway and other approved major projects clearly indicates. His study of water resources problems is continuous, and he is equipped to give the Flood Control Subcommittee intelligent leadership.

Israel: An Adventure of the Human Spirit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include excerpts from an address by Abba Eban, the distinguished Ambassador of Israel to the United States, at the University of Notre Dame, on January 11, 1955. The guest honors his host, as the host's invitation honors the guest. The extension of this invitation and the presence on this Catholic platform of this outstanding Jewish spokesman is in the finest traditions of our great Nation.

I commend it to the reading of all my colleagues. My only regret is that the limitations of space in the Record made a condensation of this splendid address necessary.

The excerpts follow:

ISRAEL: AN ADVENTURE OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT

Four thousand years of history have extended their span between Israel's first ascent to nationhood and her restoration to freedom at the turning point of the century. The redemption from Egyptian bondage must be regarded in any serious conception of history as one of the authentic points of climax in the progress of mankind. * * *

The flight across the Red Sea and Sinai preserved a resolutionary idea which could never have evolved in the idolatrous despotism of the Pharoahs. The idea was the sovereignty of God, the Ruler of the universe, omnipotent, one and indivisible, the embodiment of righteousness, and the loving Father of all creation. * * *

The narrative of this rebellion against idolatry by men charged with the custody of an irreplaceable idea also occurs in the history of thought in a more secular aspect. This is the original and classic episode of national liberation. The memory of Israel's first struggle for freedom has inspired and consoled many subsequent movements of national independence. When Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson were consulted on the emblem of the future American Union, they suggested that the seal of the United States should represent the children of Israel fleeing across the parted waters of the Red Sea on their way to freedom.

This portrayal was to be surmounted by an uncannily Hebraic slogan, "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

THE DIMENSIONS OF HISTORY

It is not presumptuous to believe that future generations will conserve the memories of Israel's modern revival with a similar reverence and tenacity. This will certainly come to pass in the particular domain of Jewish history. Nothing since the miraculous redemption 4,000 years ago can compete in that history with this recent transition from martyrdom to sovereignty, this sudden ascent from the depths of agony to new peaks of opportunity and pride. * * *

I have come to this abode of Christian faith and learning to suggest that Israel's resurgence is an event to be conceived in the highest dimensions of history. It evokes from the past and may portend for the future a deep lesson concerning the potency and nature of spiritual impulses. * *

There is nothing global, or even massive, about the State of Israel in political terms. The territory in which our independence has been fulfilled is great in history but pathetically meager in geography. It is the bridge between the three continents of the ancient world.* * * But in the strategic calculations of this atomic century this piece of earth is of humble measure. The bridge is fragile, the highway is narrow, and in the age of air transportation it no longer obtrudes itself inevitably athwart the paths of conquest and empire. The population directly affected falls short of 2 million. * *

Clearly, if modern Israel is to be regarded as a historic incident of universal scope, this is because of a stature to be ascribed to it in a completely different dimension. If modern Israel is to have any elements of greatness then this quality must be vindicated in the spiritual realm.

THE RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT

To say this is not to deny that some of Israel's material achievements are impressive and sometimes deeply moving. The collective survival of the Jewish people is itself a rare event of history. Many other peoples have lost their independence under the heel of invading empires; but no people, other than this, having been so engulfed has shown such a capacity for recuperation as to preserve amidst martyrdom and dispersion, all the elements of its union and identity—its language and tradition, its consciousness of attachment to the land of its origin, and the undying hope of eventual restoration. * * The banner of a free Israel now files proudly again in the family of nations from which it had been absent for so many tragic generations. * *

Nor are these the only achievements which may be accounted remarkable in secular terms. There is the pioneering toil and sacrifice which have transformed the wilderness to a semblance of its ancient fertility. There is the epic of mass immigration which has brought hundreds of thousands of returning newcomers to our shores. There are great efforts, and at times, serious results, in the increase of industrial and agricul-tural resources. There is the formation of a new culture, welding many varied immigrant traditions, tongues, and experiences into the unified tapestry of a distinctive civilization, in the image of the ancient Hebrew past. There is the struggle against the ravages of pestilence and erosion which had debased the physical aspect of the land and degraded its historic reputation as "the perfection of beauty, the joy of the entire earth." There is the adventure of establishearth." There is the adventure of establish-ing within a region dominated by despotism and autocracy a sanctuary for the demo-cratic way of life and the principles of free government. There are advances in literature, the sciences and arts, which without yet reaching the peaks of the ancient revelation, are yet significant and promising in relation to the circumstances of time and of space in which they have been accomplished. Nor can we omit from the positive record of Israel's achievement the turbulent struggle for physical security of a small people besieged on all its embattled frontiers by an unyielding and comprehensive hostility. To have achieved so large a volume of international recognition within so brief a time and against such heavy challenge is not the least surprising of Israel's modern victories.

THE POWER OF WILL

If despite all this, we concentrate our gaze upon the spiritual aspects of Israel's achievement and destiny, it is not because we renounce our claim to sympathetic appraisal in political, economic, social, or even military history. * * Rarely in history has any achievement been recorded against heavier calculations of chance. All the circumstances of time and of place argued against its success. A few decades ago the prospect that an independent Jewish state could be established in its ancient homeland appeared so fantastic, as to bring its advocates under the suspicion of insanity. Statesmen and diplomats to whom the idea was broached in the early years of the First World War were startled at hearing so eccentric an idea even submitted to their official attention. * * *

Yet within a single lifetime we had passed from a world in which the existence of an independent Israel seemed inconceivable into a world which seems inconceivable without its existence. I know of few more tangible testimonies in history to the power of the human will to assert itself against material colds. * *

This belief in the power of the human will is a recurrent theme in Israel's history. The most distinctive attribute of Israel's character, the source of some weakness but of greater strength is this stubborn, tenacious refusal to recognize the distinction between imagination and reality. In the grammar of classical Hebrew there is none of the sharp differentiation possessed by modern languages between that which is and that which shall be.

This deliberate confusion between imagination and reality, between the will and the fact, has been illustrated at many stages of our history. In 1918 our first founding father, Dr. Weizmann went up to Mount Ecopus, overlooking Jerusalem, to perform the ceremony of opening a new university. In its outward forms this resembled similar ceremonies whereby universities have been opened and dedicated in many parts of the world. There was only one incidental cir-cumstance which made this particular solemnity in any way distinctive. This was that the university did not exist at all. It was unrepresented even by a cornerstone. * * * Yet because the establishment of a university in Jerusalem was for us a matter of intense and passionate will, the absence of the physical conditions necessary for its fulfillment was not an adequate reason to abstain from all the acts and gestures which should mark its dedication. Surely enough, within two decades the university existed, and the ceremony, even in retrospect, no longer appears quixotic. * * *

Just as the establishment of Israel proves the dominant power of the human spirit, so is this theme illustrated by many acts which have unfolded themselves within the general process. The most vivid example is to be found in our immigration movement. The dispersed Jewish communities from which this immigration came were utterly divergent in all material things. Their social. economic, political, and linguistic backgrounds had nothing in common. Unity and solidarity existed only in the plane of spiritual allegiance. * * The spiritual unity had not merely to exist but actually to overtome a great aggregate of divisive material

forces. That it did so trlumph, and that hundreds of thousands responded by immigration to the call of Israel's sovereignty proved that unity will prevail against divergence, provided that the unity is truly spiritual and the divergence only material.

THE HEBREW TRADITION

Thus far I have spoken of Israel's establishment as a general victory for spiritual forces. But we also owe attention to the particular lineage of Israel's spiritual history. * * * Ancient Israel had taught individual morality, social justice, and universal peace. That the conditions in which that florescence had been achieved should once again be restored was a prospect that could not fail to appeal to any sensitive imagination.

THE FAMILY OF CULTURES

The community of nations is also a society of cultures and civilizations. Many modern states, whatever their formal relationship to established religion, exemplify and embody the Christian civilization in its various forms. Some 15 modern states are dominated by the heritage and outlook of Islam. Three or more sovereignties in the Far East are cast in the mould of Buddhist tradition. There are many states, as we know too well, which exemplify the various materialist heresies of our age. But until 1948 there was one culture, and one alone, which had no distinctive representation in the family of nations; one civilization which nowhere on earth had the opportunity to express its ideals by response to the challenge of statehood, society, and international relations. No single state spoke as the conscious champion or exemplar of the Hebrew tradition. *

In our age, for the first time since the legions of Titus subjugated Jerusalem, the Hebrew tradition has become embodied in free political institutions, on a level of equality with all other nations in the human family. By this act of remedy, the family circle of the world's free cultures has become complete. The community of nations is now a comprehensive symphony of the traditions and cultures of mankind.

It is, of course, true that the concepts of Hebraism continued to affect history after the destruction of the Jewish kingdoms.

* * * The stream of Hebrew civilization nourished the great rivers of Christianity and Islam; but its own native waters continued to flow perennially fresh. We have escaped from the great handleap and reproach of homelessness. No longer need we poignantly recite: "They have appointed me to keep many vineyards, but mine own vineyard have I not kept."

ISRAEL IN INTERNATIONAL EQUITY

There are many aspects of Israel's revival which belong to the domain of political history, but which cannot be denied their place in a spiritual appraisal. The homelessness and martyrdom of the Jewish people was not merely a source of international political tension: it was also a heavy burden upon the Christian conscience. The weight of this burden became heavy beyond endurance by any sensitive mind in the aftermath of the Second World War, when the curtain went up on the burnt and mangled bodies of 6 million Jews including a million children. The Jewish people had fallen victim to the most fearful agony which had ever beset any family of the human race. A whole continent was saturated with its blood and haunted by its unexpiated sacrifice. As the world rose from the ravages of the Sec-World War, it came periliously near to creating an injustice more helnous than any which had been illuminated by the triumph of the Allied cause. It became hor-ribly but seriously possible that every na-tion would be granted its freedom, amongst those which had suffered under the heel of Fascist tyranny, except the people which had

suffered the most. If the world order had been established upon this discrimination, it would surely have been conceived with an intolerable measure of original guilt.

From this spiritual peril the community of nations cleansed itself belatedly, perhaps a little too grudgingly, but nevertheless decisively, when it ordained and later recognized the establishment of Israel. • • • The establishment of Israel's sovereignty, though ostensibly a fact of political organization, was, in the deeper sense, an act of universal equity.

REGIONAL EQUITY

The same consideration arises with particular force when we examine the problem of equity in its regional aspect. No people benefited more lavishly than the Arabs from the new inheritance of independence bequeathed by the Allies' victory in two world wars and the establishment of the United Nations. In an area where not a single free Arab or Moslem had lived in conditions of political independence four decades ago, there were now to be created 7, 8, or 9 separate Arab sovereignties extending over a vast subcontinent from Pakistan to the central Mediterranean, from the Taurus Mountains to the Persian Guif. * *

Here again the international conscience was faced with a burning problem of equity. Was it considered right for the Arab people to hold sway over a continent, and wrong for the Jewish people to establish its independence in a tiny fragment of that huge domain? Would it be the decree of history that the Arabs must be independent everywhere and the Jewish people nowhere-not even in the land which owed all its luster in history to its connection with the ancient Hebrew tradition? * * * Here again there was the peril of an award so one-sided, so monopolistic, and discriminatory in its nature as to weigh down the international conscience for generations to come. After many hesitations the world community cleansed itself of any such reproach. It rightly established and encouraged the emancipation of the Arab people on an almost imperial scale. But the benefit, nay the elementary right, which it conferred upon the Arab people in such abundant profusion, was also bestowed upon the Jewish people, albeit within meager and austere limits. * * * It would have been an indelible disgrace to the cause of international justice if a world which had bequeathed this vast liberation to the Arab people had begrudged the Jewish people its minute share of that inheritance. morality expressed in the parable of Naboth's vineyard would have clouded the constitutional and political structure of the Middle East.

ISRAEL'S CULTURE

As we survey the origins of Israel's independence in spiritual terms, we cannot fail to let our minds linger in speculation on the question of Israel's cultural destiny. As a military power, a political force, or an economic unit, Israel's horizons are restricted by deficiencies of material power. * * * But in these realms Israel will never compete with the might and influence of the continental or imperial powers. The only domain in which we are free to soar to the highest peaks available to any nation are those of scientific, cultural, and spiritual progress. However pressing are Israel's preoccupations with physical security and economic welfare, the challenge of cultural achievement cannot be set aside. Would we not be an extraordinary people if we were to devote all our efforts to those material fields in which, after all, our limitations are inexorable, and stand aside from the only areas in which, at least, the potentialities of greatness lie open before us.

Three elements are available to us in the formation of Israel's new culture. First, there is the Hebrew biblical tradition expressed in our incomparable language and

evoked by the physical associations of the country itself. • • • The sentiment of belonging, in the most intimate sense, to the great sweep of Israel's history in this immortal land has a far greater influence than is commonly realized in the formation of our national character. Our literary movement and recent discoveries in archaeology constantly remind our people of this primary element in their spiritual formation.

A second element in Israel's culture is the accumulated experience acquired by the Jewish people in its wanderings after the period of national independence. The generations of dispersion and persecution were also a period of constant interplay between the Hebrew mind and the cultures of Europe and the New World. The Rabbinical and Talmudical literature, the post-Biblical Hebrew poetry and philosophy, the traditional attachments of the Jewish people to the arts and sciences of the Western World, are all part of the reservoir from which modern Israel draws its sustenance.

The third element available for our cultural development is western civilization, with special reference to its political institutions and its scientific and technological progress. It is Israel's fortune to be the sole representative in its immediate region of political democracy and scientific progress, which are the two most distinctive achievements of European and American civilization. This western civilization is strongly expressed by the Anglo-Sakon tradition with which Israel has two links of special intimacy. First, the great bulk of the free and extant Jewish people is a part of the English-speaking world. Second, the tradition of the English-speaking people is not something alien or external to Israel's life and experience. It is itself morally derived from the original Hebrew tradition of which Israel is the modern representative and embodiment.

From the effervescence of these three elements—the Hebrew Biblical tradition, the broader Jewish experience, western science and political organization—the culture of modern Israel will emerge. * * * We have at least restored to our people the conditions of a creative culture—pride of soll; the sense of continuity; deep roots in a superbly aristocratic cultural tradition; and the special exaltation which attends a people in the formative hours of its national revival. Who can be certain that these conditions will not bring a message in the spirit and quality of our original inheritance.

THE CHRISTIAN ATTITUDE

I am certain that your invitation to me to discuss these high themes within this Catholic sanctuary reflects your conviction that the unfolding of Israel's new career as a nation is a matter of moment and concern to the Christian world. The great issue in this generation is drawn, not between Christianity and Judaism, or between Israel and the Christian nations. The frontier lies rather between those who assert and those who deny the supremacy of faith and of You and we occupy different areas of tradition, experience and outlook; but we occupy them on the same side of that fateful demarcation. Our differences are not insignificant, and we should not be disposed to obscure them. . . But if the rise of Israel is a victory of the human spirit, a triumph of international integrity, a burden removed from the universal conscience, the addition of a new voice to the symphony of human freedom, then this is a victory for the Christian cause as well as a direct salvation for the Jewish people.

It is memorable and significant that the Christian world lent its sympathy to Israel's revival. The great Catholic countries of Europe and Latin America were amongst those who most ardently sustained Israel's struggle for independence and recognition. Our devotion to a kindred heritage, our common

respect for human values, our unremitting resistance to tyranny, are unifying forces which transcend all secondary divergences of judgment or interest. The people of Israel who first in history rebelled against the might of barbarian and pagan empires, which raised the first voice against idolatry—this people in its new life of independence will never bow the knee to dictatorship.

THE HOLY PLACES

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An understanding of the spirit of the Christian world ranks very high among Israel's chief aspiration. We are fully aware that many causes and assets sacred to Christianity lie within our control, and demand our most vigilant reverence. This consideration has led us constantly in recent years to proclaim our readiness to place under international influence the Holy places in Jerusalem which are the cradle and inspiration of the Christian faith. By such a solution, reconciling the full political independence of the people of the Holy City with interna-tional interest in that which is truly universal in Jerusalem, we could achieve a double purpose. We should prevent an en-croachment on the political liberties of Jerusalem's population, while at the same time acknowledging the moral authority of the world community over the sanctuaries of your faith. * * These are the considerations which have caused the Governments of the United States and of Israel to cooperate so constantly within the United Nations on behalf of solutions which respect both the sovereignty and secular independence of Jerusalem's population, and the rights of the Christian world to see its holy places kept immune from turbulence and desecration. I am satisfiled that this attitude is now shared by a majority of the members of the United Nations.

In the same spirit, you will understand how devoutly we have welcomed the warm praise expressed by Msgr. Antonio Vergani, representative of the Latin Patriarch in Israel, by the Very Reverend Father Brunet and by visiting Cardinals and Prelates to the efforts of my government to ease the journeys of pilgrims, to effect a road link to Mount Tabor and to repair the ravages inflicted by war on some of the buildings and properties of the Catholic Church in Israel. In paying this tribute to the Government of Israel for its substantial subventions, enabling the rehabilitation of the Hospice of Notre Dame de France in Jerusalem. Father Brunet eloquently and devoutly concludes: "May God youchsafe to us to see this edifice risen from its ruins, and pilgrims coming once again to recite their prayers on the soil of this Holy Land, where spiritual interests should bring all hearts together in peace."

This is the goal of Israel's spiritual adventure, in the freedom of its ancient home—
to live a national life consecrated to the
universal vision of fraternity and peace. If
we serve this ideal, within the limits of our
human imperfection, the new era of Israel's
freedom will be not unworthy of the inheritance of the fathers.

Court District Needed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, I wish to place in the Record an editorial which appeared in the San Diego Union for January 18, 1955, in support of legislation which I have introduced to provide for a separate Federal judicial district for the southern district of California. The editorial follows:

COURT DISTRICT NEEDED

San Diego has grown to the extent where it should have a separate Federal judicial district with two judges.

For the third year running the local bar association is making a concerted effort for such legislation. During the past 2 years appropriation has been made for a new courtroom and provision has been made for a Federal grand jury. A separate district is the next logical step.

San Diego County has grown to the extent where it should not be a stepchild of Los Angeles. A separate district would eliminate many difficulties now caused by overloading the Federal court.

Man of the Year in Financial World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE L. HAYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HAYS of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, it is with great pleasure I include as part of my remarks in the Record an article from the Cleveland Plain Dealer of December 31, 1954.

Mr. Cyrus Eaton is truly one of America's financial giants and one who has a deep and abiding interest in people. Many of my constituents have personally known of this due to Mr. Eaton's actions in helping to save the Follansbee steel mill for the Ohio River valley community, where it employs some 800 men from both Ohio and West Virginia. The people of my district wish Mr. Eaton and his associates well in this new venture as in all of his business activities.

I had the pleasure to point out at Follansbee at the banquet in the mill a few days ago that Cyrus Eaton is a builder who has confidence in the people of America and in the future of America.

The Cleveland Plain Dealer article follows:

EATON FINDS BUSINESS WITH SECOND WIND, HITTING STRIDE—C. & O. CHAIRMAN URGES TAX CUTS FOR LONG-TERM ECONOMY

(By John E. Bryan)

Business has its second wind, and the American economy again is hitting its stride. This was the outlook yesterday by Cleveland's famous financier and industrialist, Cyrus S. Eaton, who marks his 71st birthday this week and the winning of his own second wind this year.

The chairman of the Chesapeake & Ohio Railway, Steep Rock Iron Mines, Ltd., and West Kentucky Coal Co., and president and chairman of Portsmouth Steel Corp., stated:

"As the new year begins, the basic industries with which I am closely associated—railroading, coal, iron ore, and steel, are experiencing a heartening resurgence. All present signs point to a busy and prosperous 1955."

For a healthy and expanding economy over the long term, however, Eaton believes the American people must insist on fundamental and far-reaching reforms in Federal Government.

"There can be no permanent progress and prosperity under a system that taxes its citizens to the point of confiscation in order to support a bureaucracy that smothers the initiative of those same citizens under mounting layers of redtape and regulation, he asserted.

RAGS TO RICHES

America grew to its giant industrial staturebecause it was the land of unlimited economic opportunity for everyone, he pointed out. The man who was willing to work strenuously and to risk such small capital as he might be able to assemble, could literally from rags to riches, Eaton adds.

"Today there is relatively little incentive for the spirit of venture. Security, supervised by the state, is the most likely lot of the common man.

"To those who have set aside some substantial store of worldly goods, the temptation is ever stronger to convert their wealth into tax-exempt municipal bonds, and to abandon the energetic empire of industry and risk-taking for the cult of carefree laziness in warmer climes."

The best minds in labor and agriculture, as well as business, need to be brought to bear on the vital problem of governmental reform to restore true free enterprise in the finest American tradition, Eaton urges.

IMPORTANT MOVES

Eaton, who also is a director of the Cleveland Cliffs Iron Co. and the Sherwin-Williams Co., and a breeder of fine cattle in Northfield, is being called one of the "men of the year" by the financial world as it recalls his many important moves.

He acquired working control of the C. & O. last January 19 from his friend, Robert R. Young, who is hailed by many as "the man of the year," for \$9 million, enabling his predecessor as chairman of the railroad to win his fight for the New York Central.

The genial but shrewd financier, who has the vigor of a man of 35, also "came to the rescue" of the citizens of Follansbee, W. Va., when the State's Governor asked him to buy and operate the steel mill with the town's name, instead of allowing its equipment to be sold for removal by Republic Steel Corp., which Eaton founded.

In addition, Eaton has been adding to his vast holdings in Cliffs and has acquired the huge Ungava ore deposits. He is seen building another empire, perhaps greater than the one he started in the 1920s, which collapsed for him in the depression years.

More Than 1 Million Pupils in Los Angeles County Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present to this great legislative body the text of what I believe to be a most interesting and informative communication recently received by me from Mr. C. C. Trillingham, superintendent of schools in Los Angeles County in my native State of California. I present with it the letter by which Mr. Trillingham transmitted this information to me. Since the population status of Los Angeles city and Los Angeles County is so well known

throughout our beloved Nation, and since the public school problem, and the lack of number of school buildings and, therefore, classrooms, is also well known and again this year is one of the most urgent of public matters which must be handled by this great Congress as promptly and fully as possible. I do not feel it necessary to specify the signifi-cance of these figures of Los Angeles County. I do wish to say, however, in the great 23d District of Los Angeles County, which I am representing this my fifth term in this great legislative body, there still continues a stressing shortage of adequate school facilities in many portions of this congressional district, which extends approximately from the north boundary of the city of Long Beach to within about 20 blocks of the city hall of the city of Los Angeles and easily has an estimated more than one-half million residents.

Mr. Speaker, not only should there be no place in America for the children and youth to grow up noticeably illiterate on account of lack of classroom facilities; but, Mr. Speaker, it is also crystal clear that the entire future destiny of our great Nation depends upon what the children of today are enabled by the adulthood of America to become. I firmly feel and believe that adult America will have cause for deep regret, if adult America does not forthwith and more adequately meet the manifest needs and deserts of our Nation, to the essential end that no group or segment of American children shall grow into adulthood, illiterate in their letters and lacking in the common advantages of reading and writing and ability to do simple figures because American adulthood has continued to fail to perform its reasonable duty to our own young offspring.

My own present-day convictions on this subject are necessarily partially formed by my experiences as a member of the California State Board of Education prior to coming to this Congress. I am always even more shocked when, as a member of the Committee on Armed Services. I note the figures specifying the thousands of American boys who cannot qualify in the very simplest of military examinations and requirements, because of their utter lack, in a great number of cases in the very simplest of schooling benefits. This lack, Mr. Speaker, naturally also definitely enters into the weakening of our national defense and our national security.

The communication follows:

COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES, SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, Los Angeles, Calif., January 14, 1955.

Mr. CLYDE DOYLE,

Congressman, 23d District, California, House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C. DEAR MR. DOYLE: We thought you might be interested in the enclosed information about school growth in Los Angeles County.

On October 29, 1954, there were 1,053,042 pupils enrolled in the public schools of Los Angeles County. On November 1, 79,800 pupils were attending schools in part-time sessions.

Cordially yours,

C. C. TRILLINGHAM, Superintendent. Growth trends in Los Angeles County, October 1954

1. POPULATION OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY

	Jan. 1, 1945	Jan. 1, 1950	Jan. 1, 1954
From regional planning com- mission: Estimates	3, 375, 150		€ 4, 806, 633 1 4, 847, 043
1950 census Rate of increase		4, 131, 687 23, 01	1 15, 78

1 July 1, 1954.

2. NUMBER OF BIRTHS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

	1945	1950	1954
Number of birthsRate per thousand	66, 888	88, 888	109, 834
	19. 2	21. 3	23, 4

3. NUMBER AND SIZE OF SCHOOL DISTRICTS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

There are 114 school districts in Los Angeles County, There are 11 districts over 10,000 average daily attend-

There are 28 districts over 5,000 average da ly attend-

There are 80 districts over 900 average daily attendance. There are 36 districts under 900 average daily attend-

	Number	Percent
Total average daily attendance in Los Angeles city districts during 1953-54 Total average daily attendance in districts outside Los Angeles city districts.	303 , 287	47
Total average daily attend- ance in Los Angeles County. Total average daily attend- ance increase in county over 1952-53	833, 938 71, 067	100

This is an increase of 5,922 average daily attendance per month or nearly 1,500 per week on the average.

4. DISTRICTS EXCEEDING LEGAL MAXIMUM TAX RATES IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

Of the 114 school districts, 84 have voted to establish tax rates beyond the legal maximum, as follows: 58 elementary, 16 high school, and 10 unified.

4A. TOTAL AMOUNT AND NUMBER OF SCHOOL DISTRICT WARRANTS PROCESSED BY COUNTY OFFICE

	1945	1950	1954
	\$82,956,219.44	\$244,237,566,50	\$531,177,463.77
Number of warrants		815,383	996,735

5. RESULTS OF SCHOOL BOND ELECTIONS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY FROM 1944 TO 1954

School year	Issues carried	Amount carried	Issues failed	Amount failed
1914-45	28	\$17, 836, 000	6	\$1,750,000
1045-46	.43	18, 133, 000	3	139, 500
1946-47	35	12, 619, 000	- 4	750, 000
1947-48	49	24, 581, 500	4	3, 085, 000
1948-49	31	30, 281, 500	1	383, 000
1949-50	57	23, 415, 000	5	842,000
1950-51	48	44, 124, 000	7	4, 766, 000
1951-52		156, 386, 000	12	23, 876, 000
1952-53	47	61, 099, 000	9	20, 507, 000
1953-54	49	44, 635, 177	3	4, 222, 000
Total	422	433, 110, 177	54	60, 920, 500

6. NUMBER OF STUDENTS ATTENDING SCHOOL IN PART-DAY SESSIONS IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

1919-50 1950-51	50, 900 91, 072
1951-52	54, 235
1953-54	52, 223

Survey for 1954-55 now under way.

7. TEACHERS NEW TO SCHOOL DISTRICTS OF LOS ANGELES COUNTY

Teachers new to school districts of Los Angeles County which received coordination and supervision services from the office of county superintendent of schools in 1940: ¹

	Total teachers	New to district	Percent new to district
1954	5, 840	2, 190	37.
1953	5, 194	1,827	35. 3
1952	4, 504	1,729	38.
1951	4, 157	2,016	48.7
1950	3, 595	1,637	45. 3
1949	3, 167	1,863	58.8
1943	3,000	1,743	56.
1947	2, 951	1,816	.6t. l
1946	2, 475	1,648	66.6
1945	2, 114	1, 389	65.7
1944	2,006	1, 106	55.1
1943	1, 940	1,001	51.4
1942	1, 936	1,007	52.
1941	1,892	1, 023	54.
1940	1,759	973	55.

Does not include districts which were chartered city, unified, or elementary city districts in 1949.

8. SCHOOL ENROLLMENT IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY ON MAR. 31, 1954

Kindergarten	82, 722
1st grade	86, 210
2d grade	78, 830
3d grade	
4th grade	65, 772
5th grade	
6th grade	
7th grade	56, 884
8th grade	
9th grade	
10th grade	
11th grade	
12th grade	29, 608
13th grade	1 24, 218
	4 11, 106

1 Includes part-time students.

It will be noted that the number of pupils enrolled in the first grade exceeded by more than 5,000 the combined enrollments in grades 8 and 12.

9. MOBILITY OF POPULATION IN LOS ANGELES COUNTY

In 1949-50, there were 788,000 family moves in Los Angeles County. This degree of mobility has grave implications with reference to unstable family life, lack of membership in community organizations, general uncertainty and unrest, and juvenile delinquency. Growth and mobility constitute two of the schools' most serious problems today.

Short Legislative History of Attempts To Amend the Copyright Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the CONGRES-SIONAL RECORD an article from Billboard magazine of December 4, 1954, giving a short legislative history of attempts to end the exemptions granted by the copyright laws. This article was written by Benjamin J. Atlas, chief of the magazine's Washington bureau.

The article follows:

JUNEBOX LEGISLATIVE HISTORY-ATTEMPTS TO END COPYRIGHT EXEMPTIONS DATE BACK TO

(By Ben Atlas)

Legislative attempts to end the jukebox exemption from copyright royalties have had

a long and wordy history on Capitol Hill.

Legislation to wipe out the exemption mandated by the Copyright Act of 1909 has been introduced in nearly every Congress since 1926

There have been eight different hearings before congressional committees, most of them running to considerable length. legislation reached the floor twice; it was debated on the House floor in 1930 and on the Senate floor in 1935. Since 1936, legislation on the subject has failed to emerge from committee.

Here is a rundown of the history:

Sixty-ninth Congress, second session (1926-27): Hearings held, bills left on scrap heap;

Seventieth Congress (1927-29): Legislation introduced, left on scrap heap.

Seventy-first Congress (1929-31): Legislation introduced, hearing held by House Rules Committee; House floor debate in 1930. lot of the debate involved an amendment offered on the floor rewriting the section of the Copyright Act which specified an exemption for jukeboxes. The amendment was debated and tabled. The House subsequently defeated the amendment without The bill went to the Senate without the amendment relating to coin-operated machines. The Senate Subcommittee on Copyrights held hearings in 1931 (3d sess. of the 71st Cong.). The Senate committee amended the bill, making it provide that the use of a machine for the reproduction of musical works was not a public performance for profit unless a fee was charged for admission to the place where the rendition occurred. After extensive debate, the amendment was agreed to by the Senate but the bill failed to pass.

Seventy-second Congress (1931-33): Hear-ings held by the House Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks in

Seventy-fourth Congress (1935-36): Two bills introduced in the Senate, two in the House. Hearing held before Senate Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, Trade-Marks in 1935; hearing held before House Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks in 1936.

Seventy-fifth through Seventy-eighth Congresses (1937-44): Bills were introduced almost every year in each of these Congresses but no hearings were staged.

Seventy-ninth Congress (1945-46): Two bills introduced. Lengthy hearings were staged by House Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks.

Eightieth Congress (1947-48): The battle centered on 3 bills, 2 of them to wipe out the jukebox exemption. The third bill, sponsored by Representative Hugh Scott, Republican, of Pennsylvania, who was also author of one of the jukebox royalty bills, proposed to permit copyrights on recorded versions of previously copyrighted material. Known as the interpretation bill, this would have authorized copyrights on individual arrangements of recordings. This legislation got lengthy hearings before the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks in 1947.

The issue got a going-over on another front in that Congress when the House Education and Labor Committee deliberated the question of uses of royalty funds. This question rose when the committee in rewriting the National Labor Relations Act called for outlawing welfare funds, then widely employed by James C. Petrillo's American Federation of Musicians, as well as John L. Lewis' United Mineworkers. Representative CARROLL D. KEARNS, Republican, of Pennsylvania, chairman of a subcommittee on Petrillo's activities, seriously sought to draft a bill proposing that phonograph records be labeled separately for commercial use only and for home use only. The idea dropped as too cumbersome to administer, though it was revived briefly at a subsequent jukebox-copyright hearing.

Eighty-second Congress (1951-52) - Representative Scorr at the outset of this Congress hopered a bill identical to his old one calling for outright repeal of the jukebox exemption. Soon afterward, Senator Estes Ke-FAUVER, Democrat, of Tennessee, introduced a more detailed bill. Four months later, a modified version of the Kefauver bill was hoppered by the late Representative Joseph C. Bryson, Democrat, of South Carolina, days later, Kefauver introduced an identical counterpart to the Bryson bill. Bryson-Kefauver bill, which would have made the rendition of a copyrighted composition on a jukebox a public performance for profit, exempted single jukebox operators or owners. The bill provided that owners or operators of more than one jukebox must obtain a license and pay royalties. The bill would have allowed them to use records in the jukeboxes without first obtaining a license, provided that they subsequently paid I cent per record royalty to the composer of every copyrighted composition on each record inserted in any particular juke-

Lengthy hearings were held by the House Judiciary Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents, and Trade-Marks, headed by Representative Bryson.

FOR AND AGAINST

The line-up of witnesses was pretty much the same as in previous hearings, with the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers in the van of proponents, as it had always been. Other supporters: Broadcast Music, Inc., Authors' League of America, Songwriters' Protective Association, National Federation of Music Clubs, Music Publishers' Protective Association, Music Council, American Book Publishers' Council, Federal Bar Association of New York, New Jersey, and Connecticut, the Register of Copyrights, the State Department, and the Librarian of Congress.

Opponents of the legislation this time included the record-manufacturing industry (spokesmen for Columbia, Capitol, RCA-Victor, MGM, and Decca Records). Some threescore witnesses were on hand against the bill, including manufacturers of coin-operated phonographs, such as David Rockola, president of Rock-Ola Manufacturing Co.; distributors, opertators' groups, such as the California Tavern Association.

Debate was so acrimonious that subcommittee members urged the participants to seek an industrywide conference to see if they could resolve differences.

The Bryson subcommittee failed to reach agreement after studying some suggested compromises of their own, including revival of the old Kearns idea of establishing separate home use and commercial use labels on disks, so as to impose jukebox royalties on commercial labels. An 11th-hour at-tempt by Bryson to get the bill favorably discharged from his subcommittee to the full committee failed, and the coauthor had to content himself with a minority report recommending the legislation.

Eighty-third Congress (1953-54): The battle shifted to the Senate side. The late Senator Pat McCarran (Democrat, Nevada) introduced a bill to extend the Copyright Act to jukeboxes but exempting operators of single jukeboxes. Senator EVERETT M. DIRK-SEN (Republican, Illinois) hoppered a bill identical with the old Scott bill, but DER-SEN made it known that he didn't want to press his bill. Lengthy hearings on the McCarran bill were held by the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents and Trade-Marks. Both bills wound up on the shelf of the Senate Judiciary Subcommittee on Copyrights, Patents and Trade-

Meanwhile, efforts to get a jukebox royalties exemption clause in the model global Copyright Treaty failed at Geneva, but proponents managed to insert a clause authorizing creation of an international commission to study the question at any time. The model Copyright Treaty was ratified by the Senate in the 83d Congress and was signed by President Elsenhower. Legislation bringing the Copyright Act into conformity with treaty provisions was enacted.

Here in a nutshell are the major arguments, pro and con, as debated at committee hearings:

PRO ARGUMENTS

Proponents argued that the jukebox exemption is:

(1) Anachronistic, since it was inserted in the 1909 Copyright Act when the phono-

graph was in a "primitive state."
(2) "Unreasonable," since it bars the copyright owner from asserting that the performance on a jukebox is for profit and thus denies the copyright proprietor from "participating in the proceeds derived from the public performance."

(3) "Discriminatory" against other users for profit who pay royalties to the composer, "as provided by the Constitution and carried out by the Congress." According to this argument, a person who buys a disk for home use pays a price which includes a royalty paid by the disk manufacturers, whereas the person who buys a disk for use in a jukebox pays no more than a private retail consumer.

(4) "Inherently unfair to the composer." According to this argument, the jukebox industry "breeds on the work" of creators of the music, exploiting the composer "without his permission" and without extra recompense to him for this exploitation.

CON ARGUMENTS

Foes of the legislation argued:

(1) The jukebox is "the greatest agency for popularizing music," contributing to widespread dissemination of works of composers and authors and therefore jukeboxes should not be charged any extra royalty for public performance for profit. This argument went on to declare that the coin-operated phonograph had already become well-known in the United States by 1909 when Congress wrote the Copyright Act exempting jukeboxes from royalties.

(2) Any hike in the cost of disks would produce an economic threat, drying up sales, penalizing disk manufacturers, hitting authors, composers, singers and other artists, di-

rectly affecting their incomes.

(3) The legislation would drive a large number of jukebox operators out of business. Their profit margin is low, the argument ran. This, in effect, would be discriminatory, especially since jukebox operators now pay for the music they use in the form of the 2-cent statutory royalties imposed upon disk manufacturers since 1909.

(4) The legislation is administratively impractical. Operators argued they would be required to file monthly reports to copyright owners. Individual operators testified they would be compelled to take blanket licenses from all performing rights, societies and independent composers or keep the records and make individual payment to individual copyright owners.

People's Prize

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER W. RODINO. JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Newark (N. J.) Evening News under date of January 18 entitled "People's Prize":

PEOPLE'S PRIZE

A few years ago it would have occurred to no one to award Newark a prize. Its municipal government was notoriously inefficient and extravagant, a condition that reflected discredit on the people of the city.

But these same people were to prove that

But these same people were to prove that they had been misjudged. They didn't like what was going on at city hall, either, and they got together to do something.

What they accomplished, through a series of bitterly fought elections, has attracted national attention. The new charter and the administrative code adopted by the city council are widely regarded as major advances in city government, and requests for copies of them come from all parts of the country. Now the National Municipal League and Look magazine, cosponsors of an annual competition, have named Newark an all-American city. The basis of the award is energetic, purposeful, and intelligent citizen action.

Newark was one of 10 municipalities so honored. The award states its purpose is to pay tribute to the people of Newark for ridding their city of a wasteful government and for making their community "a better place

in which to live."

C. Willard Heckel, chairman of the citizens committee, the instrument of change, who pleaded Newark's case before the jury, says, "Newark is now a city that has found itself, and what was once a spirit of defeat has become a spirit of confidence and trust in the city's future."

It would be dangerous to assume that the fight for a good local government has been won. It has only begun, but it has made a good beginning. The people have shown they want good government and are willing to go to a lot of trouble to get it. They'll have to keep at it.

Set Net Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, under Federal law, regulations governing the Alaska fishery are made and enforced by the Fish and Wildlife Service of the Department of the Interior. By custom and, it must be assumed, because conservation would best be served thereby, set nets, a form of gear for the taking of salmon, have been spaced at different distances in different sections of Alaska. Last summer a Federal judge of the district court for Alaska held that set nets are fixed gear within the meaning of the organic act concerning the Alaska fishery. The Fish and Wildlife Service immediately announced that as a consequence of this ruling 1955 regulations would require these nets to be not less than 1,800 feet distant one from another or a much greater distance than has been the case in most areas of Alaska.

It is generally agreed that this would create chaos, no less. Therefore bills have been introduced in the Congress seeking legislative cure. It is my understanding that in principle they are endorsed by the Fish and Wildlife Service, by the fishing industry, and by the fishermen who, to date, have made their views known. Thus we have what might properly be described an unparalleled situation in which all elements are in harmony as to what should be done, in what had the possibility of being a highly controversial Alaska fishery issue.

Senator Warren G. Magnuson, of Washington, and I have introduced identical bills on this subject. The requirement now is for speedy action so that the law may be changed before the 1955 fishing regulations become applicable.

Only this morning I received from Clarks Point on Bristol Bay in Alaska a radiogram signed by a good many residents of Clarks Point and Ekok whose livelihood is directly concerned with the operation of set nets. The body of the message reads:

We, the undersigned, urge that the House of Representatives and Senate approve legislation now before you to reduce distances between set nets from 1.800 feet to those distances that were in effect during the 1954 fishing season.

The message is signed by Joe Bermanon, Clara Clark, Joseph Clark, Nancy Wilson, Mary E. Shade, M. E. George, Aurora George, Rose Garcia, Matrona Javier, Verner Wilson, John W. Anderson, Annie Anderson, Ingvar D. Johansen, Peter Hamilton, Jr., Aliek Evon, Annie Evon, John Gardiner, Louise Gardiner, Annie Ramondos, Charles E. Wolfe, John R. Andersen, Peggy Andersen, Emil E. Endel, Messa Egeand, Andrew Roberts, Martha Hamilton, Steven Wassily, Mark M. Hiratsuka, Mary Hiratsuka, Dick Lopez, Victor Tumutak, Andres Javier, Matrona Debano, Peter Traust, Harry Barnes, Daisy Barnes, Domingo Sloresta, Mary Floresta, Mrs. Anita Lopez, Pete Debenno, Jack D. Howard, Lilla M. Howard, Henry A. Shade, Nick Nankon, Mary Echuck, Jacinto A. Blancaslor, Peter Heyano, Rosa Heyano, Gene F. Pillian, Charlotte Pillian, Jack Savo, Tikano Savo, Sakalie Talogan, Nick Hansen, Annie Hansen, Tarrey Nolly, Sophie Nolly, Susie Muneyasu, James Muneyasu, and Henry E. Shade.

Peter Campbell Brown: A Gallant Fighter in the American Tradition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, SIDNEY A. FINE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. FINE. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the resignation of Peter Campbell Brown as chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board, I was pleased to add my tribute to the many others paid him by both sides of the aisle for his qualities as a man, his sagacity as a lawyer, and his fidelity to the public service. I expressed confidence that his rulings during the entire course of the lengthy hearing over which

he so ably presided would be affirmed by the appellate courts.

A few short weeks ago the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia upheld the order of the Board of which Mr. Brown was the author. I was happy to join in the deserved tribute to him then as I am pleased to congratulate him now for a difficult job so well done which, despite the continued harassment to which he was subjected by the Communist Party, was accomplished in the American tradition of eminent fairness and without even a minute abridgement of any of the constitutional guaranties.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a column entitled "Only Human," by Sidney Fields, which appeared in the New York Sunday Mirror of January 2, 1955, which provides a further insight to this devoted public servant who, to the pride of all New Yorkers, now serves as the city's commissioner of investigation in the administration of Mayor Robert F. Wagner:

PETER CAMPBELL BROWN: HUNT WITHOUT HEADLINES

In the loyalty check now going on among nearly 200,000 city employees 6 have so far resigned and 5 have been dismissed from their jobs. The check is being conducted without hysteria or headlines by the city's chief security officer and commissioner of investigation, Peter Campbell Brown, a gentle, burly man, who moves with measured slowness and brilliant sureness. But 11 resignations and dismissals after a year of checking are hardly overpowering results.

"The fact is the vast majority of city employees are devoted and loyal Americans," Brown says, and then cautions: "But don't be swayed by numbers. One or two Communists can cause much damage. Remember the Rosenbergs and Klaus Fuchs."

Brown once served as chairman of the Federal Subversive Activities Control Board. Ten days ago the United States courts of appeals upheld the Government order to the Communist Party to register as a subversive organization dominated and directed by Soviet Russia. Nowhere in the endless accounts was Brown's name mentioned as the author of the opinion on which the court based its decision. He prefers it that way. And there is no better index to his character.

"Anyone doing a job against subversion doesn't make headlines," he says. "He doesn't have the time."

In his present job he must, among other things, make surveys and studies, at the mayor's orders, of the city government, or its departments; and he is required to investigate any complaint filed against the departments or their employees.

"It's been our experience that 9 out of 10 complaints are motivated by envy or jeal-ousy," says Brown. "Besides complaints, our work ranges wide: Subversion; a thorough study of how the city can earn revenue from waste collection; or getting rid of such nonsense as those 13 hydrant inspectors. At least 2 of them made up to \$10,000 a year."

THE WAR YEARS

Brown is 41, a devout Catholic, and was born in Brooklyn. His father, now retired, worked in the city controller's office, but with his modest salary made a teacher out of his daughter and a lawyer out of his son. Brown went to Fordham College and Fordham Law School, practiced for 3 years, and then enlisted as a private in the Air Force shortly after Pearl Harbor. He emerged a much decorated major 4 years later. Before he left for combat in Europe he married a pretty model. They now have three sons and a daughter.

"I didn't see my first born until he was a year and a half old," Brown says. "The same thing happened to Bob Wagner. We were in the same outfit together."

On his discharge Brown was appointed an Assistant United States Attorney General, and 13 months later started a 7-year stint in Washington: Chief of Internal Security in the Criminal Division of the Justice Department, First Assistant of the Criminal Division, Executive Assistant to the Attorney General, then a member and finally chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board.

As chairman he conducted the 2 years of hearings that pinpointed the Communist Party as a tool of Russia. During the long and harrowing hearings they tried every ruse and trick to break his patience and provoke him into an injudicious error that could later be used to reverse his findings. They falled. Later he summed up the experience with magnificent simplicity:

"We must always champion the freedom, which our Constitution guarantees. But we must make certain that the Constitution itself is not destroyed by those whose rights we seek to defend. * * * Liberty does not mean license. There is no such doctrine as absolute freedom of the individual. Where individuals by their teaching and conduct threaten our very existence as free people they should be restrained. * * We shall conquer this godless doctrine of communism when we adopt the Judale-Christian principles of equality, brotherhood, and freedom in accordance with the laws of the Almighty."

CELEBRATED SUCCESSORS

There was already one vacancy on the Control Board when he resigned. The two spots were filled by Thomas J. Herbert, an ex-Governor of Ohio, and Harry P. Cain, ex-Senator of Washington.

"In my wildest dreams," says Brown, "I never imagined a Brooklyn boy would be succeeded by a former governor and Senator."

He returned to New York and private practice, but remained at it only briefly because his friend, Bob Wagner, was running for mayor. It is the custom of the mayor to appoint a close and trusted friend as city commissioner of investigation, and after the election Wagner asked Brown to fill the \$15.000 a year job. He brought to it one basic lesson he learned in Washington:

"I never want to be guilty of abridging or tampering with the rights of anyone."

His predecessor had started the loyalty check of city employees with a questionnaire. Brown discarded the questionnaire after much soul-searching, and decided to rely on face-to-face interviews.

The questionnaire was "rough" and "even insulting," and would not get at the hard core of Communists he was after. Face to face interrogation would. Interviews take place continuously.

"The manner and method of our loyalty program is the most important contribution I can make," Brown says. "But this is our most important task and we won't let up until it is finished."

The President's Budget Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, when we heard the President's budget message somewhat of a political stir arose over its contents. The Democrats seem to think the President made some misleading statements in the message. I examined it carefully, as I do all of his messages, and I failed to see where it was misleading. I think the President stated the matter as plainly as possible with what information he had. When the matter is considered by the Appropriations Committee defects will be detected, and, no doubt, many of the items will be reduced. John Taber, on the Republican side, took about this position: That every request would be carefully scrutinized when the committee gets the message before it.

Probably some of the conclusions reached by the President were subject to debate. For example, on page 1, he stated:

Thus, we continue to progress toward a balanced budget.

On page 15 he made this statement: Therefore, I have no alternative but to ask Congress for an increase in the public debt.

Of course, it is difficult to harmonize these two statements. Personally, I do not think it will be necessary to raise the debt limit. The old debt limit was \$275 billion, and last session we increased it to \$285 billion. On December 31 the debt was \$278 billion, thus leaving a leeway of \$7 billion, and this in the face of a big tax reduction. Unless we appropriate, and have to borrow, too much money for foreign aid, I do not see where we shall have to worry about raising the debt limit. I do not dispute the President's statement that the limit will have to be raised, but on the surface it would seem not to be necessary.

Sixty-five percent of the budget estimate of \$62,400,000,000 will go for national security, and in this I have no complaint. We should spend all that is necessary for our own defense. This amount may have to be increased, because our security depends upon how well we ourselves are prepared to defend this country. In my judgment, we have neglected ourselves too much, because we are just waking up to the fact that in the final analysis we shall have to do our own defending. In his message the President did not take up the subject of cutting down the size of the Army. I am sure objection will be raised to this when the time comes.

We are not on a peacetime economy, even though there is no war. We are still supplying billions to factories to to turn out war material. In other words, war or the fear of war, is still present, and we have no definite way of determining what our national condition would be if we were actually on a peacetime economy.

I will do as I have always done strenuously object to handing over billions to foreign countries—but will support every move to prepare a full and adequate defense for ourselves.

Under present conditions I think the President said about all that could be said, and, as time passes, any mistakes in recommendations can be ironed out. These corrections are made to every budget, and have been ever since I have been a Member. What a department asks for is not necessarily what they will get.

The Tariff Again

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I desire to call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent article written by George Sokolsky in a recent issue of the Washington Post and Times Herald regarding the economic effects of the proposal in Congress to liberalize and extend the present Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

Mr. Sokolsky's article, under the caption "Tariff Again," follows:

There are two ways of looking at President Eisenhower's tariff proposals which emanate from the Randall commission:

One is that as we are going to give away some of our wealth to foreign countries, anyhow, we might as well do it on an economic rather than on an eleemosynary basis.

The other is that if all of the President's proposals go through, certain American industries, such as coal, electrical equipment, watches, wallboard, bicycles, ceramics, etc., may have to be abandoned because they will be forced to compete in the American market with commodities that are made with cheaper labor that can employ American capital which has a 14-percentage-point benefit so far as income taxes are concerned, and that will come in at a reduced tariff.

The history of the tariff in the United States has in the past been principally the story of a conflict between manufactured goods and farm products, between the industrial East and the agricultural South and West. In 1955 that is not the conflict. The differences of view are between the great units of production—big business, as it is called—and the small manufacturer.

Big business is world-conscious. It not only hopes to sell universally, but it manufactures in many countries. Its capital is not only locally invested; it is invested in many countries.

That is not true of the small manufacturer. He makes goods for a local market, whether that market is the United States or some region of the United States. He may or may not produce a superior product to one made elsewhere on the face of the earth, but he employs American labor, pays taxes not only to the Federal Government but locally, and his price is geared to the American standard of living. If our smaller manufacturers are driven out of existence by faulty economic policies, the social damage could be enormous.

Those who are doctrinaire about the free market do make the point that if such American manufacturers cannot compete with foreign goods, they ought to go out of business, as an admission of their inefficiency. This position would undoubtedly have much virtue but when the Government subsidizes the export of American capital to manufacture competitive goods by a 14 percentage point differential, the advantage to the American manufacturing abroad with cheaper labor and cheaper costs all around

is so great as to be noncompetitive. A free market is only possible if there are no subsidies, no rebates, no economic tricks. In this struggle, big business will no doubt win the immediate battle. It has utilized

In this struggle, big business will no doubt win the immediate battle. It has utilized great persuasive forces to convince the American people that we ought to have a lower tariff, easier customs procedures, and now a rebate on taxes for investments abroad, a tax differential that benefits them tremendously. But this does not solve the social problem of unemployment in the United States and that will have to be solved because the unemployed vote in elections as well as the employed do, and their votes count for as much. In such a State as West Virginia, where residual oil is knocking down the coal industry, unemployment can develop into a major political issue as it already is a social problem.

The present tariff proposals are the most radical in our history. Neither President Roosevelt nor President Truman—both low tariff men—dared politically to grant a subsidy for the export of capital. That has now been done and is before Congress for decision.

"Chamber of Smears"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in a recent edition of the Washington Evening Star. Much has been said recently with regard to the smearing of political parties and candidates for office. This subject was highlighted recently by the "chamber of smears" promoted by the Democrat National Chairman Paul Butler. It is somewhat difficult to understand how any remarks could carry greater stings than those inflicted by former President Harry Truman and Mr. Adlai Stevenson in comments they have made during their speeches. The article which appeared in the Washington Star on this subject is rather thought-provoking and it is repeated here for the information of those who may not have seen it:

"CHAMBER OF SMEARS"

The Democrats, with an impressive show of righteous indignation, have put together what National Chairman Paul Butler calls a Chamber of Smears. The purpose is to prove that Vice President Nixon, despite his disclaimers, really did smear the Democrats during the recent campaign, and that the President, by praising Mr. Nixon's efforts, has become a party to these smear tactics.

One might just as well concede at the outset that some of Mr. Nixon's comments, as reported by the Democrats, have many of the distinguishing characteristics of the political smear. Only a truly rugged Republican individualist like Mr. Nixon would contend to the contrary.

It is not enough, however, to be able to recognize a political smear when it emanates from Mr. Nixon. It is also desirable to be able to recognize political comments which do not come within the definition of a smear. And perhaps a good way to do this is to list a few of them.

Thus, it was not a smear when Harry Truman charged in the 1952 campaign that Mr. Nixon had paid with his votes in Congress for the \$18,000 expense account he accepted from California supporters.

It was not a smear when, on the eve of the 1952 election, the Democrat, official organ of the party, falsely and by innuendo attacked the integrity of Mr. Nixon's mother, father, and brother. And since this was not a smear, no responsible Democratic leader can be linked to the attack merely because no one of them saw fit to repudiate it.

It was not a smear when Mr. Butler's predecessor, Stephen Mitchell, accused President Eisenhower in March of 1954 of having made "an unholy political alliance with Senator McCarthy for the purpose of the next election."

And of course it was not a smear when Mr. Mitchell, in one of his blasts at the Dixon-Yates contract, implied that the President was trying to steer some easy money toward his golfing friend, Bobby Jones.

Why do not these observations and others like them come within the definition of a political smear? The answer is obvious: A political remark becomes a political smear only when expressed by a prominent member of the opposing political party; never when expressed by a prominent member of one's own political party.

Perhaps there are those who will not be satisfied with this explanation. If so, one can only suggest that they should receive Mr. Butler's current lamentations with the proverbial grain of sait.

Hon. Frank Thompson, Jr., of New Jersey

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the Fourth District of New Jersey is indeed fortunate in having acquired as its Congressman Frank THOMPSON, of Trenton. Mr. THOMPSON has long been a leader in the State of New Jersey and served in the capacity of minority leader of the State assembly. I think it is appropriate to call the attention of the Congress to the high caliber of his work by inserting an editorial which appeared in the Trentonian on January 5. I would also like to point out the well-deserved tribute which is paid in this editorial to Mr. Thompson's predecessor, ex-Congressman Howell:

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, OF NEW JERSEY

Congressman-elect Frank Thompson becomes Congressman Thompson down in Washington today, with many of his friends and supporters on hand to give him a send-off on his new career. We'd like him to know that he has our best wishes on this momentous occasion.

We believe that the new Representative

We believe that the new Representative from the Fourth District, comprising Mercer and Burlington Counties, is most suitably qualified for the high post for which he has been chosen by the voters, and we have every confidence in his ability to carry out the new duties he now undertakes.

At the risk, however, of belaboring nonessential facts, we must observe that it is obvious that the new Congressman takes office at a time when the district he represents is climbing near the top of the heap in industrial importance.

Mercer's rise in that category is well known. Burlington is right up there too, as a series of articles in the Trentonian has revealed. To Thompson, then, will fall the task of seeing that this increasingly important segment of the Nation is not overlooked in Washington. Particularly in legislation affecting the

deepening of the Delaware River will we have to depend on him to see that all questions

we hope, too, that he will continue the interest shown by his predecessor. Charles R. Howell, in the development of the Delaware Valley, Federal aid for schools, culture and many other matters of equal import.

While writing of Thompson and Howell, it comes to mind that we owe the latter a vote of thanks for his weekly report which the Trentonian has been pleased to publish. It was singularly well put together and highly informative. We are happy to know that THOMPSON intends to carry it on with a weekly report of his own, and again we shall be happy to present it.
We don't, of course, mean to imply that

we expect his reports to start rolling in next It will take him a while to get his feet on the ground, and whenever he finds time to start writing his column, we'll be

glad to get it.

In this matter, as in all others, we are confident that Congressman Thompson will acquit himself nobly.

Newspaper Flays Commonwealth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, E. L. BARTLETT

DELEGATE FROM ALASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BARTLETT. Mr. Speaker, not long since the Alaska Weekly under the editorship of Wilbur Irving gave editorial space to suggestions made to the newspaper that in the poll it has been taking seeking to determine Alaskans' preference as to political status that commonwealth be added to the ballot. The newspaper replied to this vigorously and emphatically in true frontier and true American spirit in these words:

We have been urged, at some length if not by a great number, to accord the question of an Alaskan commonwealth space in our ballot on the statehood issue.

We are not going to do any such thing. In fact, we hope that this will be the last space we must devote to serious discussion of such a ridiculous proposition.

It is beyond the power of the Congress to diminish by one whit or tittle the legal status of an integral part of the United States of America. Any measure which would deny the people of Alaska representation in Congress-even the voteless representation they now enjoy-would do violent injury to the Constitution.

Such a measure could not be sustained in the courts, as two of the best lawyers in the United States Senate not long ago pointed out. Senator Cordon, a Republican, and Senator Clinton Anderson, a Democrat, both raised the issue of constitutionality when the commonwealth was proposed.

Alaska is an incorporated Territory of the

United States. Some have hopes that Alaska soon will join the sisterhood of States. Others fervently hope Alaska will remain a Territory. Whatever happens, Alaska will remain a part of America, owned by Ameri-

cans and peopled by Americans.

There is nothing better than to be an American. There could be nothing worse than to be an ex-American, paying no taxes to America, sending no representative to the Congress, denied any voice in the affairs of America.

We say to those who dream-fantastic as the dream may be-of taking Alaska out of America, we say this: your nightmare is not for us. Go, go to Russia, go to the land where a constitution is nothing but a scrap of paper. Or go to Argentina or Poland or any of the other poor, raped lands where men who have no respect for law and order duly constituted by the people have found it possible to bring their nightmares to a brief reality.

The years are long since the first Red October, but they will seem as fleeting in the eyes of history as the years since Munich must have seemed to a swine named "Hitler," trapped, dying, and on his way to hell. Some day, and the long years are shortening with every passing day, we, shall witness the destruction of communism and the liberation of the enslaved millions beneath the Red banners. There can be no such thing as a peaceful coexistence with the evil forces of oppression, any more than there can be a degradation of an American by his relegation to commonwealth citizenship.

America is in the fore in the battle for freedom, as she ever has been wherever the cry of liberty was raised. Every American wants to do his part in that battle.

No thinking American wants to slink off, relieved of the privilege of sharing the burden, denied the right to representation, for-

bidden to speak his piece.

No; Alaskans are Americans and Alaska is America. They are one and the same, now and forever, and the only good thing that can be said of the ridiculous commonwealth suggestion is that its very utterance proves that freedom of speech is still one of the rights of any American, no matter how lacking in commonsense.

Preaching Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I

include the following editorial from the Memphis Commercial Appeal:

PREACHING COMPETITION

A few days before President Eisenhower asked Congress to authorize lower tariffs through the reciprocal trading method an unusually fine presentation of the virtues of competition appeared in the New York

It was an advertisement in which more than half the page was used to picture an automobile of 1905 vintage, with brassbarrel lamps, straps to the windshield corners and a buggy top. The big type said, "How do you like the 1955 model?"

In smaller type we read, "That's probably what today's cars would look like if it weren't for competition.

"Competition makes things better, newer, cost less. Competition for your patronage gives you a wider choice, gives you more for your money.

"But competition is more than a way of doing business. It's a way of life.

"Freemen compete with each other, using ideas and points of view. The best one wins, for the benefit of all."

The reader is then told how Swiss watchmakers compete among themselves and sell their watches in competition for the market in the United States. Since the end of the war the Swiss have sold \$425 million worth of watches and watchworks here, and the Swiss have bought here \$1,300,000,000 worth

of our automobiles, movies, medicines, chem-

Icals, machines, and other products.

It is the advertisement of the watchmakers of Switzerland, but it is silent on the most pointed point of recent relations between the United States and Switzerland. The United States raised the import duty on Swiss watches by 50 percent last July.

President Eisenhower has an otherwise good record of resisting pressures for protective tariffs. But this one action has done severe damage abroad to our preaching of competition as the best way of life.

Benefits to a Massachusetts watchmaker and to the reelection campaign of a Senator from Massachusetts are trivial compared to protests of businessmen, including the business of putting cases on Swiss watchworks

in the United States.

The President is being asked to reverse his action. His voice would be stronger on behalf of low tariff principles if he removes Swiss watches from the controversy.

But whatever the President does about it, or Congress does about reciprocal trade, we are indebted to the Swiss watchmakers for a clear picture of the competition in which we take so much pride.

Dillydallying on School Needs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include an article written by Columnist Doris Fleeson, in the Evening Star, January 13, 1955. This article contains undisputed facts concerning the desperate situation confronting our school system today which is depriving the children of this country of free public education.

The article follows:

DILLYDALLYING ON SCHOOL NEEDS-MRS. HOBBY PLANS LONG STUDY OF CLASSROOM SHORTAGE WHEN ONE TELEPHONE CALL WOULD GET THE FACTS

(By Doris Fleeson)

When Oveta Culp Hobby took office as Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare 2 years ago, a survey of United States educational needs which Congress had ordered made was on her desk. It showed that an appalling shortage of classrooms and teachers existed and would continue to exist unless immediate steps were taken.

Today the survey has been brought up to

date. It shows that despite real effort by most States, the shortage of classrooms is even bigger than it was. In the face of this, more than a million children entered school for the first time last year, and the census figures show that this enormous influx will continue for at least 6 more years.

Secretary Hobby's solution so far consists of plans to call a White House conference in 1955 to discuss the problem. The facts which will be put before it could be obtained with one telephone call, they are so well known to educational authorities.

The cause of the swollen school enrollment, of course, is the increased birthrate which came with the war and cold war. The American children who are being deprived of their birthright of free public education are the children of the men and women that President Eisenhower and Mrs. Hobby herself, as head of the Women's Army Corps, commanded in World War II.

In his state of the Union message, the President indicated that his heart and conscience had been touched by the situation. He said that the unprecedented shortage of schools required positive affirmative action now and promised to submit a program February 15.

This is a change of mood at least on his part. But the various commissions and committees so far appointed to make recommendations appear on their records to be opposed to anything resembling a cash program with Federal funds.

Because this is so, 30 Senators have sponsored a bill to appropriate \$500 million annually for the next 2 years for school construction. In its expenditure the States would be fiscally liable to the Federal Government but States and localities would remain in full control of all aspects directly affecting the education of the children.

The group is anxiously awaiting the Eisenhower program. They hope he sees fully as great an emergency in the schools as in the highways for which he is soon to recommend a 10 year, \$100 billion program.

Whether he does or not, they will fight for their bill. They propose to bring home to the American people the fact that American educational standards are going steadily down just at the time when the demands of society are the greatest they have ever been.

Senator Lister Hill of Alabama is chairman of the Labor and Public Welfare Subcommittee which will conduct hearings on the bill. Joining with him in sponsoring it are most of the northern Democrats, the Democratic whip, Senator Clements, and seven other southern Democrats. North Dakota has furnished both Republican sponsors, Senators Langer and Young.

It is believed that many other Republicans are only waiting for the White House nod to get behind an immediate school program.

Interested Senators have frankly given up expecting help in health, education, and welfare from Mrs. Hobby. They find her bright and charming personality, but a States rights budget balancer politically.

They are nonplussed on two counts. They had planned with masculine fortitude to restrain her womanly emotions as a defender of the rights of women and children, the sick and the aged. They had expected to suggest to her the limits of her Cabinet authority as they have to so many male members of Presidents' Cabinets. This has not proved necessary.

The 72d Anniversary of the Civil Service Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, this week marks the 72d anniversary of the Civil Service Act. After a long, hard struggle, advocates of a merit system finally saw their efforts crowned with success upon the signing of the Civil Service Act on January 16, 1883, by President Chester A. Arthur

Mr. Speaker, the longtime, career employee, newly appointed employees from competitive civil service lists, personnel trained, educated and skilled in their particular tasks form the backbone of

an efficient, economical government. It has often been said that devoted, faithful government employees—men and women who have earned their positions through civil service examinations—are the Nation's bulwark against internal deterioration of the management end of democracy.

We should maintain constant vigilance to insure that the civil service system is protected against abuses. It is the duty of the Congress to strive to improve the system.

There is an obligation upon the department and agency heads to see to it that civil service employees are treated in accordance with the intent of the law and the intent of the Congress. Sometimes, I fear, there is a tendency on the part of some Government officials to attempt to circumvent the law. Particularly is this true in the matter of the shifting and transferring of long-time career personnel. Partisanship should not play a part in personnel policies. Consideration for the good of the service and the Government itself should be the only motivating forces in effecting transfers and reductions in force.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include these remarks, an editorial from the Springfield (Mass.) Union entitled "Civil Service Week" and an editorial from the Washington Evening Star entitled "Civil Service Anniversary," and an article by David L. Perlman, Federal Merit System Had Humble Start:

[From the Springfield (Mass.) Union of January 19, 1955]

CIVIL SERVICE WEEK

On January 16, 1883, President Chester A. Arthur signed the Civil Service Act, which had enlisted the support of both political parties. This has been designed as National Civil Service Week, sponsored by the American Federation of Government Employees.

Commenting on the passage of the bill 72 years ago, the association's news service says: "It is interesting to note * * that news-papers of the time credited the pressure of public opinion rather than reform sentiment among politicians for the passage of the bill. Public sentiment had been outraged by the slaying of President Garfield by a demented job seeker."

Whatever the main root of its origin, the civil service has become a valuable part of our national governing system. While popular opinion sometimes holds the service as a concentration of Uncle Sam's help in the city of Washington, Government employees are distributed widely throughout the country, with only about 10 percent of our Federal workers in the Washington area. Civil service workers are part and parcel of all major communities in the land, and of a good many minor ones.

While the civil service is not perfect—both from the outsider's point of view and that of the civil service worker—it is not difficult to imagine the chaos that would result with every change in administration if we had no large backlog of trained men and women who enjoy a reasonable tenure of their jobs and who perform them without regard to the political complexion of any administration.

The civil service has proved a stabilizing influence in Government employment and, to a great extent, has eliminated the evils of the old spoils system. The fact that it is vigorous and flourishing after 72 years is proof of its persisting importance as a merit system in our Government.

[From the Washington Evening Star of January 19, 1955]

CIVIL SERVICE ANNIVERSARY

It was 72 years ago this week that the Federal Government launched an uncertain experiment, the substitution of merit for politics as a standard for personnel selection. Even the advocates of the reform were none too optimistic that the undertaking would be successful. David L. Perlman, editor of the Government Standard, organ of the American Federation of Government Employees, quotes in an article elsewhere on this page an editorial comment of the Star that was indicative of the restrained hopes of those who were fighting the spoils system. The editorial, referring to passage of the original civil-service law on January 9, 1883, said: What the bill may accomplish depends largely upon the President. He is really invested with power enough to make it a fair success or a total failure."

Fortunately, President after President has supported the merit system and Congress after Congress has strengthened it, as weaknesses became apparent or developed under the stress of a growing Federal establishment. The program has stood up under the open or covert efforts of patronage interests to make inroads in the career field, the most recent of which have occurred under the present administration. But, when the showdown came, the President usually has stepped forward in defense of the integrity of the merit plan. President Eisenhower is no exception. Although some of his aids seem to have been slow in getting the word, he has made it plain that he will tolerate no tampering with the civil-service principles established in 1883. It is no exaggeration to say that the system launched so uncertainly so many ears ago is more than the fair success which the Star hoped for.

[From the Washington Evening Star of January 19, 1955]

FEDERAL MERIT SYSTEM HAD HUMBLE START (By David L. Perlman)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The author is editor of the official publication of the American Federation of Government Employees and has written this article in connection with the 72d anniversary of the signing of the Civil Service Act.)

On January 16, 1883, the friends of civilservice reform were beginning to wonder if they had, perhaps, been premature in celebrating the end of the spoils system in the Federal Government.

Just a week before, the House of Representatives had rushed through final passage of the civil-service bill—a bill that bore the name of Senator George H. Pendleton, of Ohio, but had actually been drafted by Dorman B. Eaton, leading spokesman for the reform movement.

The civil-service bill had passed the Senate by a resounding 33-to-5 vote, although the number of absentees were disappointingly large. When it reached the House, there were a few halfhearted efforts to recommit or amend the bill, but its supporters kept up a steady chant of "Vote! Vote!" until, after a mere 1-hour debate, the Pendleton bill passed without a change.

Since President Arthur himself had called for passage of a civil-service law, the reformers considered that they had every right to celebrate. But then came the disconcerting news that several top administration officials had challenged the constitutionality of the measure and were urging the President to veto it on the ground that it infringed upon his constitutional power of appointment. This issue was to be the chief topic for discussion at the Cabinet meeting on January 16.

As it turned out, the fears of the reformers proved to be groundless. The Evening Star of that date tells us that, at the Cabinet meeting, "The tenor of the discussion was favorable to the signing of the bill in its present shape."

Later that day, President Arthur affixed his signature. The merit system was to get

its first trial in this county.

For more than a score of years, distinguished but isolated voices had been raised from pulpit and lecture platform against the corruptness of the spoils system. "practical" politicians brushed aside this criticism with a mocking reference to "snivel service reformers."

But when President James A. Garfield was shot down by an assassin's bullet in July 1881, in the old Pennsylvania Railroad depot-where the National Gallery of Art now stands—people were no longer amused by jokes about the "snivel service" movement. demented killer, Charles J. had been one of the thousands of jobseekers who had poured into Washington for the inauguration with claims of political service to be paid for by public office. To the man on the street, Garfield was a victim of the spoils system.

The congressional elections of 1882, which saw the defeat of several of the most outspoken opponents of civil-service reform, were the handwriting on the wall so far as Congress was concerned. Civil-service reform now became top-priority legislation.

The less starry-eyed of the reformers, however, were more restrained in their elation at

the passage of the Pendleton bill.

That the battle for civil-service reform was not over-that it had, in fact, just begun-was made very clear in an Evening Star editorial following the passage of the Pendleton bill.

Since both the Democrats and the Republicans have, at various times, claimed credit for the enactment of the first civil-service legislation, it is interesting to read these comments from the editorial, dated January 10, 1883:

'The truth is that there was a good deal of insincerity in the support and passage of the bill, and it pervaded both parties about alike. The Democrats sincerely wanted the bill beaten. Since the November elections their hopes of success in 1884 have risen to the highest degree, and Democratic leaders knew that their followers look forward to the offices with an eagerness and a hunger born of over 20 years' expulsion from the public crib. But there was a public sentiment in favor of a reform in the civil service which Democratic Congressmen feared to

dcfy.
"With the Republicans, there was just as much insincerity. They regarded the measure as one of policy rather than of principle. In the event of Democratic success in 1884. the law could serve to keep Republicans in office."

Not too hopefully, the Star editorial concluded: "What the bill may accomplish de-pends largely upon the President. He is really invested with power enough to make it a fair success or a total failure."

The new law was to take effect on January 16, 1883, 6 months after it had been signed by the President.

Only a comparatively few positions were specifically placed in the competitive service under the initial act. But the President had wide freedom to add other groups of jobs by Executive order.

The spoils system did not die overnight. Three months after the passage of the act. the classified columns of the newspapers still carried listing such as these:

Wanted: A position in one of the departments; will give \$25 down and \$5 monthly. Address S. T., Star Office.

Wanted: A gentleman of experience will pay \$100 to anyone who will secure him a

position in one of the departments. Address in confidence, Integrity, Star Office.

Meanwhile, the first Civil Service Commis-

sion, headed by Dorman B. Eaton, the most prominent of the reform leaders, moved into its first temporary offices. Even by the standards of those days, it was a modest beginning for a new agency. The first quarters were the front and back parlors of a private resi-dence at 612 14th Street NW. The rent, including maintenance, heating and light, was \$3 a day. When, some weeks later, more suitable offices became available at the Department of Agriculture annex, the Commission's first two employees, John T. Doyle and Matthew F. Halloran, moved the Commission's belongings in a pushcart.

The first civil service examination was given in July 1883, for clerkships paying \$1,000 a year. During the next 6 months, 489 appointments were made from competitive

registers.

From these humble beginnings, the merit system spread slowly but steadily throughout the Government. Sometimes gains would be made when an outgoing President placed groups of employees under civil service to try and protect them from dismissal in the new administration. But as turnover brought about the need for replacements, the replacements would come from civil service registers.

Even more important was the growing realization that the merit system meant

good government.

By 1893, Theodore Roosevelt, in one of the last letters he wrote as a Civil Service Com-

missioner, could say:

"As a matter of practical experience, every Cabinet officer whom I have seen in Washington has, before the end of his term, come to the conclusion that if there was any bureau in which he needed special efficiency, he had to put it under the civil-service law.

Science and Progress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, on December 31, last, Dr. Vannevar Bush, president of the Carnegie Institution and one of our preeminent scientist-statesmen, delivered an address to the American Association for the Advancement of Science at Berkeley, Calif. Although it is lengthy I am placing this address in our RECORD, as I feel it ranks as one of the significant public utterances of recent years. With keen insight and great wisdom, Dr. Bush examines the basic problems of our time as a scientist and citizen who is deeply imbued with our finest traditions. His comments deserve the widest readership, and leaders in and out of government might well give heed to his counsel.

The address follows:

Every man is entitled at one time in his career to declare himself regarding the idea of progress. It is an idea that in some of its aspects has been earnestly discussed by many men for over three centuries. And as usual in the case of debated subjects, the dispute turns largely on the matter of definitions. What is progress? How can it be measured? Is it a historical fact? If we have progressed, are we bound to continue progressing in the future?

When we speak of progress, we may have in mind several different conceptions of the word. Bury, in his classic Idea of Progress, traces the changes in its content and emphasis through the 17th, 18th, and 19th The idea is not an old one as ideas go. It had no place in the thinking of antiquity. Some ancient Greek and Roman writers held with Hesiod that the course of history was one of slow but steady decline from a long-past golden age. The Hebrew tradition of the fall reflects a similar point of view. Others among the Greeks and Romans believed that human history and the future of mankind followed a cyclical pattern, making no significant progress in any constant direction. Cities and empires were known to have risen and clined. Science and philosophy had flourished and faded, and flourished and faded again.

Through most of the Middle Ages the conditions of life were depressing, and men turned for their hope away from the disappointments and uncertainties of earthly existence to dwell on a roseate dream of life after death. Material improvements were sought and achieved, but their achievement was slow and unimpressive. Knowledge was looked upon as something revealed to men of great faith, to be learned by the study of accepted texts-the scriptures, the church fathers, Aristotle, the schoolmen. It was a revolutionary suggestion of Roger Bacon, and one that had no great influence in his time, that the phenomena of nature should be studied by first-hand observation rather than through received authority.

The Renaissance brought a spirit of renewed earthly joy and enthusiasm, which at first drew its inspiration from the great men of antiquity but gradually turned its eye to the present and the future and became, in the Age of Enlightenment, a spirit of hopeful expectancy. . Francis Bacon, noting the dramatic achievements of a few centuries-gunpowder, the printing press, the mariner's compass-regarded science and all intellectual effort as a utility, justified only as it contributed to "the endowment of human life with new inventions and riches." He saw no limit to the possibilities of science and fully expected those possibilities to be realized. But he did not regard their fulfillment as inevitable or assured by the laws of nature.

Eighteenth-century philosophers commonly accepted progress as the normal course of without making a particular point of the Idea until the Marquis de Condorcet, in the midst of the French Revolution, wrote his Historical View of the Progress of the Human Mind, explicitly setting forth the idea that human progress is continuous and will go on until human perfection is achieved. This became the common attitude of thoughtful people in the early years of the 19th century. It runs through the thinking of most of the Romantic and early Victorian poets, the scientists, and the phi-It drew strength from the rationalists, deists, unitarians, and universalists, who reacted with confidence in the perfectibility of man against the dour fatalism of the Calvinistic teaching that man is essentially corrupt and beyond redemption except through the unpredictable, seemingly capriclous, grace of God.

As the 19th century advanced, the idea was elaborated and bolstered with new evidence and arguments. The innumerable advances of science and invention, the overthrow of despots and growth of constitutional liberty throughout western Europe and America, the adoption of humanitarian reforms-all could be pointed to as visible evidence that progress was a fact. And the principle of biological evolution (both Lamarckian and Darwinian) provided an argument of analogy that made progress seem very much like something founded in the nature of things.

Darwin voiced the idea temperately in the following words:

"As all the living forms of life are the lineal descendants of those which lived long before the Silurian epoch, we may feel certain that the ordinary succession by generation has never once been broken, and that no cataclysm has desolated the whole world. Hence we may look with some confidence to a secure future of equally inappreciable length. And as natural selection works solely by and for the good of each being, all corporeal and mental environments will tend to progress toward perfection."

Even before the publication of the Origin of Species, Herbert Spencer had used the evolutionary analogy in his Social Statics, and in the course of the next three decades he carried the argument much farther than his scientific contemporaries were willing to do. He held that "Nature in its infinite complexity is ever growing to a new de-velopment" and further that "The ultimate development of the ideal man is logically certain, as certain as any conclusion in which we place the most implicit faith; for instance, that all men will die." The human progres that he envisioned was in all phases: In the minds and bodies of men, who, according to Spencer, would continue their biological change ever toward higher forms; in knowledge; in material facilities and conveniences; and in political and social structures. He regarded it not as conditional upon the deliberate efforts of men. but rather as an inevitable law of nature. Men's conscious actions might contribute to it, but those conscious actions would be only a secondary result of man's own progressive improvement.

The assumption of Darwin and Spencer that all evolution must be progress was of course only an assumption. But it was generally accepted by most of their contemporaries despite the criticism of Huxley in his later years. In the generally hopeful temper of the late 19th century the whole Spencerian dogma was eagerly taken up, with or without its claims of reason, by all classes of people in England and the United States. The prevailing mood of our society before the First World War was one of complacent expectation that all things would improve perpetually. Retrogression, at least, was unthinkable.

But the First World War shook our optimism, the depression shook it further, and the second war nearly destroyed it. Now, though we may still hope that our race will go forward in progress, we are confronted with facts that take all the former exuberance out of our hope, reducing it almost to a wish of despair. This is especially so with regard to moral and political affairs. For who can have confidence in humanity's future when he looks at events of the past 20 years? Belsen and Buchenwald were poor exhibits of humanitarian progress by standards recognized in the 19th century. And it is difficult to see much to choose between the erratic tyranny of the Czars and the systematic tyranny of the present Russian Government, with its purges and brainwashings. Our wonted spirit of optimism has given way largely to a spirit of gloom, and some among us seem to be gradually moving toward a definite philosophy of pessimism.

In these circumstances it is perhaps well that we should look more closely at the idea of progress, take stock of the realities, and formulate a reasoned position as free as possible from both despair and wishful thinking.

Let me begin by distinguishing some of the elements of progress that we are considering. How can the fact of progress be judged or recognized? What does the word mean before it is expanded into Bury's "idea of progress"? As it is used in this phrase and as I am using it, the word carries a connotation not only of movement or even of movement in a constant direction, but of movement in a direction that is intrinsically good or desirable. Its meaning cannot be derived from experience or reason; for it is based solely on a dogmatic ethical assumption as to what constitutes the good or desirable, toward which all actions and all change ought to be directed.

Attempts have been made to define the word in such a way as to escape the element of dogma and give it a semblance of universality. But all such attempts have inevitably failed. Many writers have already pointed out that the measures of progress popularly applied to biological evolution are arbitrary. Man may, have evolved from the primordial ooze, and this may be accepted as good if we assume that it is good to have complex life on earth, but this again is an arbitrary assump-How many other species have evolved to a certain level of adaptation in relation to a given environment, only to fail of adaptation to a superseding environment? Why cannot the same fate be in store for human We may grant that the evolution of man has been a local triumph in the universe, and yet doubt whether his further evolution is bound to lead to further triumph. We may say that evolution follows a pattern that tends always toward heterogeneity and complexity, and complexity may for a time But in the long run have survival value. how can we be sure that complexity will not prove fatal? Survival value cannot be appraised before the millennium, and therefore to define progress in relation to it is meaningless.

I shall be dogmatic at this point and state some of the standards of value that I have accepted for judging progress. I have nothing new to add, I can merely reiterate what has been said many times, and, having done so, add my comments on its meaning for the great problems we now face. I believe that it is good for mankind to gain knowledge and understanding without regard for their utility in relation to other ends. also believe that it is good that our knowledge, for whatever reason acquired, should be used to improve man's health and increase his comfort and happiness. And from these primary standards I derive certain secondary values. It is good to preserve the individual freedom of all men for free men alone can think freely or freely acquire knowledge, and freedom is a part of the comfort and happiness toward which we legitimately aspire. It is good also to have peace, provided it is not bought at the price of greater values, for peace in ideal circumstances contributes to our comfort and happiness and in some degree to our freedom. But on the secondary level of values we must often make difficult choices. We must sometimes forego a measure of our earned comfort and happiness in order to avoid losing all of it. We must make sacrifices to sustain and defend the freedom of our institutions, the right to continue our experiment in democratic government and refine its underlying principles. We must sometimes even be willing to go to war for these reasons.

There is a risk in the pursuit of knowledge that must not be blinked at. partial knowledge and limited wisdom we can encompass our own destruction without meaning to do so Fear of such self-destruction underlies all our thoughts and acts today, and with reason. But this fear often becomes distorted, being centered almost wholly on A-bombs and H-bombs because of their spectacular nature. There are other weapons that could prove just as deadly. Had there been no A-bombs or H-bombs, the danger would not be notably less. For if the nations of the earth continue to devote a large part of their productive efforts to the building of weapons, and to marshal for the purpose all the potentialities of science, engineering, and industry, they can create the

means, whether of one sort or of another, which when fully exploited will be capable of erasing whole populations. Without the A-bomb, chemical warfare, as it was developed, though held in reserve, during the last world war, could have a terrible effect. Biological warfare could be far more terrible. New diseases created for the purpose and introduced among an unprotected population by an attacker who had acquired immunity to them could bring back the horror of the great plagues that once swept over the earth. The deliberate blighting of crops and herds could produce unprecedented famine. And as we now advance in finding chemotherapeutic means for the treatment of mental disorders and drugs that exert control over human emotions, these very means, in the hands of ruthless dictators, may constitute one of the greatest threats of all

Some people in their unbalanced fear accuse the physicists of having brought the world to its present plight through the development of A-bombs and H-bombs. It is believed by some that physicists have a conviction of guilt, and some physicists by their own utterances have given grounds for this belief. But the guilt, if it is to be so regarded, must be shared by many who were not directly involved in developing the Every step in the advance of our knowledge that preceded the discovery of ways to release atomic energy contributed to the final result. If the result was a crime, then Newton must be counted as one of the arch criminals and Einstein as an accomplice. Nor should the scientists of the free world be held peculiarly responsible, for the general course of science has rendered the result inevitable; our scientists merely hastened the time a little and made it possible for us to determine the place and circumstances of the first release of atomic energy. We are fortunate that they were the first to succeed. For their success gave a temporary advantage to the free self-governing peoples of the world. Had Hitler's scientists solved the problem of exploding an atomic bomb early in the war, we might now all be under the Nazi's heel, with extermination camps ready to dispose of any group or nation that rebelled. Had the Russians found the solution at the end of the war, while we were still unarmed with atomic weapons, the sweep of their armies would not have stopped in the Balkans, the Baltic, and Czechoslovakia; and we should now face a huge totalitarian state bent on world conquest with all the industrial power of Europe at its command.

We sometimes hear that the natural sciences in general have outrun the social sciences and that the balance must be restored if we are to cope with our great new danger. It is too late in the day for any such remedy. We should, indeed, give every practicable support to social science and hope that some day it will produce answers to many of our human dilemmas. But the test is upon us now and will not wait. We must grapple with it, using the systems of social relation that we have and such wisdom as we can muster. Whether we come through the ordeal will depend upon whether we are sufficiently mature to map out a wise path and adhere to it. Looking for easy ways, mysterious formulas, or scapegoats will not help.

The dogmas that I have stated are not presumptuous ones. They are dogmas of humility. They do not pretend that we know all the answers. On the contrary, they recognize that we are still comparatively ignorant and very much confused. In our scientific endeavors we have correlated some of our simpler experiences, and this has led us into contradiction and confusion. We have hardly begun to correlate those experiences that involve the emotions. We see but through a glass darkly. Yet the race is young. In a thousand years we may un-

derstand more and be able to substitute dogmas that are more satisfying to our souls than the simple ones I have been propounding. Perhaps, indeed, in a thousand years men will abandon hope entirely. But let us not now, in blind anticipation of what they may then think, abandon hope for them.

We know vastly more than our ancestors did of what nature's forces can do, but we can hardly claim to have achieved any true or profound understanding as yet. Our theoretical explanations of observed phenomena have changed completely in the past 3,000 years. How can we say whether they have advanced or not, since they are not measurable by any ultimate standards? They can be judged only according to the degree to which they seem to be consistent with our accumulated experience and the range of experience which they encompass. We place increasing emphasis upon the pragmatic test of whether our theories work, and are little concerned with whether they express an absolute truth, or whether there is such a thing as truth to be expressed. The corpuscular theory of light served for a time until new observations seemed to require its abandonment in favor of the concept of waves passing through ether Now we have revived the corpuscle under the new name of quantum, and find it useful as a means of rationalizing certain phenomena that could not be rationalized under the wave theory. We use both theories without attempting to reconcile them with each other. When we deal with the nucleus of the atom we work with a bizarre formula and care little whether it has a model to go with it.

Professor Dingle aptly states the case regarding theory in his essay Some Reflections

on the History of Science:

"Amid all the changes of theories and pictures and conceptions, the relations remain and steadily accumulate. Franklin found that lightning was a manifestation of the electric ether revealed in laboratory The electric ether has disapexperiments. peared, and other theories of electricity have in turn succeeded it and disappeared also, but the relation between lightning and laboratory sparks remains. Maxwell established a relation between light and electromagnetic oscillations. His ether also has gone, but the relation stays. All permanent advances in science are discoveries of relations between phenomena, and the factor in science that shows a steady uninterrupted growth is the extent of the field of related observations. World pictures are indispensable for progress but even the most satisfying has no hope of immortality."

We have progressed in our scientific knowledge and have the power to progress further. But I see no law of nature that makes such further progress inevitable. For the present we are limited only by our will to go ahead and our ability to preserve a world environment in which the search is possible. There probably are inherent limitations to our human mental capacities and to our conceptions of science that will eventually impede our further conceptual progress. We have come generally to question whether there can be any scientific certainty.

There never was, indeed, any true basis for certainty; but when we were in a more ontimistic mood we sometimes allowed ourselves to suppose that there was. ent tendency of scientists to emphasize uncertainty is symptomatic of the times; it is perhaps their subconscious reaction as their former roseate vision of endless progress is dimmed by the louring aspect of the present state of world affairs. The great generalizations of Heisenberg and Gödel have but stated the fact more explicitly and completely than it had been stated before, and led us to see more clearly some of its implications. The inductive method of science. from which have emerged its great triumphs, can yield only a strong probability of truth

in a restricted area. No matter how many confirmatory experiments may be made, or how closely they are in accord with a hypothesis, there is no guaranty that the next similar experiment will not contradict it, and no basis for its extrapolation into regions where test is impossible. Man may find order among his experiences and in so doing gain control over nature for his own ends, but he cannot in this way acquire certainty. Even the deductive method is severely limited, as Gödel has shown. No system, logically based on a set of premises, can be demonstrated to be free from contradiction without stepping outside of that system.

As we, then, accumulate generalizations to bind together the facts of experience into useful formulations, as we establish hypotheses and test them by experience, are we indeed coming closer to reality? We cannot know. We can gain mastery over the course of events and thus control our subsequent experience with a high probability of success. But we cannot say that we have arrived at truth with any more assurance than when we specify truth by dogma, without all the paraphernalia of experiment, logic, and mathematics. Thus science is, in these days, becoming more humble in its assertions.

We may feel that the ordering of our observations of the heavens by Newton gives us a grasp of the swinging of the planets about the sun that is closer to reality than the system of Ptolemy with its spheres, deferents, and epicycles, even if the latter were refined to be in full accord with observation, as it could be. We may feel that, having added Einstein's refinements, we are still closer to reality. But this is a feeling only, a faith if you will; and what constitutes the truth is not demonstrable by logic of any sort.

Yet there is more than mere utility in the endeavor to systematize the evidence of our senses, and this we may forget when the limitations of science are emphasized. The extension of our observations into space, the translation of our bindings into cosmological hypotheses, is pursued with intensity and satisfaction; and the motivation is not to learn a bit more about the nucleus of the atom just to make more powerful bombs or even to provide a new source of energy so that civilization may continue after it has exhausted its oil and coal. The musings and speculations of one who thinks in terms of receding galaxies or of primordial explo-sions are far different in content, though perhaps not in nature, from the ponderings of the peasant who sees the stars glued to a celestial sphere rotating over his head. they better or of a higher order? Have they possibility of coming nearer to grasping eternal truths? This, too, we cannot know. We have only the evidence of a powerful, inner urge to pursue the path of inquiry, to learn more in the sense of extending and systematizing our observations and experiments over a wider field, to grasp more in the sense of greater generalizations-not so that we may be more prosperous, but so that our spirits may have a freer rein in those aspirations which transcend the mere mechanisms of existence.

The limitations upon our understanding have not yet, at any rate, begun to cramp our progress. Who can say that they are not themselves merely the expression of the limited view that we have thus far attained? We have not reached the boundaries of our finite capabilities, we have only proved for a time that the assumption of our fathers that they are boundless is probably false. We must go on until we can go no farther, for it is not in our inquisitive nature to abandon the quest for knowledge merely because we are told that we shall never know all that can conceivably be known or know anything with certainty. Must every adventurer be assured success before he will take a step forward? We are all born to die, and yet we spend every waking hour of our

lives in striving as if we were to live forever. We may observe historically that man's progress has been intermittent and has alternated with retrogression; but observing this we do not sink back from effort in despair; it is not in our nature to do so. And the search for knowledge and truth has its daily rewards unrelated to any ultimate achievements.

Without any presupposition, then, of the inevitability of progress, we may reasonably expect each day to learn more and accomplish something in a material way that will add to the comfort or convenience of our These same material accomplishliving. ments will bring us new and more terrible instruments of death. But this fact will not deter us from further scientific inquiry. Our simple survival is not worth so much that it is to be purchased at the cost of intellectual stultification. Nor would the suppression of dangerous inquiry save us. Although the achievements of science may, indeed, throw us back into barbarism, the abandonment of our search for knowledge and material betterment would only make vegetables of us.

There is no certainty in either science or The science and technology that have carried us so far toward physical fort and prosperity may blow us back with an atom blast to barbarism, to wars and pestilence; to a world in which the pressure of population on primitive resources is controlled only by recurrent war and famine; to a world that offers only a tinsel glory for a few built on a pyramid of misery for the many. The application of science to warfare may put an end to the surge of scientific progress that began with Galileo. We may, indeed, throw ourselves into a war of extermination. Or, in an excess of caution, we may throw away our dearest freedoms in false and narrowly conceived measures of defense. Either way we lose utterly. The way to peace and continued progress is not clear. But neither confusion nor pessimism will justify inaction while there is so much that can and ought to be done. We can strive to work our way out of the confusion and not be panicked by it into rigid immo-bility. We need not be dismayed by the bility. We need not be dismayed by the uncertainty of the outcome. We can gamble cheerfully on the course suggested by our best judgment today, and play the next turn according to our better-or perhaps only different—judgment of tomorrow. And there is a chance that we may continue our achievements in the realm of physical well-being and escape the worst dangers that we now so We may reach the end of the wars that have been a scourge to man ever since he began to make tools.

In world affairs, as nearly as I can judge, we are headed for the moment toward a stalemate; and this is probably the best situation that can now be hoped for. The world will remain for a time evenly divided, its halves poised for mutual annihilation. Secondary wars will continue with restricted means, as in Korea and Indochina. The great bombing fleets will be held in leash. Always will be the danger of their being present unleashed by some mad action or by simple accident. Our nerves will become increas-ingly taut, and we shall be tempted to seek the delusive relief offered by totalitarian government. authoritarianism, obscurantism, thought control. We shall be ever threatened by the panic of fear. It is not a pleasant outlook. But I see no better one in

the near offing.

We can at least strive to avoid mad actions and pray to be delivered from blind accidents. We can, in fact, do more than pray. We can all of us, whatever our special calling, keep informed about the course of public affairs, recognize that they are of personal concern to us, study public problems, and through the constant pressure of an enlightened public opinion prevent those who govern us from lapsing into carelessness. We

can by our indirect influence as well as by voting at the polls see to it that firebrands do not come into power. But let us not try to conjure away our fears by propitlatory Witch hunts or by fatuous acceptance of the promises of political messiahs or the dazzling spectacle of the man on a white horse. We heed alert vet sober leaders who can and will think their way through the problems that confront us, who can judge wisely and act decisively. We can have such leaders if we refuse to settle for less. Remember the adage of Plato's Republic that the punishment of Wise men who refuse to take part in the government is to live under the government of unwise men.

The stalemate that I envision, however, Will not be a true one if it is allowed to rest only on the equal striking power of the opposing forces. We must, of course, have striking power equal or superior to that of our enemy. But equal striking power does not constitute an equilibrium of forces When one side is limited in its use of such power entirely to retaliation. And our side is so limited and must remain so. For the one thing above all others that distinguishes us from the enemy and makes him an enemy is the fact that we do not have a totalitarian form of government capable of making a surprise attack. Our enemy has such a government and will not be deterred from making a surprise attack by our mere threat to retaliate, if he has a reasonable hope of destroying at one stroke most of the forces that we must rely on for sustained retallation. Had the Japanese been as nearly matched to us in military strength as the Soviet alliance is, they would probably have won the war in the Pacific. The only stalemate for us is one in which we have striking power superior to the enemy's and defenses that are strong enough to balance the inherent advantage our enemies must always have of striking first. At the very least we must protect our essential retaliatory means from destruction before they can be used. We have not thus far, in planning for defense, taken all the necessary possible measures to prevent such destruction. And, unless the military corrects its thinking soon, there is real danger that the stalemate upon which we depend for relative peace will prove to be altogether illusory.

This is-not the first crisis in human affairs, although it is by all odds the most intense we have yet gone through and the fastest paced one. Yet a generation may suffice to resolve it. And the outcome will depend on how we react under almost intolerable strain. Society does not wish to commit suicide, nor does any part of it wish to do so: The question is whether it will commit suicide in spite of itself. If we can but weather this storm I believe that we may fairly hope to build a world in which there will be no more wars of any kind. The problems that cause wars-population problems, problems of access to resources-all such problems could conceivably be settled to everyone's advantage by other means than war, and science can contribute in an important way to their solution. The world's resources can be more effectively utilized and made more accessible to people by improved means of transport. The wild growth of populations can be curbed. Available materials that are not now made use of can be brought into profitable use just as has been done in the past with petroleum, natural and the magnesium gas, bauxite, Water. New sources of food may be found in organisms specifically developed to in-crease the total amount of the world's food supply.

Our future progress depends on how well free peoples have learned to govern themselves. The test is not one of how fast peoples who have been under a foreign yoke until recently will now establish democracy or succumb to the wiles of demagogs or the tyranny of dictators. The test comes primarily in the great democracles, with experience in parliamentary processes and the operation of courts, under a new type of threat and a gnawing fear. The test in this country is whether we can truly maintain our freedoms and guard our way of life against threats from without, against subversion within, and against our own errors and aberrations. Our recent performance in this regard is not encouraging.

The great asset of free countries in the present struggle is their freedom. The great disability of dictatorships is that they are always permeated with suspicion and distrust, conspiracy, personal spite, the deflection of justice for sinister ends, timidity in the expression of honest opinions. In a free world men may disagree and maintain their mutual respect; they may urge unpopular courses of action and be heard; it is assumed that they are loyal and seeking the best for their contry and their fellows unless they are proved to be traitors by due process in independent and impartial tribunals. In a police state men express the current party line; and, if they misjudge it, they disappear.

Here is an enormous advantage for the United States if it is kept unimpaired. It insures that the whole course of Government. our relations with other countries, our milltary policy, will undergo the full scrutiny of uncoerced public opinion. The advantage extends even into minor matters. When a new weapon is being secretly planned about a table, when the relative priority of alternative technical or strategic programs is being considered, our system assumes that the junior participants who have honest to contribute may express them thoughts without fear of retaliation from powerful men who think otherwise, or who have opposing vested interests. This great advantage freedom to dissent makes the country genuinely strong in many ways. It must not

Our enemy relies chiefly on the weapons of penetration and subversion to weaken us that later he can destroy us. objective is to steal our secrets. Among the thousands or even millions who have access to secret information there have been a few. a very few, traitors. We must guard against such traitors with all our skill and determination. But the importance of their acts has been exaggerated out of all reasonable proportion. Without their help we tell the world, voluntarily, nearly all we know; and our enemy has only to read and listen. In technical articles, in advertisements, in budget presentations, in the release of testi-mony, in open court hearings, we disclose to the enemy our technical plans and programs, the essential characteristics of new airplanes and weapons, the location and equipment of our military bases and our factories for producing military items. freely print critical dissections of the technical controversies that arise over the explicit development of our major weapons. Skilled analysts assemble scattered information and synthesize it into speculative accounts of what is happening in areas of There is very little military development. left for an enemy espionage system to find out, and it can concentrate on that little with the full background handed to it on a platter. If we are honestly determined to keep the enemy ignorant of our plans and designs, we must, indeed, be careful to keep both the traitor and the spy out of our councils, laboratories, and factories. But. we need much more to draw a clear line between the information which the electorate must have for its reasoned judgment, and the technical and military information which is not necessary for that purpose; and having drawn the line we need to strictly to it. Until we do this, we are protecting, at great risk to our operations, only a small part of the information that should be protected. But this first objective of our enemy's actions is today less important to him than his other objectives.

His second objective is to penetrate our organizations and influence our decisions. There is not the slightest doubt that this was done successfully in the days when we were more gullible than we now are. It is difficult to recapture the atmosphere of the immediate postwar period, when we were a pushover for attempts of this kind. Russia had been our ally, a difficult one to be sure, but often a loval ally under stress. Remember that when we landed in Normandy, we would have been highly vulnerable if Russia had concluded a separate armistice, or even relaxed its pressure, so that the full weight of German arms could be brought to bear on us. It might perhaps have been in Russia's interest thus to prolong the struggle and stand aside until the nations of the West had become exhausted.

After the war there was a strong hope that we could live in peace and understanding with our former ally. After all, Russia had plenty of land and resources and needed a generation in which to build industries and raise its standard of living. There was validity in our purpose to ease tensions and further good relations. It was some time before the free world realized that it had demolished one threat only to be faced with another, far more sinister and far more skillful in its operations. In the interim there was penetration into many organizations by men who took their orders from the Krem-Much harm was done by these men, with their own strange ideas of the future; undisciplined, arrogant men, who did not hesitate to undercut their superiors and their colleagues or to connive with a foreign power against the Nation. The danger from such men is much less today, for we are now alert, and we are no longer gullible. efforts still persist, but they are much less successful and are concentrated on auxiliary organizations rather than on the center of government. To combat their threat we must be relentlessly vigilant. But the change of attitude that has occurred in the last decade, the clear realization among loyal members of our various organizations, from Government bodies to labor unions, has rendered the efforts of those who would penetrate and influence our decisions and acts in favor of the enemy ineffective except in minor ways.

The third objective of the enemy is the most important one. It is to spread confusion and distrust among us. In this purpose he has been most successful and is more successful today than ever before. In fact, he has been so successful that he need hardly try further; we are carrying on the process now without his prompting, and the process grows by what it feeds on. We have a system for the clearance of persons to do secret work, which seems almost calculated to destroy their reputations by innuendo and charges based on spite. We have adopted a principle, abhorrent to our own best tradition, of establishing guilt on the basis of simple associa-We have men who contributed much to the war effort now placed in jeopardy because of the expression of unpopular opinions. We have useful men denied the opportunity to contribute to our scientific efforts because of their youthful indiscretions. Worst of all, we have the evil practice of ruthless, ambitious men, who use our loyalty procedures for political purposes. Suspicion and distrust are rampant in the land. We are on the verge of abandoning some of our most treasured freedoms; we have nearly lost our greatest advantage over the enemy in the current struggle-our mutual regard and trust as a people.

The enemy's actions in the cold war have been uncommonly successful. Their impact has been most severe on the scientific com-

munity, and there are several reasons for this. Scientists occupy a key position in regard to those secrets which should be most strictly kept. They have always been more involved in international relations than most men, for science is by its very nature international in character. Scientists are highly individualistic; otherwise they would not be scientists. Concentrating in one field, they are sometimes exceedingly naive in others. When we dreamed of a world of understanding to put an end to recurrent wars, there was a greater portion of gullible men among them than among most other groups. there were traitors among them, though excedingly few, who were capable of doing and did great damage to us. It was inevitable. therefore, that much of the hysterical witch hunt should have been concentrated on the scientific profession. Yet there is no place where it could be more disastrous to our national interest. In Russia today the scientist is respected and honored, too much so no doubt. In this country the scientist is under attack, viewed with suspicion; and young men hesitate to enter the profession or, once in, to participate in military programs because of the hazards to their reputations and careers. We had better reverse this trend if we wish to compete on even terms with the enemy.

Just as soon as this is said there are always several rejoinders. One of these is that the scientists seek special privileges. do not. To seek a restoration of the principles of the Bill of Rights in all the procedures of government is not to seek special privilege in this country. To urge a revision of our present security system to remove its defects, which are applicable to scientists, lawyers, diplomats, and all others alike. is not to seek special privilege. There should be an end, for all who labor in the interests of the country's safety, of trial on the basis of unsupported charges, of actions by officials of Government which destroy reputa-There should be a complete and final end of the use of the security system to discredit those who disagree. There should be a complete removal of the system from politics. To assert these things is to seek privilege, but only the privilege of all to live in a country which continues to be free.

A second rejoinder is that scientists will refuse to serve unless the system is changed to suit their wishes. It is true that many individual men shrink from entering Government duty under present conditions. A father who got caught in a Communist gathering when he was 20 and foolish will shield his sons from the ordeal of seeing him pilloried. Retiring persons to whom strife of any sort is emotionally impossible will avoid the hazard. Men in vulnerable positions, where a whispering campaign, or even a series of strange inquiries among their friends and associates would place their careers in jeopardy, may pull their punches and go along with proposals which they disapprove rather than stand up and be counted. All this is happening and is doing great harm to our national effort. But scientists in general, in Government, in industrial laboratories, in universities, working on military programs, are hard at work as usual, and are devoting their most conscientious efforts to the good of their country, sometimes at considerable risk to themselves. will be no scientific strike. There scientists of the country, like all other pro-fessional groups, place the good of their country above their personal comfort or their personal fate. Among scientific groups today there is sadness and discouragement. They work assiduously, but they do not have the enthusiasm and confidence that they once had. They are making great technical progress in many fields, and they will continue to do so. But they yearn for a leadership in this country which would restore the old atmosphere in which there was a

close-knit bond of mutual confidence and respect between them and the military, in which they could do their part toward the country's preservation, anonymously and without thought of personal gain, but without threat to their reputations as loyal workers.

The great question, as we try to envisage the future, is whether this madness of ours is a passing phase, or whether it will grow until the free world transforms itself into a replica of the captive world it opposes. If the latter is the outcome, the struggle will be over, for it will then not matter which tyranny prevails. The idea of progress then will no longer have any meaning. The question for us is whether we can conquer our fears, not abandoning them but rendering them sane and realistic, or whether our fears will feed upon themselves until we throw away our freedom in a wild attempt to preserve it.

There is a great threat from overseas. But the threat here at home is, for the moment, This country has been the greater one. through similar phases before, not as intense or dangerous, but bad enough. After the First World War we had an interval in which the guarantees of the Bill of Rights were disregarded by those in power, we had witch hunts, and we saw spooks in every shadow. From this we recovered without must permanent damage. The situation today is much more threatening. If all people knew the wide extent of the threat—which goes far beyond the few spectacular cases make the headlines-if they undestood better how closely it fits into our enemy's designs, and how successful those designs are proving, then there would be a return to reason in a hurry. One thing we need to learn is that the enemy alone stands to gain from the spread of suspicion and distrust among us, and it is in our interest to create mutual confidence. One thing we need especially to learn is that a vigorous system for throwing out the Communists in our midst must be paralleled by vigorous executive action to detect those actions which are inspired by spite or attempts at thought control, to see that they are suppressed before they do real damage, and see that they backfire promptly on those who instigate them. Finally, we need to learn that the use of star-chamber proceedings for political purposes is dangerous in the last degree to the very foundation of a democracy.

I have spoken thus far of three elements of progress—the progress of biological evolution, the progress of knowledge and understanding, the progress of technology with its attendant dangers of self-destruction. There is one other form of progress that is often questioned but upon which I base my own strongest hopes. I refer to progress in the ethical conceptions and conduct of men.

How are we to judge of progress in this field? With respect to knowledge and understanding, I have already dogmatically stated my standard of values. It is good for mankind to advance in knowledge and understanding and to use his knowledge for the promotion of human welfare. I shall state dogmatically my acceptance of another standard of value by which I am willing to judge the very dogmas of the past. It is good for men to love and respect their fellow men and deal not only justly but alkindly with one another.

By this dogmatic standard, as I have previously suggested, we may see little evidence of a steady ethical progress in the last 150 years. But we can most certainly see much progress if we look back over the whole span of recorded history. We still lie, cheat, and steal as they did in the age of which Homer sang; but we do not write epics glorifying the wiles and tricks of unscrupulous national heroes. Dishonesty and unscrupulous behavior on the part of our leaders and statesmen may still pay temporary local dividends, but they lead at

last to censure and in some cases to more substantial punishment and permanent disgrace.

The ethical codes subscribed to if not followed by all liberal and thoughtful men today, regardless of their religious faiths, are more humane than they were 6,000 years ago. Contrast the stern code of Draco with our present mild laws—mild, in the opinion of some, to the point of softness. Contrast the primitive ideal of conduct in the Song of Deborah, glorifying Jael, who enticed the fleeting Sisera into her tent and there drove a tent pin into his head, with the Sermon on the Mount. The ideal expressed in the Golden Rule, which we all yearn to follow, is from the point of view of peaceable human relations superior to the older rule of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth.

We are sometimes depressed by the fact that men, however fine their ideals, are now and have always been governed in large measure by evil, selfish impulses. Yet, if we stop to consider, we have made some small progress even in our behavior. Most of us have moved perceptibly away from the primitive xenophobia that hates all outlanders and strangers. We are not so callous to human suffering even as our European and colonial forebears of the 16th and 17th cen-Mutilation and the pillory have passed out of our lexicon of punishments. No one would say with Defoe that a bankrupt who falsifies his declaration ought in justice to be hanged as a felon, or would regard the theft of a sheep or a shilling as a capital offense. We are not yet gentle in our relations with one another. But neither are we so savage as once we were. If we are at times discouraged, we must consider that the whole era of civilization has been but a moment in the largely unwritten history of mankind. On the whole, I believe, men feel more secure in their relations with one another than they did in the very early days when every man carried a club, or later when they substituted swords and daggers. Perhaps this is just an evidence of improved police protection. But it is progress of a sort. We are not, indeed, visionaries when we strive for harmonious relations among all nations of the world. Our children may live to see its advent.

In speaking of progress I have avoided the question of ultimate goals; the goals with which I have concerned myself are only those of men for their own and a few future generations. Can we suppose that for the ultimate goal of the cosmic drama man and man's works will have any significance? The species may long have been extinct before the ultimate, if we can in fact conceive of an ultimate, is reached.

I am thinking of a much smaller drama in which man is the hero. If we may hope that men will within the next generation and a reasonable number of succeeding generations become better and happier than they are, according to our present standards of judging what is better and happier, this hope is good in itself and is in no way diminished by the thought that men may never become perfect by those standards or that their standards of judging will change. We cannot wish for what we cannot imagine.

Indeed it is a grim world, and the future for the moment looks dark. We reconcile ourselves now to the loss of that sense of certainty which we too often falsely enjoyed, and we have lost the exuberance with which we once hailed a vision of neverending progress. We struggle in confusion to maintain the privileges that were won by our fathers and that have been ours. do we need to be glum about it all? The birds still sing in the trees; music still has the power to move us and to bring back happy memories. It is no new thing for man to confront perils in his upward struggle. Life has always been hazardous, civilization has always been threatened, our individual deaths have always been an inevitable certainty. But men have faced uncertain futures before with courage and even
a light heart. Life, whatever else it may
be, is not dull. We are privileged to share
together in a great adventure, the very hazards of which should draw us closer together.
With determination and wisdom our sorry
old world may yet become a happy place to
live in, where wars are no more, and where
the spirit of brotherhood dominates all we
think and do.

The Commentator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I wish to insert the following editorial entitled "The Commentator," by W. K. Kelsey, which appeared in the Detroit News on January 13, 1955:

THE COMMENTATOR (By W. K. Kelsey) POSTAL METAPHYSICS

Argument about postal rates, at least in the United States, seems destined always to enter the metaphysical realm. When President Eisenhower says that "the services performed by the Post Office Department are of measurable value to their recipients," and bases on that theory a design for higher postal rates which he then admits to be subject to correction, he throws reason out the window.

Like the deputy of Achala, Gallio, the average citizen cares for none of these things that bother the President and Postmaster General Summerfield. They are called to his attention often enough, but they will not worry him until he finds the first-class postage rate boosted to 4 cents an ounce.

Then he will ask why a one-third increase is levied on the letterwriter, when he is already more than paying the expense of handling the first-class mail, and when the entire deficit of the Department in fiscal 1954 was only 15 percent. If the services performed are of measurable value to their recipients, how has that value been increased to justify an upping of the rates in the one classification which already makes a profit?

The answer is that it is imperative to subsidize newspapers and magazines, chiefly the latter. Second-class mall is far from paying its way. If it were compelled to do so, periodicals would raise their prices, shifting the extra cost to recipients. That would surely prove unpopular. The real question then is whether second-class mail be subsidized from the general revenues of the Government, or by the senders of first-class mail, who are already paying more than the service they receive costs.

FIRST-CLASS POSTAGE

Having made this argument against what seems to be a wholly illogical position taken by the President and the Postmaster General, the Commentator will now weaken if not destroy it.

There was a time when most first-class mail consisted of private letters, on which postage was paid not by the sender but by the recipient. This was a boon to the addressee; he was generally glad to pay for a letter he could identify as being from a relative or a friend, and he could refuse one that looked like an invoice.

With the invention of the adhesive postage stamp, prepayment became the custom, and business began to use the postal facilities with increasing frequency. Today it is probable that business communications far exceed private letters. The cost of sending these business matters becomes a cost of trade, compensated either through the price of goods sold or not at all. So when you receive by first-class mail a bill from your favorite store, you are probably paying a part, though a small one, of the postage.

When one considers how the costs of mall service, except to the private and personal letterwriter, are capable of being passed on and spread, how can one believe that the services "are of measurable value to their recipients"? They are of value to the national community as a whole; but it is doubtful if they are of measurable value even so, because whatever their cost they have become utterly essential.

Therefore the logical question seems to be not what shares of cost should be paid by four different classifications and a number of other services, to keep each approximately solvent, but how the whole bill can best be

THE DEFICIT PROBLEM

When the proposition is put that way, the answer becomes easier. The postal service can be made to pay by increasing by one-third the rate of its only highly profitable activity, the first-class mail, and by raising other rates as much as the traffic will bear. The alternative is to continue running on an annual deficit, and having it paid by the taxpayer to the present tune of about two-thirds of 1 percent of the budget.

To a businessman like Mr. Summerfield, acceptance of the principle of continuing postal deficits is bad. It may lead to a careless disregard of costs, not during his administration, but when some dirty Democrat takes over. On the other hand, a too rigid economy in an effort to balance the postal budget can reduce services, lower efficiency, and make the administration unpopular. Therefore the Department should break even, and the way to make it break even is to increase the first-class rate, letting the cost to the people fall on whom it may.

Either you side with the administration theory, or you don't and to the Commentator it's six of one and half a dozen of the other. A 4-cent rate might boost his annual postage bill \$5 directly, and a small amount indirectly; but eventually it might take a few cents off his income tax, or it might improve the service given him, though not to the extent of 33½ percent. He is quite satisfied with "the privacy, security, and swift dispatch of letter mail," etc., as they are, and he thinks Mr. Summerfield is performing miracles.

Case of the Gas Consumers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois, Mr. Speaker, in view of another anticipated legislative

drive by the gas interests my colleagues from gas-consuming States will find interesting the argument of Hon. Joseph F. Grossman before the Federal Power Commission—docket No. R-142—in consideration of principles and methods to be applied in fixing rates to be charged by independent producers for natural gas sold in interstate commerce for resale.

Mr. Grossman, rated as one of the outstanding authorities of the Nation on municipal law, is the special assistant corporation council of the city of Chicago in public utilities matters. Following is his argument of today, January 13, 1955, before the Federal Power Commission:

Before concluding the arguments yesterday, Mr. Harry Begley, assistant attorney general of the State of Illinois, appeared in behalf of the Illinois Commerce Commission and urged regulation of rates by this commission applicable to independent producers of gas on the basis of the value of the gas in place. Before proceeding with my statement, I want this Commission to know that Mr. Begley does not represent the views of the consumers of gas in the city of Chicago. Mr. Begley represents the Illinois legal concept of rate regulation based upon its statutory law, which requires a fair value rate base in fixing just and reasonable rates for the utilities in Illinois. That is not the criterion established by this Commsson under the Natural Gas Act as construed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

The city of Chicago is served by the People's Gas System which was represented here by Mr. Clarence Ross. There are approximately 1 million customers in Chicago, who consume about 400 million cubic feet of natural cas per day.

natural gas per day.

The position of the city of Chicago is stated in four brief paragraphs filed in this proceeding, which I ask the indulgence of your honorable body to read:

"City of Chicago respectfully submits that when any commodity or service is dedicated to public use and subject to legislative control and regulation the rates and charges for such commodity or service, if determined by competitive bids and offers, violate the fundamental principles of public-utility regulation.

"The very reason and purpose of rate regulation by authority of law is to substitute reason and justice for power incident to virtual monopoly of resources or privileges impressed with the public interest. Hence, the price of gas demanded by producers having a virtual monopoly of the source of supply in a given field upon which existing pipelines depend for public service in interstate commerce is not a lawful standard for rates and charges subject to regulation by the Commission.

"The field price for gas adopted by the Commission in the Panhandle Eastern Pipeline case before the United States Supreme Court decision in the Phillips Petroleum case is nullified by the Commission's assumption of jurisdiction to regulate independent producers as defined in rule 174B.

"The Commission should resort to the 'rate-base approach' in determining a fair and reasonable return for independent natural gas producers as well as for other natural gas companies subject to the Commission's jurisdiction."

We did not specify the kind of rate base which should be applied by this Commission because historically, regulation under the Natural Gas Act has been on a net investment rate base.

In the majority opinion, in Phillips Petroleum Co. v. Wisconsin, it was said:

"Regulation of the sales in interstate commerce for resale made by a so-called independent natural gas producer is not essentially different from regulation of such sales when made by an affiliate of an interstate pipeline company."

We know of no case wherein a separate or different rate regulation approach was applied to producers of gas affiliated with interstate pipeline companies.

From the beginning of the discussion in this proceeding, we have heard from producers of gas, from bankers who have a stake in financing gas producers and from pipeline companies who purchase gas for resale in interstate commerce. Their cry is that the only practical means available to this Commission in fixing just and reasonable rates for gas sold by producers is to accept the price and conditions of sale governed by competition in the field of operation.

Some of those advocates have even asserted that the commission should not enter upon an investigation of the propriety of the price agreed to by the producer and purchaser, both-of whom are natural gas companies under the rule in the Phillips Petroleum case, but that such investigation should be instituted only upon complaint of a party affected, and that the burden of establishing that the price and conditions of the contract are unjust and unreasonable should be on the complaining party.

Indeed, the principle of competition in the purchase and sale of gas produced in a given field has been so stressed that the producers who claim the inviolability of their contracts of sale from the continuing power of regulation by the commission should have the right to increase their price for gas by renegotiation of old contracts to the current prices prevailing in the field offered by pipelines who seek a source of supply to satisfy their customer demands. In other words, the competitive factor which would govern the price would be the potential demand of ultimate consumers, or the maximum price which the traffic in natural gas can bear.

These are shocking concepts of regulation of business affected by the public interest and violate the fundamental principles and practices of rate regulation by public service commissions. The basic reason assigned for the departure from the long-established methods of price regulation by legislative authority in an administrative commission, requiring a reasonable return on the investment devoted to the public service, is that independent producers of gas are not the beneficiaries of a Government grant or franchise, protecting them from competition, and therefore are not subject to regulation as to service and rates. That is an argument which may properly be addressed to the legislative branch of the Government and not to the commission, which is governed by the act of Congress, as construed by the Supreme Court in the Phillips case.

The so-called independent producers of gas who sell it in interstate commerce are natural gas companies subject to the same legal obligations and regulations by the same commission, for the same purpose, under the rules and practices applicable to all other natural gas companies within the purview of the Natural Gas Act.

Integrated natural gas companies who produce, transport, and sell gas in interstate commerce are subject to the burdens of regulation, which are no different than the burdens of natural gas companies who are called independent producers of gas for sale in interstate commerce, and no different

than the burdens of interstate pipelines who purchase their gas from independent producers. Each producer who sells to such pipeline, and each pipeline who buys from such producer, must secure a certificate of convenience and necessity from the commission to assure a certain quantity of gas supply from a source described, to a pipeline named for sale in interstate commerce to local distributors, in the quantities allocated by the commission for consumption in the territories served by the distributors.

By the process of certificates of con-venience applied for by independent producers and interstate pipelines, the producers and pipelines are integrated just as effectively as natural gas companies, who own or control through a corporate affiliate both gas resources and pipelines. As to the gas com-mitted by certificate of convenience, the producer has relinquished his independence and is subject to the same principles and methods of rate regulation as integrated natural gas companies. They are entitled to a reasonable return on their investment in the integrated facilities devoted to the service. It is the function of the commission to fix the reasonable investment which constitutes the rate base and the total cost of each service, including a reasonable rate of return. These elemental factors cannot be determined in a vacuum, as in a proceeding in which we are now engaged. They must be based upon the facts in each case when the question of the rates of each is properly before the commission.

It would serve no useful purpose for anyone to speculate on the details of establishing the cost of service properly apportioned to the production and transmission of gas sold in interstate commerce whether they are integrated by corporate control or by certificate control. It is sufficient at this time to say that the consequence of the decision of the Supreme Court in the Phillips case is that a rate base must of necessity be established to determine a reasonable return on the investment in producing and gathering properties used and useful in furnishing gas for sale in interstate commerce.

That is obvious from an unchallenged statement in the dissenting opinion of Justice Douglas in the Phillips case.

"If Phillips' sales can be regulated then the commission can set a rate base for Philips. A rate base for Phillips must of necessity include all of Phillips' producing and gathering properties; and supervision over its operating expenses necessarily includes supervision over its producing and gathering expenses. We held in Colorado Interstate Gas Company v. Federal Power Commission (324 U. S. 581), that the Commission's control extended that far in the case of an interstate pipeline company which owned producing and gathering properties and so it had to be, if regulation of pipelines that owned their own gas supplies was to be effective."

It will be noted that the statement of Justice Douglas is in argumentative form supporting his dissent from the majority opinion in support of the power of this commission to regulate sales in interstate commerce made by so-called independent natural gas producers. Since the final judgment of the court was that Phillips' sales should be regulated by the Commission, the first sentence of the above quotation must be reconstituted to conform with the judgment of the court as follows:

"In regulating Phillips' sales the Commission should set a rate base for Phillips."

It has been argued that the rate base approach is not adaptable to a commodity

as if it were property devoted to public service such as a railroad, a telephone system, an electric utility, or a manufacturing gas plant; that the cost of natural gas at the source must be determined by supply and demand and competition for the available supply. A supply of natural gas at the source is no different than a supply available for distribution to consumers. Should the competitive principle be applied to a retail distributor of natural gas where there are 100,000 or more applicants for space heating gas, as in Chicago, with a limited supply available?

The interest of the distributing companies, it appears, conflicts with the interest of the pipeline companies and the interest of the pipelines conflicts with that of the producers only to the extent that their respective profits may be affected. The retail distribut-ing utility is also concerned with its own regulation by State commissions. Their own problem is to secure a value rate base, and therefore they advocate value consideration for their suppliers to be consistent with their own interest, provided that all costs based on value of the service can be passed on to their consumers. This commission, however, must consider the interest of the ultimate consumers, as well as the investors, at any stage of supply by natural-gas companies, We who represent the consumer interest have a problem in common with this commission and believe that the only fair ratebase approach is the net investment of each of the companies in the chain of supply to the consumer.

Aside from conflicting opinions at the State level as to the economic justice of the fair-value rule in rate regulation of services and commodities affected by the public interest, the universal experience is that a cost standard for such regulation is factual, less difficult to ascertain, more reliable, and more stable for both investors and consumers than a fair-value standard which depends upon fluctuating supply and demand, competitive factors, appraisals, and controversial opinion evidence.

Some Industries Do Need Tariff Protection Against Competing Products of Low Wage Foreign Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RUSSELL V. MACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, we want to increase the flow of international trade to promote international economic strength and well-being of all nations including our own. Tariff reductions in some cases may contribute to that end. In some industries, such as the automotive, where products are made largely by machines, American industry can out-produce at lower costs any foreign competitor despite the low wages that prevail in many foreign nations.

All industries, however, are not in this fortunate and favorable economic position. Where American goods are the

product largely of man-hours of labor and not of machines, American goods cannot compete with the low wages paid

labor in foreign nations.

The Committee for Economic Development reports that the annual wages and social benefits paid by British industry to each employee in 1951 averaged only about 32 percent of what American industry paid. The Belgium figure was 37 percent; in West Germany and France, 29 percent; in Italy, 17 percent; in Japan, 10 percent.

The oyster, the crab, and the edible nut industries are examples of domestic industries which cannot compete with foreign low wages. The harvesting and processing of canned oysters and crab is done mostly by hand labor and machine processes play but a minor part in the production of the finished product. The canned crab and oysters come mostly from Japan. Thus, in selling price it is largely a case of oriental labor versus American labor and with oriental labor paid only 10 percent what American labor receives, it is obvious that the American crabbing and oyster industries cannot survive without tariffs or quota limitations to protect them.

The same is largely true of the ediblenut industry, where 6 to 7 years of cultivation and care are required before a nut tree begins to bear and where the harvesting of the nuts eventually must be done not with machines but by hand

labor

Another danger in encouraging increased crab imports is that Russia now, due to the Yalta treaty, owns and controls some of the best crabbing waters. Russia cannot ship her crab into the United States directly. She should get it into the United States via Japan by the process of selling fresh crab to the Japanese and letting them can it or by selling Japan crab-fishing rights in Russian waters.

On the danger of Russia getting her crab into the American market, if tariffs on crab are reduced, the Seattle Times, one of the largest metropolitan dailies in Washington State, recently said:

IT MIGHT HELP RUSSIA

Among issues due to be discussed next month in Washington, D. C., in proposed revisions of United States customs duties on imports from various countries, is a slashing of the tariff rate on imports of canned crabmeat from Japan. The Pacific Coast crab-canning industry is particularly concerned

over one aspect of this proposal.

The Japanese now are sending this country virtually all of their crab pack. As a result of the war, Japan lost much of its former crab-fishing area to Russia. Imports of crabmeat from Russia in the United States are barred. But a reduction of the present duty, in the opinion of men in the trade, could have the effect of starting a backdoor deal, under which Russian crabmeat, denied direct entry, would reach this country by way of Japanese canneries.

Members of the Washington congressional delegation, Republicans and Democrats alike, appear to be well informed as to this issue and have presented their views to the Tariff Commission. If there is indeed a serious likelihood that Russia would be the real beneficiary, this factor assuredly should be considered by our negotiators. CANNERY UNION PROTESTS

Cannery workers of whom thousands are employed in the American crabbing industry of the Pacific, the Atlantic, and Gulf States and Alaska are fearful of losing their livelihood if tariffs on canned crab are reduced at the coming Geneva Trade Conference.

Mrs. Esther C. Cooper, president of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, Local 553, of the seacoast communities of Grays Harbor, Wash., under date of January 15 wrote me as

DEAR CONGRESSMAN MACK: Our jobs as workers in the crab industry are most certainly threatened by this latest plan to remove the tariff on Japanese canned crab which enters our United States markets.

The canneries of the Gravs and Willana Harbor areas, as well as Puget Sound, and for that matter the entire State of Washington have not been working at peak production. We who earn our living in this industry will definitely be injured if we are permitted less working hours through a further tightening of market conditions, and a really disastrous condition if the tariff is reduced or removed.

Our field analysis reveals that the American crab industry now gives direct employment to an estimated 34,000 people not including brokers, salesmen, and employees in industries supplying cans, cartons, equipment, and materials of all kinds. When you consider that each worker represents 2.5 persons in the family unit the impact affects a great many persons. Most of us who work in this industry are directly employed in small coastal towns where fisheries are the only means of livelihood. With conditions such as they are at the present moment and danger of a further letdown in the market for American processed crabmeat we see a closedown for not less than three major packing companies in our own immediate

May we urge that you assist us in every way possible with the Secretary of State and the President in protecting our jobs and families. This matter is due to be considered at the foreign trade-agreement negotiations to be held in Geneva, Switzerland, and immediate action will be needed before the representatives leave for that meeting. We are depending upon you to speak for us since we, ourselves, cannot be present. We trust you will give us your best efforts as

vou always do. Yours very truly,

ESTHER C. COOPER, President, United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO, Local 553.

God Help the Poor Majority

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, the editor of Southern Advertising and Publishing has forwarded to me a copy of an editorial carried by that magazine in its June 1954 issue.

This article is entitled "God Help the Poor Majority."

Editor Porter is one of the millions of people outraged by the political and sociological opinion of the Supreme Court in the school cases, and recognizes, as so many others recognize, that the Supreme Court is endeavoring to usurp legislative functions which it in fact does not possess.

Under unanimous consent. I insert herewith a copy of the editorial mentioned:

GOD HELP THE POOR MAJORITY

Let's turn for a moment or two from the working and eating business of advertising and check into the social situation. It was on the social hinge that the Supreme Court appeared to swing the decision that separate schools for Negroes and whites were bad for the egos of the Negroes. No point was raised that the egos of the whites suffered. therefore no need for alarm is cited there. The whites are not developing inferiority complexes. Not yet. Reading the opinion as handed down by

Mr. Chief Justice Warren leaves us with the feeling that the real issues were either skirted or unweighed. Everyone knows that recently issues have been fanned by the Society for the Advancement of Colored People, and aimed at the South. The Supreme Court is a learned body and our last resort on matters of law. But when it hedges its findings about with such words as "feeling of inferiority," it appears to the lay mind to have gone into some other field than the law. For the sake of clarity, let's call it

sociology.

This opinion is, we would estimate, about 50 years too late. Educational facilities are now being provided for the Negro. Hundreds of millions of dollars are being poured into his educational program. This money is now available and being spent in the South. And let it be remembered that 50 years ago we were poor folks in this Southland, whites and blacks. We had no money for schoolsbut now we have money and nowhere under the sun are finer cohools being built for Negroes. Any Negro that has a bruised ego because he has to get his education in these schools has a tender ego indeed. The average Negro today knows this, many so express themselves.

No ruling of any court can ever equalize all factors bearing on mankind. There is no point of protection at issue, but that word pops out of the decision at every weak spot. There was a great racket created a short time back about the lynch laws. It also came too late-there has been no lynch problem in the South for a generation. Why is it that the Supreme Court has overlooked the fun-damental law that the States have rights to tax, build schools, supervise education? What part of the Constitution gives the power of education to any other source?

No enlightened white person in the South, or elsewhere, denies to the Negro protection under the laws or privileges of education. But no decision of any court can equalize social status. Why not make it a crime or misdemeanor to send out a wedding invitation list that does not name some Negro who would like to attend, but who feels that he is snubbed because of his color? Do not say such is farfetched or not relevant. He can claim that it gives him a feeling of inferiority to be overlooked, left out, snubbed.

The opinion cited great records set up by Negroes as proof of their right to education. That right has not been questioned for many years, and the point is not well taken. Those records were made from the existing facilities and in the conditions that the court decried. We think this question is more fundamental: there are forces that work against all men.

black and white, seeking great success. Many things have to be overcome. Those who look for inequalities can see inequalities, those

who look for opportunity, see it.

There is no new law involved. The judiciary was conceived to rule on the law with its right hand on the Constitution. Such experienced jurists as Oliver Wendell Holmes, William Howard Taft, Charles Evans Hughes Louis D. Brandies weighed the issues-and then the educational facilities of the Negro were much worse. But they saw that solutions were in sight, and they evidently saw that much strife and turmoil might be avoided by allowing the historical stream to flow rather than to blast in the channel.

It might be about time to organize a society for the advancement of the white

Ambassador Jefferson Caffery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker. under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the New York Times of January 9, in reference to Ambassador Jefferson Caffery, who is retiring after an outstanding career in the diplomatic service of over 44 years.

RETIRING CAFFERY HONORED BY EGYPT-UNITED STATES ENVOY WINS RECOGNITION FOR MAJOR ROLE IN ENDING CAIRO-LONDON DISPUTES

Carro, January 9 .- Jefferson Caffery, retiring United States Ambassador, received official recognition tonight for the major role he has played in improving relations among Egypt, the United States, and its allies.

The 68-year-old Ambassador, senior career diplomat in the United States Foreign Service, has been instrumental since 1949 in promoting settlement of disputes over future of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan and the Suez Canal Zone that had embittered relations between Egypt and Britain and hence with most of the Atlantic alliance powers.

On the eve of his departure, the Ambassador and his wife were honored at a dinner given by Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser, attended by most members of the Cabinet and ruling Revolutionary Command Council.

Mrs. Caffery was awarded the Order of Perfection, the highest Egyptian decoration granted to women. The Ambassador, unable to accept a foreign decoration while still a United States official, received from the Premier a bronze statuette of the Egyptian sun god Ra dating from the 26th dynasty, about the 7th century B. C., found at the village of Mehiya in lower Egypt.

Mr. Caffery, an enthusiastic amateur arche-

ologist, spent much of his last day in Egypt's capital taking a last look at recent major discoveries. In the afternoon he drove Gizeh to inspect the newly revealed stern of the funerary bark of the Pharoah Cheops.

Mr. Caffery, a native of Louisiana, entered diplomatic service in 1910, served in 14 capitals in the Far East, Europe, and Latin America, and has been chief of mission for 29 years, probably longer than any other United States diplomat. He was Ambassador to France from the end of World War II until he was named to his present post.

Ambassador and Mrs. Caffery will go to Alexandria tomorrow for further official receptions, then will board ship Tuesday for Italy.

Our Federal Officials Should Have Better Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER NORBLAD

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial from the current issue of the Saturday Evening Post:

OUR FEDERAL OFFICIALS SHOULD HAVE BETTER PAY

How much are leaders worth, in terms of dollars? How much should the richest nation in the world pay for statesmanship? The 84th Congress has to decide, for almost the first item in its order of business is the long deferred proposal to raise the salaries of Federal judges, and of Congressmen themselves.

The Hoover Commission recommended this increase; a Democratic and now a Republican President have urged it; editorials endorsing the salary raise have appeared in more than a thousand newspapers throughout the country. Leading columnists, radio commentators, labor-union groups, agricultural organizations, bar and professional associations, all have favored it. No substantial public opinion has been heard against

But Congressmen, by our constitutional system, are in the peculiar position of having to fix their own salaries, and time and again they have shied away from voting themselves increases, for fear of a cry of looting the Treasury. And because of a long custom, dating from the first days of the Republic, by which Federal district judges are paid the same salary as Congressmen, the whole judicial establishment of the United States is suffering from the same serious, almost critical underpayment that Congressmen endure.

The last Congress, anxious for public support, provided for the appointment of a nonpartisan Commission of leading citizens, drawn equally from labor, business, agriculture, and the professions. Under the chair-manship of Bernard G. Segal, chancellor of the Philadelphia Bar Association, this Commission made a full exploration of the standards by which a government should set sal-aries. What kind of people do we want for judges and Congressmen? the Segal Commission asked. And then it inquired, how much salary or income are such qualified people commanding in private life?

The Chief Justice of the United States, they discovered, receives only what a moderately successful lawyer in a middle-sized city might make. Private industry, for tasks less important to the Nation than Congressmen must discharge, often pays salaries 2 and 3 times greater. Union officials, successful professional men, junior executives in business, men from among whom we should find our public leaders of today and tomor-row, cannot become Congressmen except at Lawyers, an impossible financial sacrifice. however qualified, cannot ascend the bench unless they are willing to lower drastically their standard of living.

The Segal Commission heard a young Federal district judge in California say that he will have to quit the bench because he cannot support his wife, two children, and a third child soon to come, on a judge's salary. If he should die, his widow would receive no survivor's benefits, and his income permits only the smallest insurance program.

They heard the able and respected John C. Knox, chief judge of the Federal district court for the southern district of New York, probably the busiest Federal court in the land, tell of his financial struggles since he went on the bench in 1918. In all his 37 years, he has never had enough money to live on, has had to teach and write when he could to keep up his insurance and educate his daughter. New York State judges. even New York city judges and municipal judges in our larger cities, receive higher salaries than he does. And though he has refused appointment to State benches because of his lifelong experience in Federal jurisprudence, now, in his later years, he is unable to afford a nurse to care for his invalid wife, and must do nursing duty himself after his day's work in court is over.

The commission discerned that the day is long past when a Congressman could earn a living in a private business or profession while serving his constituents. Congress nowadays is a full-time job, 7 days a week, every week in the year. Congressmen must maintain 2 homes, usually 2 offices, pay most of their travel expenses, bear many costs which a corporate employer would pay for its executives. Their expenses have increased with the enlargement of their work, but their salaries have remained the same through the whole period of recent inflation, and have grimly decreased in buying power.

In its elaborate, searching report, Segal commission recommended a scale of increases necessary to bring the salaries of judges and Congressmen into line with the practice of the Nation in all fields. The total cost of these recommended increases would be only \$7,500,000. But the 83d Congress, facing an election, failed to act.

Now the election is over. The public is aware of the necd; what the lawyers call the "last clear chance" is here. The 84th Congress, in its 2 years' existence, will spend more money for more purposes than any other body of men on earth. Commonsense and public interest alike require that they should devote a tiny fraction of their appropriations to making the major jobs of statecraft in a free nation financially possible for the men best fitted to hold them.

Crime: A National Problem

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I have long been aware of the fact that organized crime is a cancerous growth upon our society and our way of life. In recent years, since the end of World War II, this situation is assuming alarming proportions in all parts of the country. The most deplorable manifestation of this problem is the growth of juvenile delinquency, the rise in the number of youthful criminals, and the serious offenses committed by them, which makes it a problem of grave national concern.

For many years I have studied the question of juvenile delinquency and the great menace it means for our youth. Coupled with that, I have given a good deal of thought to the means of effective crime prevention. In fact, back in 1936 I founded a crime prevention institution in New York, which is still in existence and is doing a noble job in my home city.

We all know that crime is not confined to any particular race, or nationality, or religious group. It is a social disease which results from many causes, such as poverty, slum housing, poor environment, neglect by parents, lack of family discipline, breakup of the family unit, and emotional disturbances. Juvenile delinquency, youthful criminals, teenage drug addicts, and the like are the outward manifestations of this social disease

We should seek to know the social conditions which breed and encourage this situation to grow. I have felt for a long time that society is to blame for the large crime rate, and I am also of the opinion that our Government has been derelict in dealing with this problem from a preventative standpoint. What is wrong with our educational system that it is helpless in eradicating this evil when our children are still in an impressionable age? What is wrong with the neighborhoods and the communities in which we live that our young people are influenced by evil forces? What is wrong with our home life, our discipline, our associations? Where have we fallen down on the job of raising the young generation to be law-abiding, responsible, and dignified citizens?

These and many other questions are perturbing our serious-minded citizenry. There are many among us who raise this question: We are spending many hundreds of millions of dollars to fight crime and criminals by means of large prosecuting staffs, huge police forces, the courts and penal institutions, but what are we doing to prevent crime and to curb juvenile delinquency? True, we have had some investigations, we have had some well-meaning conferences, but the crime rate has not fallen off. The problem goes far deeper than that.

Police protection is not enough. Arrests and court warnings are not enough. Even jail sentences are not enough to curb this evil. This is a long-range problem which must be dealt with from a long-range point of view, if we seriously aim to protect our youth and to eradicate the evil of crime from our midst. It must be given nationwide attention through all media of information, the press, radio, television, the movies, also through our churches, schools, organizations, unions, and various public and private agencies and institutions. The American public must be aroused to this menace which is threatening our youth and is affecting us all.

I believe that Congress should give leadership and guidance to our people in dealing with the problem of crime. An aroused congressional interest in an anticrime campaign would be a valuable resource for all agencies and groups, for parents and teachers, for church leaders and Government officials, who are interested in checking the growth of crime and reducing it to a minimum. Congress has a responsibility to the people to do all within its power to seek a solution of this problem.

Mr. Speaker, in order to get to the roots of this problem, I am introducing two pieces of legislation. The first is a

resolution calling for the creation of a fact-finding committee of five members of the House of Representatives to conduct, without regard to politics, a full and complete investigation and study of the causes of crimes committed in violation of the laws of the United States and of other crimes affecting the national health, welfare, and morals, and the methods of preventing such crimes. This investigation should include examinations of criminal records, a study of Federal and State penal institutions for the purpose of recommending new legislation to the Congress, an analysis of the relationship of local neighborhoods and schools with the causes of juvenile delinquency, and other factors which the committee may deem appropriate.

The other piece of legislation is a bill which is designed as supplementary to the resolution. The bill calls for the creation of a Bureau of Crime Prevention in the Department of Justice as a permanent agency to conduct a continuous study and investigation to seek methods for the prevention of crime and curbing juvenile delinquency. It requires the Bureau to establish an office in each State and to cooperate with State and Federal agencies in initiating crime-prevention programs.

I am convinced that the future of our country depends on how well we raise our youth and prepare them for the responsibilities of citizenship. We live in a time of great stress and tension at home and abroad. It is imperative that we imbue our youth with an appreciation of our way of life, our communities, our institutions, and everything that is positive and constructive. We must make it crystal clear to them that crimes committed against society will affect their own future lives and undermine all their opportunities to become useful members of society. We must make them understand that they themselves will be the greatest victims of their criminal acts and that they stand to lose most.

The dollars we spend today for seeking ways to prevent crimes may be paid back a hundredfold not only in saving money which goes into fighting crime, but even more so in helping our youth become better citizens tomorrow. I urge the Congress to approve these measures as soon as possible so that immediate action can be started to deal with this problem.

Foreign Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass., December 12, 1954, which I am confident is worthy of the consideration of the House and the American people:

THE WOOL OVER OUR EYES

On display for the Christmas season in stores in this region is a toy Santa Claus made of paper and clay and standing some 6 inches tall. It is a reasonable facsimile of the American conception of the appearance of Kris Kringle.

This toy is manufactured in Japan. It is shipped across the Pacific Ocean, then across the United States. The worker who made it had his wages out of it. The manufacturer made a profit. The shipping charges and tariff fees were pald on it. The American importer made a profit on it, and the stores in which it is sold in this country must make a profit on it.

Yet, this toy Santa Claus can be purchased over the retail counter here for 4 cents.

How abysmally low must be the standard of living of the Japanese worker to permit such a transaction? On the face of that, what could be closer to slavery?

But let us not stop at the toy Santa Claus. Let us get into the subject of woolen blankets, the material for which is one of the principal items of production of our shrinking New England textile industry.

Perhaps justifiably so in the light of world conditions, the United States is going overboard in its effort to assist in the rehabilitation of Japan. We need friends in the Orient. So it is now proposed to slash tariffs on a long list of items made in Japan so that they may be imported into this country for sale to Americans who are fabulously wealthy in the eyes of our Asiatic neighbors.

Included on this list is woolen blankets, and negotiations will start in February to open the gates to a floodtide of woolen blankets made in Japan to compete with the American product in the open market.

We do not know how much a made-in-Japan woolen blanket would cost in the United States. On the basis of the aforementioned toy Santa Claus, we can pretty well guess—and the guessing isn't difficult in contemplation of the fact that Japanese textile workers are paid 14 cents per hour.

We need not review the plight of the woolen industry in New England, and our situation is duplicated in all other textile-manufacturing areas of the country. Now a plan is afoot to strip us of even that measure of business which comes from the manufacture of blanket material.

American business depends for its survival upon the wages earned by our workers. When a foreign-made item undersells a domestic item in our market, it affects the income—the very jobs—of thousands of American breadwinning taxpayers.

Playing both ends against the middle is an old political practice. It pays off for a while, but it is never conclusively successful. Our American workmen are in the middle in this scheme of international trade, which obviously was born in that impenetrable sanctum of diplomacy from which came the deal that brought the Korean war to a stalemate—and left our Army in the middle.

The people of the United States spend millions of dollars each year just to sustain the American practice of opening the polling places so that our citizens can vote for those they think can best run the country.

When the elections are over, the schemers, the carpetbaggers, the string pullers move in and take hold of the elected officials, with the result that major decisions are reached in so-called smoke-filled rooms far from the hue and cry of the people, and beyond the reach of the ballot box.

If selling American industry, American labor, the American family, and the American standard of living short is good, sound diplomacy, then either we, the people, or they, the string pullers, must be mentally unbalanced.

It is time—or has the opportunity passed beyond recall—that we built a fire under our elected governmental officials in Washington and at least have them make an earnest effort to save the jobs of thousands of American woolen industry workers which are now threatened by this incredible proposed tariff deal.

A Bill Designed To Encourage Private Insurance Organizations To Experiment in Providing Broader Voluntary Health Insurance to More People

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I am introducing today a health bill, H. R. 2533, entitled "A bill to improve the public health by encouraging more extensive use of the voluntary prepayment method in the provision of personal health services." This bill is substantially identical to H. R. 8356, 83d Congress, in the form in which that bill was reported favorably on July 9, 1954, by the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce-House Report No. 2106.

H. R. 400, which I introduced on January 5 and which has the same title as this bill, is substantially identical with H. R. 8356, 83d Congress, as originally introduced by me in the form in which that bill was recommended by President

Eisenhower.

The present bill, H. R. 2533, provides for the establishment of a health reinsurance program in the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It creates a reinsurance fund and authorizes an appropriation of not to exceed \$25 million to provide advances of working capital for the fund. The fund would be built up over a period of time from reinsurance premiums and from earnings of the fund. Reinsurance would be available on a voluntary basis and upon payment of a reinsurance premium, to private insurance companies, voluntary nonprofit health associations, such as Blue Cross and other organizations offering prepayment health insurance plans. The proposal is designed to encourage private insurance organizations to experiment in providing broader voluntary health insurance to more people.

The bill also provides for technical and advisory information services to health

service prepayment plans.

The bill H. R. 2533 differs from H. R. 400 in that H. R. 2533 incorporates certain provisions, which were adopted by the Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee in reporting favorably H. R. 8356, 83d Congress, to meet questions raised by various witness in the course of the committee hearings held during the 83d Congress. The most important of such questions was based on the fear that the bill could be interpreted to permit some degree of Federal regulation of the health-insurance industry. The bill, H. R. 2533, seeks to remove any and all fear in that respect.

The central philosophy of the bill is one of building on our existing system of voluntary insurance and of providing supporting services and a financial backstop for private effort toward the expansion of prepayment protection. The bill, if enacted, would not of itself directly provide insurance coverage for individuals. Its goal is the removal of obstacles to the extension of coverage for broader ranges of benefits and to additional groups of people.

The Whittier News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, the Whittier News is celebrating its first year under new ownership. On January 15, 1955, in an editorial, this newspaper outlined some of its policies which I wish to commend to the Members of this body for consideration. I am happy to join the citizens of Whittier in extending greeting to the Whittier News on this anniversary

The editorial follows:

A year ago today President Eisenhower was asking Congress for coverage of an additional 10,000,000 persons under social security. Whittier College-Community Symphony Orchestra was preparing for the second concert of its season. The Western Powers had broken off their talks with the Russians on a site for a Big Four Foreign Ministers' meeting. A spectacular auto crash on the Santa Ana Freeway in Rivera left a driver critically injured. A change in the ownership of the Whittier News was announced.

The foregoing paragraph is designed among other things to note that among many anniversaries taking place now, one involves

Whittier's daily newspaper.

The owners who assumed operation of the News a year ago are deeply grateful that they have had the opportunity to move into this community. Their welcome has been warm and cordial. Their sojourn has been pleasant and their experience rewarding in many ways.

A natural consequence of any change in ownership of a newspaper is that other changes follow in its wake. The News, during the past year, has tried to improve its looks and to make itself more readable. It has tried to expand its news coverage and better its service to advertisers and readers alike. Its circulation has been rising steadily; a sound test of community acceptance.

Many folks have told the News that they

like most, if not all, of the changes that have been made. Others have been frank to say they did not like them. Some have liked the News editorial policy; some have not. Some have said the News doesn't carry enough news; others have said we should have left out some that we have carried.

The News staff feels that as long as the newspaper draws criticism (or praise) from both sides it is performing with a sense of responsibility. It will never please everyone.

A year ago, today, this column included

"The News will not always be right but it will always strive to be.

"It will not always please everyone but

tt will never stop trying to do so.
"Its stand on some questions may not be popular but it knows that its readers will grant it the right to differ; a right, too, of theirs which it will jealously safeguard."

During the past year the News has operated to the best of its ability under the guidance of those principles. It will keep on doing so in the future.

A year ago this column also pledged:

"The News, under its new ownership, will try at all times to be a fair newspaper, a decent newspaper, and a dignified part of the community.

The News considers it vital to present all sides of any controversy within the limitations of its news space and to reserve for the editorial page those opinions it may have on the events and personalities of the day."

The News has undergone several tests of that policy and, itself, has been embroiled in controversy because it abided by that policy. It is still sound and sensible.

And as the year 1955 unfolds for this growing area the News is glad to note this anniversary, glad to look forward to another year of work in, and for, Whittier, and glad to be a part of Whittier.

Attacks on Nixon False and Reckless

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by George Rothwell Brown, from the Albany (N. Y.) Times-Union of January 12, 1955:

ATTACKS ON NIXON FALSE AND RECKLESS (By George Rothwell Brown)

WASHINGTON .- The false and reckless leftwing and New Deal attacks on Vice President Nixon have assumed the appearance of organized intimidation, to impair his availability as the running mate of President Eisenhower in 1956, and to weaken his leadership in the precariously controlled Senate.

The grudge against him is twofold. The Democratic Party is smarting from the vigor-ous thrusts at them in the congressional campaign of 1954 when he was by all odds the most effective speaker on the Republican

Nixon was largely responsible for stopping what the Democrats had boasted would be a victory of landslide proportions, and keeping it down to an edge so thin that but for the political apostasy of Wayne Morse, of Oregon, the GOP would have controlled the Senate in the 84th Congress by the tiebreaking vote of the Vice President.

OLD FEUD

But the feud goes back farther than that, to the presidential election of 1952, when Nixon was a tower of strength to the Elsenhower ticket. The Democrats are out to frighten the Republican Party into dropping Nixon in 1956, compelling it to nominate & vice presidential nominee without Nixon's national following.

Some Democrats, taking note of Washington rumors that in the event Ike should choose not to run for reelection the nod would go to Nixon, are understandably anxious to knock down so formidable a Republican Presidential possibility.

They are even trying to make out that DICK NIXON is juvenile.

"He was picked as a campaigner for his youth," said T. James Tumulty, Jr., new Democratic "baby Member" from New Jersey, "and I think he has proved his immaturity."

It so happens that Vice President Nixon, now just entering his 43d year, is almost exactly the age of Theodore Roosevelt when he presided over the Senate as Vice President of the United States.

TAKES OFFENSIVE

It's about time the Republican high command took the offensive in defense of their Vice President. He is the whipping boy now because the New Dealers thus far have found no way to attack Eisenhower's legislative program, to much of which they are committed.

But if they knock down Nixon, the President will be the next target for the snipers.

Not only are the Democratic allegations

against Nixon grossly exaggerated, as anybody can prove to his own satisfaction by reading his last year's campaign speeches hard-hitting but strictly hewing to the line of truth-but he kept well within the limits of the bitter indictment of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations in the Republican platform on which Eisenhower, Nixon, and a Republican Congress were elected in

The Democrats are now denouncing Nixon for charging that the Democratic Party for 20 years was soft toward communism. Would they have him repudiate the platform of his own party? Here are a few statements from that platform, which the people endorsed at the polls:

"We charge that they have shielded traitors

to the Nation in high places.

"By the administration's appeasement of communism at home and abroad it has permitted Communists and their fellow travelers to serve in many key agencies and to in-filtrate our American life. When such infil-tration became notorious through the revelations of Republicans in Congress, the executive department stubbornly refused to deal with it openly and vigorously. It raised the false cry of 'red herring' and took other measures to block and discredit investigations,"

Knott's Berry Farm

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I would like to insert an article on the Knott's berry farm which appeared in the Indpendent-Press-Telegram, Long Beach, Calif., on

January 9, 1955. Knott's berry farm, which is located in my congressional district, is known not only to people in southern California but throughout the United States. I am sure this article will, for many, bring back memories of a wonderful holiday in California.

When I first knew the Knott family, faith, courage, and dreams were its main possessions. To see the dreams unfold into a great enterprise has been an inspiration to me and a true example of the American way of life. I am proud to know the Knott family and to pay tribute to the accomplishments and educational and entertaining attractions the Knott's berry farm has to offer to the American people.

The article follows:

KNOTT'S BERRY FARM BECOMES ONE OF SOUTH-LAND SHOWPLACES

Take 900 courteous, efficient employees: add two parts organization, one part seriousness, three parts fun, then throw in a ghost town, haunted house, antique railroad, stageline, and hundreds of western relics.

Mix in flavoring from all corners of the land, add a shot of Hollywood glamor, garnish with a dash of mischievousness, brown well under a gentle sun, and spread over 200 picturesque acres of southern California.

You come up with the happy recipe for the phenomenal success of one of the Nation's fastest growing and most famous institutions-Knott's Berry Farm and Ghost Town in Buena Park. From Los Angeles it may be reached by driving out the Santa Ana Freeway to Buena Park (right 2 miles on High-way 39). From Long Beach go east on Seventh Street to Highway 39, then north to the farm.

TWO MILLION PER YEAR

Precedent shattering statistics and records are made to be broken and they are commonplace at Knott's. Seventeen hundred and fifty people can sit down to dinner at one time, 45,000 are fed per week, adding up to 2 million customers a year; 40 acres of free parking can accommodate 4,000 automobiles; 7 dining rooms are utilized at one time; at least 10,000 people are fed on a average Sunday, etc.

This fabulous enterprise, soon to celebrate its 35th birthday had its birth in 1920 when Cordelia and Walter Knott and their small children arrived here in an old model T Ford and rented a farm with a tiny roadside berry shed on it.

In 1927, the Knotts bought 10 acres on time and Mrs. Knott made berry pies, jams, hot biscuits, etc., for sale to customers. This activity helped pay the land commitments, but the depression years were rough ones.

In 1934, Mrs. Knott tried chicken dinners. She did the cooking and the girls served. There were eight dinners the first day but that was the turning point. The years ahead were busy ones with an ever increasing number of dinners.

THEN EXPANDED

By 1946, the war was over and the boys and girls were home again. Son-in-law Dwight Anderson, started the steak house, and sonin-law Ken Reafsnyder, took over the duties of the preserving kitchen. The chicken restaurant now seated 880 guests and the steak house 450.

Today, the growth has been awe inspiring. In addition to Mr. and Mrs. Knott's duties, the rest of the family pitches in and hold important posts. Russell Knott has a share of the overall management, son-in-law Ken Oliphant has taken over the preserving department, daughters Marion and Toni operate the sportswear and children's shop, daughter Virginia runs the gift shop, Dwight still has the steak house, and Ken operates the Ghost Town and Calico Railroad as well as heading the purchasing, maintenance, and public relations departments.

BUILDS GHOST TOWN

A major problem of how to entertain the, waiting diners was solved in unique style by Walter Knott. An extensive ghost town was built among the giant eucalyptus trees on a part of his 200-acre ranch. Here are faithful reproductions of buildings and activities of every phase of life in the gold days of the

Through the crooked streets of the old town visitors with wide-eyed youngsters in tow will see a 4-minute showing of Wagon Train Panorama depicting t the Wagon Train Table 1. When the such as Walter Knott's mother; the gold mine, where visitors pan real gold in the sluice box to keep as a souvenir; covered wagon rides; a visit to Sad-Eyed Joe residing in the local hoosegow; the barbershop where characters like Handsome Brady and Whisky Jim hang out; hangman's tree; the wagon camp offering free entertainment in the manner of old-fashioned camp grounds, including square dancing, stories, and music.

Our Little Chapel by the Lake; the Indian Village on the Island; a stagecoach ride through the farm; the general merchandise store; the haunted shack by the rail-road track; the Calico Railroads, and many more fascinating facets of a bygone day.

Be Thankful

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following poem entitled "Be Thankful," which I received from Mr. Henry Kravetz, a former resident of my congressional district:

BE THANKFUL

(By Henry Kravetz, commissary department, United States Naval Hospital, Chelsea, Mass.)

Be thankful for the church bells Proclaiming the glory of, Creator, Creation. For the Nation's faith in God, For the gospel that redeems, And brings salvation.

Be thankful for the privilege To worship God, the way Your forefather's did. Remember the lands where the faithless Command, offend, outroot, destroy, Seed, and creed.

Be thankful to a land That gives you more, Than your daily bread. You own machines, limousines, Protected, sheltered, clad, And well fed.

Be thankful to a system Where you are not, forever poor. No new orders-Dictation! Starvation! Just a sound government, A home that is sure.

Be thankful you are in America Where all are equal, free, Upon your highlands, lowlands, cities, farms, Where pasture, bush, sprout and glee. This is your vineyard Americans. Your family fig tree.

Be thankful to your flag, Wherever you may be. On foreign soil, in the air, Or out to sea. Old Glory is your pincer, no whip for ye. America is your paradise. Be thankful to Thee.

New Smear Attack Won't Hurt Nixon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GERALD R. FORD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an editorial from the January 16, 1955, issue of the New York Journal-American, New York City, N. Y. The author of the editorial is entirely accurate in his observations that slurs and smears will not, in any way whatsoever, detract from the superb record of the Vice President. The editorial entitled "New Smear Attack Won't Hurt Nixon," follows:

New Smear Attack Won't Hurt Nixon (By William Randolph Hearst, Jr.)

I was on the move quite a bit during the past week, flying from here to Palm Beach and then over to New Orleans to speak before the annual meeting of the American Roadbuilders' Association and stopping off in Washington for a visit on the way home.

From what I picked up in Washington, and from some of the news stories and columns I've read in the past week, it's clearly apparent that a brand new smear campaign aimed at Vice President Nixon is now underway.

Practically the same cast of columnists and editorialists who kept up a running barrage at Joe McCaethy for 4 years have now trained their guns on Dick Nixon.

It seems that Dick's big crime is that he stressed the Commies-in-Government issue in the last campaign, this being an issue whose very mention throws the left-wing pundits into a tizzy.

The charge is made that, in effect, Dick Nixon called the Democrats the "party of treason," which he never did. What he did do was to point out that through either blindness or laxity, a dangerous infiltration of governmental agencies took place during the last two Democratic administrations.

Of course the Democratic Party is not the party of treason and its many distinguished leaders as well as rank-and-file voters who support it on Election Day have a right to resent such a label.

But many of these very same Democrats are the ones who feel the worst about the penetration of Washington offices by Communists during the Roosevelt and Truman regimes

It was a great Democrat named Al Smith who popularized the expression "Let's look at the record," and a look at the record in the matter of Communist infiltration is enough to make any patriotic Democrat feel bad.

Let's run off a few of the names that come to me at random and see if Dick Nixon or any other Republican hasn't a valid case in denouncing Democratic laxity or blindness or both: Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, Julian Wadleigh, Lee Pressman, John Abt, Nathan Gregory Silvermaster, George Ullman, Judith Coplon, Virginius Coe, Edwin Smith, and many others whose names escape me at the moment.

Those are just the ones we know about, being either confessed Soviet agents or proven by substantiated, uncontroverted testimony to have played the Commie game while occupying governmental positions during Democratic administrations.

ASLEEP AT SWITCH

I'm not trying to rake over old scores or sores, but you can't get away from the

conclusion that somebody was asleep at the switch in Washington between 1933 and 1952.

What makes the present furore all the more ludicrous, the Vice President's comments were in the form of campaign oratory as he swung through the West urging the election of Republican candidates.

Now Americans have traditionally supported tough, hard-hitting campaigns in which the rival candidates and parties took out after each other in the most forceful manner possible and brought up issues most calculated to embarrass the opposition.

The Democrats kept harping on the Hoover depression for almost a generation and never let the voters forget that the Teapot Dome scandal happened in the midst of a Republican administration.

The Republicans have a live issue in the Commies-in-Government question, and I can't blame the Democrats if they seek to belittle it as much as possible in the hope of making voters forget it ever happened.

But to act like they've been maligned because Dick Nixon gave them a hard time on the Communist issue is not in keeping with the American tradition of fighting campaigns as vigorously as possible and then letting bygones be bygones when the votes have been counted.

Here in New York, for instance, the Republicans got very rough with Averell Harriman about some ancient financial troubles which everybody had forgotten but the Republican research staff. It was poor politicking, because the material was old and not particularly significant.

But I'm sure Governor Harriman isn't sitting in Albany brooding about the remarks of Tom Dewey and IRVING IVES. And, so far as I can see, Harriman has never apologized for some rough campaign remarks about IRVING IVES.

HASN'T BEEN FORGIVEN

Vice President Nixon has taken the newest smears in stride, having been through similar experiences when he was exposing Alger Hiss. They tell me several Washington correspondents have never forgiven Dick for putting the finger on their old chum, Alger.

President Elsenhower spoke up stanchly for his associate at his weekly press conference, and National Chairman Len Hall also met the challenge squarely. Tom Dewey emerged from the White House with the statement that Elsenhower and Nixon would again be the Republican ticket in 1956. All over the country other Republican leaders echoed Tom Dewey's prediction.

The net result of the new assault on Vice President Nixon, from a political standpoint, was to solidify his position as Ike's running mate and closest political associate.

The leftwing attacks have developed into a boomerang, because they practically guarantee his renomination as Ike's partner 2 years hence.

DICK NIXON has chosen not to dignify his detractors with a reply, confident that the record speaks for itself. I think he is right in ingoring them.

So far they've only succeeded in making him a bigger light in the Republican firmament than ever before.

Health Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, as in the past, this body will be dealing with the

problem of health insurance and reinsurance. While governmental and legislative machinery have been grinding inconclusively on the subject, professional men and citizens in my home community of Long Beach, Calif., have acted on their own initiative.

After 2 years of planning by a group of Long Beach physicians and their lay advisers, the Nation's first "full payment" health insurance plan allowing patients a choice of doctors and hospitals is now in effect for 600 employees of the Independent Press-Telegram Publishing Co. and their dependents. More than 1,300 persons, representing 95 percent of the newspaper's employees and their families are covered by the Long Beach plan which attracted national attention in the medical and health field when it was announced recently.

The plan's backers claim it is one of the most complete medical-surgicalhospital insurance programs ever devised, and describe it as "private medicine's answer to the critical problem of rising health care costs."

Underwritten by California Physicians Service—the familiar Blue Shield Plan—the new program guarantees beneficiaries that more than 1,000 participating physicians in the Long Beach area will accept the plan's fee schedule as full payment for all surgical and medical services in the contract.

Cost of the program for Independent, Press-Telegram employees is shared equally by management and participating employees. Beneficiaries of the plan may use any hospital or any physician although the "full payment" guaranty applies only to participating physicians. Both medical and osteopathic physicians and surgeons have cooperated in the plan.

The unique program was developed and is directed by a nine-man board of local physicians elected by 300 participating Long Beach doctors. Dr. Orville Cole heads the Board and serving with him are Drs. Gordon Bateman, Ben Parks, Robert Helms, Arthur Buell, Sam Woolington, Maurice Rosenbaum, William Burns and John Cottrell.

Dr. Cole believes the plan will serve as a pilot plan for other medical units across the country. He states that for the present it will be offered to employee groups of 25 or more, but that a similar program for, individuals may be offered later.

Technical problems in initiating the program were handled by Jake E. Hanstein of the Don Berry Insurance Agency.

As More Foreign Textiles Come In More American Jobs Go Out

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include

the following radio address I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, January 15, 1955.

The address follows:

One of the first objectives of the administration at Washington is to convince Congress that the Trade Agreements Act should be extended. This sounds harmless. Most people agree that two-way trade is the best way to promote all-around economic progress and thus lessen international sions, assuming, of course, that we are dealing with civilized nations. The Communist nations fail to qualify, because they cannot be trusted. Neither trade nor aid nor anything else will satisfy them-only conquest.

In our efforts to help our allies and to strengthen the free world, we have embarked on a program called reciprocal trade, which the President wants to extend.

When that program, however, strikes at those few American industries that are suffering from a depression it becomes altogether too generous. When it makes dangerous concessions that worsen the position of the fishermen, watchmakers, and textile operatives, all basic to the economy of Massachusetts, we must oppose it. Too many of the people employed by these industries

we cannot, therefore, support a policy that would not only prevent them from getting their jobs back again, but might even increase unemployment in the affected in-

Take the textile industry, for example. That makes one of the three basic necessities of life, cloth for clothing. For generations New England was the undisputed home of In recent years a number that industry. of mills have closed down or have moved away. Employment has declined by 268,000 jobs. In New England alone, there has been a 48-percent drop in this type of employ-

ment since 1951.

The textile industry is not only one of the large employers of American labor, but employs a higher percentage of the workers in the areas where it is centered. Hundreds of mills are located in small towns, forming typical one-industry communities. In many cases they are the sole or principal source of income. Textiles provide 1 out of 6 manufacturing jobs in New England. In Massachusetts, 1 out of 7. In Rhode Island, 3 out of 10. Workers who are displaced by domestic or foreign competition either remain unemployed or are forced to take lower-paying jobs. For the middle-aged and older people the chances of getting other employment in or near their hometowns become remote. The Bureau of Business and Economic Research of Northeastern University recently completed a study of 1,705 displaced New England textile workers. Less than half were able to find other jobs, and of this number two-thirds were earning less pay. It was hoped that new and so-called growth industries would absorb them, but the study concludes that, and I quote, "workers dis-placed are not being absorbed in large num-"workers disbers by the industries which have been expanding in this area."

Wage and compensation differentials, varying from 20 to 30 percent, have enabled the Southern States to siphon much textile business out of New England, leaving us with the problem of chronic unemployment. This has meant hardship to workers, communi-

ties, and stockholders.

In view of this, it is difficult to understand why the administration should favor opening the door to an invasion by foreign textiles manufactured at low wages with which we could not possibly compete.

A comparison of our wages with those of other major textile-producing countries shows how completely the American industry would be ruined by these differentials.

Gross hourly earnings of the textile industry in France are 39.3 cents per hour. In

Great Britain, 45.4 cents. In Italy, 24 cents. In Japan, 11.9 cents.

The textile-wage level in the whole of the United States exceeds that of Japan by 976 percent.

In the Northern States, principally New England, the rate is 1,085 percent higher than that of Japan.

Low-priced foreign goods, even though imported only in small quantities at the start, would so cut sales and depress prices as to put many more mills out of business. This would deliver a crushing blow to an industry that has been struggling to survive a serious depression. It would, under these circumstances, contradict the very arguments put forth by the administration to justfly its so-called free-trade policy.

To encourage Japanese and other-nation imports would encourage production in lowwage areas. This would retard improvement in technology and productivity and would freeze low standards of living. A worldwide competitive struggle based on lower wages and lower standards of living in textile industries will pull down the strength of the United States and the free world.

One wonders if the unrealistic planners at Washington are considering the final sacrificial offering-that of opening our domestic market to the slave-labor products of the Communist empire under the illusion that this coexistence would bring peace. It could only bring disaster to the United States. As the New York Herald Tribune commented in part, on January 3, 1955, and I quote: "The depression in textiles in the early part of 1954 was one of the worst the industry has experienced. One of the big factors worrying the textile industry as the new year opens is what the Government intends to do. about reducing tariffs on textiles and wearing apparel. The Government aim of making tariff concessions, particularly on textile products, in order to aid the economy of Japan, has thrown a real scare into all sections of the textile industry.

"Textile leaders point out that competition from the Japanese textile industry is begin-ning to hurt, and the threat of sharply stepped-up competition through lower tariffs at a time when the industry is just beginning to emerge from a prolonged depression could have disastrous effects. Just prior to World War II, they point out, Japan was dominating the world textile market and was pushing not only the United States but

England onto the ropes.

Textile leaders admit the necessity stabilizing Japan's economy to prevent that country from falling under the influence of Soviet Russia, but they point out that the United States textile industry is not an 'expendable' industry. All sections of the in-dustry have filed strong protests with Washington against any tariff action which would harm the American textile industry."

Time and again New England Representatives in Congress have asked for some relief, some assistance for our hard-pressed textile

industry.

No one disputed the facts concerning empty mills or mills operating at a loss or chronic unemployment in textile commu-

Yet Washington remained strangely indifferent to our problems.

Now the administration proposes further sacrifices by our weakened textile industry instead of constructive help.

Some American industries, in order to secure foreign markets for their products, would sell out the domestic market in the United States for American textiles to foreign competitors.

How did this economic treason develop? Article I, section 8, of the Constitution of the United States delegated to the Congress the regulation of foreign trade through adjustment of the duties, imports, or excises, commonly called tariffs.

This constitutional power was held by Congress until June 12, 1934, when the President prevailed upon Congress to amend the Tariff Act, thereby surrendering that power to the executive branch of the Government,

"Emergency" was the reason given to justify this transfer without benefit of constitutional amendment.

As emergency after emergency was used to secure extensions of this power grant to the President, a dangerous precedent was established.

The American watch industry was almost smothered by concessions made to Swiss-Other defenseless American watchmakers. industries were placed on the auction block of reciprocal trade.

At the same time we were giving billions of dollars taken in taxes from American workers to modernize the production plants and labor skills of other nations that now demand the right to undersell American products in our own home market.

There is, of course, some justification for strengthening the economies of our allies, but there is also a limit to such giveaway

programs.

It was never intended by the American people that they should be required to give up their own jobs just to provide export markets for foreign goods in the United

Or to sell out an important segment of the New England economy, just to provide foreign markets for certain other favored American industries.

Or to enable big business, which has gone international, to maintain production plants abroad, taking advantage of low-cost foreign labor to produce goods which are then shipped back for sale in our domestic market, undercutting American manufacturers and American workers.

Unfair competition is no solution for our own problems or those of our allies.

How would the automobile industry react if we proposed the following trade swap?

That certain foreign nations be permitted to manufacture, export, and sell Americanmodel cars in the United States for \$2,000 and less in exchange for an American monopoly in the manufacture and sale of planes, radios, TV sets, and household appliances in those countries.

No; this is not the way. Neither is the contemplated sell-out of the American textile industry or any other in-

Reciprocal trade is justified only to the extent that it is constructive and not destructive.

New England must rally to oppose extension of the Trade Agreements Act, to save our textile industry from extinction.

The Constitution of the United States and

the textile communities of New England are not up for surrender.

We urge the executive department and the Congress to reject economic appeasement that betrays our own people.

The United States Junior Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, I would like to make the following remarks:

Tomorrow will mark the 35th anniversary of the founding of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce. This organization, made up of young men aged 21 to 35, have made an outstanding contribution to the communities of the Nation. This organization's success in arousing the civic consciousness of our young men and the excellence of their leadership training program is widely recognized.

The citizens of Michigan are proud of the fact that we have 105 active jaycee chapters with a membership totaling over 5,000 members. Their record of accomplishment in many fields of civic endeavor is one to be proud of. We are especially proud of the fact that one of the most outstanding national presidents was Prof. Paul Bagwell, of Michigan State College. Knowing the record of our Michigan Jaycees, it is a pleasure for me to congratulate the national organization on the occasion of its 35th anniversary.

Some Reflections on Politics and Government

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAGE BELCHER

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BELCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following speech which was made by the Honorable Ross Rizley, Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, to the Tulsa Chamber of Commerce, November 18, 1954:

When it was announced that I would speak here, one of your members is reported to have said: "That fellow Rizley? What's he running for now?"

May I hasten to assure you that I do not propose either to point with pride or to view with alarm today. While I must confess to some personal sadness over certain events which occurred on a very recent November 2, I am not here to advance any particular accepted meaning of the word.

It has been my privilege over a period of many years to participate in politics and government—in my county in the senate of my native State of Oklahoma, in Congress, and in the executive branch in Washington. It has been a rewarding experience—rewarding in friendships and in the sense of satisfaction which comes from being a part of the greatest government ever devised by man anywhere.

Through these years I have known the elation which comes with the first election to public office and the bitter disappointment which goes with political defeat. Looking back, I have a strong feeling that every politician needs to be taken to the woodshed by the voters now and then for his own good.

"Spare the rod and spoil the politician," might be offered as a revised version of the old adage.

On the whole, there are certainly greater rewards than disappointments in politics and government—that is, if you leave out the matter of financial reward. Our public officials, for the most part, are woefully underpaid by comparison with people holding jobs of similar responsibility in private business. Moreover, I see little real hope that

the situation will be corrected in the immediate future. The stumbling block is the fact that the people who must vote government pay raises—members of State legislatures and of Congress—are also elective officials. Any legislator who votes to increase his own salary is likely to find his opponent making a political issue of it at the next election—but willing enough to accept the higher salary if elected.

When I first went to Congress, the salary was \$10,000 a year. It is now \$12,500, with an additional tax-free expense account of \$2,500. When you consider, however, that the buying power of the dollar has been cut in two while taxes have skyrocketed it becomes apparent that a Member of Congress today has far less real take-home pay than he did even 12 or 15 years ago.

On the present congressional pay, it is impossible for a Senator or a Representative to maintain residences in Washington and in his home State, to support his family and to educate his children. This largely limits service in Congress to those who have some degree of financial independence.

Some of our more prominent legislators collect sizable fees as paid speakers. But even this avenue is closed to the freshman Congressman whose name is little-known outside his own district.

Other legislators reach the break-even point through farming or ranching, through family-operated businesses or through law partnerships. Still others—and the number is steadily growing—are people who turn to politics as a sort of hobby after they have reached financial independence.

I recognize there is a widespread belief that many Congressmen add to their income from other sources such as graft and bribery. It just isn't true. I could count on the fingers of one hand the crooks who managed to penetrate Congress during the years I served there. And I might add that they were brought to justice.

Congress jealously guards its own integrity. I know that the men and women there today, regardless of political party, are as honest, as dedicated to our form of Government, as any representative group of Americans. Certainly they are not without their individual weaknesses and faults. Neither are we who elected them. And if we do not always like the reflection we see in the mirror that is Congress, let us remember it is our own reflection.

But I was talking of higher pay standards for Government servants and now I find myself moralizing. Some years ago I was discussing a pending pay-raise bill with one of my colleagues in the House.

"I could certainly use the money," he told me. "But I don't like the argument that the higher pay would attract the services of better qualified men."

I know personally of a number of cases where able, conscientious men, who genuinely liked government service, have resigned to accept better paying pobs in private industry. They had to choose between government and the welfare of their own families.

It is becoming increasingly difficult to recruit qualified people for top Government jobs. Here it is not only a question of pay. Many men would make the necessary financial sacrifice but they rebel at the prospect of abuse, criticism, and vilification which often go hand-in-hand with some of our most important Government positions.

There is another important aspect of this financial question as it relates to elective offices. That is the high cost staging an effective campaign.

The advent of radio and then television completely revolutionized American political campaign tactics. Gone is the day when a politician can limit his activities to shaking a few hands, kissing the traditional quota of bables and passing out a pocketful of personal cards. I look back on those days with more than a little nostalgia, and a degree of sadness, too, when I reflect upon the fact that some of those beautiful Oklahoma bables whom I kissed must have grown up to be Democrats.

Yes, we are in a new era of political campaigning. The successful candidate of today must use every available means of reaching the public. He must use all of the old, conventional approaches plus television, radio, highway billboards, and even skywriting. To add a dash of the superspectacular he may even descend upon his audiences via helicopter. Any day now I look for some inventive campaigner to come drifting down from on high in a red, white, and blue parachute to the strains of the Star-Spangled Banner. I may even vote for him.

Now all of this takes money. A tremendous amount of money. It means that a man who would be governor of one of our great States or a United States Senator must be prepared to spend tens of thousands of dollars, or have friends who are prepared to spend it for him. It means too that the candidate and his friends must be prepared to wink at—yes, even make mockery of—the statutory limitations upon campaign expenditures.

Now here is the curious contradiction in this situation. The new media for reaching the people have made it possible for a candidate to place the issues before the public as never before. Voters are in a position today to know more about the candidate and his views than at any time in the history of political campaigns. That is all to the good. An informed electorate is the greatest bulwark of our Republic. At the same time, the very cost of bringing his message to the voters is enough to prevent most of our citizens' from becoming candidates for office in statewide and national elections.

Somewhere in this broad land of ours today there may be a boy who has the making of another Abe Lincoln. Unless he has had the foresight to pick a father who struck it rich—as Lincoln certainly didn't—this youth might be well advised to choose a career other than politics.

I do not pretend to have the solution to this problem. Yet, I believe it is one which deserves more careful thought and study than it is getting. It goes to the very heart of our system of representative government. Certainly, I would not restrict the complete presentation of campaign issues which is made possible by our effective, if costly, mass media. At the same time, I am deeply disturbed at this other trend which, if unchecked, will bar so many able citizens from becoming candidates for public office.

We should modernize our obsolete limitations upon campaign expenditures, fixing realistic ceilings, and then vigorously enforcing them. Today, our Federal election laws permit a candidate for the United States Senate to spend a maximum of \$25,000 on his campaign in the more populous States. There is no limit whatever upon the amount that his friends may spend in his behalf through other channels. In Oklahoma, we cling to the legal fiction that a senatorial candidate may speed no more than \$3,000 in a primary contest.

In actual practice, we know that a quarter of a million dollars, and even more, is frequently spent in behalf of a single candidate in contests for governor or United States Senator in many States. Here, in Oklahoma, no candidate for either of these offices could hope to ride through a hotly contested primary and then a general election unless he and his friends were prepared to spend in the neighborhood of \$200,000. On that basis, politics is hardly a poor man's game.

It has been suggested that private-campaign contributions be abolished, with the Government allocating certain amounts to the political parties for campaign expenses.

This raises new questions. Would such a program prevent the formation of new political parties in the future or would the Government handouts encourage the organization of numerous splinter parties? Would it encourage countless candidates to file for office with the sole view of collecting a campaign expense check? How could it be effectively applied to primary elections where we now often have a dozen or more candidates for a single endorsement?

Certainly, the objections to such a system are formidable. The defects in the present system are glaring, too. Here is a field in which the chamber of commerce and other organizations could be of tremendous service; studying, discussing, and working toward improvements in our election laws and

Now I would make it very clear that I have no prejudice against wealthy men in political office. Both parties have a sizable number of them. My own observation is that they vote as conscientiously on public issues as their less affluent colleagues. Yet, I confess some amusement when I hear one of them railing against the forces of entrenched wealth. And among the politicians with inherited fortunes I have yet to see one who looks really comfortable in those preelection news photos shaking hands with

a workingman or pitching hay.
Since my boyhood days on the Panhandle of Oklahoma this world of ours has spun around quite a few times. Empires have The world balance of power has toppled. shifted enormously. We have had more wars than I like to think about and far less peace that the people of all lands yearn for. The Nahave seen depressions and booms. tion has gone through a technological revolution on the farms and in the factories.

Since 1900 our population in this country has approximately doubled. In just the 15 years since before World War II started we have increased our agricultural productive capacity in America by some 45 percent. On the same acres we had 15 years ago we have a quarter of a million fewer farmworkers. In this same 15 years we have increased our steel production capacity by 40 percent. In this same 15 years we have doubled our electric power capacity, and in less than those 15 years we have discovered this whole new uncharted area of nuclear energy.

Yes; we have enjoyed remarkable growth as a nation. And perhaps the most amazing aspect of that growth has been in our own

Federal Government.

Back in 1899 there were 208,000 employees of the Federal Government, and it cost just \$605 million to run the whole show. Even as recently as 1931 there were only 617,000 Federal workers, and the annual cost of Government was \$3.6 billion. By 1953 Government employment had soared to nearly 2.5 million, and Federal cash outlays for the

year totaled almost \$75 billion.

Some of our individual Government agencies have grown from comparatively small establishments to vast bureaucracies. In 1899 the Department of Agriculture had slightly less than 3,000 employees. It spent just \$3.5 million. By 1931 this agency had more than 28,000 employees and spent \$311 million. In 1952 there were more than 78,000 employees of the Department of Agriculture. Expenditures for the year exceeded \$3.2 billion.

Further evidence of the growth and hugeness of the Department of Agriculture are inventories of merchandise on hand, including approximately 1 billion bushels of wheat, million extra bales of cotton, one-half billion pounds of cheese, approximately the same amount of butter, also large quanti-ties of tung oil, linseed oil, cottonseed oil, and innumerable other items, including onequarter million gallons of turpentine. rent for just storing our inventories cost the taxpayers \$720,000 every 24 hours. And this amount is just incidental to maintaining and operating a business that employs 67,000 people plus and the tens of millions for the many and various programs of the Department

The Department of the Interior, which had 20,000 employees and spent \$65 million in 1931, had nearly 59,000 employees and spent \$590 million in 1952.

These figures dramatically point up the gigantic growth of our Government and the tremendous centralization of power in Washington. It seems that almost everybody talks about big Government, but, as has been said about the weather, nobody does anything about it.

I would not venture a guess on how big our Government might eventually become. Of one thing I am certain, however. It will never be any bigger than the people them-selves want it to be.

It is easy enough to blame the executive or the legislative branch of the Government for the creation of new agencies and the enlargement of others. If you want to be strictly partisan about it, you can just point to the other political party as the culprit. To be perfectly fair about the matter, while it is true the greatest expansion in Government came about during the last 20 years, my own political party is not without some responsibility. Only this year we created a new Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. I frankly admit that some of us have demonstrated the ability to spend a Federal dollar just about as fast as our predecessors.

Nevertheless, the real responsibility rests primarily with the people themselves. Individually and collectively citizens are constantly demanding more and more services of government-more social security, more public works, more and better highways, more educational aid, and more and bigger subsidies. Yet we are inconsistent enough to call for reduced taxes and expenditures at the same time.

I well remember a letter one of my colleagues in the House received some years ago. It ran something like this: "Dear John: The people of this district are beginning to wonder when you are going to do something about cutting taxes and reducing govern-ment expenditures. There are also plenty of rumblings here about getting us a new Congressman if you don't get some action pretty quick on that appropriation for the Goose Creek Dam."

If Congressmen sometimes seem to age a bit prematurely, it could well be from at-tempting to please constituents such as this one.

Another Congressman friend of mine has managed to retain his youthful appearance during nearly 20 years in the House and at the same time has built up quite a reputation as an advocate of strict government economy. He has consistently opposed lavish Federal spending-in the other fellow's district.

Any time the people of this Nation decide they want less government in their lives, they can also have lower taxes and a balanced budget. Until that day they are unlikely to have either, regardless of which political party is in power.

In recent weeks we have been deluged in print and over the air waves with predictions as to just what voters would do on election The pundits, the pollsters, and the political prognosticators had a field day-as they do every 2 years. As usual, many of them missed the mark rather widely. I wonder how any pollister or political pulse-taker could be bold enough to forecast the results in many contests which ended in virtual dead heats.

I hadn't been in Washington very long before I learned that an expert is just any ordinary country boy who happens to be more than 300 miles from home. Another thing that used to confuse me as a freshman Congressman were these informed sources authoritative sources who were constantly being quoted on national affairsalways in a most pontifical tone.

I can reveal to you that an informed source is very often just an average individual who likes to read his guesses in print. An authoritative source is a little different. He owns a pair of spats which lend a certain

dignity to his predictions.

All in all, I have enjoyed my years in government and politics. If I have reminisced too much, it is because I look back upon that experience with so much real pleasure. As I indicated at the beginning of my remarks. I have no burning message to leave with you. It is a privilege to have this opportunity to visit here in Tulsa again. I thank all of you for that opportunty.

Higher Postal Rates and Pav

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GLENN R. DAVIS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, last year President Eisenhower proposed, and Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield stanchly supported, a combined postal pay raise and postal rate increase measure. This represented a responsible, reasonable program. Unfortunately, Congress did not heed the President's advice and passed a measure unacceptable to him. Knowing the President to be a responsible and honorable man who would not approve the bill submitted to him, a few of us warned the House of the inadequacy and irresponsibility of the pending measure. Twenty-nine of us voted to sustain the President's sound position in opposition to the bill which passed the House. For this we were subjected to political opposition by the leaders of some employee groups, who sought to punish us by defeating us in the 1954 campaign.

These leaders were wrong, and the President was right in 1954. The President has substantially reiterated his proposals in 1955. This time I trust that Congress will, after careful consideration, approve the major portions of the President's pay-raise and postal-rate proposals.

As the editors of the Milwaukee Journal conclude in the editorial which I insert herewith, the President is definitely on the right track:

HIGHER POSTAL RATES AND PAY

Last August the election-bound Congress voted a 5-percent pay raise to 1,500,000 postal workers and other Federal employees. Wisely, President Eisenhower vetoed the bill, because Congress had failed to vote higher postal rates to cover the higher postal pay. The President, however, promised to submit to the new Congress an equitable salary measure tied to higher postal rates.

In his Post Office Department message Tuesday, Mr. Eisenhower made good on his promise. But he went far beyond just that. He recommended a wholly new policy under which Congress would cede to a special commission the power to adjust postal rates so that the deficit ridden Post Office Department "henceforth * * * shall be self-sup-

porting."

You might say Congress asked for it. Not just the last Congress, but all Congresses that have failed to provide for adequate postal revenues.

With an accusing finger obviously pointed at the legislative branch, the President reminded Congress that in the 9 prosperous years since World War II post-office deficits totaled more than \$4 billion, exceeding the combined deficits of the 156 years up to 1945.

Is there, after all, any logical reason why businesses and private individuals who use the mail should not pay their just share of the cost? As the President says, appropriating tax funds to meet whopping deficits (even though the operating loss has been cut from a \$727 million peak in 1952 to \$399 million in 1954) is "neither equitable nor reasonable; it is neither good business nor good Government." And if Congress falls to adjust rates shouldn't a commission be directed to do the job under broad authorization from Congress? Congress could well devote major attention to seeing that the postal service is efficiently and economically operated.

Pending creation of a rate commission, the President wants higher rates for first-class (letter) mail, second class (magazines and newspapers), and third class (mostly advertising matter). As the Journal has consistently argued, there is no valid reason to continue fat subsidies to newspaper and magazine publishers and businesses that use the mails to promote their products.

The pay increases for postal workers will total \$129 million a year—roughly a 5-percent increase. But employees will not get an across the board raise such as Congress voted. A new salary schedule will be introduced regrouping employees so that salaries will more nearly correspond with responsibilities.

Last year Postmaster General Summerfield proposed such a salary schedule and ran into bitter opposition from the powerful postal workers' unions. Such opposition will probably develop anew on the salary question, and Congress may be cool toward relinquishing its rate-setting authority.

Still, the President is definitely on the

right track.

Nixon's Campaign Bears Fruit

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I wish to insert the following editorial entitled "Nixon's Campaign Bears Fruit," by Fulton Lewis, which appeared in the Monroe (La.) News-Star on January 12, 1955:

NIXON'S CAMPAIGN BEARS FRUIT (By Fulton Lewis)

Washington.—The leftwing's continued carping complaints against Vice President Richard M. Nixon are proof positive, if any further proof was needed, of the effectiveness of his campaigning last fall.

ness of his campaigning last fall.

NIXON was the one top Republican who kept alive in 1954 the outstanding issue which did the most to defeat the Democrats in 1952—that party's softness toward com-

munism. Politicos agree generally that Nixon did more to hold GOP losses in 1954 to a minimum than any other one man.

For this, the lefties would like to cut the young Vice President down to size, hoping they can eliminate or minimize his influence in next year's presidential campaign. Without him, they feel there would be much more chance of getting through the 1956 campaign without the same issue being raised again—an estimate in which they probably are right.

One of the silliest anti-Nixon blurbs yet

One of the silliest anti-Nixon blurbs yet offered was served up by the pinko New Republic. Discussing the Californian's forthcoming good-will tour of Latin America, it

"They are sending DICKEY NIXON down to Latin America on a good-will tour, but that isn't the real story at all. What the administration is doing is to get the all-American boy out of town to improve relations with the Democrats. It is a good-will tour all right, in that sense, but as much as anything to improve the White House relations with the Congress.

"Speaker Sam Raysurn threatens to refuse to sit down at the same table with Nixon who raised the Communist-smear issue in the fall election. It's going to be hard for the administration to know what to do with the Vice President in the next 2 years. A good deal of foreign travel is indicated."

I may have read more inane poppycock some time during years gone by, but offhand I don't recall when.

Despite the efforts of liberal pundits to make it appear that President Eisenhower's opinion and respect for Nixon are on the wane, the best available information is to the contrary. White House intimates report that the Vice President's advice still carries as much weight as that of any other individual, and that the President still regards Nixon as one of his most valuable effective aides.

It was for exactly that last attribute that Nixon was chosen for the Latin American good will tour, plus the fact that the United States still is reaping the benefits of the effective international public relations job he did on his 1953 tour of Asia.

I found on my own trip to Japan and Formosa just last month, for example, that people in that part of the world still are talking of the homey charm, the tact, and the sympathetic attitude of the Nixons, Dick and the enchanting Pat, more than a year later.

As for the Vice President's campaign tactics, Mr. Eisenhower himself has paid public tribute to the effective role he played in preventing GOP losses last November from being greater than they were

greater than they were.

All Republican Party leaders in private conversations say that without Nixon's indefatigable stumping, as well as his success in finally convincing the President that he himself had to campaign actively, the Democratic victory might well have been a complete rout rather than the narrow squeak that it was,

When the lefties complain about the Nixonian tactics, what they are saying is that they think the Truman-Acheson policies toward Communists and communism were proper and effective. They dislike having the voters reminded that those policies allowed communism to engulf a half billion persons, as well as permitting scores of Red-tainted individuals not only to stay in Government jobs but even climb high up the Federal employment promotion ladder to positions of top responsibility.

If Rayburn and other Democratic leaders dislike having the "soft to communism" tag applied to their party, their most effective redress should be to clean out its leftwing leadership which fostered the policies meriting the tag. The ADA and the CIO still pretty much dictate its policy nationally and

in some areas, like New York and Detroit, locally.

The anti-Nixon campaign is just getting well organized. Rest assured that it will get worse before it gets better.

Our Strongest Weapon

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM B. WIDNALL

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. WIDNALL. Mr. Speaker, on January 13, 1955, Miss Gertrude Carraway, president general of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution, delivered a fine address to the 29th Women's Patriotic Conference on National Defense at the Statler Hotel in Washington.

The talk contains so much of the fundamentals of patriotic dedication and love for America that it can be read with real benefit by everyone. Earnest and sincere thought is provoked by the content of her message.

Under leave to extend my remarks, her address follows:

OUR STRONGEST WEAPON

(By Miss Gertrude S. Carraway, president general, National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution)

It is an honor to address this patriotic conference. Years ago I had the privilege of attending some of your earliest meetings, when you helped blaze the trail against pacifism and communism. Then like voices crying in the wilderness, those warnings have been vindicated.

Now more than ever we need patriotism and patriotic gatherings. As has been said, "The only thing for evil to win is for the good to do nothing."

This is an era of danger, tension, confusion. There are serious threats to our national security: termites from within, boring under our structure of government; and enemies from without, seeking its conquest.

Actually we are at war: a conflict of ideologies, between a doctrine which eliminates God and individualism and our moral philosophy which embraces religion and the dignity of man.

Nuclear weapons are being made which could destroy cities and residents, civilization itself. Planes can circle the globe more than twice as fast as sound. Guided missiles may be unleashed against distant pinpoint targets.

These are important for our defense. We must be adequately prepared militarily for any emergency. It is the best insurance for peace. Our foes understand the language of force.

But material prowess is not enough to win either a hot war or a cold war of economic, industrial, and political rivalry. Our strongest weapon is not the gun, plane, or bomb; it is a patriotic spirit in the minds and hearts of our people, based on zeal to preserve the American way of life.

This dynamic morale has consistently proved its value: in exploring and settling uncharted coasts, plains, and mountains; whining the Revolution and other wars; building thriving businesses; developing miracle medicines and utilities. It can remain our bulwark, if we meet the perils of this period with similar bravery, ingenuity, and honor.

America has long held significant meaning as an idea and ideal, a land of opportunity, with a chance for all to get ahead, become what we make of ourselves. Immigrants have flocked to our shores to share unsurpassed benefits. Our priceless heritage has captured the imagination of many dominated peoples. It is still the hope of the world.

However, besides too many citizens who are soft on communism we have here today too many who are soft on Americanism. Patriotism has been wrongly criticized as narrow minded and old fashioned. Blinded or intrigued by erroneous propaganda, illusion or delusion for the millenium, unrealistic Utopians would sell our birthright for a mess of pottage.

Stronger advocacy is needed for our individual enterprise, patriotic endeavor, religious trust. This is the safe and sane course which has made our Nation so great, outranking others, with the highest standards of living in the world, and, despite mistakes and failings, the best government on earth, the freest and finest in all history.

Americanism is creed, philosophy, a way of life. It is faith, belief that man, with God's help, is capable of self-rule. We must accentuate it in every way possible, become as vigorous and-enthusiastic in fostering and publicizing it as our enemies are in operating against it.

Based on eternal principles of freedom, justice, and mercy, it is timeless—just as essential in this age as in the past. On its preservation and extension depends the future of America.

If it is perpetuated, our own people must understand it better. How can they be active for it if they are not aware of its advantages? Many schools fall to teach American history, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution. Fortunately, improvement is being noticed along this line. Each of us can assist.

Our form of government is not sufficiently studied. It is unique in that it is not a democracy but a representative Republic, upheld by cooperation, not coercion; the considered the governed, the state being considered the servant, not the master, of its constituents, with rule by law rather than men, checks and balances being so contrived that none of the three separate branches tan assume dictatorial control.

If we were all more familiar with its functions it could be more efficient. There would not be so many attempts to pass unconstitutional legislation. Nor would there be so much readiness to exchange it for untried, unwise schemes.

Numerous problems are still unsolved. No government, no human is perfect. But it is the best yet devised. As we have surmounted previous difficulties, so we can overcome future challenges with the same spirit.

When Washington faced apparently hopeless defeat at Valley Forge, he knelt in prayer. A year after the U. S. S. Arizona was sunk at Pearl Harbor, the United States flag was raised proudly over its hull.

In these days when so many persons want something for nothing, the self-reliance and self-sacrifice of older patriarchs are necessary to sustain self-government.

Statesmen of the hardy caliber who built this Nation should be emulated, abiding by principles instead of expedients, laboring for the next generation rather than the next election, for the general welfare, the greatest good to the greatest number and the least harm to the least number.

Most of all, we need more loyal citizens, girded with moral armament, who put the public weal above private interests. The strength of a republic depends on its constituents. Indeed, a republic is its constituents.

During the past quarter of a century our standard of living has risen 40 percent, a splendid gain; but our patriotic and religious

advance has not kept pace. Just as we test jets and bombs, so we should pay attention to our strongest weapon of defense: practicing, teaching, and preaching better Americanism. We keep our guns clean and powder dry, available for any call; likewise, we should cherish the spirit of America, in order to pass on to posterity, bright and untarnished, "freedom's holy light."

It is imperative to be good Americans, not content to rest upon our laurels but eager to interpret them as stepping stones to further progress; to do what we can to promote better citizenship, prevent crime and delinquency; and to show, by example and precept, that, compared with foreign isms, Americanism has sounder theory and stronger appeal.

If our people are well grounded in its fundamentals, if we know how our land has become powerful, if we are grateful for our blessings and sincere in love of community and service to country, no treason or disloyalty can find soil fertile enough to take root. There would be no cause to fear the Communist menace, if we build up resistance by becoming imbued with Americanism.

In addition to being thus our strongest weapon of defense, this crusading spirit can be our cardinal weapon of offense.

Too long has the United States been on the defensive. We should now assume the offensive in the cold war. An ideology may be defected by a better ideology.

be defeated by a better ideology.

Our systems are far superior to those of the Reds. They have come through with flying colors in our own land, relying on ballots, not bullets; evolution, not revolution. Our case is much more valid, but it is misunderstood abroad. Not yet has it been fully presented to the world. The pen can be mightier than the sword. We must prove in word and deed the preeminence of free enterprise. Godless communism can be overcome by a psychological counteroffensive with our religious and political concepts.

It is late, but not too late. The situation is critical, but not hopeless.

Washington lost battles, but never lacked determination and vision, finally winning the war—and the peace. From him we can derive inspiration to aid in securing for mankind all the blessings of liberty.

Such purpose for positive action, with providential care, can bring the will to do, the courage to dare, the discipline to persevere, the stamina and integrity to triumph.

vere, the stamina and integrity to triumph.

Our leaders have concentrated primarily
on financial gifts and sharing our technological know-how with other countries. We can
not buy international friendships. Our Nation may be feared for its strength and
courted for its money, but its material patronage is not always judiciously used or
appreciated.

Meanwhile, we have lost ideologically. Half the world has fallen to communism. It has been spread forcefully and forcibly.

Only 2 percent of the Poles are said to be Communists; only 5 percent of the Chinese. Yet, their historic areas have been pulled behind the Iron Curtain, whose fanatical conspirators have the avowed ambition to conquer the whole world, including our own United States. It is high time to halt this disastrous march.

Ruin looms if we overtax and overborrow. We can help others who are worthy to help themselves, but not spread ourselves so thin over so much outside territory that our economy will be strained, especially when so many things are needed at home. It is feasible to carry out a policy of good neighbor or partner without being lavish or becoming submerged. Our old slogan should be readopted: "Millions for defense, but not one cent for tribute."

America must be kept strong and solvent. Who would answer our plea, if our national safety was endangered? Even allies cannot always be counted on in crises.

What other peoples would probably prefer to monetary bounties for their governments, some of which are communistic or socialistic, is more hope for personal liberty, such as is enjoyed in America. If we want to win friends and influence people, we should stress that we have freedoms and they can have them, too, if they toil earnestly for them.

In our favor is one paramount point. More even than freedom from went, there is a universal hunger for freedom of speech and conscience. This innate craving, like national pride, cannot be forever repressed or suppressed by oppression.

For centuries civilization has moved forward through this spark in personulities. Those really wanting to be free have usually won, not only because in time they rise to oppose tyranny but also because as individuals they can be more successful than automatons or slaves executing despotic

Human facultles form more potential might than minerals, oils, and atoms. More effective than any rifie is the man behind it. If he is infused with a firm conviction in a righteous cause, he is more invincible than a mouthpiece transmitting the commands of a dictator. This is advantageous for our side, even though our opponents outnumber us 8 to 3, because of the inherent, indomitable desire of men to be free.

Washington predicted that a prudent use of liberty under the Constitution might induce every nation which is yet a stranger to it to adopt it. So long as glows our flame of freedom under God, it will shine as a magnetic beacon to all liberty-loving peoples everywhere. It can even pierce an Iron Curtain.

This is not to be construed as a prediction for the early overthrow of Soviet authority. They are too overwhelmingly entrenched and fortified, with methods which cannot be easily subdued. The 3 percent who are Communists in Russia have subjugated vast majorities to weakness and inertia.

But men do aspire to be free agents. This yearning accounts for such valor as that of the Pollsh pilot who took risks and flew westward to recover the freedom lost under the iron heel.

An elderly immigrant from a satellite country wrote as a main reason she was thankful to be in America: "I can go to bed every night without being afraid."

An American journalist asked a Hungarian newspaperman if he could write what he pleased. "Yes, of course," was the reply, "but only once."

Soviets expect to capitalize on our divergent opinions. That is our prerogative, but they consider them our main weakness. Instead of so much destructive criticism, bickering, debunking, defeatism, we should utilize constructive credos, affirmative approaches in presenting a united and resolute national front.

Lenin advised his followers to "postpone operations until the moral disintegration of the enemy renders the delivery of the mortal blow easy." Decay from within has caused the downfall of other nations. We cannot let the Communists achieve their aims through our decay or disunity.

Instead of promising voters so much, we should emphasize their duties, the fact that each right entails an obligation, giving as well as getting, urging incentive, hard work, and thrift instead of doles, handouts, subsidies. The Biblical injunction warns: "To whom much is given, of him much is also required."

We must educate for good citizenship, teaching a sense of responsibility, to do what we can for ourselves, instead of the current tendency to let someone else do it or have the Government do it. Abundance for all can no more be guaranteed than good health. But, liberty is more precious than security, equality of opportunity than regimentation.

Our constitutional government will not be lost immediately. There is reason to fear that its freedoms may be chipped away little by little, so that the loss may pass almost unnoticed at the time.

The main danger is having them undermined through infiltration by Trojan horses, fifth columnists, fellow travelers, or impractical sympathizers. As our predecessors had to be vigilant, so do we to insure against spies, saboteurs, socialistic or fascist trends and treaty powers which might circumvent the assets making our Nation so outstanding.

That is why Congress should ratify an amendment to our Constitution to prevent treaties or executive agreements with unconstitutional provisions from becoming the supreme law. This would safeguard the rights of Americans and our duly elected representatives to pass our own domestic legislation, preserving the Constitution as envisioned by its framers.

Nor should our country join any world government or partial world government. Proposals for revisions of the United Nations Charter to turn that organization into a limited world government should be opposed. We must not lose our hard-earned national sovereignty, barter away our bequest of independence, by becoming a vassal province in a world or regional state.

Likewise the NATO Status of Forces Treaty should somehow be revised so that our Stars and Stripes may resume its timehonored duty of defending those who defend it on foreign soil.

Benjamin Franklin asserted: "They that can give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety deserve neither liberty nor safety."

Congressional investigations should be continued. They do not threaten our libertles; they try to protect them. We investigate theft and murder, why not espionage and treason? The FBI, with whose superb work we should cooperate, cannot always expose subversion as can congressional committees.

Fifth-amendment invokers who misuse the freedoms under our Constitution should support the Constitution in its entirety. Something is awry when a witness at one hearing can hide behind the cloak of this amendment 244 times; another, 250 times. Those accorded the privilege of this safety value should merit it.

True Americans should at all times be willing to take loyalty oaths. We often recite our religious creed. Frequently we express our love for friends. Why not for our native land?

James Russell Lowell was asked, "How long do you think the American Republic will endure?" He replied, "So long as the ideas of its Founding Fathers continue to be dominant."

Woodrow Wilson declared, "Our whole duty for the present, at any rate, is summed up in the motto, 'America First.'"

This is not isolationism. Some may mistakenly call it that. It is realistic and practical, enlightened self-interest. It is right to love our country best, to put its welfare foremost. It is the only one to which we pledge allegiance, the only one that protects, trains, benefits us. In turn, we owe it our protection, pride, and devotion.

America is great. It is our mission to keep it so.

Our way of life excels all others. Let us maintain it, strongly and surely, with confidence in ourselves, trust in divine guidance.

This spirit forms our most powerful weapon. Here we must stimulate for it more implicit faith. Elsewhere we should arouse for it more ardent fervor.

Americans are famed as salesmen. Let us undertake to sell, at home and abroad, our most important product. It is humanity's best hope.

The St. Lawrence Seaway

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following text of a speech delivered by David I Mackie, chairman, Eastern Railroad Presidents Conference, before a joint meeting of the Lexington Group and the American Historical Association, Commodore Hotel, New York City, December 28, 1954:

The assigned description of the facility we are considering is the St. Lawrence seaway. I will adhere to this phrasing, although it is not accurate. As a description of the 27-foot channel which has been authorized, "seaway" is a euphemism.

For more than half a century the idea of a seaway has been opposed and supported with vigor by powerful economic and political interests. Many of their arguments—both pro and con—have been irrelevant. Some have been misleading.

I believe that while the seaway is obviously advantageous to Canada (especially the port of Montreal), its value to the United States is, to say the least, doubtful.

A 27-foot waterway has been sold to the American people on the false bases that (1) our Great Lakes cities will become ports for oceangoing ships in world trade; (2) the waterway is necessary to move Labrador iron ore to inland steel mills; (3) the waterway is essential to national defense.

The St. Lawrence already is, or contains, a navigible waterway. From the ocean to Quebec a 35-foot channel prevails—it is 32½ feet deep from Quebec to Montreal. West of Montreal to Ogdensburg, N. Y., there is a series of locks and canals with a limiting depth of 14 feet. The available depth of Great Lakes connecting channels is 21 feet upbound and 25 feet downbound. Great Lakes harbors vary up to 26 feet.

Authorized plans for the seaway we are discussing call for a 27-foot channel between Montreal and Lake Erie. They call for nothing more.

Because of the need for clearance under a vessel's keel, ships using a channel must draw less than the channel's depth. Three feet of clearance is generally agreed upon. Allowing 3 feet for clearance, a 27-foot channel can accommodate vessels drawing no more than 24 feet.

A 27-foot depth for the St. Lawrence was first recommended in 1926 by a majority of the Canadian section of the Joint Board of Engineers. Even in 1929 the 27-foot depth was found inadequate for oceangoing vessels. The Brookings Institution, in a 672-page study of the project, concluded that "85 percent of the faster cargo vessels now entering American ports" and "81 percent of the cargo vessels and all the tankers engaged in the intercoastal trade" would not be able to use the seaway.

Brookings said: "A channel depth of 33 feet is a minimum requirement if the St. Lawrence Waterway is to serve the purposes for which it is advocated." They also found (in 1929) that "the trend in ocean shipping is toward larger and deeper draft vessels."

The Brookings prophecy proved accurate. According to information supplied by the United States Department of Commerce, as of the first of this year 90.8 percent of all American oceangoing ships had a draft greater than 24 feet.

Not a single seagoing ship now under construction in American shipyards has a draft of less than 24 feet. The two ships now being built in England for the specific purpose of moving Labrador iron ore have drafts of over 30 feet.

There has been much controversy over the question of what percentage of America's oceangoing fleet could transit the waterway under economic (although not necessarily full) load. These arguments are irrelevant.

The same United States Army engineers who have consistently advocated a 27-foot depth for the seaway, this year sought and obtained congressional approval to deepen the channel of the Hudson River from New York City to Albany from 27 to 32 feet, on the ground that such deepening is necessary to "eliminate a bottleneck that long has hampered oceangoing ships." This year Congress also authorized deepening the Delaware River from Philadelphia to Newbold Island to 42 feet, and from Newbold to Trenton to 32 feet.

The United States Army engineers also recommended increasing the depth of the Houston Ship Canal to 36 feet, saying that the present channels are "not adequate to accommodate, fully and safely, the present merchant fleet."

At Mobile, the same Army engineers recommended deepening bay and river channels from 32 to 40 feet in order to make Mobile a "first-class port."

Wherever any project other than the seaway is involved, the Army engineers clearly recognize the need for channels 32 to 40 feet deep.

All of our important seacoast and gulf harbors have depths of 30 feet or more, with most of them in excess of 35 feet.

The seaway was sold to the American public as a foreign trade route, opening up all the ports on the Great Lakes to foreign commerce. It will be, actually, not much more than an extension of the present Great Lakes waterways, of use primarily to Great Lakes vessels which were not designed for sea duty. Now let's look at the iron ore argument.

On February 22, 1951, Oscar L. Chapman, then Secretary of the Interior, testifying in support of the St. Lawrence seaway, told the House Committee on Public Works: "Unless we build a deep waterway from Montreal into the Great Lakes, I do not see how we will be able to meet our national iron-ore requirements 5 years from now." The last full year before Secretary Chapman issued his warning, Lake Superior ore production was 79.9 million tons. Three years later—three-fifths of the way toward the Secretary's deadline—production was up to 96.5 million tons.

Seaway proponents have tried to prove that open-pit, high-grade Mesabi ore is rapidly running out by the device of dividing the known estimate of ore reserves by the annual consumption of ore. But known estimate is not and does not purport to be a true showing of reserves. It is nothing more than a Minnesota tax rolls figure, revised yearly as additional ore is proved. Once a mining company drills and proves ore, it is put on the Minnesota tax rolls and the company begins to pay taxes on it. Naturally the companies have been reluctant to prove up more ore than they need in the immediate future. From 1946 through 1953, 491 million tons of Mesabl ore were shipped. During the same 8 years, the known estimate shown by the Minnesota tax rolls dropped only 130 million tons. This proves the impropriety of attempting to appraise the ore reserves by means of Minnesota tax roll figures.

Open-pit, high-grade Mesabi ore is not the only Great Lakes source available to American steel mills.

The Steep Rock mines in Ontario, which were brought into production in 1944 by United States interests, are producing a million and a quarter tons of high-grade ore a year at present. The chairman of the board

of Steep Rock Iron Mines Ltd., the company developing this field, has stated that the areas under development can comfortably support an annual production of upward of 15 million tons of high-grade order for an indefinite period. This statement is highly significant in view of the initial planned production in Labrador by the Iron Ore Co., of Canada, which Mr. George M. Humphrey testified would be adequate to make their investment of \$200 million pay out-namely 10 million tons a year.

Pellets made from taconite, a low-grade ore wrich can be concentrated into usable form, are now being produced commercially in Minnesota. Taconite may well prove more important in the future than either Labrador or Mesabi high-grade ore. The supply is almost inexhaustible—about 95 percent of the Mesabi Range is taconite. Taconite pellets are of more uniform consistency than natural ore. Already, United States steel companies have invested about \$500 million in taconite development.

Reserve Mining Co., a major taconite producer, estimates that its ore lands alone can annually supply 10 million tons of high-grade concentrate from taconite for 50 years. Reserve is owned outright by Republic Steel Co., and Armco, 2 of the 5 steel companies interested in the development of the Labrador ore field.

Dr. William O. Hotchkiss, former president of the Michigan School of Mines, in 1951 told the House Committee on Public Works that "nearly three-quarters of a billion tons that were not known in 1920 have been added to Mesabi ore reserves." Dr. Hotchkiss concluded that available reserves in the Lake Superior region totaled 7,700,000,000 tons, enough iron ore to supply 100 million tons a year for 77 years. Because the full potential of taconite has not yet been approximated, this estimate may well prove low. Even 77 years isn't forever. But it's a lot longer than Secretary Chapman's 5 years.

The steel companies have not shared the pessimism of seaway proponents. In the period after World War II, Great Lakes steel mills undertook the greatest expansion in their history before any assurance existed that the St. Lawrence seaway would ever be

dredged.

An ore emergency, then, does not exist. But high-grade Labrador ore does, and it

will and should be mined.

Labrador ore lies east as well as north of the United States. Both the field itself and Seven Islands-the site of the southern terminus of the new Quebec, North Shore & Labrador Railway-are approximately 400 miles east of New York City. The natural American outlets for Labrador ore are therefore the mills located in the eastern part of the United States. Labrador ore can reach these mills economically and quickly either by ship from Seven Islands to Philadelphia and Baltimore, or by ship from Seven Islands to Montreal and then southward by

The natural American outlets for Great Lakes ore on the other hand are the steel mills on the Great Lakes and in and near Pittsburgh.

Seaway proponents advocate shipping Labrador ore west to the Great Lakes at the some time Great Lakes ore is being shipped east to mills in Maryland and eastern Pennsylvania. Cross-hauling like this doesn't make sense to me. What does is shipment of ore from each production area to its natural market. Such natural-market shipment is unaffected by the St. Lawrence

The five major steel mills in eastern Pennsylvania and Maryland—at Bethlehem, Morrisville, Steelton, Swedeland, and Sparrows Point-alone annually consume more than the expected early Labrador-field production.

One of the major arguments used to sell the seaway to the American people was its

purported value as an instrument of national defense.

The seaway is supposed to offer an additional shipping channel to augment transportation in time of war. But the seaway will be of no use to anyone during the 41% months of each year when ice closes it to all commerce.

Reliance upon the seaway for wartime shipping would mean either that America's armies would be supplied in spurts, or that the railroads and east coast ports would have to take over the traffic in the winter months. Where are the railroads and ports going to find the standby equipment and extra personnel for this seasonal traffic? I imagine nothing more extravagant of a nation's resources, strained to the limit by war, than the alternating seasonal use of duplicating transportation facilities.

We are also told that the seaway would permit the construction in Great Lakes shipyards of oceangoing warships, trans-ports, and cargo vessels. But a single bomb dropped by plane on any one of the seaway's 15 locks or near its dams, not only would close the seaway but also would bottle up ships on the Great Lakes-in service or under construction-for the period needed to repair or rebuild the damaged facilities. That might take a long time.

What about costs and the claim that the

seaway will be self-liquidating?

United States Army engineers' estimates of costs of a 27-foot channel from Montreal to Lake Erie are \$174,950,000 to Canada and \$88,074,000 to the United States. Annual carrying charges, including amortization over 50 years and interest at 3 percent, are estimated at \$14,612,000.

These figures are low. For one thing. they're predicated on December 1952 cost levels, and the construction cost index has gone up 9.15 percent since then. For another, Army engineers traditionally underestimate costs.

If no other factors were involved (and many are), the \$14.6 million would be the least the seaway had to earn each year to pay for itself.

Seaway earnings will be determined by the scale of tolls charged, and the tonnage carried.

The tolls have not been set. Even the bases of determining them have not been agreed upon.

The amount of traffic is not known. In 1941, the United States Department of Commerce forecast an eventual 10 million tons of annual American seaway traffic. In 1950, when trying to prove that the seaway would be self-liquidating, Commerce, without a further detailed study, upped its figure to the fantastic and unsubstantiated prediction of 57 million to 84 million tons. The Engineers think the seaway might "attract during its economic life traffic of the order of 50 million tons and more." Only last of 50 million tons and more." Only last week, the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation estimated 36.5 million

Ten million tons? Thirty-six million? Fifty million? Eighty-four million? Which figure at what toll rates will produce \$14.6 million a year?

The validity of the largest of these estimates should be weighed in the light of testimony of Under Secretary of Commerce Walter Williams, delivered before a subcommittee of the Committee on Foreign Relations of the United States Senate on May 20, 1953, that the traffic ceiling of the Welland Canal (with channels improved to a 27-foot depth) "seems to be about 50 million tons, and comparisons of costs with revenues should be limited accordingly."

The larger revenue traffic estimates include the 10 million tons that now move through the existing 14-foot channel without charge. Obviously, traffic which has been using a free channel is not going to move over to a 27-foot toll channel if the free channel is continued. As recently as August 17 of this year L. B. Pearson, Canada's Secretary of State for External Affairs, wrote in a note to the United States: "The Canadian Government reserves the right to decide whether and in what manner it will continue 14-foot navigation works through the International Rapids section.

But that isn't all.

You will remember that the proposed seaway stops at Lake Erie. On the three upper Great Lakes west of Erie are many inland cities anxious for a share of the seaway's promised bonanza. These cities cannot participate even in 27-foot shipping until the channels connecting the upper lakes are deepened. And Great Lakes cities-lower and upper alike-will require deepened harbors.

There isn't the slightest doubt that both channels and harbors will be deepened. At the close of the 83d Congress, bills had already been introduced calling for deepening the upper Great Lakes channels. Various organizations have already started drives for improving Great Lakes harbors to 27 feet.

No one is sure exactly what the channeland-harbor deepening will cost. Preliminary paperwork estimates indicate irreducible minima of \$100 million for the channels and another \$100 million for the harbors.

That isn't all, either.

I believe it is self-evident that the seaway is as certain to be deepened beyond 27 feet as it is to be extended west of Lake Erie. To mention only two reasons: Many legitimate objections to a 27-foot waterway do not apply to one with a deeper channel; and more than a half century of propaganda in favor of a true seaway for oceangoing vessels has developed momentum.

No one knows to what depth the channel will eventually be constructed. Thirty-five feet is the figure most often mentioned. To my knowledge, no one has estimated the cost of deepening a 27-foot channel to 35 feet. However, we do have incomplete, but illuminating, estimates of the cost of deepening the present facilities to 35 feet. For the United States it is \$959,159,000 more than the cost of constructing a 27-foot channel. For Canada it is \$536,752,000 more. The total is \$1,495,911,000 more for a 35-foot than a 27foot channel.

This billion and a half dollars includes nothing for deepening Canadian harbors; no correction for price rises since 1950, the year on which most figures are based; and no allowance for the historical inaccuracy of engineers' preliminary approximations.

The represented cost of the seaway is \$263,-024,000. As we have just seen, realistically there must be added upward of \$200 million for deepening upper-lake channels and the harbors on all 5 lakes to 27 feet. When and if the channel is eventually deepened to 35 feet, there must then be added an unknown sum that will almost assuredly fall somewhere between one and two billion dollars.

therefore submit that present seaway plans are an attempt to get a foot in the door or the nose of the camel under the tent.

Most of the facts I have developed were, of course, known to my country's Congress and President before the former passed and the latter signed this year's seaway bill. One might conclude that favorable congressional action on the seaway after more than a half century of debate confirms Dr. Hare's position and refutes mine.

Such a conclusion would be logical-but, I believe, false.

Congress didn't pass S. 2150 because the historic arguments against the seaway suddenly lost their validity. The case against the seaway was no stronger-or weakerwhen the several Congresses rejected it than in 1954. The major difference lies in the fact that, by 1952, Canada had decided to go ahead on its own. The 83d Congress acted as it did because it thought-mistakenlythat by so doing it was obtaining some meas-

ure of control over the seaway.

I need hardly remind you, who are historians, that the accomplishment of a political result does not prove the arguments presented in favor of it. In the case of the seaway, nonexistent advantages didn't sudblossom-and disadvantages didn't suddenly evaporate-merely because the United States Congress showed itself susceptible to chauvinism.

Obviously the United States did not gain control of the seaway by authorizing the expenditure of \$105,000,000. The Canadians have, and will continue to have, complete control and domination over the effective use of the St. Lawrence by reason of the fact that its exit and six-sevenths of its course lie wholly within Canadian territory.

The seaway appears to me in all sincerity to be an egregious error from the American viewpoint. But we have irretrievably em-barked upon its construction. There can be no question but that it would be less expensive to build a 35-foot seaway in the present river than to build a 27-foot waterway first and deepen it later to 35 feet. Perhaps the time has come for sincere advocates of a true seaway realistically to admit its necessary costs and frankly advocate building a 35-foot channel now. It seems to me sheer idiocy to waste time and money on a hybrid 27-foot concoction of questionable value which even before construction is commenced is obsolete and outmoded and is certain to be deepened as soon as the first hundred-million-dollar shock wears off.

And now if you'll permit me to mangle a metaphor and a simile, I'll conclude. Even though seaway proponents have gotten the nose of their camel under the tent, I'm not going to act like a dog in the manger.

Smears Against Nixon Boomerang

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, when a man is unjustly accused, generally time and public discussion bring forth the truth and the attack boomerangs on the The political history of our accusers. Vice President, RICHARD NIXON, is almost classic proof of this. Time and again as a Congressman, as Senator, and now as Vice President he has borne the brunt of vicious attacks. Time and time again his attackers succeeded only in destroying their own causes.

From many newspaper stories and remarks in this RECORD, I gain the impression that the pattern is being repeated again. In further support of this observation I am setting forth a recent column by Larry Collins, Sr., the editorial columnist of the Long Beach Independent newspaper. For many years Mr. Collins has been an able observer and reporter of the political scene.

The article follows:

It is evident Vice President Nixon is to be the whipping boy for the Democratic attack in next year's campaign. It is charged by the Democrats that Nixon questioned their loyalty during the campaign last year. He is called the smear artist because he carried the fight into many States.

It is rather strange to hear men like WAYNE Morse call Nixon a smear artist because he carried the fight into many States.

Morse's main objection is that Nixon called some of the Democratic candidates, including himself, leftwingers. Morse likes to call himself the leading liberal in the Senate. That is certainly being a leftwinger. But it does not mean he is disloyal or imply that he is a Communist.

By the same reasoning we would consider Nixon a rightwinger. But that does not imply that he is a reactionary. Nixon was critical of the coddling of Communists and leftwingers who played with and supported Communists in Government. The records are clear that this did occur.

The people should remember how Mr. Truman referred to the Alger Hiss case as a red herring. If they recall the Truman campaign in 1948 they will find it hard to recall a more demagogic smear campaign. Unfortunately there are demagogs in every political party. But the speeches of Vice President Nixon stick to the facts. If they were con-sidered smears by some Democrats it must be recognized that telling the truth is actually a smear of some men. But they provided the material.

When listening to Senator Wayne Morse on Meet the Press, we heard him sneer at President Eisenhower. But when asked if he opposed the President's foreign policy, he admitted he did not. He could only say that the President was doing everything for big business and nothing for the common people. But he overlooked the extension of social security, efforts by the President to amend the Taft-Hartley law, and overall tax reductions that have occurred.

It is apparent the Democrats do not want anything done to Taft-Hartley. It is their prime approach to labor union leaders who want the law repealed. But it is equally apparent the rank and file members of unions like the law as it is. Labor unions have had their greatest social securities since that law was enacted. They have had fewer strikes and their living standards are at the highest in the history of workers in the

Nixon will be the target of all the leftwing Democrats, because he is a conservative. He is a hard and fearless fighter with great ability as a speaker. When it comes to what we call the American way he is more liberal than any of the leftwingers, who would have big government rule the people rather than have government the servant of the people. These are factors which should be remembered as the bitter fight against Nixon is waged during the next 18 months.

The Feasibility of Blockades

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, in the long run it may be found that the greatest virtues in the present cold-war period in our history were patience and devotion to calm reason. William R. Mathews, veteran editor and publisher of the Arizona Daily Star, of Tucson, Ariz., has these virtues, and from time to time he gives expression to them in editorials which are often widely quoted. I present herewith two of his recent editorials calling to task some of the blustering, belligerent men in public life who seem bent on dividing our counsels and confusing our policies:

[From the Arizona Daily Star of January 9, 19551

THE FEASIBILITY OF BLOCKADES

The repeated demands for a blockade of Red China made by Senators Knowland and McCarthy, by Commander Collins of the American Legion and numerous other military and political leaders, forecast that this subject will grow as a controversial public issue.

The idea of a blockade makes a popular appeal as an easy way to meet the threat we faced in the Orient. Blockades have been used many times in forms that range from a mere show of force and the seizure port, to the extreme form of an armed blockade that shuts up ports of an enemy. confidence with which it is recommended as a way to deal with Red China fails, howto take into account the experiences of the past, and ignores entirely a new historical development: the coming of the Age of Continents, when some governments control continents.

In the light of history it is necessary to distinguish between the seizure of a port of a weak adversary and the imposition of a blockade against a powerful nation, All blockades have the common purpose to impose a political decision on an unwilling, but defiant, weaker power. When Britain sent warships to China in 1841, to Egypt in 1881, and to many weaker nations, she used this show of force to win political concessions. By this classic use of sea power she built her empire.

When Britain declared a blockade on Napoleon's France, and more recently against Germany and her allies in World Wars I and II, she did so to reduce the capacities of her enemies to wage war. The use of the naval blockade by the North against the South in our Civil War contributed mightily to the ultimate victory of the North. In none of these circumstances did the blockade alone win a war. In each it had to be accompanied by a simultaneous land campaign. Hence there are limits to which the blockade or show of force can be counted upon to win a political decision.

In this connection, serious troubles have always arisen with neutrals. Britain's blockade of Napolen's France contributed seriously to provoking war with us in 1812. It also helped to unite the French people behind Napoleon. Britain's blockades of Germany in World Wars I and II would have involved us in war against her had we not been in sympathy with her action. A blockade of China's widely separated ports can be counted upon to cause much trouble with neutrals as small as Portugal and Indonesia and as large as Britain and the Soviet Union.

To this record must be added Japan's failure in China. What was once called the China incident spread into a major war in 1937 with the landing of millions of soldiers in China, and war ultimately with the United States, Britain, France, and the Soviet Union.

A peaceful blockade, such as Senator Mc-CARTHY recommends, calling for nonintercourse by those nations receiving ald from us, would amount to nothing more than speaking loudly and threatening with a feather duster. It would fail to shut off more than a trivial amount of commerce.

No neutral is bound to respect any blockade unless it is accompanied by a declaration of war. Without such respect it will be ineffective. One conducted under the auspices of the United Nations with the United States providing nearly all of the warships, could be helpful by eliminating much of the trouble with neutrals.

These experiences should be sufficient to warn us about the complications that always develop out of a blockade of an entire nation. To these must now be added the new historical development—the rise of two great powers controlling continents, the United States of America and the Soviet Union, and the prospective rise of two others—China and India.

Modern land and air transportation has done this. Whereas, prior to 1800 there had been little improvement in land transportation since the time of the Caesars, transportation by water had made enormous progress. The discovery of the keel by the Vikings made possible ships of sail that could tack against winds and thus penetrate to the farthest ends of the earth.

Development of political power followed the sea lanes. Just as the Hanseatic cities of Europe grew and thrived on seaborne commerce, so did the subsequent development of most of the other great cities of the world. If they were not ports, they were located close to seaports, such as London and Paris, and had rivers to use.

The application of steam to land transportation provided new arteries of life in the great undeveloped land masses that are today the Soviet Union, the United States of America, China, and India.

The strength of these new and great powers has its roots in the new advantages that their vast land areas provide. They are relatively invulnerable to invasion, blockade or retailations by bombardment. They possess a large proportion of the raw material and food necessary for their large populations, and can be nearly economically self-sufficient. Such advantages, when combined with the political power that comes with the organization of their enormous numbers of people, make two of them—the United States and the U. S. S. R.—dominant powers of the world, while China rises to new importance.

No nation nor coalition of nations can attack any one of them successfully, as Germany learned in the Soviet Union and Japan found out in China. Britain had to give up

India largely for the same reason.

Any blockade of China not only faces all of these contingencies of the past, but also this new historic development of the age of continents.

[From the Arizona Daily Star of January 13, 1955]

AN ALARMING PRECEDENT

The spectacle of the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Adm. Arthur W. Radford, emerging from a luncheon meeting with President Eisenhower on Monday and declaring in a public statement that if all other measures fall, the United States should support a blockade of Red China, dramatizes the conspicuous role that the military of the United States have come to occupy in high policymaking.

Never before, until the past few years, in all of the history of our country has the military dared to speak out publicly on high policymaking. In former years we would have considered such conduct on a par with what used to be called Prussian militarism. We participated in the trials and subsequent hanging of German military officials whose only crime was recommending, counseling, or participating in the decision to make war.

Yet here we have the Chairman of our Joint Chiefs of Staff publicly recommending action which only a few days previously, in Honolulu, he said meant war.

This is a far more serious matter than this one incident. The alarming part about it is that it fits into a growing pattern of conduct which challenges the past traditions of our country. It marks the rise of militarism, the dominance of the military over our civilian government. And it was not so long ago we were fighting wars to end the militarism of our principal enemy.

Throughout the history of our country, until recently, the military maintained a tra-

dition of silence on public issues. They had a respected duty to give their advice to their civilian superiors, who acted as the responsible spokesmen. They should give their advice in the same way today, but they should not not speak out publicly their own views on high political policy.

The precedent involved is a fundamental one. In past history it has set the foundation for the building of a military government, and the subsequent eclipse of freedom.

So here we are in one breath talking about the free world and liberation of the enslaved. In another breath our top military leader emerges from luncheon with the President and calls for action that means war if what appears to be a two-sided dispute is not settled our way.

All that the Communist leaders behind the Iron Curtain have to do to prove to their people how warlike we are is to quote such a public statement verbatim, and thereby undo in a twinkling the work of our so-called crusade for freedom.

The fact that Secretary Dulles spoke out in calm words to reassure the country that our policy would be one of slow to anger, does not alter the fact that the threat of this precedent still remains unchallenged.

Filbert Growers Ask More Time for Tariff Hearings

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RUSSELL V. MACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, there are in the States of Oregon and Washington about 1,000 families who make their livelihood by the raising of filbert nuts. It requires many years to bring one of these nut orchards into a bearing state. Every orchard therefore represents a tremendous investment in time, money, and labor.

If anything happens that undermines the prosperity of nut raising, the growers lose not only a year of profits. They must abandon their orchards, cutting them down in order to go into some other activity. They lose all of the investment made in effort and money to get the orchards into a production stage.

It is this possibility of sacrificing years of labor that causes nut growers generally to be greatly concerned in tariff rules and regulations, for the nut growers, chief competition comes from low-wage foreign nations which, like our own, have large nut crops.

Hearings have been set in a new reciprocal trade bill known as H. R. 1. This bill may have a bearing on the entire future of the American filbert-nut industry and all persons engaged in it. The nut raisers want a chance to be heard on this bill. The hearings have been speedily called on H. R. 1 and the nut growers fear may be quickly ended. They fear they may be denied a chance to be heard. The nut growers should be given that opportunity. The hearings should be long enough so that they and those of all other interested industries may get their viewpoint into the record.

The Congress or any of its committees should not proceed so fast that it is un-

fair to any industry or the people engaged in it.

A typical letter, deploring the haste with which hearings on H. R. 1 have been called, is the following one which I have received from John E. Trunk, general manager of the Northwest Nut Growers. Mr. Trunk's letter follows:

Hon. RUSSELL V. MACK,

House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. MACK: While we have been anticipating the introduction of legislation advocating the lowering of tariffs, we find ourselves totally unprepared to cope with the haste in which this has been done during the current session of Congress.

Very much to our surprise, the Cooper tariff bill, H. R. 1, is the first to be introduced
at this session, and even more alarming is
the fact that hearings are scheduled to start
on Monday, January 17. This notice is so
short that we are simply not able to prepare
and present our case.

The congressional delegations from Oregon and Washington have always stood solidly behind the efforts of our filbert and walnut industries in resisting tariff reductions and the ultimate destruction of our business. I am confident we will have the same wonderful support from you and the others during this session. Apparently it is going to be a rugged fight, but we had better win it or we are going to be out of business.

Probably the best immediate service which you can render to us is to get the hearings on H. R. 1 delayed until the nut industry can prepare itself for an adequate presentation.

Sincerely yours,
Northwest Nut Growers,
John E. Trunk,
General Manager.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the New York Times of January 19 entitled "Our Fiscal Pilots":

The President's annual message on the budget, delivered to the Congress yesterday, contains one short and happily phrased statement of philosophy that will remain with many readers after the myriad of other words and the regiment after regiment of accompanying statistics have become a blur. It reads: "A liberal attitude toward the welfare of the people and a conservative approach to the use of their money have shaped the budget."

The story of the budget over the past 2 years has been the story of an administration which was pledged to a balanced budget struggling to make good on that promise in the face of a downward readjustment in the economy stemming from the end of the fighting war in Korea and the leveling off of the rearmament effort. In this situation the administration found itself being sniped at from one direction or another whatever step it decided to take in the field of fiscal policy. But, surveying the results of its activities in this area as it is possible to see them in the new budget, one is impressed with the fact that, while the administration has been compelled at times to reduce speed of its program, and even go out of its course, it has never taken its eyes off that objective.

The evidence on this point, even after 2 short years, is irrefutable. Consider, for example, what has happened to Government spending, which must be the focal point of any budget-balancing program. From \$74.3 billions in 1953 it has been reduced each successive year. In the budget recommended yesterday for 1955-56, Mr. Eisenhower put spending at \$62.4 billions, or \$11.9 billions under 1953. Since the President foresees revenue receipts of \$60 billions, this would make the prospective deficit for the coming year \$2.4 billions. That would be the smallest deficit incurred since 1951, and would compare with the \$9.4 billion deficit bequeathed to the Eisenhower administration by its predecessors in 1953.

Again, consider the figure for total cash receipts and expenditures anticipated in the year 1955-56 (better known as the cash budget). This version of the budget (which is customarily employed in measuring the net impact of the budget on the economy in terms of inflation or deflation) reveals a prospective surplus of about \$600 millions, compared with deficits for 1954 and 1955 of \$2 billions and \$2.4 billions, respectively.

Finally, there is the test of budgetary intentions and budgetary progress to be found in the President's recommendations for appropriations and authority to incur obligations. It is testimony to the determination with which the budget problem has been attacked that, for the third consecutive year, 1956 is expected to produce a budgetary picture in which new authorizations will be under estimated current revenue receipts.

Critics who have chided the administration with failing to balance the budget, on the one hand, or balancing the budget at the expense of human welfare have, of course, been merely committing assault and battery on straw men set up for the purpose. The important thing is that the budget has in fact been brought under control; and in the sense that recurring and increasing deficits had been a threat to the integrity of the dollar, that threat, with the prospective balancing of the cash budget for 1956, has been eliminated. If the administration, as critics of the left have charged, had been inclined to balance the budget at the expense of jobs and public welfare, it could have accomplished it last year.

Last year the administration turned back to the public \$7.5 billions in taxes, the biggest tax reduction in a single year in the Nation's history. For the coming year, with business on the upbeat, the administration has decided just as judiciously that taxes should be held where they are, though this means asking extension for another year of corporate income taxes and certain excise taxes scheduled to be reduced next April 1. In short, what we have been witnessing over these last 2 years has been a demonstration of fiscal navigation by pilots who not only know where they are going, but who also are thoroughly aware that in navigation, unlike geometry, a straight line is by no means always the shortest distance between two points.

Modern Supercarriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, on Wednesday, January 19, 1955, the Washington Post and Times Herald carried an article by John W. Finney, of the United

Press, quoting the distinguished Democratic chairman of the House Appropriations Committee, the gentleman from Missouri, as recommending the scuttling of the new so-called supercarrier.

The gentleman from Missouri is quoted as saying he "does not approve of expenditures of enormous sums on aircraft carriers when authorities say that no one carrier will be afloat for more than 10 hours after war is declared."

Who the authorities referred to are, I do not know, of course, but I am sure they do not include any GI's, those Amercan authorities who thanked God for the overhead protection of carrier-based naval planes in the recent uphappy Korean police action. Nor could they include former General of the Army Omar N. Bradley, because shortly after his retirement as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, he wrote an article in the August 29, 1953, issue of the Saturday Evening Post in which he said:

One of the enemy's first major efforts, in case of war, might be to destroy our retaliatory power by knocking out the air bases from which out atomic planes can take off. The location of most of these bases is well known. Carriers are also vulnerable, but their location, as they range the seas is hard to keep track of. They can be here today and 800 miles away tomorrow. The knowledge that planes from such carriers can join in the atomic attack must be a powerful additional deterrent to any totalitarian leaders who are thinking of starting a world war.

General Bradley referred to the primary Navy mission keeping, sealanes open.

But he added:

In my opinion, the primary mission of the big carriers is shifting toward strategic air attack.

Mr. Speaker, I just wonder what authority would dare to recommend the risk of scuttling the aircraft carrier—just what authorities would jeopardize our military strength by such a policy. If no one carrier would be afloat 10 hours after war is declared, just what would have happened in the meantime to our nonmobile land airbases. The location and dispersal of carriers over the oceans would not be known to the enemy and it is conceivable that the carriers might be the only means of landing aircraft left to us 10 hours after war was declared.

Aircraft carriers, as I understand it, form the backbone of our strategic sea defense and attack force. Modern carriers are capable of delivering the most powerful atomic bombs on long-range missions at faster than 700 miles-anhour speed. The Navy's supersonic planes combat ceiling is higher than 40,000 feet; they can carry all the latest type of weapons, bombs, and airlaunched missiles. The carrier force is mobile, flexible, and supportable and can operate on 70 percent of the globe.

Maybe the H-bomb will be used in the next war; maybe it will not. In either case, the carrier is our best hope of being able to transport land troops and support the world system of land airbases we have established throughout the world.

Thus far in history, it has been command of the sea which preserved national freedom; now it may be command of the air over land and sea and maybe under the latter.

Peace in southeast Asia or peace throughout the world cannot be preserved by guided missiles alone nor by capacity for mass destruction abroad. Localized warfare of slow, sinister expansion and infiltration requires mobility and manpower. For example, a revolution in Central or South America or a remote part of the world could not be met by B-47 bombers. One aircraft carrier or a "killer unit" dispatched to a trouble spot with a few marines may put out a fire before it gets started.

God help this great Nation of ours if we discard our basic strategic offensive and defensive weapons, the aircraft carriers, and decide the next war, of necessity, will be an H-bomb air war with the destruction of all civilization and no land or sea forces needed.

President Eisenhower on the advice I am sure of our best military minds has recommended continuation of the program of constructing modern aircraft carriers capable of handling larger, heavier and faster planes. If you scuttle this carrier program, you scuttle the Navy. Moscow and Peiping would like that. Those are the only authorities I know of who want our aircraft carriers scuttled.

Now I do not question the sincere desire of the gentleman from Missouri to curtail Federal appropriations. The gentleman, moreover, is entitled to his views as to the type of offense and defense this country can afford. But I hope the gentleman will not close his mind to recommendations of our best military brains, including the President. The Appropriations Committee and this Congress realize I hope on the aircraft carrier "humanity with all its fears, with all its hopes of future years, is hanging breathless on thy fate."

After Us, the Deluge

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BRADY GENTRY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. GENTRY. Mr. Speaker, in his 1952 campaign, the President delivered numerous telling blows against great public debt, deficit spending, and irresponsible fiscal policy.

Then in his first state of the Union message 2 years ago, following his election, the President repeatedly expressed his great concern regarding the financial condition of our Government. Early in that message he stated:

Our immediate task is to chart a fiscal and economic policy that can reduce the planned deficits and balance the budget.

A few paragraphs later in the same message, the President stated:

The first order of business is the elimination of the annual deficit. Later, in the same message, the President, still sorely troubled by the financial condition of our country, said:

A balanced budget is an essential first measure in checking further depreciation in the buying power of the dollar.

The President could not get this burdensome problem off his mind. Only a few paragraphs later, in the same message, he said:

If the budget is balanced, the tax burden that today stifles initiative can and must be eased.

The President, in that first message 2 years ago, still had not concluded with the problem which he then must have felt was the most important confronting him and our country. Again he said:

The national debt is now more than \$265 billion. In addition, the accumulated obligational authority of the Federal Government for future payments totals over \$80 billion. Even this amount is exclusive of large contingent liabilities so numerous and extensive as to be almost beyond description. * * The present authorized Government debt limit is \$275 billion. The forecast presented by the outgoing administration with the fiscal year 1954 budget indicates that before the end of the fiscal year and at the beginning of demand for payments during that year the total Government debt may approach and even exceed that limit. Unless budget deficits are checked, the momentum of past programs will force an increase in the statutory debt limit.

The President neither exaggerated nor unduly emphasized the true condition of the Federal Treasury. Every Member of Congress knows-in fact, all the people of our country know-that there were compelling reasons for the great concern expressed by him. The banks of our Nation then had, and still have at the present time, Government I O U's in their listed assets equal to four and onehalf times their combined capital stocks, surpluses, and undivided profits. The insurance companies of our country held in their portfolios at that time, and still do, twice as much in Government I O U's as the amount of the combined capital stocks of all the insurance companies of our Nation. Government I O U's then comprised, and still do today, a great portion of the life savings of a large percentage of our citizens.

Did the Government have the money to pay these debts 2 years ago? No. Does the Government have the money to pay our astronomical national debt, or even any part of it, today? No. All the Government has is the authority to levy taxes against the people of our country and require the people to take up their own I O U's with any savings they still may happen to have. Taxes, high as they are, still do not come close to paying even our current yearly expenses, much less anything on our debt. Meanwhile, more and more of the savings of our people and our institutions are being taken by the Government and our debt continues to grow because of actions by the Chief Executive and the Congress.

So, the situation today is just as urgent, in fact it is more urgent, than it was during the 1952 campaign and at the time the President delivered his ringing denunciation of deficit financing and

unwieldy public debt in his first state-ofthe-Union message. It is more urgent because we owe more money than we did then. It is more urgent because we are now increasing this debt at a time when the President himself says we are at peace. At the time the President was repeatedly stressing his great worries about our financial status and saving it must be corrected, we were in the midst of a costly war and the opportunity to make the correction was not as great as it is today. Even though we have not been engaged in a fighting war for almost 2 years now and the time would seem to be ripe to put our financial house in order, the President's fears of yesterday, the expressed pledges of his platform of 1952, and even the record of the first 2 years of his administration seem to have been forgotten.

It is sad to relate, therefore, that we still have deficit financing, the national debt continues to soar, the savings of more and more people and institutions are being expended and given away throughout the world, and the idea that the Government can do everything for a citizen better than he can do it for himself is to have even greater emphasis.

On the 6th of this month, the President delivered another state-of-the-Union address to the new 84th Congress. I heard it in person and I have since read it three times. On each successive reading I became more amazed. You will not find in this message even a bare mention of our overpowering public debt. It is as silent as the tomb regarding it. Can you imagine a President devoting almost an hour to the exposition of the state of our Nation and making no mention whatever of the deplorable fact that \$280 billion of the savings of our people is represented solely by I O U's which the Government cannot pay because it does not have the funds, a debt that even now, in a period proclaimed by the President himself in his message to be one of peace and prosperity, is being allowed to increase every single day? would seem that, by all odds, some of the most salient passages in a message to the Congress on the state of the Union should concern its financial condition.

And, what does this recent state of the Union message say about balancing the budget, that nightmare which concerned the President so greatly in the campaign of 1952 and in his state-ofthe-Union address 2 years ago? Here is the one small mention:

Government efficiency and economy remain essential to steady progress toward a balanced budget.

You may search this message high and low but this one light touch will be found to be the only fleeting reference to the deplorable fact that this Nation of ours still is not able to live within its income.

The President's address, couched in lofty phrases as all such messages are, shows why our financial situation was not even discussed, after enunciating very fine principles of Government, it becomes a promise of something for everybody, a vast grab-bag designed to kill everybody with kindness. It recommends more and greater Federal activities. It makes it certain that more

deficit financing and more debt will be the order of the day and that more and more layers of government will be placed on the backs of an already tax-burdened people. It will add to a Federal bureaucracy already so vast that just its civilian employees' salaries now amount to \$10 billion annually, an item that alone devours more than \$200 in taxes yearly from each American family. This one item now costs the taxpayers 14 times as much as it cost to operate the entire Government of this Nation, including the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps, as late as the year 1916.

What recommendations are contained in this message which make more deficit financing, more debt and more fiscal irresponsibility a certainty? Among many other things, it recommends reinsurance of health insurance and public housing, both of which are pure, unadulterated socialism. If these adornments of the welfare state are to become permanent, full-grown cancers on our body politic, we can forever say goodbye to responsible fiscal management and embrace deficit financing and overpowering public debt as permanent fixtures of our economic life. A survey already made shows that it would cost the Government more than \$100 billion in additional taxes on our people to give public housing to those who are claimed to be entitled to it. No one knows how much in additional, onerous taxes the Congress would finally have to take from the taxpayers if reinsurance of health insurance also becomes a malignant appendage of our Government.

This message clearly indicates that we are to have an entirely new injection of the opiate of paternalism in the educational field. Where are we to get this money? The Treasury is completely bare. Are we to take more of the people's savings and issue them more Government certificates of credit in order that Washington will get credit for being a benefactor of education? What is to happen to the oft-repeated pronouncements of the last 2 years that invasion of States rights was at an end? We cannot make this appropriation today without making it yearly hereafter because, once given, it will be repeated because of public clamor. Certainly the States should not submit to this malign approach and be coolingly seduced while surrendering their inherent rights. The offer of Federal funds for education on a large scale would be a deception because the Federal Government actually cannot give anything to the States which it does not first get from the States. When the Federal Government starts giving the States bouquets, you can be assured that they were first plucked from the States' own gardens. It is worthy of note, however, that a large part of the plucking is used by the Federal Government in costly bureaucratic administration, the States getting back only a residue. Would not the Government now do well to put its own financial house in order and cease its prostitution of the rights and authority of the States through the subterfuge that it is giving them something?

The state of the Union message did not set out the details regarding what was desired in foreign aid. But the budget message this week stated that it should be the same as last year, approximately \$5 billion. You will recall that more than \$50 billion of American taxpayers' money has been lavished on foreign nations throughout the world during the last few years, especially in Europe. Europe is prosperous today. Her production is almost twice as great as it was when World War II commenced. Both her unemployment and public debt are much less than our own. While we have 3 million unemployed and are increasing our debt. there is no unemployment in Great Britain and France and Britain's budget is balanced. There are more than \$10 billion of our aid today in the pipeline for foreign nations, including Great Britain and France, which they have not yet been able to spend because of the vastness of our extreme generosity. While we are still being requested to give even more to Europeans, we are to concentrate on massive aid for the hundreds of millions of Asiatics in order to demonstrate our bigness of heart and our great regard for their well-being. This will, of course, require billions more of our taxpayers' money and, even worse, billions in additional debt for future generations to try to pay. This proposal seems to make a piker of Henry Wallace who made the suggestion several years ago that we should try to furnish milk to the Asiatics. a suggestion for which he was generally ridiculed.

The President's state of the Union address advised us that the National Advisory Committee on Highways had recently reported to him, advising what should be done with reference to highways. The President will transmit his recommendation to Congress on this subject on January 27. Since the Committee appointed by the President has had meetings with various groups in support of its plan, it is indicated that the President approves it and will recommend it.

There are approximately 720,000 miles of highways in our country which have been accepted by the Federal Government as worthy of Federal aid under the constitutional prevision making roads a Federal responsibility. Thirtyeight thousand miles of these highways constitute what is usually known as the strategic or interstate system. These 38,000 miles are our main highways and carry approximately one-seventh of the total traffic. Because of the great sum the President probably will recommend to be spent on these 38,000 miles, it is worthy of note that in the period of 1916 to 1955-the entire life of the Federal Bureau of Public Roads and of organized highway construction in our country-there has been expended by the Federal Government on the full 720,000 miles of the Federal aid system the sum of slightly more than \$7 billion. Of this amount, less than \$2 billion was expended on the strategic system of 38,000 miles. It is obvious that the President is correct when he says that the past and present rate of contribution by the Government will never result in good highways for that part of our highway sysernment.

The plan of the Advisory Highway Commission provides for the establishment by Congress of a new Federal corporation which, without income or assets, would issue \$25 billion in 30-year bonds. Regardless, the United States Treasury would be obligated to pay the bonds, with interest. Interest would approximate \$12 billion. If the bonds are actually liquidated in the 30-year period, a very unlikely possibility, the \$25 billion expended on roads would therefore cost the taxpayers \$37 billion. It is unlikely, however, that \$25 billion in highway value would be realized. Since the \$25 billion is to be put under contract in the short period of 10 years, it is most likely that contract prices would soar. The Government will be fortunate to receive as much, say, as \$23 billion in road value for the \$37 billion they will cost.

The absolute necessity for still another Federal agency with reference to this program is not entirely clear. It may be felt by some that this method makes it appear that the national debt is not being raised by the amount of the bonds. It is unmistakable that this plan will increase the national debt \$25 billion, and, with other deficits proposed by the President in the budget, will carry our great debt to well beyond \$300 billion. The Government and its citizens cannot escape any of its full responsibility under this proposal even though it is possibly open to the charge that it would make it easy to have your cake and eat it, too. No financial gimmick has ever been devised which will do that. Financial legerdemain will not eliminate the stark reality that the adoption of this proposal places an additional \$25 billion mortgage on the taxpayers of our coun-

If the Congress is to adopt the proproposed method in building highways, it is certain that its action would open the floodgates of pressure for it to utilize the same method in doing all manner of things, a proposal already advanced with respect to educational support in a leading article last week in the Christian Science Monitor. It could mean that financial irresponsibility would run riot. as some may think has already hap-

The Commission's plan is astronomical in cost and a radical and dangerous departure from normal governmental practices in problems of such great magnitude. In any event, Congress should give critical apraisal to all its aspects before adopting it. We could secure \$12 billion more in road value by spreading the construction over 30 years, rather than by doing it through the use of bonds over a 10-year period. We would also avoid raising our enormous debt by \$25 billion at one fell swoop. The saving of this \$12 billion, at the loss of some time, would seem to be worthy of serious consideration because the need for more and better highways in our country is almost without limit.

It is easy to see that we do not have to go on forever incurring deficits, rais-

tem which, by its very nature, is of ing taxes, and increasing burdens on our greatest concern to the Federal Gov- people each year. There admittedly is much attraction in spending vast sums of money in doing something for a lot of people regardless of the desperate measures necessary to get the money. But there are times when sound judgment dictates that Congress should not further extend the credit of our Government. Has that time not arrived? Is it not here right now? If we are willing to forego foreign aid for just 1 year, the budget can be balanced. If we will also reject reinsurance of health insurance, public housing, school construction, and cultural appreciation as proper fields for Federal Government activities while in our present straitened financial circumstances, we can soon reduce taxes.

We do not have one dime in the Treasury with which to comply with the President's many requests for additional Federal activities requiring additional expenditures. We can only do these things by further threatening the solvency of our Nation. With a Government debt today of \$7,000 against each and every American family, with our Treasury al-ready drowning in red ink, with a current budget amounting to more than \$1,400 in yearly taxes for each family in our Nation, these are extremely dangerous things to do. If we will resolve not to support so great a concentration of bureaucratic power, we will begin living on our income and the people will take heart that we are to have responsible fiscal policy. Even though it might not be considered dynamic, it would be a constructive thing for our country and its people. If given a fair trial, it might even be found to have some political attraction, the native intelligence and commonsense of our people being what it is.

In our service here in behalf of the people, would it not be well to remember the words of eternal wisdom uttered by a great statesman and President, Woodrow Wilson, when he said:

A concentration of governmental power always precedes the death of human freedom.

Tariff on Swiss Watches

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD E. LANKFORD

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. LANKFORD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio address I delivered over station WRC, Washington, D. C., January 18, 1955:

RECENT ACTIONS WITH RESPECT TO TARIFFS ON SWISS WATCHES

Tonight I would like to discuss with you a matter which is vitally essential to the well-being of the Nation as a whole and my own Fifth District of Maryland in particular.

I am referring to a healthy and expanding system of world trade, without which the United States cannot maintain a share of world markets essential to our economic growth and rising standard of living. eign markets are indispensible not only for agriculture, but also for our mass production industries.

Other countries cannot be expected to open their markets wide for American-made goods when protective tariffs prevent them from earning enough United States dollars with which to pay for purchases of United States goods. As the world's principal trading nation, it is up to the United States to take the lead in a movement for mutual reduction of trade barriers.

I was heartened by the President's liberalized proposals in the field of foreign trade and tariffs as outlined in his trade message to the Congress last week. I was particularly pleased that the President recognized tobacco as one of the agriculture products dependent upon foreign markets for high levels of income. For most of the \$10 million worth of tobacco exported annually is grown in southern Maryland.

However, I was dismayed to read in the press a few days later that the Treasury Department had issued an order establishing further restrictive regulations on Swiss watch imports, contradictory to the stated objectives of the President's liberal foreign-trade

program.

My concern over this action is readily understood when it is realized that the Swiss are the largest purchasers of high-grade Maryland export tobacco. And if the Swiss cannot sell their watches in the United States then they will not have the money with which to purchase Maryland tobacco, as well as cotton and textile products, machinery and vehicles, food products, and the many other items we sell them. Swiss pur-chases of United States products total ap-Proximately \$85 million a year.
You know, someone has said that if you

make a statement often enough even if it be not true, or only partly true, in time it will come to be believed by great numbers of people. This matter of tariffs on Swiss watch imports, it seems to me, falls into that

category. So, let's start at the beginning and get the whole story.

In 1936, as part of the reciprocal-trade program, the United States negotiated an agreement with the Swiss Government which, on its part, made certain trade concessions so that American-made goods could be more readily sold in Switzerland.

As a result, trade between the United States and Switzerland flourished. Since 1936, the United States has sold to the people of Switzerland one-half billion dollars more of our products than we have purchased of Swiss products. Anyone can see at a glance how beneficial this arrangement has been for the farmers, workers, and industries of the United States. It has been particularly beneficial to southern Maryland which depends upon tobacco as a cash crop and the fine Swiss market these tobacco farmers have enjoyed has made a good price on the whole for all Maryland tobacco.

In addition, our trade with Switzerland has resulted in excellent friendly relation with that country and has become a world symbol of the advantages of reciprocal-trade arrangements with the United States.

The adverse effects of the administration's action to increase barriers against the import of Swiss watch movement are too obvious to recount. American farmers, industry, and Prestige have and will suffer substantial damage while the domestic watch industry will profit little, if anything from this action. Trade with the Swiss is under a reciprocal agreement. It stands to reason that this action will result in a reciprocal removal of concessions granted on our own exports by the Swiss.

Now let's examine the claim by domestic watchmakers that they have suffered serious injury from increased Swiss watch imports. The Tariff Commission looked into this matter last year but falled to come to a unanimous agreement. Only 4 of the 6 Commissioners agreed that the United States watch industry was being damaged. The two dissenters said there was no evidence that Swiss watch movements are being imported in such increased quantities, actual or relative, as to cause or threaten serious injury to the domestic industries producing like or directly competitive products.

It is remarkable to note that every domestic watchmaker except one imports movements and markets them under his own trade name. Therefore, it is somewhat ironical that the domestic watch industry should claim injury from an increase in imports for which they themselves are primarily responsible. It should also be noted that the increase in duties affects a class of watch imports that is not competitive with domestic watch production.

The claim of injury is not supported by the financial condition of domestic watch manufacturers. The industry is thriving and enjoyed in 1953 its biggest financial year.

The Treasury Department weighs heavily on the defense aspects in raising new trade barriers against imported Swiss watches. rationalizes that the move is necessary because the domestic watch industry is vitally essential to national defense. If a nation cannot achieve an adequate national defense without a productive watch industry, as is claimed by United States watchmakers, why then are we so apprehensive of the military might of Russia? Everyone knows that Russia had no watchmaking industries. Yet we recognize Russia as a potentially powerful military foe. However, we do have a healthy watch industry. The American total sales of this industry averaged in excess of \$90 million between 1946 and 1950 and rose to a record high of over \$150 million in 1953. This increased production certainly isn't losing essential jobs for the watch industry that are necessary to meet defense needs. But the domestic watch industry isn't the only source of skilled precision workers. An attempt has been made to give the impression that only the watchmaking industry has the skills which can manufacure time fuses and other precision devices used in the manufacture of weapons for our Armed Forces.

There are four domestic watchmaking companies in the United States. However, data assembled by the Senate Armed Services Committee shows that there are a whole host of other companies not engaged in the manufacture of watches capable of producing time fuses. In fact, the figures show that the companies not engaged in watchmaking have produced substantially more time-fuse devices than the domestic watch industry. I do not mean to say by this that a healthy watch industry is not a good thing. We have always had it and still have such an industry. Indeed, during the 18 the reciprocal trade agreement between Switzerland and this country has been in effect our domestic watch industry has grown, expanded its plant, increased its capital worth, paid dividends, and enjoyed unparalleled success in the domestic watch market. It has made valuable contributions to and occupies an important position in our national defense.

Increasing trade barriers on Swiss watches constitutes a serious blow to our position of leadership in the free world. The accelerated trade offensive by the Russians, with the trade blandishments that have been offered our allies, has proved alarmingly successful. A considerable number of trade agreements have been signed between the East and the countries of Western Europe. It is noteworthy that the Communist press in Western Europe has recently begun a propaganda campaign directed at the Swiss watch industry. This propaganda has stressed the unreliability of the United States market and the desirability of trading with the Soviet bloc. The fact that Rus-

sia does not have a watchmaking industry emphasizes the strategic implications of the Soviet trade offensive.

I hope that I have been able to give you the other side of this matter in a manner which will dispel what I believe to be created misunderstanding of the facts.

This is a most serious matter. It affects our leadership in the free world. It affects the economic well-being of a large segment of our population. It should be given careful consideration by the administration,

On March 15 the Tariff Commission is scheduled to report to the Congress as to the proper and orderly way to handle the problem of revision of customs classifientions. The Office of Defense Mobilization has established an interdepartmental committee to recommend ways in which the skills of precision workers necessary to national defense could be secured. No action should be taken until these reports are available.

The President's policy on foreign trade has been clearly defined. We can only hope that all the branches of his administration will act consistently to bring about its accomplishment.

The Broken Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OP

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial from the Telegram-News, Lynn, Mass., Sunday, October 3, 1954:

MCCORMACK REVEALS BROKEN GOP PLEDGES

This is the time of year when the voters are deluged with political propaganda by the candidates either seeking reelection or endeavoring to replace those now holding office.

It is the time of the year when voters will be promised everything under the sun by some of the candidates. It behooves the voters to listen, read, and then reach their own conclusions.

But how many times can the voters be fooled? Two years ago the Republican administration promised the people everything. They knew right well they would never keep the promises, and they never did.

Congressman JOHN W. McCORMACK, former majority leader in Congress, and one of the outstanding Americans in public life, is a man who can be trusted. He has won the confidence and respect of the people of the Nation. He is a national figure. When he utters a statement you can be certain of the truth of it.

Congressman McCormack listed the broken promises and discarded pledges of the Republican administration in a recent speech. He has the facts, and the record of the GOP administration is an open book.

Among the many promises was President Eisenhower's personal and specific pledge to the people of Lawrence. It was a promise that the labor-distressed city would get Government contracts to provide jobs for the unemployed. Congressman McCormack points out that conditions in Lawrence are worse today than 2 years ago,

Vice President Nixon visited Massachusetts last week asking for votes, and while in this State he said: "An administration is known by the pledges it keeps." Congressman Mcissue.

The veteran Congressman then listed 14 broken promises and discarded pledges by the Republican administration.

Some of the pledges include: The great crusade, liberation of enslaved peoples, baianced budget, lower national debt, greater prosperity, lower living cost, and unemployment. These were either broken or forgotten.

No man is more highly regarded for truth and veracity in the Halls of Congress than Congressman McCormack. He is able, brilliant, and an intelligent leader. He is a man of his word. He keeps his pledges and promises.

Congressman McCormack is the leading Catholic layman in the country. He is loved and respected by all faiths, creeds, and colors. His service to mankind is written on the pages of the Congressional Record.

No man could accomplish so much for the betterment of the people without assistance. In his case, Mrs. McCormack has been an elevating influence in the great work. She has given up an operatic career to join with her husband in the service of the people. She has been honored by Archbishop Richard J. Cushing and Pipe Pius XII.

Mrs. McCormack received the Papal Medal for zealous interest in war-stricken China. She is only the second American woman to receive such an award. She has also received many other honors.

Congressman McCormack will continue to work for the people of this Nation with increased zeal until victory has been achieved over those who make promises and then either break or forget them.

You can't fool all the people all the time.

The Dairyman's Self-Help Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, today I have introduced for appropriate reference a bill to provide an adequate, balanced, and orderly flow of dairy products in domestic and foreign commerce; to stabilize prices of milk and dairy products; to impose a stabilization fee on the marketing of milk and butterfat; and for other purposes. Favorable action on this bill, which contains proposals for a dairyman's self-help plan, would, I believe, be definitely in the public interest. Enactment of this program would mean, among other things:

First. Relieving the taxpayers of the burden of the price-support program for dairy products.

Second. Getting the Government out of the dairy business and permitting the dairy farmers to operate their own program of price stabilization, surplus proposal, and production stabilization.

ITS BENEFITS TO CONSUMERS; TO PRODUCERS

For the consumers it would accomplish the aims of present laws-the maintenance of a stabilized continuous and adequate supply of milk and dairy products at fair prices. More than that, it would protect the consumers from unduly high prices caused by either, first, a shrinking of present dairy sup-

CORMACK immediately joined him in that plies, or, second, arbitrary overpricing of milk or dairy products.

For the producers, it would mean stabilized prices at levels to provide a fair return commensurate with the cost of

ITS ADVANTAGES OVER THE PRESENT PRICE-STIPPORT PROGRAM

Under the existing Government pricesupport program dairy products are supported at percentage-of-parity figures determined within certain limits by the Secretary of Agriculture. The support prices are maintained through the purchase, by the Commodity Credit Corporation, of dairy production which is in excess of that required by current trade outlets. Surplus stocks acquired by the Government are disposed of in various domestic and foreign channels mostly in giveaway welfare programs or at loss

Under the proposed self-help program dairy product prices would also be supported-but not at Government expense. Compare the results under the two programs under conditions in 1954.

First. Under the present Government price-support program, support prices in 1954 were set at 75 percent of parity. Prices to farmers dropped. As a result dairy farmers, by and large, have increased or intend to increase their production to compensate for lower returns. Milk production in 1954 was an unprecedented nearly 124 billion pounds. Estimates for 1955 indicate continued production at this high level.

Second. Under the self-help program price supports conceivably would have remained at 90 percent of parity. At these price levels there would not have been the incentive to compensate for lower returns by higher production, Farmers' prices would have been higher by 60 cents a hundredweight. The cost of this program would have been borne by the producers. It would have cost them about 23 cents per hundredweight if all of the surplus production had been a total loss. But they would have had a net gain of 37 cents per hundredweight under their own program.

Under the self-help plan the trend toward greater production would have been minimized; the cost to the taxpavers would have been nil; the cost to the producer would have been much more than offset by higher net returns.

MECHANICS OF THE SELF-HELP PLAN

The self-help program would be financed by the collection of a stabilization fee-somewhat in the nature of a license fee-from each producer on his volume of milk or butterfat.

The size of the stabilization fee would be specifically limited to the proportionate amount required to run the program each year. In times of excessive surplus production, the fee would be high and would serve as a means of production control. When production became in line with demand, the amount of the fee would be very small. By relating the amount of the fee directly to the cost of the program farmers will each year pay their proper share of the cost of maintaining an improved market for that year. This has many advantages. It is flexible, it is in line with the general principle of cooperative marketing, and it very promptly and directly reflects in the farmers check the extent of surplus production and the degree of his cooperation in getting supplies in line with demand

The program would be operated by a Federal Dairy Stabilization Board consisting of 15 members appointed by the President from nominees selected by milk producers. The Board would be authorized to borrow up to \$500 million from the Commodity Credit Corporation to get started. All sums actually borrowed would be repaid with interest. It is not contemplated that any Government funds will be used after the board gets established, but the borrowing power would remain in effect as a backlog which could be used in an emergency.

Appointment of a Federal Dairy Advisory Committee of 12 would be authorized. In selecting this committee the Secretary of Agriculture would give equal recognition to representatives of, first, manufacturers, processors, handlers, and distributors of milk and dairy products: second, consumers; third, other agricultural commodities or programs that may be affected by the dairy stabilization program; fourth, foreign nations that may be affected by the policies and operations relating to imports and exports of milk and dairy products; and, fifth, other interests which the Secretary determines are directly concerned with the operation of the act.

PROGRAM SAFEGUARDED AGAINST ABUSE

The self-help program is designed to be self-policing as to abuses in its administration. Furthermore, supervision by the Secretary of Agriculture would be provided by a section similar to section 2 of the Capper-Volstead law under which the Secretary would be empowered to intervene should the operations result in undue enhancement of prices.

As for the self-policing features, and as far as the consumer is concerned, the success of the program must depend largely on the effective merchandising of milk and dairy products. Prices would have to be kept in balance with the prices of other foods to maintain sales volume. Theer simply is no possibility of the board maintaining prices which are too high in relation to the prices for other foods.

The program is equally self-policing from the producer viewpoint. Producer prices would have to be reasonably related to returns from other agricultural commodities. If the board should attempt to set producer prices too high, a shift to increased production would occur. The increased cost of disposing of the surplus would be charged to the dairy farmers. The fact that the same farmers producing the surplus would have to pay the costs of its disposal would make it impractical for the board to maintain producer prices at an unreasonably high level.

The proposals and objectives of the self-help plan are such that Congress should carefully consider the proposed legislation. The dairy farmer represents the largest single segment of farming and

20 percent of the total farm income. This bill represents a move on the part of this group to obtain, finance, and direct its own price support and production stabilization program. This, I believe, is an objective within the American concept of free enterprise and individual determination of economic welfare.

The Need for a Realistic Tariff Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT B. SCUDDER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. SCUDDER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an editorial.

The editorial referred to appeared in the Press-Democrat, published in Santa Rosa, Calif., on Thursday, January 13, 1955, and is strictly in line with my own thinking to the effect that we must establish a realistic foreign trade program.

The coastal area in the northern part of California and in my congressional district produces a great amount of crabs which are sold in the fresh and canned form. At the present time 60 percent of the canned crab being consumed in the United States is produced in Japan, and imported at a price which has practically stopped the processing of crab on the west coast. The price of crabmeat has been driven to such a low point that it is almost financially impossible for domestic fishermen to operate and to catch a natural resource in our Pacific coast waters.

It is possible that the tariff rate on this product is presently too low. To reduce the tariff would force the termination of this industry, displace thousands of workers, and make useless millions of dollars invested in facilities now in use.

Tariff rates should not be used in international politics but should be based entirely on economics. The above mentioned editorial follows:

EQUITABLE TARIFF LAW DIFFICULT TO ARRIVE AT

Action of Representatives Hubert Scudder, of California; Walter Norblad, of Oregon; and Russell Mack, of Washington, in preparing to fight tariff reductions on imported crab meat pointed up one of the major difficulties in trying to stimulate world trade.

Obviously, foreign nations cannot buy merican goods unless they sell things in the United States to earn American dollars. In the case of Japan, which is the principal supplier of crab meat to the American market, and which would benefit from a tariff reduction, that country is in dire financial straits. It is virtually barren of raw materials. It must manufacture and export, or else perish. Sea foods are one of the few raw materials it can obtain without purchasing with foreign money.

It is equally obvious that there is a point below which American fishermen cannot comepte with the Japanese. That point probably has been reached right now. Redwood Empire crab fishermen are at work, but the prices they are receiving are not going to make any of them rich. Sonoma County

processing plants are not handling crab, for the reason that they cannot pay even the existing low prices for crab and come out.

Wine-growers of the Redwood Empire face the same problem.

The ideal tariff is one which permits free competition between foreign and domestic producers of any product. Producers of the Redwood Empire heartily favor such tariffs.

There is no common sense, and no justice, in tariff rates so high that they create monopolies for American producers. And there is no common sense, and no justice, in rates so low that American producers are forced out of existence.

Nixon Under Attack—Intimidation Object of Big Smear

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the San Diego Union of January 12, 1955:

NIXON UNDER ATTACK—INTIMIDATION OBJECT OF BIG SMEAR

The vicious smear attacks against Vice President Nixon involve not only a man but an important political principle.

When the lies and innuendoes are pushed to one side, the attack against the Vice President simmers down to the question of whether a political party and its leaders should conduct a hard-hitting campaign, or whether they should talk only in terms of sweetness and light.

The Democrats have underway what Republican National Chairman Leonard Hall calls a highly organized campaign to besmirch the Vice President of the United States.

The leaders of both parties have studied the record and know that what Mr. Nixon said and what he is accused of saying are two far different matters.

Those who now attempt to smear the Vice President accuse him of hitting below the belt by discussing internal subversion.

Mr. Nixon did discuss the gains made by the Communist Party during the Truman regime, when many of our most valued secrets were stolen. But he also emphasized his belief that the Democratic leadership was loyal. His criticism was that the Democratic chieftains failed to recognize the seriousness of the problem and showed little ability in dealing with it.

ability in dealing with it.

Mr. Nixon recalled the Truman "red herring" remark to prove the point. And he discussed the progress made under the Eisenhower security program. The security-risk figures supported his argument here. But he was called a liar and was accused of something called a "numbers game." What non-

The Vice President did not spare the facts. But he did not smear.

Had more Republicans campaigned in 1954 with the vigor shown by Mr. Nixon, the election results conceivably would have been different. The records prove the Vice President's effectiveness, and they show that the voters want more than a few nice compliments. They want the issues discussed.

The Democrats know the effectiveness of a hard-hitting campaign. Those who now criticize applauded in 1948 when Mr. Truman

accused the Republicans of aiding Moscow as he ignored many facts in a successful but free-swinging vote drive.

The present campaign has a 1956 target date. If the Truman party leaders can "get Nixon," they will intimidate the Republican Party. If the man who dared voice the facts is smeared seriously enough, others will hesitate to discuss the issues."

When the American people will look closely, they will find that those who now cry "smear" against Mr. Nixon have muddy faces

The Views of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen on Reciprocal Trade Agreements

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial on reciprocal trade appeared in the January 17 issue of the Trainmen News, the official publication of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. The editorial reflects the sentiment of the average railroad employee who views with alarm the flood of foreign residual oil which is putting coal miners and railroad employees out of work.

The editorial follows:

WE'RE FOR THIS ONE

While President Eisenhower's recommendations to Congress dealing with the domestic problems of health, housing, and labor law reform were generally inadequate and disappointing, his position on foreign policy deserves the full support of Congress.

Who can quarrel with Mr. Eisenhower when he says that in the free world's struggle with communism, the security of all nations, including our own, is largely dependent on economic strength, which is in turn dependent upon internal productivity and on high levels of international trade.

In today's complex world, no nation can be economically self-sufficient, the President observed.

To encourage international trade, he has asked Congress to extend for a 3-year period a liberalized reciprocal trade agreements act which his own GOP-controlled Congress last year limited to a year. This would give him authority to reduce tariffs as the needs arise to promote this country's buying and selling with other countries.

We are opposed, however, to using such authority to permit the entry into this country of products produced under substandard wage and labor conditions or where slave labor conditions prevail, such as in Venezuela, for example, where an iron-fisted dictatorship prevents free trade unionism. At pressent, Venezuela residual oil is coming into this country to compete with soft coal as boiler fuel and is further contributing to an already sick coal industry, putting miners out of work and railroad men, too. We're with the United Mine Workers when it comes to objecting to this kind of reciprocal trade application.

This, however, is a matter of administration and does not weaken our support for the overall goals of the President's trade program which is actually only an extension of the policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

If we expect to sell automobiles and the millions of other products which this country makes best to the countries which need our goods, we've got to make it easier for them to sell us the goods that they best produce. As the Chicago Sun Times observes, foreign economic policy should not be a political football. It should be nonpolitical and no more controversial than the multiplication table.

The reciprocal trade program, properly and wisely administered, will mean expanded trade which in turn means more work for United States labor, and for us, more beans for brakemen, as the BRT's national legislative representative frequently puts it.

Stockpiles of Crude Rubber

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, at this particular time, I feel that the following letter from Mr. John Collyer, chairman of the board of the B. F. Goodrich Co., to Dr. Arthur S. Flemming, Director of the Office of Defense Mobilization, is of the utmost interest. Under unanimous consent of the House, I include it in today's RECORD:

DECEMBER 31, 1954.

Dr. ARTHUR S. FLEMMING,

Director, Office of Defense Mobilization, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. FLEMMING: It is our belief that now, when all Government expenditures are being critically examined, the appropriate departments of Government should bring up to date all facts relating to the Government's strategic stockpile of crude rubber.

Calculations made from published nonclassified figures indicate that the United States Government now owns within our country's borders more than 1,200,000 long tons of crude rubber having an estimated cost of \$825 million. If so, the Government stockpile plus private stocks in the United States now total more than 1,300,000 long tons. This, coupled with capacities for the production of man-made rubber in the United States, would, we believe, take care of our country's military and civilian needs during an all-out war of 6 to possibly 8 years' duration. In making this statement, it is assumed that the stocks of rubber would not be destroyed or the plants crippled by enemy or other action

pled by enemy or other action.
On October 27, 1948, a special committee from the rubber-manufacturing industry presented to the Government a study of possible crude rubber requirements in the event of a major war. At that time it appeared that if we were to accumulate Government and private crude rubber stocks in our country of 800,000 long tons, such would be adequate for any foresecable situation, excepting possible enemy or other destruction such stocks and of the man-made rubberproducing facilities. This strongly suggests that the Government could reduce expenditures by promptly eliminating any further additions to the stockpile and could, by disposing of such excess quantities as are determined to be in the national stockpile, recapture a goodly part of the Government's huge investment in crude rubber. Savings in the costs of warehousing and rotating the then smaller stocks would also result.

It seems to us that the questions which should be answered by Government are:

1. What is the proper stockpile level in the light of current military knowledge and

planning, and considering the advancing state of rubber technology? In this connection, it is our understanding that today the Armed Forces of the United States are adequately equipped with most types of finished rubber products, that pipelines are full, and that additional quantities of some finished products are being stored against future needs.

2. How can the present stocks be reduced to a lower level in line with real national defense needs without violating the letter and spirit of the international commitments of our State Department relating to governmental management of the crude rubber stockpile?

The accompanying memorandum gives certain comments and estimates relating to crude rubber stockpile policy.

Yours sincerely,

JOHN COLLYER, Chairman of the Board, B. F. Goodrich Co.

THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT'S CRUDE RUBBER STOCKPILE POLICY COMMENTS AND ESTIMATES

1. The Government's tonnage goal for a national defense stockpile of crude rubber was established prior to Korea, before the cold war rearmament program was established, and before the development of current military knowledge, thinking, and planning on atomic warfare.

2. Calculations made from published nonclassified figures indicate that more than 1,200,000 long tons have now been accumulated within our country's borders against the stockpile goal. This, together with private stocks held in the United States, gives us an estimated amount of crude rubber exceeding 1,300,000 long tons. The Government's investment of public funds in the stockpile is estimated to approximate \$825 million.

3. During 1945, the last year of World War II, rubber products manufacturers were able to supply products of satisfactory quality to our military forces and for essential civilian uses with an average materials ratio of only 13.3 percent crude rubber to 86.7 percent manmade rubbers. The quantity of crude rubber now in this country, including private stocks, is adequate for an all-out war of 6 to possibly 8 years' duration, employing higher ratios of crude rubber to manmade rubbers than in 1945 and after reserving a minimum stock of 150.000 long tons to enable a rapid postwar reconversion to a peacetime economy.

4. In the event of war, manmade rubbers would rapidly replace crude rubber for many essential uses. At the time the stockpile goal was established, several of our manmade rubber-producing facilities were in standby condition and our inventories of manmade rubbers were relatively low. The stockpile goal, therefore, included provision for enough crude rubber to maintain essential rubber products manufacturing during the period when the manmade facilities were being reactivated, and being brought up to capacity output. Today most of our man-made rubber-producing facilities are in operation and their output can be expanded quickly. The quantities of crude rubber originally deemed necessary to maintain essential production at the outset of a war should therefore be substantially less than originally calculated.

5. The purpose of accumulating a national stockpile has been, of course, to insure adequate supplies in case our country was cut off from the major crude rubber growing territories as we were during World War II. Then the Japanese took over areas which had previously supplied us with more than 90 percent of our crude rubber needs. Despite that fact, we were able to import into this country during the 3 years and 8 months of World War II a total of 540,000 long tons

of crude rubber. We suggest that a realistic stockpile goal should recognize the probability that some of the crude rubber affort at the outbreak of hostilities and some of the quantities which would be produced in Africa and South America during a war would be brought into this country.

6. There have been important technological developments in manmade rubbers since the crude rubber stockpile goal was established. The output of the superior cold GR-S has increased greatly, enabling manufacturers to produce better products with higher proportions of manmade rubbers.

7. Because crude rubber is an agricultural product subject to deterioration, the Government's stocks must be regularly inspected and rotated, by sales and replenishment, to maintain adequate quality. The continuing costs of this stockpile maintenance operation are substantially higher than those for maintaining stocks of nondeteriorating materials.

8. There exists in the United States today a large stockpile of finished rubber products, available and ready for use, that did not exist at the time the stockpile goal was established. We understand that our Armed Forces are adequately equipped with most types of finished rubber products, that pipelines are full, and that additional quantities of some finished products are being stored against future needs. Further, there is an existing huge supply of unused mileage in the tires on civilian automobiles and trucks, now greater in number than ever before. Other civilian rubber products are in ample supply. Thus, our requirements of raw crude rubber for original supplies of military and essential civilian products are less than when the stockpile goal was set.

Interstate Compact To Conserve Oil and Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES W. VURSELL

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. VURSELL. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a joint resolution which, if passed by the House and Senate, will extend and renew for a period of 4 years, from September 1, 1955, the Interstate Compact To Conserve Oil and Gas. The language of this resolution, in substance, is identical with a like resolution which was passed 4 years ago, and which has been renewed by the Congress in past sessions covering a period of about 20 years.

The purpose of this resolution is to give the States the authority to more fully cooperate and to enter into a compact, the purpose of which is to conserve oil and gas by prevention of physical waste thereof from any cause.

For the past 20 years under the Interstate Oil Compact Commission, which was formed in 1935 and dedicated to the conservation of oil and gas in the United States, the States have cooperated in a manner that they have not only preserved the fundamental rights of local self-government, but have greatly contributed to the conservation and proper use of the vast natural resources of oil and gas, to the end that the work of the commission has contributed most mate-

rially to the development of one of our great industries, one that is most vital not only to the economy of our Nation but to national defense.

From the beginning of this organization in 1935, it has extended to the point where the governors of 22 States have become members of the compact commission.

Gov. William G. Stratton, of Illinois, at the annual meeting in the latter part of 1954, was elected chairman of the Interstate Compact Commission.

The Interstate Oil Compact Commission under the Interstate Compact To Conserve Oil and Gas is the administrative agency organized to follow out the functions of the compact. The commission consists of one representative from each member State. Under most of the State statutes, the governor is named official representative with authority to appoint a substitute or assistant representative.

The success and accomplishments of the Interstate Oil Compact Commission clearly demonstrates the practicability of voluntary cooperation between the States in the solution of mutual prob-

lems.

Formed and existing for the sole purpose of conserving and protecting irreplaceable natural resources, the compact has grown and expanded without precedent in the Nation's history.

Now in its 20th year, this cooperative advisory body is without power of compulsion. Yet it has been aptly called a bulwark against Federal control and pointed out as an example in self-rule. The expression of its objective—"the purpose of this compact is to conserve oil and gas by the prevention of physical waste thereof, from any cause"—has been referred to as "the most powerful 21 words in American industrial life today" and as "words which have changed the course of an industry."

The interstate compact to conserve oil and gas provides a forum for interstate cooperation to prevent avoidable waste of oil and gas, to further efficient practices in oil and gas production and to preserve to the States fundamental rights of local self-government.

I feel sure the Members of the House will want to help continue the great work and the vast benefits the Interstate Oil Compact Commission has brought to the economy of our Nation by giving this resolution their unanimous support.

Irrigation Takes Some Risk Out of Farming

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. C. GATHINGS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. GATHINGS. Mr. Speaker, I believe that Members of the Congress will be most interested in the ground working of Public Law 597, enacted by the 83d Congress, which was passed by the Con-

gress to enable greater productivity and provide greater water facilities programs throughout the Nation.

At the time the law was adopted—and I am pleased to say that the measure was one of those I worked hard to get passed—it was my thought that the legislation would have a profound effect on the future of our Nation. In addition to the great importance in promoting conservation work, the program would assist also in facilitating long-needed land-use adjustments. I believed that the law would aid in bringing about desirable uses of acres diverted from the production of surplus crops, as well as relieve the danger of drought conditions.

The law has been most beneficial, although the long-range program still needs much work. On the 400 million acres of cropland, surveys of the Soil Conservation Service indicate that erosion is still proceeding at a serious rate on about 200 million acres—about one-half of the total. Most of the grass-lands are producing only about half of their potential capacities.

The soil, water, range, and forest resources of the United States are the foundation blocks in the structure of the national economy. From this base comes food, clothing, paper, and other fiber. How well these resources are protected and improved in the years ahead shall determine the standards of living of our Nation's citizens in the towns and the cities as well as our rural business-

With this intention, the Congress enacted Public Law 597. I think that a recent article published in the December issue of the Progressive Farmer and written by Mississippi County Agriculture Agent Keith Bilbry will be of especial interest to those Members who sponsored this law, as well as all the other Members.

I might add that Mr. Bilbry has been a leading agronomist in the State of Arkansas for a number of years, having given 17 years to the study of agriculture and its problems. Mr. Bilbry is also an authority on the adoption of irrigation programs, and his article illustrates the advantages as well as some of the problems our farm citizens have encountered in moving their lands under systems of irrigation and water-control programs.

Mr. Bilbry, in the article, tells the story of the growth of irrigation in Mississippi County. As statistical information background, I might state that in north Mississippi County in 1951 there was very little irrigation practice. As of August 1, 1954, more than 7,000 acres had been placed under irrigation.

Mr. Bilbry's article identifies these practices specifically:

[From the Manila Sentinel of December 24, 1954]

KEITH BILBRY ARTICLE ON IRRIGATION

How did your crops turn out this dry year? It may be a sin to tell you this, but north Mississippi County farmers who irrigated this year harvested bumper crops.

For instance, Earl Wildy cut 34.4 tons of silage per acre and gathered 94 bushels of corn per acre. He irrigated twice.

E. M. Regenold watered some Fox cotton 3 times and expected to harvest between 800 and 900 pounds of lint per acre. M. J. Koehler harvested about 90 bushels of rice per acre from his first rice crop.

Earl Magers and Mr. Wildy had beautiful Sudan-grass supplemental pastures for their Hereford cattle when farmers without irrigation couldn't even get Sudan to sprout.

Ora Hueter netted \$800 per acre from strawberries that had been irrigated.

Irrigated soybeans show promise of profitable increase on Jack Lewis' farm, as well as on Mr. Magers' farm. Mr. Regenold expects a pretty good soybean yield following wheat due to irrigation.

Mr. Wildy carried more than one animal unit per acre all summer on irrigated fescue and clover and Sudan pastures. This is his third year to have such good pastures by irrigation.

We took 325 farmers on a six-stop countywide irrigation tour this summer. Because of the interest, I think this was the best single-phase educational job I have had the privilege of doing in 17 years of extensionservice teaching.

In addition to the fine crops, farmers saw sprinkling and furrow irrigation, use of siphon tubes, gated pipe, and different-size sprinklers from No. 20's to the big No. 90's.

They saw water sources—lakes, streams, ponds, and wells.

They saw 16-inch wells, 12-inch wells, 4-inch wells, and even a series of four 2-inch wells which had been tied together.

They saw power units—14-horsepower gas engines, tractors, and pumps, 135-horsepower motors, engines removed from self-propelled combines, as well as 60-horsepower electric motors.

Should another dry year come, then North Mississippi County farmers may spend more than \$4 million on irrigation equipment. They are fed up with 3 years of near crop failures on \$22 up to \$500 per acre land.

failures on \$22 up to \$500 per acre land.

H. C. Knappenberger, a Green Brier Ridge farmer, was the first to irrigate in North Mississippi County—1950 and 1951. This was more or less experimental. The operative furnished part of sprinkling equipment,

In May 1952 James L. Gattis, extension service agricultural engineer, and I held an irrigation demonstration and school on the Earl Wildy farm. Five farmers bought necessary systems and irrigated 215 acres that year.

Ten more farmers irrigated a total of 900 extra acres in 1953.

Thirty-nine more farmers were watering 6,500 more acres by August 1 of this year.

Fifty-four systems were in use August 1 on 7,300 acres of land. In September new systems were going in each week, even though the main irrigating season was over.

All of Mississippi County in Arkansas is delta land with a high water table. Water rises in wells to from 6 to 10 feet of the surface. Most wells are about 110 feet deep, none more than 135 feet. The 2-inch and 3-inch driven wells are 24 to 28 feet deep. There are also several year-round streams or drainage ditches.

At present, 25 farmers are pumping from ditches, 3 from lakes, 5 from big 12-inch to 16-inch wells, 7 from 4-inch to 6-inch wells, 7 from four 2-inch pump points, tied together, and 7 have small systems operating from 2-inch and 3-inch wells.

Investment costs for those having ditch or lake water seem to range between \$38 and \$45 per acre. When wells are dug, the total cost rises to the \$55 to \$85 per acre range.

At present, 92 percent of our irrigation is by sprinkler system, 6 percent by flooding, and 2 percent by furrow.

As farmers learn of the relatively new gated pipe, more about land leveling, and to use consulting engineers in planning a system, there will be more furrow irrigation used.

J. W. Rayder is boring a 16-inch well while I am writing this article. It is too late for this year's cotton, corn, and soybeans. I asked him, "Why not wait until next year?" Mr. Rayder said, "I spent \$1,200 on vetch seed last fall and never got a cent's worth of benefit. I am going to get vetch up this fall. I've got 50 head of cattle and no pasture. They are going to have small grain pasture this winter."

E. M. Regenold, president of the First National Bank, in Blytheville, told more than 325 farmers on tour of his farm, "I'm afraid we are going to be forced to irrigate some. I'm trying it on rice, cotton, and soybeans this year, as you will see."

Mr. Regenold showed a field of highly

fertilized, well matured Fox cotton that had been watered twice. It really "took their

He demonstrated the use of gated pipe in furrow irrigation. The crowd was told that irrigation by gated pipe, where possible, was about half as expensive as sprinker irriga-Mr. Regenold explained that he spent about \$50 per acre leveling this land so fur-

low irrigation would be possible.

Most farmers know that fall-seeded alfalfa and pastures are preferred over spring seeding, but it has just not worked in recent years, due to extremely dry weather. Some of these systems will be used this fall to insure fall-seeded pastures, alfalfa, winter cover crops, and small grains.

The recent new Federal law making it possible to borrow money from the Government to install irrigation, and repay over a long period of years, has increased interest by many times.

Norman Speck keeps asking, "When can I apply for the loan? I want to be one of the first on the list. Three years straight with-

out water is enough for me."

Fant Windham said, "You know I have been talking to you about irrigation for years. Maybe this loan will help me do what I've wanted to do for a long time."

Irrigation is no picnic. It will not solve

all your problems. It might not even be profitable for you. To increase yields is one thing, but to increase net income or profit is another. An investment this size demands your serious study and planning. It is hard work to irrigate, to move pipes around in the mud in 100-degree weather.

Earl Wildy told us on tour, "As near as I can tell, it's costing me \$3 in labor and fuel to put 2 inches of water on an acre." This is his third year to water cotton, corn, alfalfa,

pasture, and Atlas sorgo.

Mr. Wildy and Mr. Regenold both found they could cut fuel cost on their 95-horsepower engines by shifting gasoline to pro-

Jack Lewis and his father watered 220 acres with \$8,200 worth of sprinkler equipment (\$37.25 per acre). Mr. Lewis said, "It's costing me \$3.50 in fuel and labor to put out 2 inches of water per acre."

D. C. Wright said, "I watered 90 acres of cotton twice, 2 inches each application. 4 inches of extra water has cost me \$5.50 in

labor and fuel."

Advantages of supplemental irrigation may include: (1) higher yields; (2) likely higher net profits; (3) stand insurance in spring; (4) feed insurance for livestock; (5) better returns from fertilizers; (6) stand insurance on fall-seeded crops; (7) more work per year

Irrigation's disadvantages may be: (1) much higher capital needs; (2) really hard labor; (3) increased insects, disease, and boll rot; (4) delayed harvest and lower grades; (5) reduced mechanical picker efficiency; (6) good drainage, a first and absolute requirement, increases cost; (7) some years it may not be needed or used.

Mr. Speaker, I think that this article illustrated in a graphic manner the growing value of the law we adopted and we

can be pleased with the manner in which our farm businessmen are using their efforts to improve their land productivity and building a better agricultural econ-

The Need for Standby Controls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to remind this House that we have a great need for legislation authorizing standby controls. Today the newspapers and the news broadcasts are stressing coexist-There is general agreement that the danger of war is less than it was a few years ago. For this less warlike atmosphere we all are genuinely thankful.

Without in any way minimizing these peaceful developments, I want today to call your attention to the terrible situation we would find ourselves in if all this should suddenly change. Our economy is operating at top speed. We are turning out all kinds of civilian goods and substantial quantities of military supplies. A sudden outbreak of war would not catch us entirely unprepared. In the military field we would be better prepared than in any earlier peacetime period. In the civilian field, however, we would be far from ready for such an emergency.

One has only to look back to the Korean situation to realize what may result from the lack of standby controls. After inflation set in and supply shortages developed, a system of controls was adopt-These controls were adopted too late, however, to prevent a general price rise of 20 percent and many dislocations in civilian supplies. It should be obvious to anyone that our civilian economy is becoming more intricate and more complex with each passing year. It also should be evident that dislocations in the civilian economy surely will be greater than ever before if we have another outbreak of war.

It is with these things in mind that I call your attention again to the fact that we do not have standby controls which would automatically go into effect if an emergency occurred. Are we going to continue to drift—then, if an emergency occurs, enact legislation after much of the damage has been done to our civilian economy?

You are all aware, I am sure, that there are still many tensions in the world. The Formosa situation is a most dangerous one. The program to rearm Germany has its dangers. Unrest continues in the Middle East and in Africa. In view of all these tensions it seems to me it would be the course of wisdom to provide now for any emergency by en-acting legislation which authorizes standby economic and supply controls for our civilian economy.

The United States Junior Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OW

HON. ROBERT T. ASHMORE

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. ASHMORE. Mr. Speaker, 35 years ago tomorrow the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce was organized at a meeting in St. Louis, Mo. Prior to this date, a number of local junior chambers of commerce had been in existence in the Midwest, but no successful effort had been made to form the group into a national organization, until Henry Giessenbier, of St. Louis, called a meeting of delegates from the several local chapters for the purpose of creating a national organization. At this meeting, Henry Giessenbier was elected president and later a constitution and bylaws were adopted.

From the beginning, membership in the junior chamber of commerce was limited to young men under 36 years of age. The fundamental principles adopted by the organization were so basically sound that the movement has spread to more than 2,750 communities in the United States with a membership of more than 200,000 young men. Today, it is international in scope with more than 3,500 chapters in 52 countries and an overall membership of approximately 300,000. There are chapters in every State of the Union, including Washington, D. C., Alaska, and Hawaii, with a national headquarters building in Tulsa, Okla., worth \$350,000, employing a fulltime staff of 50 people. Before World War II, it was said that the junior chamber of commerce had spread to the four corners of the world and, like the British Empire, the sun never sets on it. Now, the membership is larger than ever before, notwithstanding the fact that all clubs behind the Iron Curtain are no longer in operation.

I am convinced that one of the primary reasons for the phenomenal growth of this wonderful service organization is the fact that it is composed of only young men. Due to the youth of its membership, many worthwhile projects have been undertaken, and accomplished, that other service clubs would not have attempted. It is a medium of expression for the ideas and ideals of young manhood, and through it young men are given an opportunity to serve their communities unselfishly, and at the same time gain experience in civic affairs and general leadership.

Another reason for the great success of the Jaycees is the fact that the organization was founded and promoted entirely through volunteer efforts. National headquarters has never had a paid organizer. All extension work has been carried out by the various local chapters. The spirit and enthusiasm of a Jaycee chapter in one city almost invariably spreads to a nearby community, and in this way, the movement has become worldwide.

The official definition of the organization is, "A junior chamber of commerce is a constructive action organization of young men who devote a portion of their time to community service in the public interest, developing young men as leaders in their community."

By helping their fellowman, Jaycees help themselves. Through service as young men, they become better equipped to render even greater service in the fu-

Today, I salute all Jaycees-the finest organization exclusively for young men in the world.

National CIO Protests Veterans' Cuts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a letter addressed to the President of the United States on January 13, 1955, by Mr. L. S. Buckmaster, chairman of the committee on veterans' affairs of the Congress of Industrial Organizations.

I believe it is an excellent summary of the need to improve rather than curtail veterans' benefits for the welfare of the Nation as a whole:

NATIONAL CIO PROTESTS VETERANS' CUTS

CONGRESS OF INDUSTRIAL OGRANIZATIONS, CIO, Washington, D. C., January 13, 1955.

Hon. Dwight D. EISENHOWER, The White House,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: As chairman of the committee on veterans' affairs of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, I am writing at this time to urge you to rescind your action of January 1 which greatly curtails the benefits to which veterans will become entitled after January 31.

This action will affect, under existing laws and military recruitment practices which we can expect to continue for some time, no less than I million American citizens a year for an extended period ahead, and therefore should not be taken lightly or without full consideration of the various principles and consequences involved. We do not believe that, under present circumstances, such action can be squared either with the needs of veterans, or with the wishes of the American people as a whole.

In fact, your action runs directly contrary the principles of the resolution on "Veterans," which the members of the Congress of Industrial Organizations adopted at the 16th constitutional convention of the CIO in Los Angeles last month. I am enclosing a copy of this resolution for your information, but I want to point out here in sum-mary that the whole emphasis of the CIO's viewpoint is that, rather than curtailment of previously existing benefits, new legislation which liberalizes, improves and extends veterans' benefits is required, if the men and women who are serving this Nation in its Armed Forces are to be treated with the justice they descree upon their return.

As our convention declared, "Veterans Presently being discharged from service and

returning to civilian life have found unemployment, inflated living costs and inadequate wage levels, a critical shortage of lowcost homes, inadequate rent-control laws, which have combined to place the veteran along with all other working men and women of the Nation in a position of increasing in-ability to supply for themselves and their families the necessities of life." There has been no substantial change in the national economic picture since this resolution was adopted that leads us to believe that the same conditions do not prevail today. Our convention further declared, and the CIO still strongly believes, that "the returning veteran is entitled to full restitution and protection against the loss of any of his rights, benefits, and opportunities, which he may have been deprived of as a result of his absence from civilian life."

Particularly at a time when the profits after taxes of business have risen even higher than the year before, and are at or near the highest point in our history, there can be no excuse for curtailing benefits to veterans, since they are generally part of that segment of our economy most in need of expanded purchasing power and income. The benefits which your order will deny to veterans after the cutoff date include, besides the much-needed, beneficial and publicly approved college scholarships, such things as mustering-out pay up to \$300, special veterans' unemployment insurance, and the special low-interest loan guarantees on homes, farms, and businesses, all of which are important protections to ease the readjustment to civilian life of men and women called upon to sacrifice normal peacetime living for the good of their country. The loss these benefits will only serve to further curtail purchasing power in that part of the economy which most needs increased in-come at this time if we are to prevent a depression and put our national economy once again on the road to expansion.

We also protest against those curtailments of benefits imposed by your order which deny veterans special hospital privileges and pensions for ailments not due to military service, and which put compensation payments for service-connected disabilities on a peacetime basis, which is 80 percent of the wartime The very fact that, in issuing your order, you recognized that the unusual needs of the Nation still prevent you from ending the state of national emergency proclaimed in 1950 indicates that the present economic picture is still under severe strains and that there is no justification for expecting veterans injured in military service, or otherwise ailing, to have to pay any less for care than those previously released. These special hospital and compensation benefits were written into law to protect disabled veterans from the identical hardships and higher costs they still will have to face today if they are in need of medical care. Instead of such curtailment, the CIO believes that there should be an enlargement of Veterans' Administration hospital facilities and services for veterans, and a continuation of outpatient treatment and dental care for persons presently returning from the Armed Forces identical to that granted World War II veterans.

We also believe that, rather than the curtailments you propose, a broad program of new legislation is needed which would bring pensions for all disabled veterans and their dependents up to current increased cost of living conditions, provide more liberal and effective loans to veterans for the purchase of homes, businesses, and farms, and improve veterans' unemployment compensation and benefits. We further believe that legislation for a Federal bonus for all World War II and Korean veterans, based upon the principle of adjustment of service pay in the light of living costs, should be enacted im-mediately, if our Nation is not, by neglect, to treat unfairly millions of men and women to whom it owes a tremendous debt of gratitude for their patriotic service and sacrifice.

We believe, too, that improvement, rather than curtailment, of veterans' benefits would benefit the Nation as a whole, by contributing to the realization of our goals of maximum employment and maximum purchasing power as set forth in the Employment Act of 1946.

Sincerely yours,

L. S. BUCKMASTER.

FPC Control of Natural Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. O. C. FISHER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. FISHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include two editorials; one from the January 9, 1955, issue of the Houston Chronicle and the other from the January 11, 1955, issue of the San Angelo (Tex.) Standard-Times. Both of these editorials deal with the implications of the Supreme Court which gives the Federal Government the authority to fix the price of natural gas where it is produced and gathered for market-an encroachment upon the rights of the States to deal with a subject that is obviously intrastate in character. The two editorials follow:

[From the Houston Chronicle of January 9, 1955]

FPC CONTROL WILL CUT SUPPLY OF GAS, DAMAGE ALL CONSUMERS

When the Supreme Court ruled that the Federal Power Commission has the authority to regulate the price of gas at the well, if the gas is destined for interstate transmission, it opened a new avenue of Government regulation which should be as alarming to the consumers as to the producers of gas. It should be alarming also to State oil and gas regulatory bodies, to State legislators who do not want their legislative prerogatives infringed upon and to all who believe in the perpetuation of States rights as guaranteed by the United States Constitution.

The consumer in the nonproducing State might wonder what Federal price-fixing control of gas means to him. He might even think he can get cheaper gas by having the Federal Government control the price of it. He is wrong. When any commodity is in short supply its price goes up even under Federal regulation. Other things happen to affect the consumer when the supply is Persons wanting gas and expecting to get it soon will be disappointed, because the available supply will go to present users. There is a case of this kind now in the courts, where the city of Chicago is trying to force some Texas gas producers to supply new users in Chicago. When the supply becomes

short, even present users may be rationed.

The question naturally arises, "Why would the supply become short?" There are two answers. First, it costs a great amount of money to drill wildcat wells to find new gas pools, from \$100,000 for a well on land \$1 million in coastal waters, where a number of discoveries are being made. No one is going to take such a huge risk where the price of his product is regulated at a fixed rate, probably lower than the field prices set by supply and demand. Naturally, when exploration drops, present supplies dwindle. The second answer is that independent producers will sell their gas for use wholly within the State, to avoid Federal regulation. The transmission lines won't be able to get a sufficient supply of gas to pipe to non-

producing areas.

This would hurt industrial plants of the North and East, as well as the household consumer. Plants which needed a big sup-ply of gas for fuel would be induced to move to gas-producing States, which in turn would adversely affect the economy of the areas in which they are now located.

State regulatory bodies would have their powers taken over by FPC, even to conservation authority, which traditionally is a State function. For example, most of the gas which goes into the transmission lines is "residue" which comes up with oil and was burned in flares before a use was found for it. FPC can't control the gas unless it controls the oil. The next step by FPC will be control of oil.

As far as that goes, why not also control all production that is in some way connected with interstate movement—and what isn't? Under the same principle, FPC can control the price of gasoline for airplanes, crossties for railroads, cotton for dresses, and all other types of production.

The 84th Congress will act on legislation to amend the Natural Gas Act. Congress should pass a bill to clearly and firmly prohibit the Federal Government from controlling the producing, gathering, and local distribution

[From the San Angelo (Tex.) Standard-Times of January 11, 1955]

GAS RULES AT WELLHEAD BELONG WITH STATE AGENCY

The question of the right of an arm of the Federal Government to regulate the price of natural gas at the well is to come before Congress at the present session.

It is an important decision for consumers and producers alike. A commission in far-Washington (the Federal Power Commission) has been given authority by the Supreme Court, rather than the Congress, to pass upon the peacetime price of gas produced from a well on a farm in the re-mote areas of the Nation. It is an anomalous situation. The Federal Power Commission not only did not want this authority but refused to exercise it until ordered to do so by the Court in the Phillips case.

The fact that oil is produced with gas and that oil producers may be regulated as well as gas producers, under conceivable extension of this new authority, has forced some oil companies to shut in their wells. In Sutton and Schleicher Counties, within the last year, Clarence Norsworthy, of San Antonio, an active independent operator, has capped several gas wells which he completed as producers in these counties at a cost of \$60,000 to \$65,000 each. Other oil Other oil producers have done the same thing. a situation is not to the advantage of gas consumers, gas producers or the owner of land from which gas can be produced.

Only a few years ago you could ride by night from Big Lake to the New Mexico line and always be within sight of a gas flare. Not only was there no market Texas for an appreciable percentage of the gas produced in this State, but apparently none anywhere else.

There is still an amazing amount of gas flared on leases and lost forever. In recent years the long-line gas-transmission companies have provided a market for Texas gas by transmitting it to the North and East. Their ingenuity and investments gave consumers throughout the Nation a clean.

efficient fuel enhancing the wealth of Texas and other producing areas.

The Texas Railroad Commission has pioneered in the regulation and conservation of oil and gas in the Nation. Proration first was established in Texas. Texas has cut its production with more severity than other States in its effort to keep supply and de-

mand in balance and eliminate waste.

The present members of the Federal Power Commission by refusing to undertake the precarious task of setting a price on natural gas at the wellhead must have realized it was a job they could not accomplish in equity

Congressman John E. Lyle, Jr., of Corpus Christi, who did not seek reelection last year, summed up the situation well in an article in the November 5 issue of Public Utilities Fortnightly, advocating amendment of the Natural Gas Act of 1938. He said:

The Congress intended this act to provide Federal regulation in that area which was beyond State control, and only in that area. There was no thought, no idea, and certainly no necessity for giving to an agency of the Federal Government control of natural gas at its source; that is, over the producing and gathering phases of the industry. Nor was there any idea of necessity for Federal control over the distribution of the product when it reached the consuming area. These phases of the industry were, and are, suffi-ciently regulated by appropriate State

The long-line transmission companies are public utilities and should be regulated by the FPC and other appropriate regulatory bodies. So far as we know, no one would advocate, not even these companies, that they be freed from operating in conformity with the rules of these regulatory agencies.

If the long-line transmission companies are also gas producers they should be required to take their own gas rates ability with other producers in a given field or area at no more than the posted price in the field. Their gas-production facilities should be neither favored or discriminated against as to price or volume.

Gas-transmission lines have plans for investing \$1 billion in new lines in 1955. are taking natural gas to every corner of the Nation. Texas is the largest gas-producing State, and all of us have a vital interest in not thwarting the growth of this industry by artificial barriers set up by those who revel in regulation.

Last year 600 trillion cubic feet of gas was added to the national reserve. If consumers are to be supplied with gas we need to encourage development of sustained reserves on a continuing mounting scale. We must build

adequate pipelines to carry it.

We think the Texas Railroad Commission is capable of protecting every public interest touched by the gas business as far as it affects this State. The regulatory bodies of other States can do the same with producing and distributing companies in their respective States. The Federal Power Commission can regulate the utility features of the transmission lines. Congress needs to define the field of regulation between the State and Federal regulatory authorities.

But producing gas in Schleicher or Sutton Counties is not interstate commerce. ington is not the place to administer this feature of the oil and gas business. It can best be done by the States.

We believe every member of the Texas delegation in Congress will vote to make crystal clear the intent of Congress that the Federal Power Commission is not the agency to set the price of gas at a well or to muscle into a wide variety of price controls over oil distillate and minerals.

A Rough Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following article from the Wall Street Journal of January 17, 1955:

A ROUGH BUSINESS

The Democratic Party, which has numbered among its prominent men such rough and tumble contestants as the late Charles Michelson and Harry Truman, cries in in-jured innocense that it was smeared by Vice President Nixon during the campaign.

It reminds us of a story which we heard years ago from the lips of an historic Democratic figure, William Jennings Bryan.

Mr. Bryan told of the man who remarried a few weeks after his wife died. The neighbors in the small town were incensed and one night they assembled at the man's house beating pans, blowing horns, and making other noises which were not in any way intended as approbation.

The man came to the porch and addressed

the people on his lawn:

"Aren't you ashamed to come here and make all this noise so soon after my wife died?"

To get back to Mr. Nixon, he is accused of saying that the Democratic Party was soft on communism. Mr. Nixon says he did not say that. What he did was to cite some of the past associations of some people who were running for office.

Well, we know of no one who believes that being a Democrat is synonymous with treason. Surely Mr. Nixon does not. But it is still certainly a matter of record that when Communists were allowed to infiltrate the Government offices, it was under a Demo-cratic administration. That is just as undeniable as the fact that when the Republicans were previously in office there was an economic depression.

The Democrats developed the Republican misfortune to their own benefit and it is unlikely that the Republicans will cease to call attention to the fact that the Democrats might have been more careful about Com-

The campaign against Mr. Nixon is quite patently directed to more than one end.

The Democrats naturally would like to have people quit talking about Communists who were in the Government. It is still a potent political issue. And if they can silence Mr. Nixon, they will have discouraged others who might like to exploit the

Also, Mr. Nixon is a considerable Republican figure. He is an effective campaigner. an able legislator, and in the field of politics gives every sign of knowing which end is up. It would be smart if the Democrats could discredit him by fastening upon him the reputation of indulging in tactics less than honorable.

Furthermore, there is a leftwing in American life, not all of whom are Democrats but some of whom are. And these few some-times seem to wield a disproportionate influence in Democratic councils—at least they make more noise per head than other Democrats. Some of these gentlemen have a record of a past emotional investment in communism. And they have not forgotten that Mr. Nixon was the man mainly responsible for running down Alger Hiss.

As we intimated at the beginning of this essay, this business of politics is a rough business at time, and that being so the attack on Mr. Nixon is not an unexpected development. If things were turned around the Republicans would probably be doing what the Democrats are now doing.

But politics is also a tricky business. And one of its pitfalls is that by attacking a man you may build him up when you think you are tearing him down. We wonder if the Democrats have thought that they may be building up both Mr. Nixon and the issue of communism.

Defense of the Principle of Racial Segregation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN BELL WILLIAMS

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I am pleased to submit herewith a newspaper account of an address by Dr. G. T. Gillespie, a distinguished Mississippi educator and clergyman. This account appeared in the Jackson (Miss.) Clarion Ledger-Jackson Daily News on November 7, 1954, and includes the full text of Dr. Gillespie's address:

A temperate, scholarly and documented discussion of segregation, delivered by Dr. Guy T. Gillespie, distinguished Presbyterian minister and educator, before the Synod of Mississippi in Jackson the past week, is a statement of great significance in the current discussions of segregation, particularly as related to schools and churches.

In response to requests, it is printed in full text, emphasizing two major points: Segregation may be defended on Biblical grounds, and is not "un-Christian." Segregation is not necessarily discrimination.

Dr. Gillespie, for more than 32 years president of Belhaven College, presented this carefully prepared "Defense of the Principle of Racial Segregation."

"The problem of race relations is not new. It is as old as civilization. Whenever in the history of the race two peoples of significantly different characteristics have come in contact with each other, or have sought to occupy the same area, a problem of race relations has inevitably developed. The closer the contact, and the more nearly the numerical strength of the two groups has approached equality, the more difficult and acute the problem has become.

"The problem of racial relations throughout the world today has been greatly accentuated by the rapid development of modern means of communication and transportation, which have brought all the peoples of the world into much closer contact than ever

"The problem has also been complicated by the worldwide spread of Kari Marx's doctrine of internationalism and the classless society, combined with the vigorous propaganda of Soviet communism to bring about a world revolution and the breakdown of all national and racial distinctions and to effect the complete amalgamation of all races.

"The Anglo-Saxon and English-speaking people have steadfastly opposed and resisted the mixture of their racial stock with that of other peoples, especially where the physical and cultural characteristics were widely dissimilar, and wherever they have gone, around the world, they have consistently instituted and maintained a pattern of segregation, which uniformly provided an effective check against the process of amalgamation, and which has preserved the racial integrity of the English-speaking peoples of the world.

"The race problem in America arises inherently out of the concentration of large masses of the Negro race in areas predominantly Anglo-Saxon in racial type and in culture, and where the principle of racial segregation has been generally, if not uniformly, upheld by legal, social, and moral sanctions.

Comparatively little of the opposition to the principle of segregation has come spontaneously from the pureblood Negroes, or from the masses of the Negro population; more strenuous opposition has come from the Negroes of mixed blood, who have migrated from the South to northern cities, and who bitterly resent the tensions and discriminations to which they find themselves and their families subjected in their efforts to secure recognition in northern communities. It is not without significance, however, that a very considerable part of the violent agitation against segregation stems from sources outside the Negro race, and outside of America, and coincides with the worldwide movement for racial amalgamation which has its fountainhead in Moscow.

"Here therefore is the crux of this whole problem of racial relations, whether we face it in America or in the world at large; it is essentially a choice between the Anglo-Saxon ideal of racial integrity maintained by a consistent application of the principle of segregation, and the Communist goal of amalgamation implemented by the wiping out of all distinctions and the fostering of the most intimate contact between the races in all the relations of life.

"Laying aside all sophistries concerning so-called civil rights, human brotherhood, or social equality, and the purely academic question as to racial superiority or inferiority, let us not evade the issue, nor close our eyes to the stark reality, but face it frankly and courageously; here in America, if we believe that the welfare of both the white and the Negro races would be promoted by preserving the integrity of each race, then we must maintain some effective and equitable form of segregation; if we believe that the welfare and happiness of both races would be promoted by intermarriage and the development of a race, then all we need to do is to let down the bars of segregation in the homes, the schools, the churches and in all areas of community life, and let nature take its

"But before we commit ourselves and our Nation, finally and irrevocably to this fateful choice, let us recall and weigh carefully some pertinent considerations which may be offered in defense of the principle of segregation.

"1. SEGREGATION IS NOT THE CHILD OF RACE PREJUDICE

"In recent years the much abused term race prejudice has been associated indiscriminately with the principle of segregation in the effort to discredit it by implying low origin and bad associations. The difficulty and the injustice in this connection results from the confusion of race prejudice and race pride. Race prejudice is indeed a blind, unreasoning, fanatical emotion which issues in race hatred and inhumanity, and is essentially destructive and immoral in its end results. Race pride on the other hand is a rational, normal, positive principle, and is essentially constructive and moral. Pride of race, like love of home and love of country has been one of the mightiest forces making for human happiness and progress.

"Indeed, these three principles are indissolubly linked together in the hearts of men and in the experience of the race, and must stand or fall together. Surely it is not merely a coincidence that the forces which are battling to break down race pride, which they mistakenly identify with race prejudice, are the same forces which are insidiously seeking to undermine and destroy the love of home and the love of country in all the lands upon which their baleful shadow has been cast.

"2. SEGREGATION IS ONE OF NATURE'S UNIVERSAL LAWS

"In all nature, the herd instinct prevails to a greater or less degree, and all living creatures are drawn together in larger or smaller groups by certain affinities based upon common physical characteristics. Animals, by instinct, mate only with their own kind, perpetuating their own species and transmitting their natural or acquired characteristics to their offspring. No intermingling or crossbreeding with animals of widely different characteristics takes place except under abnormal or artificial conditions.

"The old adage 'birds of a feather flock together,' only expresses a fact of common observation and universal experience. There are many varieties of the bird family, but under natural conditions, so far as known, bluebirds never mate with redbirds, doves never mate with blackbirds, nor mocking-birds with jays. The fact that man also is a gregarious animal and that human beings everywhere and under all conditions of life tend to segregate themselves into families, tribes, national or racial groups, only goes to prove that all human relations are regulated by this universal law of nature.

"The recognition that man is not only a creature of instinct, but that he is also endowed with reason and conscience, whereby he is able to perceive and appreciate the significance of the larger unity of the race and his obligations to all members of the human family does not nullify or repeal the basic laws of human nature, but does provide for him a moral code under which he is obligated to exercise his freedom with due regard for the rights of his fellows.

"3. SEGREGATION TENDS TO PROMOTE PROGRESS

"It is an elementary principle of livestock breeding that improvement of type comes only through the careful selection of breeding stock, and the rigid separation of animals of dissimilar or indesirable characteristics. The phenomenal development of the racehorse, the drafthorse, the beef and dairy breeds of cattle, furnish impressive evidence that segregation promotes development and progress, and that it may be continued almost indefinitely by the consistent application of the principle; whereas the intermingling of breeding stock results invariably in the production of 'scrubs' or mongrel types, and the downgrading of the whole herd.

"The same principle applies with equal force to the process of human development. It is a noteworthy fact that down through the centuries the most conspicuous advances in human progress have been made by those peoples, who by reason of circumstances or by deliberate preference have been isolated to a great extent from other nations and races over long periods of time, and thus have been left free to develop their own peculiar genius and distinctive characteristics and culture.

"From the days of Abraham, approximately 2,000 years before Christ, the Hebrews, by divine command, became a segregated people, separated by traditions, customs, religion, and by strict codes of ethics, physical and social hygiene from their cultural heritage even down to our own day, and they have not only achieved the highest moral and spiritual development of all the peoples of the earth, but have made an invaluable contribution to the moral and spirit-

ual progress of mankind. In spite of many shortcomings, and in spite of being both the exponents and the victims of bitter racial prejudice the Hebrew people like the waters of the Gulf Stream in the midst of the ocean have achieved a mission and a destiny which would have been impossible had they abandoned the principle of segregation and become integrated with the nations which hemmed them in on all sides centuries ago.

"In a similar manner the Greeks, by reason by geographical situation and other circumstances, enjoyed for centuries comparative isolation from other peoples of the world whom they designated as barbarians. By reason of this separation they preserved with remarkable success the purity of their racial stock for hundreds of years, and succeeded in developing a physical vigor and vitality, and intellectual acuteness, an artistic perfection, and a political idealism which made Hellenic culture the pattern and inspiration for all western civilization.

"In modern times the most conspicuous example of the truth of this principle is found in the remarkable record of the British people. Insulated in many ways from the other peoples of Europe and of the world in their island homes, the British developed a vigorous racial stock and a virile and homogenous culture, and have persistently refused to integrate their bloodstream or their cultural heritage with those of alien or widely different racial types.

"Although numerically insignificant as compared with other peoples, the British have nevertheless made greater achievements in every field of human endeavor, and have made an immeasurably greater contribution to the total intellectual, social, economic, and moral welfare of mankind than any other people in ancient or modern times.

"Still another impressive and perhaps the most pertinent illustration of the proposition that segregation tends to promote progress, is the amazing record of the Negro in America, and particularly here in the South, where the two races have lived side by side in approximately equal numbers in many areas, under a system of segregation, more or less uniformly maintained since the close of the Civil War. Despite the dire poverty and disorganization of the postwar period, the false leadership of unscrupulous whites and the charlatans of his own race, and the many cruel injustices which he suffered at the hands of dishonest landlords, callous public officials and the much-publicized mob violence, the southern Negro has somehow managed to acquire a greater number of homes, farms, banks, and other properties, has achieved a higher standard of living, and today enjoys larger educational and economic opportunities, is happier and better adjusted, than can be said of any comparable number of his race at any time in their history or in any part of the world today.

"4. SEGREGATION DOES NOT NECESSABILY INVOLVE DISCRIMINATION

"Whenever two individuals or groups of widely different physical characteristics are brought into close contact, it is likely or even inevitable that some discrimination should occur, especially where the situations are competitive; but such discrimination is a spontaneous human reaction and cannot be charged against the principle of segregation.

"As a matter of fact, segregation, by reducing the number of points of contact, tends to lessen friction and tension, and especially if there is clear recognition on the part of both races that the chief reason for segregation is the desirability of preventing such intimacies as might lead to intermarriage and the amalgamation of the races, then the chief occasion for misunderstanding and discrimination is removed.

"Assuming the development of racial pride in the Negro race to the point where he would be as zealous as the white man in safeguarding the integrity of his race, and that both races would cheerfully accept some effective form of segregation as the only effective means of achieving that end where the two races live side by side in large numbers, there would seem to be no insuperable difficulty in working out plans which would provide "separate but equal" opportunities and facilities for both races, which would avoid any suggestion of discrimination, and would promote the largest possible harmony and cooperation between the races.

"5. THE PRINCIPLE OF SEGREGATION MAY BE DEFENDED ON BIBLICAL GROUNDS AND IS NOT UNCHRISTIAN

"While the Bible contains no clear mandate for or against segregation as between the White and Negro races, it does furnish considerable data from which valid inferences may be drawn in support of the general principle of segregation as an important feature of the divine purpose and providence throughout the ages.

"Concerning matters of this kind, which in the inscrutable wisdom of God have been left for mankind to work out in the light of reason and experience without the full light of revelation, we dare not be dogmatic but we do well to examine with open mind some of

the more pertinent references.

"1. The first separation (Genesis 4: 11-26): A mark is placed upon Cain, and he is separated from the other branch of the human family, represented by Seth and his descendants. From Cain were descended men of great vigor and inventive genius, from Seth were descended men who began to call upon the name of the Lord, and were evidently those elsewhere referred to, as the Sons of God.

Demoralization resulting from intermarriage (Genesis 6: 1-7): The promiscuous intermarriage of the Sons of God, that is, the descendants of Seth, with the Daughters of Men, who were apparently the descendants of Cain, resulted in the complete breakdown of family life and such widespread immorality and wickedness as to provoke the Lord to destroy the earth with the flood. A possible though not necessary inference from this tragic story is that the intermarriage of dissimilar groups, whether the differences be moral, cultural or physical is not conducive to the preservation of wholesome family life, or to morality and therefore is contrary to the purpose and will of God.

"3. New divisions after the flood stemming from sons of Noah (Genesis 9: 18-29): After the flood, the 3 sons of Noah—Shem, Ham, and Japhet—became the progenitors of 3 distinct racial groups, which were to repeople and overspread the earth.

"The descendants of Shem migrated east-ward and occupied most of Asia; the descendants of Japhet migrated westward and ultimately occupied the continent of Europe, while the children of Ham moved generally southward toward the Tropics and occupied the continent of Africa, and possibly southern Asia and the islands of the Pacific.

"This brief record, the accuracy of which has not been successfully disputed by the anthropologists and ethnologists while affirming the unity of the race, also implies that an all-wise providence, has determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation. Which same providence by determining the climatic and other physical conditions under which many successive generations of the several racial groups should live, is thereby equally responsible for the distinct racial characteristics which seem to have become fixed in prehistoric times, and which are chiefly responsible for the segregation of racial groups across the centuries and in our time.

"4. Origin of linguistic differences (Genesis 11: 19): This indicates that the confusion of tongues, which took place at Babel, with the consequent scattering of the peoples, was an act of special divine providence to frustrate the mistaken efforts of godless men to assure the permanent integration of the peoples of the earth. Incidentally, it indicates that the development of different languages was not merely natural or accidental, but served divine purpose, in becoming one of the most effective means of preserving the separate existence of the several racial groups.

"5. Abraham called to a separated life (Genesis 12-25): Abram, later changed to Abraham, was called to separate himself from his home and his kindred in Ur of the Chaldees and to live as a "stranger in a strange land." Under divine guidance and blessing he and his household lived peaceably with the inhabitants without mingling with them socially or intermarrying with The covenant of circumcision instigated by God provided a sign or seal, which was to distinguish and set apart in a most significant way the "seed of Abraham," or the Hebrew people from all the other peoples of the earth throughout all generations. Many incidental circumstances, such as the refusal of God to allow the son of Hagar, the Egyptian bondwoman, to become the heir of the covenant promise, the great care exercised by Abraham to secure a wife for his son Isaac from among his own kindred rather than from among the Canaanites, and a similar concern manifested by Isaac and Rebekah concerning wives for their sons, all emphasize the importance which is attached to the principle of segregation, and doubtless paved the way for the emphasis given to it in the Mosaic economy and in the subsequent history of Israel.
"6. Prohibitions against the mingling of

"6. Prohibitions against the mingling of diverse things (Leviticus 19: 19): According to the law delivered to Moses, the cross-breeding of diverse strains of cattle, the planting of mixed seeds, and the mixing of v.ool and linen in a garment were forbidden. We are not told the reasons for this curious law, but it seems impossible to escape the conclusion that if such intermixture of diverse elements in the lower orders of animal and plant life, were unseemly and contrary to the divine purpose, the same principle would apply with even greater force with respect to human relations.

"7. The warnings of Moses against intermarriage with other peoples (Deuteronomy 7: 3): Moses strictly warned the Israelites against allowing their sons and daughters to intermarry with the pagan peoples with whom they came in contact, under the penalty of bringing upon themselves the divine wrath and judgment. This warning was emphasized repeatedly, and was specially burned into the consciousness of the nation by the terrible penalties which were inflicted upon those who committed whoredom with the daughters of Moab at Baal-Poor (Numbers 25: 1-8).

"8. Ezra's condemnation of mixed marriages (Ezra 9-10): After the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity, it was discovered that great numbers of the prominent Jews had taken wives from among the heathen people of the land. This caused Ezra to rend his clothes and tear his hair, and cry unto God for mercy upon the sinning nation. The drastic steps which were taken to purge out this evil practice, emphasized anew the vital importance which was attached to the preservation of the purity and integrity of the racial stock by the leaders of the nation and by their divine ruler.

"9. The attitude and teachings of our Lord (The Four Gospels): There is no question but that the emphasis placed by Our Lord upon the love of God for the whole world (John 3: 16, and other passages) was intended in part at least as a rebuke to the

bigotry and intolerance of the Jewish leaders, and to counteract the attitude of contempt and indifference which the Jewish people as a whole manifested toward the Other peoples of the world. Likewise His declaration as to the supreme worth of the human soul (Matthew 16: 26) and His last great command to His followers to go into all the world and make disciples of all nations (Matthew 28: 19-20), make it abundantly clear that the redeeming love of Christ knows no limitations of class or condition or nationality or race, but like a mighty river sweeps across every natural or artificial barrier to bring the water of life to the thirsty souls of men.

"He used the story of the Good Samaritan to rebuke the smug complacency and nar-rowminded prejudice of the Jews, but He did not ignore or denounce racial distinctions, nor did He set plans on foot to abolish them and to bring amout amalgamation of the Jews and the Samaritans, or of any other races. As a matter of fact, in sending out the 12 on their first gospel mission, He directed them to go 'only to the lost sheep of the house of Israel' (Matthew 10: 5-6) and in dealing with the Syro-Phoenician woman He takes particular care to emphasize the different status of the two races before granting her request. The Golden Rule, as proclaimed by our Lord, must unquestionably be applied to the field of race relations as well as to all other human relationships. At the same time no reasonable interpretation of this great principle requires to do unto or for, the individual or the race, for the sake of some fancied benefit or momentary satisfaction that which we have reason to believe will in the end imperil the stability of the social Order and the future welfare of the race.

"10. The attitude and teaching of the Apostles (the Acts and the Epistles): The gift of tongues at Pentecost was undoubtedly a prophecy that the Gospel should be Preached to all nations and that every people should hear the Gospel in their own languages, but it gives no hint that all linguistic, national, or racial differences are to be wiped out in the Gospel dispensation.

"Peter's vision on the housetop in Joppa, his subsequent visit to the home of Cornelius, the Roman centurion, his baptism of the household after they had received the Holy Ghost, and his statement that "God is no respecter of persons," marks the removal of the Jewish traditions and prejudices which barred the entrance of the Gentiles in the household of faith, and sets the pattern for Christianity as the new religion for all nations and all the peoples of the earth.

"Paul, the apostle to the Gentiles, naturally had more to say concerning this question than any of the other New Testament writers. In his notable speech to the Greeks at Athens, he said, 'God, * * * hath made of one blood all nations of men, for to dwell on all the face of the earth; and hath determined the times before appointed and the bounds of their habitation' (Acts 17: 24-26). Writing to the Colossians he said: 'And have put on the new man, which is renewed in knowledge after the image of Him that created him; where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision or uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all in all."

"In the first passage Paul affirms the unity of the race based upon a common origin, concerning which there can be no difference of opinion among those who accept the authority of the Bible. In the second passage Paul asserts the unity of all believers in Christ, regardless of their racial differences, but this unity is a spiritual relationship resulting from the mystical union of each believer with Christ himself, in which all enjoy the same spiritual privileges and benefits. That Paul had in mind the absolute uniformity of believers in external relations and the wiping out of all distinctions of race,

nationality, social status, sex or cultural heritage, is disproven by the fact that Paul heritage, is disproven by the fact that Paul never ceased to identify himself as a member of the Jewish race, and he made very practical use of his right to Roman citizenship. He recognized the master-slave relationship prevalent in Greek and Roman society and enjoined obedience to the reciprocal duties arising therefrom. He also clearly recognized the status assigned to women by social custom, and denied to women some of the privileges and functions exercised by men in the churches under his supervision.

"11. Preview of the church triumphant (Revelations 4: 7): The seer of Patmos was permitted to behold in wonderful symbolism a preview of the church triumphant, the grand consummation of redemptive purpose through the ages. Before the rainbow-circled throne set in the midst of the heavens, he beheld 'a great multitude which no man could number, of all nations, and kindreds, and peoples and tongues, uniting in a mighty chorus of praise to God and to the Lamb upon the throne. It would be presumptuous indeed to say exactly what this symbolism means, or to rest the validity of any conclusions upon such interpretation; nevertheless it accords well with the whole scheme of creation, providence, and redemption to see in the rainbow which circled the throne a fitting symbol of the spectrum of redeemed humanity made up of the peoples of every nation, kindred, race, and language blended into a beautiful and harmonious unity, and yet each preserving its own distinctive genius and virtues, the better to show forth the infinite riches and diversity of the divine glory and grace throughout the ages to come.

"12. Summary of Bible references: There are doubtless many other parts of scripture which may have some bearing upon this question, but which we cannot undertake to deal with in this discussion. But to summarize the interpretations of the passages above considered the following conclusions would seem to be warranted; (a) Since for 2,000 years the practice of segregation was imposed upon the Hebrew people by divine authority and express command, and infractions of the command were punished with extreme severity, there is certainly no ground for the charge that racial segregation is displeasing to God, unjust to man, or inherently (b) Since Christ and the Apostles taught the love of God for all mankind, the oneness of believers in Christ, and demonstrated that the principles of Christian brotherhood and charity could be made operative in all relations of life, without demanding revolutionary changes in the natural or social order, there would appear to be no reason for concluding that segregation is in conflict with the spirit and the teachings of Christ and the Apostles, and therefore un-Christian.

"6. SEGREGATION IS A WELL-CONSIDERED AND TIME-TESTED AMERICAN POLICY

"Ample evidence is available to show beyond reasonable doubt that segregation represents the best thinking of representative American leadership, and as a time-tested national policy rests upon moral and ethical principles and not upon blind and unreasoning prejudice as has been frequently and loudly charged by some of its latter-day critics.

"The principle of segregation has been incorporated into the constitutions of 17 of the sovereign States of the Union, having been placed there by the people who were most directly concerned, and who were in position to have firsthand knowledge of all phases of the problem. Many other States approved the principle by statutory legislation, and practically all of the States at one time or another have adopted laws prohibiting intermarriage between the white and Negro races. State and Federal courts have uniformly approved these constitutional and statutory

provisions, and the Supreme Court of the United States in an unbroken line of decisions extending down to the early part of the present year confirmed the principle of segregation and established it as a firm principle of American public policy. The Congress of the United States, in the face of tremendous pressure from political agitators and minority pressure groups has steadfastly refused to abolish segregation in the public schools of the District of Columbia or to outlaw it in the States.

"The recent decision of the Supreme Court notwithstanding, there are many concrete evidences that public sentiment throughout the Nation is still strongly weighted in favor of segregation in the public schools or at least of leaving the decision with respect to it, to these States and communities where Negroes constitute a substantial proportion of the population.

"Thomas Jefferson

"Thomas Jefferson, author of the immortal Declaration of Independence devoted much attention and study to the Negro problem. He advocated with great earnestness the emancipation of Negro slaves in America, but he believed so strongly in the physical separation of the races for the welfare of both, that he proposed that the Negroes should be peaceably repatriated in Africa at Government expense. His point of view is clearly set forth in this extract from his Autobiography written in 1821 (vol. I, p. 48), Nothing is more certainly written in the book of fate than that these people are to be free; nor is it less certain that the two races, equally free, cannot live in the same government Nature, habit, opinion, have drawn indelible lines of distinction between them. It is still in our power to direct the process of emancipation peaceably.'

"Abraham Lincoln

"Abraham Lincoln, one of the wisest and farseeing of American statesmen, venerated and almost delfied by the Negro race as their Great Emancipator and unfailing friend, devoted intense study to the race problem over a long period of years. He, like Jefferson, became so thoroughly convinced of the necessity of the physical separation of the races that he considered the most practical solution of the problem was to colonize the Negroes in Africa or the West Indies. actually had made proposals to this effect to Congress and was engaged in working out plans for putting it into execution at the time of his tragic death. In a speech made by Lincoln at Charleston, Ill., September 18, 1858, he said, 'I will say then, that I am not now, nor ever have been, in favor of bringing about in any way the social and political equality of the white and black races . That I am not, nor ever have been, in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor to intermarry with white people; and I say in addition to this that there is a physical difference between the white and black races which I believe will forever forbid the two races living together on terms of social and political equality.'

"Again, in an address made to a group of free Negroes at the White House on August 14, 1862, Lincoln said: 'You and we are different races. We have between us a broader difference than exists between any other two races. Whether it is right or wrong I need not discuss, but this physical difference is a great disadvantage to us both, as I think.

* If this is admitted, it affords a reason, at least, why we should be separated.'

"It is perhaps greatly to be deplored that the great plans of Lincoln for the segregation of the races, and for the equitable and permanent solution of the American race problem were frustrated and defeated by his tragic and untimely death. In retrospect we may well count it the greatest disaster which ever befell the South and the Nation. In the providence of God it is still possible that we may yet find a just and wise solution of this great problem in the light of Lincoln's prophetic vision, and in keeping with his patient spirit and the kindly impulses of his great heart. Many other testimonies could be cited from outstanding leaders in American public life to support the proposition, that the only just and wise solution of the American race problem must involve the recognition of the essential differences between the two races, and the necessity of some effective form of segregation which would assure the preservation of the integrity of both races.

"Booker T. Washington

"It was the recognition of this truth which made Booker T. Washington the most influential leader and the greatest benefactor of the Negro race in his generation, and perhaps in the whole history of the Negro race. All would-be leaders and promoters of better race relations in America today, would do well to study his realistic approach to the problem and follow his wise leadership. In a notable and epoch-making address delivered at the Atlanta Exposition in 1895, pleading for cooperation between two races he sounded the keynote of his philosophy, and provided for all men of understanding and goodwill a key to the solution of the problem: It is eminently fitting that this discussion should be concluded with the quotation of his wise words; he said, "The wisest among my race understand that agitation of questions of social equality is the extremest folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing. . . In all things that are purely social we can be separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress.' "

The Press and Eisenhower Record

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MORGAN M. MOULDER

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MOULDER, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include herewith an article entitled "The Press and Eisenhower

Record":
THE PRESS AND EISENHOWER RECORD

(By Anthony H. Leviero, Washington correspondent of the New York Times, in the International Press Institute Report, Zurich)

(Eniron's Note.—New York Times correspondent says Washington newsmen are producing plain, hard facts about administration's work, but editorial pages are being more than kind; cites numbers game, lists other issues begging newspaper attention.)

It required a journalistic campaign to shatter the "numbers game," the term that Washington correspondents applied to the Eisenhower administration's extravagant claims that it was sweeping great numbers of subversives out of the Government.

On this issue occurred perhaps the first concerted change of mood of the press toward the new administration. The tolerant, forbearing attitude toward the new President in his first year gave way to sharp criticism and demands for an honest count.

For more than 3 months the press had to besiege the administration, at White House news conferences and elsewhere, before there was any official admission that the figures were substantially false.

Unfortunately, the numbers game began at the highest level, in a White House statement that 1,456 security risks had been removed. That was last fall. Then a state paper of the President himself, his message on the state of the Union, carried the game forward by raising the figure to 2,200.

HUCKSTERING AND STATECRAFT

It should be said that President Eisenhower merely referred to those removed as security risks. But other high administration officials * * described the growing number of fired risks as traitors, Communists, and perverts indiscriminately.

The press corps, spearheaded by the Washington Post (now the Washington Post and Times Herald), the Washington Star, and the Washington Daily News, cracked the issue, proving that a substantial number of the figures, as well as the name calling, was wrong.

Zealous department officials, trying to do their part in helping the administration to steal the Red hunt away from * * * had served up to the White House figures that included persons who had died, were transferred to other departments, resigned under honorable conditions, or lost their jobs through the reduction-in-force policy.

For the Eisenhower administration the lesson should have been that huckstering does not pay. "Huckstering" was a common expression in Washington in 1953. Newsmen used it to describe the advertising and propaganda techniques that were in vogue.

These techniques had proved effective in the 1952 presidential campaign and the new regime thought it could get away with more, even in statecraft.

WITH EDITORIAL KID GLOVES

This particular aspect of the relationship of the press and the President awakened some proadministration papers to the realization that they would do little good for the country or for the press itself, to say nothing of Mr. Eisenhower, if they persisted in treating the administration with editorial kid gloves.

Among newspapermen much is being made of the fact that editors and publishers are being more than kind to the Eisenhower administration in numerous instances where it has appeared to be contrary to the public interest.

Robert L. Riggs, chief of the Washington bureau of the Louisville Courier-Journal, expressed this attitude as follows in an address at the annual Journalism Week of the University of Missouri's School of Journalism last April:

"I should like to emphasize that I did not say newspapers should be in a constant state of growling, snarling animosity toward public officials. That extreme to which most papers went in their bitter hostility toward Harry S. Truman is as deplorable as the bootlicking sycophancy which they displayed toward Dwight D. Eisenhower during his first year in the White House."

The Indochina situation is an example. Administration utterances on this issue fluctuated violently in the small compass of a couple of months. First the position was that the United States should not get involved in Indochina. Then that it would be a calamity if Indochina fell.

Then there were signs that we would intervene. Vice President Nixon said so in so many words, for one. Somewhere along the line the threat of massive retaliation got into the picture. And then it was plain nothing would be done. Indochina fell, and it is too early to say whether it is the first of the line of falling dominoes.

INDOCHINA POLICY AS A BLUFF

What newspapermen are saying now is that if Mr. Truman or Adlai Stevenson had been the White House, they would have been threatened with impeachment for the huckstered bluff that was our Indochina policy.

Yet few newspapers have given this issue sharp treatment.

Washington correspondents still marvel at the audacity of one of the biggest bluffs. That was the unleashing of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek in President Eisenhower's first-state of the Union speech.

Another puffed theme, though this one was fairly well deplored, was the administration's glowing suggestion that the day of liberation for the oppressed under the Soviet yoke might be near at hand.

In the same category may be mentioned the mysterious New Look defense program that was supposed to give the country more security for less money, although it involved the reduction of four divisions of troops. Another was the empty concept of instant and massive retaliation. It proved to be nothing more than a long-standing United States strategic concept in fancy dress.

To return to the domestic scene, President Eisenhower shocked many editors with his personal order directing the Atomic Energy Commission to make a power contract with a particular, private-power company, instead of having the Tennessee Valley Authority supply the additional power.

Many Washington newsmen believe that this unusual act, favoring a particular company at the expense of TVA and the taxpayers, has not received nearly as hard an editorial drubbing as it would have if Truman had ordered the deal

man had ordered the deal.

In the matter of civil service, some of the journalistic specialists in this field recently uncovered decisions that showed the intrusion of the spoils system. The exposure caused some of the decisions to be rescinded.

The Washington press corps, as usual, is coming through with the plain, hard facts of political life in the Capital, but many of the editorial pages haven't caught up.

The Pereyslav Episode in the Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, as many Members know, the Ukrainian nation of some 45 million people is one of the most important of the captive nations behind the Iron Curtain. Being in fact the largest non-Russian nation not only in the Soviet Union but also behind the European Iron Curtain, Ukraine possesses one of the most extensive and heroic records of resistance and opposition to the imperialist Communist yoke of Moscow that deserves the laudatory respect of every true and firm believer in the inalienable rights of peoples to national self-determination and independence.

The tremendous strategic importance of Ukraine in the present struggle is perhaps nowhere more fully appreciated than in Moscow itself. As only part evidence of this, Moscow staged for a period of more than 6 months last year what has come to be known as the Pereyaslav celebration, in which the eternal friendship of Russia and Ukraine and the true independence of Ukraine in the Soviet Union served as the chief propaganda themes

The prime significance of this Pereyaslav episode for the interests and future

of America is clearly shown in an address on The Pereyaslav Episode in the Cold War, delivered last fall by Dr. Lev E. Dobriansky, professor of economics at Georgetown University and president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, before the League of Americans of Ukrainian Descent in Chicago, Ill. The salient excerpts of this address make Worthwhile reading at this time when throughout the free world believers in freedom everywhere are conducting observances of the real independence of the Moravian nation on January 22, 1918. On the occasion of this observance I request that parts of this address be included in the RECORD:

THE PEREYASLAY EPISODE IN THE COLD WAR

Most Americans have probably never heard of the word Pereyaslav. Yet its grave significance to their future, perhaps even to their lives, is reflected in a recent episode in the cold war which, unfortunately, escaped the notice of many of our leaders and Journalists. Actually, only two persons of Public note grasped the full significance and meaning of this cold war operation, and endeavored to inform the American people accordingly. Dr. Harry Schwartz, of the New York Times, an outstanding analyst of the Soviet Union, wrote extensively on the cele-brations of the 300th anniversary of the Pereyaslav Treaty between Russia and Ukraine, and showed the historical distortions contrived by Moscow in its display of unity and cooperation between these two nations. The other person is the Honorable MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN of Ohio, one of the most informed legislators in Congress on the affairs of the Soviet Union, who, at the very beginning of the 6 months' celebration throughout the Russian Communist empire, delivered an important address on the significance of this elaborate show staged by Moscow. In the affairs of humanity, it is usual for only a few to pave the ways of understanding and appropriate action; and in this important instance, a prominent writer and a foresighted legislator combined their energies to leave their marks of contribution which only the future will magnify in their true proportions.

The treaty of Pereyasiav was contracted in 1654 as a military alliance between Ukraine and Russia. As in the numberless cases of recent times, Moscow violated its provisions, and sought to subjugate and annex Ukraine. The record of political rapacity on the part of the old Muscovite princes is substantially no different from that of present-day Muscovy. In traditional style the Kremlin now distorts the Perevaslay event as having marked the organic union of Ukraine and Russia. In its recent theses, distributed and circulated from one end of the present empire to the other, it harps on this fictitious theme, and debases the genuine historic struggle of the Ukrainian nation for selfgovernment and independence with shameless allegations of the reality of national independence in the current framework of the Red Russian empire. The Kremlin speaks of brotherhood, comradeship and equality between these two large East European nations, in the face of all facts to the contrary. It stages elaborate festivals, sports events and indoctrination exercises in commemoration of the falsified Pereyaslav event. Why? Why all this effort, cost and motion over a 6 month period in observance of an event that occurred 300 years ago?

Our official agencies whose job is to answer such questions and to act upon their answers, were, as usual, practically dormant. However, Congressman Frighan delivered a most significant address over the Voice of America on the importance and significance of the Pereyaslay celebration. The prime signifi-

cance of the Pereyaslav celebrations lies in the fact that Moscow is feverishly engaged in the consolidation of its empire as a requisite and necessary step toward the realization of its global objective. For free world consumption it advertises an indissoluble units and unbreakable bonds of friendship between Russia and Ukraine, so that little thought and planning be given to the Achilles heel of the Soviet Union, namely, the ever restive and explosive Ukraine. For Ukrainian consumption it poses as an equal brother, ready and ever disposed to protect the supposedly independent Ukrainian na-tion against "American imperialism." It makes concessions, like the transfer of Crimea to the Ukrainian Republic, as evidence of its good faith and true brotherhood which, its propaganda persistently bellows, cannot be obtained from the West. It seeks a solid nucleus within its vast empire of 92 million Russians and 45 million Ukrainians, and yet in its deep distrust of the latter, and behind this propaganda facade of brotherhood, equality and unity, executes the genocide of the Ukrainian nation under the guise of unlimited opportunities of work and advancement for Ukrainian youth in Central In short, Moscow wants to make sure that Ukraine will not serve as the pivotal point of strategy for the West.

It is an open secret that we are losing the psychological struggle for the loyalties of men on many essential fronts of the world. As concerns the 110 million non-Russians in the Soviet Union, we really have not even begun the struggle for their hope in us. There isn't even a shred of evidence of any fully worked-out and carefully planned policy of our Government toward the Soviet Union and its many enslaved nations. At this stage, where the threat of open conflict is never absent, this may sound incredible to our people, but it is nevertheless true. totally unprepared to deal with a significant segment of mankind, inhabiting the most proximitous areas to the enemy's fortress; and no more conclusive example and illustration of this unpreparedness can be furnished than our official indifference to

the mass Pereyaslav celebrations. This apathy in thought and policy can be laid only at the door of the containment policy which we still maintain today. To many an observer in Washington it appears that Mr. Kennan and his placed supporters enby remote as well as direct control, greater leeway of influence and determination than was the case in the remaining years of the previous administration. The long-run consequences of this situation cannot but be dismal in character for the Nation and the free world. With the inadvertent aid of America's containment policy, Moscow gains through an assortment of Pereyaslavs the time and means for empire consolidation, without which it couldn't begin to contemplate further steps in the direction of its fixed goal—world domination. Herein lies the tragedy of our ignorance on the Pereyaslav episode in the cold war.

Residual Oil Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, proponents of more liberal tariff laws are appearing before the House Ways and Means Committee this week. In much of the testimony there is total disregard of the eco-

nomic disaster inflicted upon American communities by unwise foreign-trade policies. In subsequent hearings, international oil representatives are scheduled to testify, but there is little likelihood that their testimony will vary fundamentally from the preposterous excuses that have perennially been offered by those firms which ruthlessly subordinate the interests of United States economy and safety to the practice of profit at any cost.

profit at any cost.

The importing oil companies base their defense on a trilogy of deceit. First they dramatize the necessity for imports to supplement domestic production, but all the while they are supplanting the supplies normally provided by this country's oil producers. What is worse, they ship from Venezuela and the Dutch West Indies only a small portion of the yield of gasoline and other higher grade products which we supposedly need, and instead they flood our eastcoast markets with almost half of all the residual oil exported from that area. This residual oil, as you well know, serves only to displace coal, of which the United States has sufficient reserves to last for a thousand years.

In the second place, the importing oil companies stage a fantastic yarn about the need for foreign sources of petroleum in time of emergency, yet they well remember that it was practically impossible to ship oil even in coastwise traffic during World War II. At that time, Germany had less than 60 submarines to operate against our tanker fleet; today Russia is estimated to possess more than 400, many of them the snorkel type. Under the circumstances, how would we be expected to transport oil through dangerous ocean lanes in a new emergency if in the past it was so difficult to send a ship safely from Houston to Philadelphia?

Finally, the representatives of importing oil companies appearing at congressional hearings have since 1950 cloaked themselves in the costumes of benevolent patriots who are conscious of the dangers of too much imported oil and who presume to be willing to cut back shipments voluntarily rather than permit the Government to exercise its constitutional duty in this matter. Yet the record shows that since the first of these sanctimonious roles was assumed, following a record deluge of residual oil imports in 1949, shipments into this country from foreign refineries have increased by upwards of 75 percent.

Mr. Speaker, I say that these conditions should no longer be tolerated. This Government cannot in conscience permit our citizens in West Virginia and other coal-producing States to remain out of work in order that a comparatively few greedy corporations might prosper. It is imperative that we place a quota limitation on residual oil imports and make whatever other tariff adjustments are necessary to protect our domestic industries and workers.

A provision on residual oil is included in the resolution on competitive fuels adopted by the board of directors of the Nation Coal Association in its meeting in Washington last month. Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert this resolution in the Record, along with a resolution on reciprocal trade which the association passed at that time.

Careful study of both these resolutions may go a long way toward helping this legislative body decide upon the course that our fuels policies-immediate and long-range-are to take. The injurious effects of excessive residual oil imports must be neutralized through a quota law. In addition, the Congress must be alert to the threat of bringing natural gas across our borders to the further detriment of the coal industry. Finally, there is the question of whether it is not time to discourage the wasteful use of natural gas, and instead inaugurate a sensible program for the practical utilization of our energy resources.

I respectfully commend these National Coal Association resolutions to your attention:

RESOLUTION ON COMPETITIVE FUELS ADOPTED BY THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS OF THE NATIONAL COAL ASSOCIATION, SHOREHAM HOTEL, WASH-INGTON, D. C., DECEMBER 9-10, 1954

Whereas divergent points of view have been expressed on the advisability of the legislative overthrow of the decision of the United States Supreme Court of June 7, 1954 (Phillips Petroleum Co. case) wherein it was held that the Federal Power Commission has rate-fixing jurisdiction over sales of natural gas by independent producers and gatherers to interstate natural-gas pipeline companies; and

Whereas the Nation's limited natural gas reserves are being rapidly depleted because of the certification of natural gas pipelines without adequate consideration for necessary principles of conservation in the administration of the Natural Gas Act by the Federal Power Commission in the absence of definitive legislative standards designed to channel the valuable natural gas resource to wiser uses; and

Whereas important questions in the fields of safety, States' rights, and conservation make it desirable to determine whether support should be given for the broadening of the Federal power of eminent domain for the purpose of permitting natural gas companies to acquire rights in land for the underground storage of natural gas in order to encourage wiser uses of natural gas; and

Whereas notwithstanding continuous efforts of the National Coal Association as an active intervenor in natural gas certificate cases, the Federal Power Commission has not established policies which would materially lessen the unfair competition to coal from natural gas or direct the wiser use of natural gas, indicating the need for additional legislative standards in the Natural Gas Act; and

Whereas extensive discoveries of natural gas in Canada and Mexico, coupled with the filing of numerous applications with the Federal Power Commission for authority to import great quantities of natural gas to compete with domestic fuels (particularly bituminous coal) on a duty-free basis, gives rise to the need for a public policy with respect to anticipated foreign natural gas competition because of the absence of standards in the Natural Gas Act to guide the Federal Power Commission in the exercise of its jurisdiction over such importations; and

Whereas the flood of residual oil continues unabated, notwithstanding the economic distress and unemployment which have been the end result for the bituminous coal industry because of the importations of this residual product into the eastern seaboard;

Whereas the Federal Government has encouraged successive reductions in the applicable import tariff on residual oil without due regard for the impact of this foreign fuel upon the domestic coal industry; and

Whereas it has been repeatedly demonstrated in congressional and administrative proceedings that coal and railroad industries and their employees have suffered great damage, particularly in the coal-producing areas supplying the eastern seaboard markets, because of the unrestricted importations of residual oil; and

Whereas there is great danger to the Nation's welfare and defense interests in thus encouraging total dependence upon this foreign fuel in the industrially important eastern seaboard; and

Whereas governmental policies have benefited these competitive fuels and contributed to the accelerated displacement of bituminous coal in the overall fuel market, making it impossible for coal to obtain its fair share of the expanding energy market in consonance with the established principles of the American free competitive enterprise system; and

Whereas the public interest, the general welfare, and the Nation's defense potentials are not best served by continued unwarranted attrition against the capacity of the bituminous coal industry to meet the fuel needs of the Nation in time of peace or war; and

Whereas effective action with respect to these problems requires the united cooperation of the coal producers, distributors, dealers, deliverers, users, and transporters, their respective employees, and all other elements of the coal and related industries: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the directors of the National Coal Association. That the officers of the National Coal Association are hereby authorized and directed to take such steps as may be necessary to secure recognition by the President, the Congress, and the administrative agencies of the Government that the Nation's best interests will be served by maintaining the productive capacity of the coal industry at a safe level and urge the adoption of such principles as will contribute to the restoration of a fair competitive balance between the industries competing for available fuel markets; and be it further

Resolved, That the office of the National Coal Association, in the name of the National Coal Association and on behalf of its membership, sponsor, seek the introduction of, and support such legislation in the 84th Congress as will best achieve the aims and purposes herein set forth.

Maybe It'll Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ROBERT E. JONES, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. JONES of Alabama. Mr. Speaker, a united effort on every front will be necessary if we are to reduce the frightful number of deaths resulting from highway accidents. Training youthful drivers is one way we can make headway. My colleague the gentleman from Alabama [Mr. RAINS] has presented a worthwhile and useful proposal. The bill he has offered is meeting with universal acclaim, which is attested by the

following editorial appearing in the January 10, 1955, edition of the Huntsville Times, Huntsville, Ala.:

MAYBE IT'LL HELP

A bill has been introduced in Congress by Alabama's Representative Albert Rains to remove excise taxes on automobiles furnished by dealers to schools for student driving training, in hopes, of course, that more cars will be made available and more drivers trained.

It's another angle seeking to cut down highway fatalities, and we certainly hope that particular phase of the bill goes through.

As the Gasden Times pointed out last Friday, the value of the excise taxes lost on those cars would probably be made up over and over again in lives, time, and property saved.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commis-sioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Inaugural Address by Governor Timmerman, of South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the inaugural address delivered by Hon. George Bell Timmerman, Jr., on assuming the great office of Governor of South Carolina.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF THE HONORABLE GEORGE BELL TIMMERMAN, JR., AS GOVERNOR OF SOUTH CAROLINA

My fellow South Carolinians, I deeply appreciate the honor conferred upon me. I value the opportunity to serve. I treasure the confidence reposed in me.

Realizing the grave responsibilities facing our State and Nation, I assume the office of Governor mindful of your expectations, aware of my own limitations, but determined to measure up to the challenge of our time.

Our State confronts a critical period in its history. I beseech the cooperation and good counsel of the general assembly and of all departments of government, and the interest, support and prayers of our citizens.

Our hope for the future is the attainment

Our hope for the future is the attainment of those ends that will be beneficial to all. My purpose is to be of service. I pray for

divine guidance in the realization of that goal.

In these first moments as your governor, I could not speak further without first recognizing the career of a distinguished South Carolinian. He has received many honors and has served in many capacities. His has been a life-time of service to his State, our Nation and the world. Some 4 years ago, he expressed the humble desire to make South Carolina a good governor; today as he steps forward from that office to continue as an elder statesman, James Francis Byrnes carries with him the respect and the good wishes of his beloved State.

PHILOSOPHY OF GOVERNMENT

I am proud to be a South Carolinian. We are citizens of a State rich in heritage from a commendable past which no amount of misreport can destroy. Our history is a record of achievement against almost insurmountable odds.

I am especially proud of those South Carolinians of old. During those days of Reconstruction and the many difficult years which followed, they demonstrated their intelligence by first recognizing the problems which faced them; and they demonstrated the courage of their convictions in solving those problems.

That history has shaped our philosophy of government.

It is neither the static thinking of the extreme right nor the erratic thinking of the extreme left.

We believe in a government that is responsive to the will of an informed public; in a government that serves its citizens in the priority of their needs by constitutional means.

We believe in a government that shuns the easy politics of expediency and evaluates proposals in the light of their useful potentialities.

We utilize the experiences of the past, and our knowledge of the present, to build a more promising future.

It is within that philosophy of government that we look to the future.

MAJOR PROBLEMS

I cannot predict precisely what it holds for us, except the challenge from our past to meet our problems boldly, with courage and reason.

In our future, however, lie major problems that have their roots in both the past and the present.

One is our economic health; the other, the crisis of our time. One can be solved because it is confined to the facts of dollars and cents. The other is a problem of human equations, for which there is no easy solution.

KEYSTONES

Our efforts to better our economy depend upon our successes in developing our economic potentials.

The keystones for success in building a better and more prosperous South Carolina are agriculture, industry, and education.

Agriculture is the keystone of our economic base; new industry the keystone of opportunity; education the keystone of knowledge.

It is toward continued progress in these fields that I shall direct my administration. Our development in these fields will determine our ability to improve our material and human values.

OUR ECONOMY

The stability of our government depends upon the soundness of its fiscal affairs. We have enjoyed conservative government which is the will of our own people, and attractive to industry and business.

Our State has a sound tax structure, founded upon a broad base, distributed among available sources of revenues.

No general overhaul of our tax structure is needed or advisable, but we should continually strive to improve our approach to taxation and, when financially feasible, give relief to those least able to pay.

The surest way to expand our ability to finance these things that are beneficial is to provide new revenue without additional taxation by raising the income of our people.

Since 1929 South Carolina has led every State in the Nation in per capita income increase. In 1929 our per capita income was 37 percent of the national average. In 1952 it was 67 percent. But our State still ranked 45th in the United States in per capita income. There is considerable room for improvement.

INDUSTRIAL PROGRESS

The key to this is maximum opportunities to increase our citizens' earning power. To provide those opportunities we need new industries with diversification in products and locations, suitable to our farm potential and other natural resources. We need to encourage the development and expansion of locally owned industries, and the further development of our tourist trade into the profitable business that it ought to be.

To encourage new industries to locate in our State, we need to maintain a sound tax structure and a stable government rather than offering concessions which we cannot

afford.

Since the end of World War II, we have witnessed tremendous industrial progress in our State. It now amounts to a total capital investment of approximately \$938 million. It has created about 115,000 new jobs, and new payrolls amounting annually to more than \$277 million, exclusive of the H-bomb plant.

This did not happen by accident. Our industrial development has been encouraged by wise government and prudent men.

We have not exhausted our industrial potential. Our future is as bright now as it was at the beginning. We must work diligently toward further industrial development, especially in those sections of our State where it is most needed.

AGRICULTURE AND LABOR

The encouragement of new industries is also a major factor in promoting a sounder farm economy and a more livable standard for farm families. These industries should be synchronized to our agricultural productivity for the benefit of both industry and our farm people.

South Carolina, of course, wants no industry to exploit our people or our natural resources.

We should guard carefully the rights of labor in all vocations. We can never hope to improve living conditions and opportunities by providing prosperity at the top in the hope that some of it may trickle down. Our economy must be built upward. Every effort must be made to improve the earning capacities and the living and working standards of our people.

Good government does not confine itself to assisting those who are strong of health and mind. Good government must also demonstrate that it has good heart. There are those of our citizens who have lived fruitful lives but who are no longer able to provide for themselves. They are still our citizens and they are our responsibility. We must see to it that the handicapped, the indigent, and the aged receive the comfort and necessities to which they are entitled.

CONSERVATION

With our awareness of responsibility for our human resources goes responsibility for caring for our natural resources. The disaster of a long drought has brought home to us the importance of water conservation. Water is vital to plant life and growth. The rainfall cannot be controlled, but the rain that fails can be; and it should be conserved for use when needed. The establishment of a sound water-conservation program is essential to our development and will minimize regulatory controls by increasing the available supply for everyone.

The demands upon water for agricultural, domestic, industrial, and municipal purposes require a sound water-rights law. It should define water rights in the terms of

modern usage and insure equitable distribution with full protection for all users. Care, however, must be taken to avoid passing a law with provisions which may hamper our industrial progress and the creation of needed opportunities for profitable employment.

Another major factor in our economic growth is the development of our State ports authority. Our ports link our busi-ness and industry with many markets and sources of materials in the Nation and around the world.

The textile industry of the Piedmont may ship its products to foreign markets through our facilities more economically through the ports of another State.

The location of basic woolen industries in the coastal section accelerates the need for adequate facilities to handle imports and exports.

We cannot afford to be "penny wise and pound foolish" with any of our program for new opportunities.

A more immediate financial problem faces us, however. It is a problem of some magnitude, but one which must be solved within specific limitations.

Our forefathers were wise in making a constitutional requirement that the State maintain a balanced budget: that it live within its means. It is sensible government.

To meet the needs of its citizens, our Government expands and improves its services. Along with that, it increases its own

The problem facing this administration and the 91st general assembly, is one of increased obligations in the face of declining revenues.

The present revenue outlook is not as reassuring as a new administration and legislature might desire.

Current collections have been below those for the same period of the last fiscal year.

The recent drought and the devastation of Hurricane Hazel were more than sufficient to impress income unfavorably. A surplus by prior appropriation has gone to recurring expenses, except for the creation of a small reserve fund.

With some shades of doubt, I think it may be concluded that current budget expenses may exceed our current revenue; the reserve fund may be absorbed within this fiscal year; and no surplus may be in the offing for the next fiscal year.

With no surplus impending-the reserve fund diminishing-and our income less than anticipated needs-the legislative task of drawing a balanced budget will not be an enviable one.

There is some encouragement, however, in the present business activity which is brisk. The trend in revenue seems to be turning upward, and with it the immediate financial future looks brighter.

That is one major problem.

EDUCATION

The other is the gravest problem that we as a Government and we as individuals have faced in modern times. It is the impending threat of compulsory social mixing of white and Negro children in our public schools.

Regardless of outside efforts to cripple our educational program, we must see to it that all children continue to receive all of the education we can afford.

In the past 4 years much has been done to provide outstanding school facilities within our laws and within our understanding of the Federal Constitution.

The doctrine of separate but equal schools has been the established interpretation of the Constitution for two-thirds of a century.

In reliance upon that doctrine, our State has made vast investments in separate school facilities for many years. Millions of dollars have been annually appropriated for that purpose.

Within the past 4 years we have accomplished an educational revolution to achieve equality. More than \$124 million has been allocated for school construction and improvements. Two-thirds of that amount has gone to Negro schools.

Our new-school construction is the equal of any and better than most in the Nation. Our building program has substantially equalized school buildings for Negro children. Many of them attend finer schoolhouses than do many white children.

Yet, as meritorious as our school-building program may be, real educational opportunity depends in its final analysis upon the character and quality of teaching.

Children of today receive a better education than their parents received. But there is a need for more good education.

The long future of our State will be influenced by the education of its future citizens. We cannot hope to have the kind of education that we need until our teachers are adequately paid and double shifts and overloaded classrooms are eliminated.

The control of education and training for children is a local matter and has been traditionally the prerogative of the States and their people.

Our law requires that separate schools be provided for the children of each race and that no child of either race shall attend the schools for children of the other race.

This law applies equally to both races at the same time. It does not require that the schools for one race be better than the schools for the other race.

Any statement that our law is inherently unequal is inherently untrue.

This is the law which the Supreme Court of the United States in the school segregation cases says is unconstitutional upon dubious conclusions found in partisan writings that were not a part of the official record of evidence in these cases.

This opinion as it respects our law holds for the first time in judicial history that equality of treatment is discrimination.

The present members of the Court disagree with the Federal Constitution as it was understood when it was adopted by the people; as it was understood when they each took an oath to preserve, protect, and defend it and as it was understood by every court in the land-until the members of the present Supreme Court undertook to change it in an effort to legislate out of existence a social institution that is older than the Constitution itself.

When separate schools in a district are unequal, the remedy is not to destroy the schools or the law, but to require that the schools be made equal.

If the time is near when we in South Carolina will have to choose between no public schools with peace and friendly relations on the one hand, and public schools with hatred and strife and discord on the other, it will be the first time an American State has had to make such a choice.

The effort to interfere with the progressive development of school advantages for children in the South where there are large numbers of each race is no doubt pleasing to the Communists and their fellow travelers. They above all others are sufficiently cunning to see the potentialities for sapping the strength of America with the creation of internal social unrest, discord, and dissention in so large a section of the United States.

White parents do not wish their children to mix in public schools with large groups of Negro children. Most Negro parents do not want their children to mix with large groups of white children. These parental objections are alone sufficient and should be respected.

Our State has discouraged organizations against Negroes, and it is hoped that the best thought and sentiment of the South will continue to do so; but when Negroes combine against whites, it is inevitable that will combine against Negroes and

both races will suffer.

Loyal South Carolinians wil stand firm against any organized effort to destroy the right of parents to choose what is best for their children.

It is tragic to see our educational progress imperiled by those who practice racial isolation in their own lives while professing to perceive from a great distance that our children should be mixed.

They should ponder the words of a famous former President of the United States, who said:

"My own feelings will not admit of this, and if mine would, we well know that those of the great mass of whites will not. Whether this feeling accords with justice and sound judgment is not the sole question; if indeed it is any part of it. A universal feeling whether well or ill founded cannot be safely disregarded."

With profound respect to him, these words of President Lincoln make him what some would call today "a white supremacist." was a great humanitarian with no spark of intolerance, but he was also a realist.

The development of future educational opportunities for Negro children will depend in large measure upon preserving the right of each race to attend their own public schools.

I do not speak of what our State as a government intends to do or of what I, as Governor, may recommend that the general assembly should do. I speak of the inevitable consequences where substantial numbers of each race live in proximity in the event of any attempt to force the children of the two races to mix socially.

But this problem cannot be solved by the cowardly approach of gradualism, which is the essence of discrimination. Gradualism is selective application of the law. It is cowardly because it seeks to minimize opposition by careful selection of a few victims from time to time. It is discriminatory because it seeks to administer the law equally. It is a creeping evil that has no place in the government of a free people.

The only acceptable decree that may be rendered by the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases is one that will recognize the right of individual parents to choose what is best for their own children. The people of South Carolina will not tolerate any tampering with the lives of their children by any agency of the Federal Government.

The great constitutional problem facing the American people is how to curb the authority of the Supreme Court of the United States, which has arrogated to itself the power to change the Constitution without consulting the people-a power it was never intended to have and a power that endangers the future freedom of all citizens.

The Congress of the United States has the constitutional authority to return to the States their rightful and constitutional prerogatives, including the traditional right to regulate their own schools. It could be done by the enactment of legislation curbing the jurisdiction of the courts.

It is the responsibility of the Congress to curb this power for the future protection of all citizens and for the preservation of constitutional government.

The same article of the Federal Constitution which creates the Supreme Court vests the Congress with authority to limit the ap-pellate jurisdiction of that Court and the jurisdiction of all other Federal courts. Congress can exempt from such jurisdiction all cases concerning our public schools, excepting, if Congress deems advisable, cases involving violations of the separate but equal doctrine.

The fallure of Congress to act will require that it share the full responsibility for the current judicial intringement upon constitutional government and upon the freedom of a large segment of the citizens of the United States.

CONCLUSION

My pledge to you is that I shall exert my greatest efforts to preserve the way of life in which white and Negro have learned to live peacefully in close proximity, with ax understanding of the problems of each—a way of life in which each keeps racial integrity—a way of life in which the white majority has increased its efforts yearly to provide true equality of opportunity to the Negro minority in schools, and in all other endeavor, except social intermingling.

Perhaps there is nothing that I can say which might serve to prove to each of you how deeply I feel about the future of our

beloved State and its people.

But in these last words of this my first and Perhaps only inaugural address, I shall attempt to do so.

We must ask God to guide us in the troublesome days ahead. Man alone is neither strong enough nor wise enough. I speak not only of the problem of human relationships in our own State. I speak also of the terrible shadow of war, which constantly overhangs our Nation.

Of one thing we can be certain. You as citizens and I as Governor, only with the help of Almighty God, can meet successfully whatever problems the future may hold.

We must place our trust, our faith, our hope, in Him.

The Complete Situation in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement which I made yesterday in an address to the Alexandria Kiwanis Club, in Alexandria, Va., in relation to the serious and complicated situation in the East.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR WILEY BEFORE ALEX-ANDRIA KIWANIS CLUB, GEORGE MASON HOTEL, THURSDAY, JANUARY 20, 1955

SENATOR WILEY SAYS ASIA SITUATION SERIOUS, COMPLEX—URGES PATIENCE, RESTRAINT

The diplomatic situation which has arisen in the Straits of Formosa is both serious and complex.

This morning, I participated in a meeting at the White House with Democratic and Republican leaders which explored various problems in that connection.

I do not propose at the present time to comment in detail on this subject, but I do want to say that the administration is working hard to protect our own national interest and the cause of freedom, peace, and justice in Asia. Let's give the President and the Secretary of State a chance to work this problem out—in close consultation with the Congress.

Let's think, before any of us, inside the Congress or outside, rushes into print with off-the-cuff solutions to an exceedingly difficult situation.

I should like now to present a few general observations with regard to ways and means

by which we may help assure a just and lasting peace in Asia, and for that matter, elsewhere in the world:

 We can do so only by maintaining the strong western alliance, a dynamic unity among the free nations, including our proven friends in Asia.

This requires careful and continuous consultation among all of them. It requires careful consideration of the viewpoint of each.

We must not ignore the views of others and proceed impulsively and emotionally like a bull in a china shop. We must weigh the interrelated military, economic, diplomatic, psychological factors, including basically United States strategic considerations in the Far East.

2. The second basic principle is that we must and will remain loyal to our allies. I refer, in particular, to the Republic of China. The government of Chiang Kai-shek has been our proven friend. We will, therefore, remain true to our commitments. We will not abandon the Nationalist government.

We definitely do not believe that the people of China should be represented in the United Nations by the Red government at Peiping which has violated practically every international law.

3. A third principle is that we must try to win to our cause the great neutral, un-

committed bloc of Asia.

I do not believe that there is any good reason why there should be a lasting or growing barrier between ourselves and the Governments say, of India, Ceylon, or Burma.

On the contrary, we share the same common aspiration for the sovereignty of peoples for a better way of life for them. We have the same belief in the spiritual worth of the human being.

On the other hand, Red China shares none

of these concepts.

We must make sure, that we do not, by arbitrary, impulsive action push the neutral countries into Red China's orbit. This could have come about, or still could, if the United States were to go halfcocked and to try all by ourselves a military blockade of Red China at this time. Some of the gravest questions of international law would arise in the event such a unilateral blockade were to be attempted.

I previously have stated on several occasions my vigorous opposition to such a block-

ade at the present time.

I have stated that a blockade might result in the immediate death of our own 11 imprisoned airmen. It might cause a wide-open split with our allies. It might overcommit our present naval resources. It might cause the bitterest of differences with the neutral countries. But, worst of all, it might precipitate us into a war with Red China, which is probably something the Kremlin would dearly like.

4. We must continue to work through the U. N., both for the release of our imprisoned airmen and for the furtherance of peace, stability, and freedom in the Far East.

I believe that it is unfair and unwise to characterize the mission of the United Nations Secretary-General to Peking as a failure. On the contrary, I believe that it contributed to progress toward the goal of peace.

We must remember that diplomatic negotiation, particularly with the cagey Communist adversary, often takes a long, long time. We cannot expect miracles overnight. An impulsive blockade could bring chaos overnight, but diplomacy cannot bring order and justice overnight.

5. The next basic principle is that we must contribute further to the inner security and strength of the free nations in Asia; for example, among such splendid friends as the Philippines, Thalland, and Pakistan.

We must help enable them to assure security inside their own borders and at their outer borders. This means prompt ratifica-

tion of SEATO-prompt ratification which must and will come.

At the same time, we must remember that these various countries require greatly expanded programs of technical assistance if they are to assure an ever-higher standard of living for their people.

Guns alone will not save free Asia. In a war of ideas, a war of hungry stomachs, right ideas and full stomachs count far more than

weapons

There must be guns for defense, but there must be ideas for the mind; there must be food, shelter; honest, efficient government; decent sanitation; opportunity for a higher standard of living as a whole.

I conclude with this thought:

Your President—a great President—is acting with care, with discretion, with judgment. He is consulting carefully on a bipartisan basis with the Congress.

Let's give him our faith and confidence. Let's give him the benefit of any doubt; he is entitled to our admiration and esteem. His record of statesmanship, and that of Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, proves that we are in good, capable hands. Let's work with them as a team.

Universal Military Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, Mr. C. L. Brown, of Northfield, Minn., is a distinguished businessman who has written an article on universal military training. It is very thought provoking, and for that reason I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Universal Military Training (By Chan Brown)

Having given the subject of universal military training a lot of thought I have come to the conclusion that, personally, I am all for it.

In the past I have always been against universal military training. As a boy in the nineties I saw so many people who came from Europe to get away from having to spend 5 years in the Army that it made me think deeply on this subject.

Also, I have three grandsons who would be affected by this program: One at once, one in 3 years, and one in 9 years. No grandfather ever loved his grandsons more than I do mine. They are fine boys and I want

for them only what is best.

One of the reasons I am in favor of universal military training, I do not want my grandsons to be drafted and cast into a war before they have had proper military training, as has happened to a lot of our boys during the past wars. Many did not know how to fight or how to protect themselves. That was not fair to them.

I do believe, however, there is a far better way than that now proposed in the 6-month program which calls for 6 months consecu-

tive training.

A much better way would be to have 2 periods of 3 months each—I in the summer of the boy's 18th year and the other in the summer of his 19th year.

In this way the boys would not have their schooling disturbed. It might cost the Gov-

ernment a trifle more for transportation but training camps could be set up in each State so that most of the transportation cost would thus be offset.

When the second training period is completed, the boys should be held in the Re-

serve for a period of 5 years.

These boys should be paid well for their time and paid only at the end of the training period, which would give each one a chance to earn and save during their summer months. This, also, will greatly help out the unemployment situation.

The second 3 months' term should consist of more intense training for combat so that our boys would not be sent to war only partially trained. Their schooling would not be interrupted and the ones in the second training period could go on with their higher education or into business without the uncertainty that now exists under the current draft law.

The Nation would soon be stronger, militarily, and the whole setup would be more

fair for everybody.

With this program we would all feel safer about the cloud of communism hanging over our heads.

Every 18-year-old boy who can pass the physical examination should be compelled to be so trained.

All our youngsters now need such training and discipline. It would help solve some of the juvenile-delinquency problems facing

The uncertainty that bothers all our boys from the age of 12 on up to 20 or 25 would be eliminated.

We, the people, will all feel much safer if we know our youth have proper military training, and it would help materially in preventing our being attacked if the world knows we are ready to fight.

The United States Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, one of our foremost citizens is Maj. Gen. John M. Franklin, whose patriotic and valuable services to his Nation constitute a notable contribution to the welfare of the United States. Particularly well-informed is he concerning all phases of the American merchant marine, as he served as Chief of the Water Division of the Transportation Corps, and later as Assistant Chief of Transportation during World War II.

His public statements are entitled to the greatest weight, and because of the timeliness of an address delivered by General Franklin before the National Defense Transportation Association in Pittsburgh, Pa., I ask unanimous consent that some excerpts from his address entitled "Our United States Merchant Marine: A Sound Investment" be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the excerpts were ordered to be printed in the REC-

ORD, as follows:

At the start of World War II there were approximately 15 million tons of merchant ships of all types under the American flag; at the end of the war, approximately 50 million tons. During 1943 there were ap-

proximately 12 million tons constructing but on January 1, 1944, there were only approximately 250,000 more tons of shipping in the allied pool than on January 1, 1944, because of the terrible destruction by enemy air and submarine. During 1943, the losses of ships by submarine action was 2 percent per month of 10 knot ships and 1 percent per month of 15 knot ships or better.

If it had not been for the passenger ships built under the 1928 act and the 1936 act, it is doubtful if the six American divisions that may well have stopped the Japanese from capturing Australia in 1942 could have been moved, as all the foreign flag passenger ships in the allied pool were in vital service else-

At the peak of the war there were 2,000 ships of 10,000 tons each either at sea or loading or unloading troops and Army supplies alone.

It was not until the spring of 1945 that every decision of the Joint Chiefs of Staff did not have to be edited in the light of shipping capabilities; prior to that available divisions and supplies could not be moved as rapidly as they should have been moved because of lack of shipping врасе.

MISTAKE TO NEGLECT FLEET

It seems abundantly clear to me in the light of those facts that it would be the greatest possible mistake to neglect our American merchant marine, particularly at The Department of Defense this time. budget was \$43 billion in the fiscal year 1953. This huge sum is certainly not being spent to prepare for a possible war in this country.

The Defense Department has deemed that it is just as important to maintain domestic ship construction facilities and know-how in the interests of national security as it is to have a merchant fleet. Otherwise, we would soon become dependent upon foreign countries to keep our merchant marine fleet equipped with modern vessels-as replace-

ments became necessary.

For the 14-year period beginning with the date of the 1936 act and ending December 1. 1951, the net construction-differential subsidies paid on American ships was \$88 million, or an average of \$6,300,000 per year.

How does the American merchant marine benefit the economy of the United States?

COMPETE FOR BUSINESS

Intense competition for freight exists in the steamship industry. The Committee of American Steamship Lines questioned the American flag lines that it represents to see just what the competitive picture is and what the lines were doing to meet it. It was found that 4 American steamship companies compete with as many as 6 to 11 other American lines for business-and 5 of the American lines compete with up to 3 other United States lines.

Foreign competition for cargoes is even heavier. From 14 to 39 foreign lines are operating over the same trade routes as 7 American lines, and from 1 to 6 foreign competitors are faced by 5 American companies.

One of the most effective methods steamship companies have employed to keep their cargo space booked is through the operations of their trade development and promotion departments. This activity is designed to create new international trade by:

- 1. Assisting American businessmen to develop new sales markets abroad;
- 2. Finding new foreign sources of raw materials for American industry;
- 3. Helping foreign businessmen to enter the American market.

CUSTOMER FOR UNITED STATES BUSINESS

Then we should also consider the American merchant marine as a customer of American business. It is one of the best customers of supply firms, spending last year \$7,500,000 for electrical products, \$3,220,000 for china and glassware, \$2,450,000 for linen, to name only a few items. Fourteen million packages of soap and cleansing compounds were sold to privately owned American steamship lines last year.

Ocean travel creates an enormous market for farmers and food processors. lines spent \$97,326,400 for food last year-\$46,500,000 for meat, and \$10 million for poultry.

Salt air and relaxation have an appreciable effect on appetites. The average person aboard ship eats five times more meat per than the national average for landlubbers. The per person consumption of meat aboard ship is 2% pounds per day, while the national average is just under onehalf pound per day per person.

America's railroads, trucks, buses, automobiles, and ships are all vital cogs in the most tremendous network of cargo and passenger mobilization in the world. It is perhaps one of the strongest advantages this country has over Communist Russia, where anything like comparable transportation facilities are relatively meager. And the full effectiveness of one form of transportation is dependent upon the others.

We must rely more heavily on domestic transportation in the years to come, because ultimately the most effective defense against atomic bombings will be dispersion-decentralization of our industry and population centers.

Unfortunately, the public reaction to our technological progress toward push-button warfare is detrimental to the rapid improvements in our transportation system that are required. The H-bomb, the A-bomb, guided missiles, atomic cannon, jet power, and a host of other implements of war that have become reality, have led a good portion of public opinion to believe that our dependance upon the staple commodities of warfare, such as transportation, has been reduced.

The hard, cold facts are that improved railroad facilities, superhighways, airport and airplane development, and more modern ships are all needed right now in the interests of national security.

Ocean transportation becomes increasingly vital as Communist pressure on the free world continues to mount and our treaties with freedom-loving countries expand the defense perimeter within which we are pledged to counteract aggression.

SHIPS OUR LIFELINE

Ships are-and always will be-the lifeline between the fighting front and our production plants. Bulk cargoes-volume of gasoline and spare parts, ammunition and bombs, steel matting and concrete for airstrips, troops for the fighting fronts and the multitude of Items needed to support themcan only be delivered in sufficient quantities by ship, and nothing in the foreseeable future will change this situation.

During the Korean war, more airplanes were used for transport than ever before, and still 95 percent of all the supplies delivered to Korea came by ship.

The Kansas Turnpike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an address delivered by Gale Moss, general manager

of the Kansas Turnpike Authority, at Kansas City, Mo., on January 6, 1955.

Gale Moss was formerly director of the Kansas Highway Commission, and for the past several years has carried on an expanded highway-construction program for our State. Great progress was made on the Kansas highways during his administration, and under his leadership the new Kansas Turnpike from Kansas City to the Oklahoma line south of Wichita will be completed at the earliest possible date.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

THE TURNPIKE

(Address by Gale Moss, general manager, Kansas Turnpike Authority, before Associated General Contractors of Missouri, Kansas City, Mo., Jan. 6, 1955.)

This is the first time I have appeared before your group and I am very appreciative and greatly honored by your invitation. It is my hope that I can bring some information of interest to you in your field of endeavor.

In Kansas we are just at a point that is most interesting to the construction industry. We are beginning to let contracts for the construction of our 236-mile turnpike project. One letting has been held, one is set for January 11, another for January 19. By the last of this month lettings should be weekly or more frequently until the whole project is under contract.

The turnpike-method of construction of highways is something new to our part of the country on the scale being undertaken in Kansas. In fact, we kept our fingers pretty well crossed until our \$160 million bond issue was definitely set. It was the first of its size west of the Mississippi and we knew our traffic density could not begin to match the volumes existent in the eastern States. Yet, we were able to dispose of our bonds at a higher price and lower interest rate than some eastern turnpike and toll-bridge issues, backed only by anticipated user revenues.

What is the reason for the willingness of investors to put their money, in tremendous amounts, into securities which 15 years ago would have been considered strictly speculative? So speculative they could not have been sold

The answer is probably found in a slight addition to an old maxim: "Nothing is so sure as death, taxes, and traffic." Traffic and the proved willingness of the traveling public to pay to get away from its congestion, is the only possible answer.

The reasons for our present tremendous volumes are these:

122 750 000

____ 10,000,000

United States population:

AUOV	a, 100, 000
1940 13	1,500,000
1950 15	0, 500. 000
	3, 000, 000
Gross national product:	
1945 \$181, 00	0,000,000
1950 240, 00	0,000,000
1954 (estimated) 350,00	0,000,000
Motor vehicles:	
	6, 500, 000
	2,000,000
1950 4	9,000,000
1954 (estimated) 6	0, 000, 000
Motor vehicles produced:	
1930	3, 333, 000
1940	3, 000, 000

1954 (estimated) ______ 12,000,000

No one is ever interested in statistics but
these few give the real reason for our turn-

pike successes throughout the country. By reason of these statistics the population center of the United States has moved, since 1930, from Linton, Ind., 55 miles west and 15½ miles south—in our direction—to near Oiney, Ill. And that is the story of why Kansas has the traffic to finance our 236-mile project.

These, I believe, are the reasons turnpikes, when built, are and will be successful in our area. The next question logically to arise is this: Why the turnpike surge in recent years?

The end of World War II—1945 to now, 1955, 10 years—has seen an increase in traffic volumes that no State has been able to keep up with—even with increased revenues—long range highway planning and increased efficiency of operation and construction methods. There is no criticism of any person, State, or highway department because this situation exists. Money of course is the principal answer to the problem. Taxes of every type are at the point of diminishing returns and, some people believe, would verge on confiscatory if increased.

For example, were we to double the gasoline tax and license tag fees in Kansas which, of course, will not be done, it would take more than 3 years' collections of the new tax to equal the present toll project financing. Of course, if it were to happen the money couldn't possibly be spent on our 236-mile project: The 9,400-plus miles on the State highway system would be entitled to have it spread judiciously along its needy stretches. The sums left for a new alinement over an entirely new route would be nominal.

No one believes the toll road to be the answer to the entire traffic-congestion situation. We know and believe it to be a means of relieving this situation along isolated routes where engineers, expert in the field, find or forecast sufficient toll-paying traffic to make the project self-supporting. We have, we now know, one of such routes in our State. We are investigating to determine whether there are others.

It is our thinking that if a turnpike can be built it should be built in order to release moneys that would have to be used by the State highway commission along the free routes affected, for use elsewhere.

Perhaps it would be well to review for a minute the thinking that has led to the present turnpike movement.

In the first place, until the last 2 years, it had long been the policy of the Bureau of Public Roads in Washington to resist the movement. This policy has been and still is statutory—but there are indications it may be changed. The original Federal Aid Highway Act, 1916, provided "all roads constructed under the provisions of this act shall be free from tolls of all kinds." The language of the law was broadened in the Federal Aid Act of 1921 to provide that "all roads constructed or reconstructed under the provisions of this act shall be free from tolls of all kinds." Since 1921 this has been the basic law and policy.

The Federal Highway Act of 1938 required the Bureau of Public Roads to study and report on the possibility of a transcontinental toll road. The report made indicated that such a road would not be more than 50 percent self-supporting and would not meet the most urgent needs of the Nation.

The 1954 act again instructs the Bureau to make a comprehensive study of all phases of highway financing including particular attention to the possible effects of toll roads upon the Federal-aid highway programs, and the coordinations thereof. This report is due to be made to Congress on February 1,

1955. It will be preceded by the President's address concerning his proposed highway program on January 27. Addresses by prominent Government officials indicate a change may be expected in the policy laid down in 1916 and expanded in 1921.

This change in policy, I believe, can be expected. Considered with the President's accelerated highway program, I believe it can and probably will mean 1 of 2 things:

1. It will result in new highway legislation by the Congress which will permit the use of Federal funds or credits to support marginal turnpike projects; or

turnpike projects; or
2. It will result in the States in which
turnpike projects are built receiving additional Federal moneys, on some formula,
for use on the interstate system of the State
concerned.

The latest indications from Washington are that the second possibility mentioned is most likely to happen.

In either event it would be a move to alleviate the traffic situation in areas which have exceedingly heavy traffic volumes or routes which are considered of prime importance to the national defense or economy. Of this latter classification, Kansas has 700 miles, and Missouri 1.088 miles.

If the interstate system is to benefit from a State's construction of turnpikes then certainly the various highway departments become immediately interested from a financial point of view. As an example of what I mean, consider this: The cost of actual construction of our Kansas project is estimated at \$107 million. Engineering, administra-tion, right-of-way and all other costs except financing raises this figure to \$140 million. If the new act putting the President's prointo law were to provide Federal matching of turnpike construction costs on the present Federal aid formula applicable to the interstate system, 60-40, then the Kansas Highway Department would benefit the extent of better than \$150 million. If the matching formula be as on the primary system, 50-50, it would be \$107 million. If it be a smaller fraction-even 25 percent-it would be better than \$50 million. At any rate, whatever the formula, the State department would benefit so far as moneys for use on the interstate system are concerned.

It will not be long until we will know. If either of the contingencies do happen it can be expected that there will be an additional shot in the arm for turnpike construction over the country.

In the 18 months I have been working on our turnpike project I have learned from other States that there is a general feeling against the Federal Government participating in the toll-road business. There is a fear Federal control following Federal contributions or help. Personally, I do not have that feeling. What difference does it make who assists in the building of highways or who has some say in their design, construction, or operation? The important thing is to build highways, either free or toll. I believe no one would say the Federal-aid programs effective through the years have re-sulted in Federal controls detrimental either to the States or the traveling public. Certainly the Federal act, whatever it be, will not force Federal money upon any turnpike authority that doesn't want it.

Regardless of what the Federal program may be, 1955 has every prospect of being a boomer year in turnpike construction. About half as many turnpike securities in dollar volume are expected to hit the market in January and February as were sold during all of 1954. The 1954 total was \$1½ billion.

Now, I would like to take a few minutes on the pertinent details of our own project in Kansas.

Doing Tricks With Mirrors

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial by Willard Shelton entitled "Doing Tricks With Mirrors," and dealing with the \$100 billion highway program proposed by President Eisenhower, which editorial appeared in Labor's Daily of January 15, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Doing Tricks With Mirrors (By Mr. Willard Shelton)

The Wall Street Journal, an eminently respectable publication, is stirring up a fuss about President Eisenhower's new highway program—not in opposition to the program itself but in disagreement with the trick financing scheme by which it would be supported.

The President suggests that the Federal Government's \$25 billion share be raised through creation of a special corporation that would sell its own bonds to private investors.

Theoretically, this would not be an addition to the public debt, which is now held at a rigid \$281 billion maximum. Actually, the bonds would have to be retired, eventually, from the Treasury, with dollars paid in by taxpayers.

"A man hasn't profited himself a bit—and he can delude himself into deeper trouble," says the Wall Street Journal, "by hiding a debt from himself behind trick mirrors."

From this observation post, the old New Deal idea of establishing a "capital" budget and a separate "spending" budget has always seemed to make sense.

When the Government advances money for a power generating dam or a steam generating plant, for example, it is simply an investment—not really a debt. The money will be repaid to the Treasury, with interest, across a term of years. It will be repaid by the people who benefit from the facilities, not by the general taxpayers.

At the present time, any Government advances to the Tennessee Valley Authority are called expenditures and are added to the public debt. They might more properly be called capital investments and treated exactly the same as a private investor in bonds treats his expenditures for investment purposes—as a savings, not an expense.

One basic trouble with the Eisenhower administration's financial approach is that the President and Treasury Secretary Humphrey lack the candor to say that they would like to adopt wholeheartedly the New Deal idea of splitting budgets into two categories—capital and current spending.

Another basic trouble is that they are trying to pretend that they don't have any new debts when, in fact, their policies are creating enormous Treasury obligations.

The highway program is one example. The Treasury will be in hock for the finances, if the plan should be adopted, but the administration is trying to ignore the fact.

Under Secretary Humphrey and Agriculture Secretary Benson, money for the farm-support program is being borrowed by the Commodity Credit Corporation, not by the Government. The Government's faith and credit are behind OCC borrowings, but the

money is written out of the so-called public debt.

The potential liability of the Treasury has been increased by heavy commitments guaranteeing housing loans. Again, however, the liability is being covered up by trick book-keeping that refuses to admit the guaranty is part of the so-called public debt.

An honest administration statement that it is going to demand certain capital expenditures, which it will segregate from the ordinary spending budget, would be a fine thing.

The present program of increasing Treasury liabilities without putting the Treasury directly behind them simply means that people who borrow from Government-controlled corporations pay higher interest rates—and the taxpayers, in the end, are still stuck.

Pay Raise for Congressmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
- Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Pay Raise for Congressmen," published in the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of January 10, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PAY RAISE FOR CONGRESSMEN

Of all the melodies piped by President Elsenhower in his state of the Union message, none could have come more sweetly to congressional ears than this: "I also urge the Congress to approve a long overdue increase in the salaries of Members of Congress and of the Federal judiciary, and in my opinion this raise should be substantial because I believe it should be to a level commensurate with their heavy responsibilities."

This part of the Eisenhower program seems certain to enjoy full, bipartisan backing, especially the congressional feature. Congressmen are very touchy about voting themselves raises, fearing the scorn of those at home. But the President has graciously given them an out; they can vote themselves a raise and say in truth it was the President's idea.

Actually, they deserve a raise, and a good one. Lawmakers in the House and Senate get a little over \$15,000 a year, practically all of it taxable. That doesn't go far, what with their heavy expenses. They have to maintain two residences; they have to entertain; they have to pay campaign expenses; they have to keep fences mended, which means, among other things, trips to and from home at their own expense; they have to kick in to all sorts of political and community causes. No wonder the New York Times found 2 years ago that the Congressman's pay falls short of his job expenses by at least \$3,000 a year.

Obviously, Congressmen have to get other income. The Times found that 80 percent of the Representatives and 67 percent of the Senators carry on a private business or profession back home or have income from investments. Some Congressmen add to their income—but detract from their legislative time—by writing articles or lecturing.

The Congressman, for all the public's jokes and jibes, is an important man in our society. He ought to be paid accordingly. He ought to get enough to keep well ahead of the dogs of debt, so that he can think more about his legislative job and, above all, devote more time to it. He ought to get enough so that he can more easily withstand proffered bribes—or should we say contributions—by special interests?

Last year, mainly because it was an election year, Congress turned down a pay raise for its Members. This year it should not be so skittish. Every reasonable voter, including the President himself, appreciates that the lawmakers have long deserved a healthy hike in pay.

Our Fiscal Pilots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there may be printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Our Fiscal Pilots," which appeared in the New York Times on January 18, 1955. This editorial points out the steady progress which the Eisenhower administration has made toward balancing the Federal budget.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR FISCAL PILOTS

The President's annual message on the budget, delivered to the Congress yesterday, contains one short and happily phrased statement of philosophy-that will remain with many readers after the myriad of other words and the regiment after regiment of accompanying statistics have become a blur. It reads: "A liberal attitude toward the welfare of the people and a conservative approach to the use of their money have shaped the budget."

The story of the budget over the past 2 years has been the story of an administration which was pledged to a balanced budget struggling to make good on that promise in the face of a downward readjustment in the economy stemming from the end of the fighting war in Korea and the leveling off of the rearmament effort. In this situation the administration found itself being sniped at from one direction or another whatever step it decided to take in the field of fiscal policy. But surveying the results of its activities in this area as it is possible to see them in the new budget one is impressed with the fact that, while the administration has been compelled at times to reduce speed of its program and even go out of its course, it has never taken its eyes off that objective.

The evidence on this point, even after 2 short years, is irrefutable. Consider, for example, what has happened to Government spending, which must be the focal point of any budget-balancing program. From \$74.3 billions in 1953 it has been reduced each In the budget recommended successive year. yesterday for 1955-56, Mr. Eisenhower put spending at \$62.4 billion, or \$11.9 billion under 1953. Since the President foresess revenue receipts of \$60 billion, this would make the prospective deficit for the coming year \$2.4 billion. That would be the smallest deficit incurred since 1951, and would compare with the \$9.4-billion deficit bequeathed to the Eisenhower administration by its predecessors in 1953.

Again, consider the figure for total cash receipts and expenditures anticipated in the year 1955-56 (better known as the cash budget). This version of the budget (which is customarily employed in measuring the net impact of the budget on the economy in terms of inflation or deflation) reveals a prospective surplus of about \$600 million, compared with deficits for 1954 and 1955 of \$2 billion and \$2.4 billion, respectively.

Finally, there is the test of budgetary intentions and budgetary progress to be found in the President's recommendations for appropriations and authority to incur obliga-tions. It is testimony to the determination with which the budget problem has been attacked that, for the third consecutive year, 1956 is expected to produce a budgetary picture in which new authorizations will be under estimated current revenue receipts.

Critics who have chided the administra-tion with "failing to balance" the budget, on the one hand, or "balancing the budget" at the expense of human welfare, have, of course, been merely committing assault and battery on strawmen set up for the pur-The important thing is that budget has, in fact, been brought under control: and in the sense that recurring and increasing deficits had been a threat to the integrity of the dollar, that threat, with the prospective balancing of the cash budget for 1956, has been eliminated. If the administration, as critics of the left have charged, had been inclined to balance the budget at the expense of jobs and public welfare, it could have accomplished it last year.

Last year the administration turned back to the public \$7.5 billion in taxes, the biggest tax reduction in a single year in the Nation's history. For the coming year, with business on the upbeat, the administration has decided just as judiciously that taxes should be held where they are, though this means asking extension for another year of corporate income taxes and certain excise taxes scheduled to be reduced next April 1. In short, what we have been witnessing over these last 2 years has been a demonstration of fiscal navigation by pilots who not only know where they are going but who also are thoroughly aware that in navigation, unlike geometry, a straight line is by no means always the shortest distance between two points.

A Truce in Formosa Strait

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, the Washington Post and Times-Herald of Tuesday, January 18, contained a very penetrating analysis of the Formosa treaty by one of our country's most distinguished commentators on national and international affairs, Mr. Walter Lippmann.

The points made by Mr. Lippmann in his article deserve the most sober study by all of us as we approach the consideration of this vital agreement—the treaty of alliance with Chiang Kai-shek.

I ask unanimous consent that Mr. Lippmann's article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TODAY AND TOMORROW (By Walter Lippmann) A TRUCE IN FORMOSA STRAIT

Whether or not it was planned that way in Peiping, there is a striking parallelism between the affair of the fliers and our proposed security pact with Chiang's government in Formosa. Peiping announced the convictions of the fliers at the end of November, which was just as the negotiations were being concluded in Formosa. Chou En-lai in his talks with Mr. Hammarskjöld seems to have insisted that China felt itself threatened by the American support of Chiang, who, of course, is bound to keep announcing his intention to return to the mainland, While Chou was complaining to Mr. Hammarskjöld about that, Mr. Dulles was showing the Senators an exchange of notes with Chiang's Foreign Minister promising, though not in the clearest language, that Chiang will not invade the mainland without our consent.

This is an interesting situation. Peiping worried that the United States, using Chiang as an instrument and a pretext, is preparing to attack Red China. Washington is worried that Chiang will deliberately entangle the United States against its will in a war with Red China

Is it farfetched to say that the situation is made to order for a constructive action by the United Nations? Why should the United Nations not move to bring about a cease fire in the Formosa Strait, thus ending the last shooting war in Asia? Why should not the United Nations then become the guarantors of the principle that force shall not be used to determine the future of Formosa and the relationship of the two Chinese Governments?

Such a truce under the auspices of the United Nations would reflect correctly the political and military realities. Red China is quite incapable of crossing a hundred miles of water and conquering Formosa. The United States is, in fact, quite incapable of putting Chiang back on the mainland and restoring him to power. A sound agreement in international relations is one which registers, which states in clear language, the real situation. A truce in the Formosa Strait would register the real situation between Red China and the United States. It would change only the propaganda speeches from the other side about the liberation of Formosa by force and from this side about the liberation by force of the mainland.

The truce would in fact give international standing backed with the vast moral authority of the United Nations to the notes which Mr. Dulles has exchanged with Mr. Yeh. In Washington we do not doubt that Mr. Dulles means to hold Mr. Yeh to the letter and the spirit of the engagement. We cannot expect Peiping to believe that. know that most of the uncommitted Asian nations are far from sure that they believe it. And even in Washington many of us would feel better if the engagements not to entangle us in war rested on something broader and more solid than a private understanding between Taipeh and Washington.

The advantages of this approach to the question would be so considerable that it might be well to explore it before ratifying the Formosa Treaty. A truce under United Nations would accomplish all the good that the treaty is designed for. would avoid the disadvantages of the treaty. I do not see how anyone can feel happy about a treaty of alliance which on the supreme question of whether the alliance would lead to war is so unclear that it has to be interpreted by diplomatic notes.

I for one am unhappy also about the indiscriminate signing of alliances with weak and vulnerable and not too dependable states. The right rule, it seems to me, is to give a guaranty to a state like Formosa, not to pretend that you are making an alliance with it. For the relationship is a one-way We must defend Formosa. affair. does not defend the United States. It is better not to make alliances except with countries that are in fact allies.

If, therefore, an international truce were to be negotiated in the Formosa Strait, we should be better off all around.

The strongest reason for skepticism about this proposal is that it looks so favorable to the United States that Red China may refuse This remains to be seen when and if the exchanges, which Mr. Hammarskjöld has opened up so wisely and so well, develop into negotiations for the reduction of the danger of war in Asia.

Editorial Tribute to Former Gov. James F. Byrnes, of South Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Well Deserved Accolade." published in the Charleston News and Courier of January 19, 1955, in tribute to former Governor Byrnes, of South Carolina.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

> WELL-DESERVED ACCOLADE (By John Temple Graves)

"You can't go home again."

As James F. Byrnes went out of office, the finest thing to be said of this national and world figure is that he could come home again-and did, magnificently.

It is a comment on the Americanism of his home and the Americanism of the man.

Only two others in history have left their homes for such high places-John Calhoun and Woodrow Wilson-and only one came home again, although both held always to home philosophy of States.

Mr. Justice he has been called, and Mr. Secretary, Congressman, Senator, Assistant President of the United States—but he will go to history as Governor Byrnes. That is the fact and that is the philosophy. He will go, too, as a politically disembodied soul, belonging only to his State and country, and dedicated in both names, come who may, against too much government too far from the governed, against federalism gone mad and socialism come creeping.

Regional circumstance—the centripetal force-drew him home at the end as it did Calhoun, and forced upon him the unhappy problem which began for the South when the first Yankee slave trader sold his cargo below the Potomac. He went out of office yesterday with the problem unsolved, went telling his fellow citizens it is their most important, and went with a record of more done for the Negro child's education-and for the white-than any other governor in

South Carolina's history.

Governor Byrnes' school program has already caused \$121 million to be allocated for school construction, with an eventual total of \$200 million. Sixty-one percent has been for Negro schools, although Negro pupils are only 40 percent. Under Mr. Byrnes, the State's part of the public school budget has increased from about \$35 million a year to about \$67 million. A reorganization plan has reduced the number of school districts from 1.200 to 104.

Mr. Byrnes' term will be remembered, too, for broad improvement in the mental hospital and other State institutions, and for continued successful support of industrial development begun under Strom Thurmond.

It will be remembered, also, for the death of the Ku Klux Klan in South Carolina as a result of the antimasking bill he demanded and the rugged enforcement his officers gave the bill when it was passed. Even when the Klan secured private property for its meetings the governor's men made themselves so much in evidence that the leaders began crossing the State line to North Carolina, which brought them to trouble in both State and Federal courts.

His stand for law and order has resulted too in establishment of a training school for enforcement officers.

I think Mr. Byrnes' greatest achievement for South Carolina has been one for the South entire and also for the Nation. That is his leadership against the blind partyism which no longer had any right to exist in the South and which was ensiaving southerners against their own and the Nation's interest. If these States are more free-minded politically than they have been since the Confederate War and, by that token, possessed of more potential political power, James F. Byrnes deserves much of the credit.

Salute, then, to the high heart and fine intelligence and winning charm of a little South Carolinian who, unassisted, has made himself one of the world's big ones, big enough for all the high places and big enough to come home in action to the end!

Eisenhower's Simple Sagacity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the text of an article which appeared in the Los Angeles Times. The article was written by Mr. Holmes Alexander, a member of an old Maryland family, and is entitled "Eisenhower's Simple Sagacity."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

EISENHOWER'S SIMPLE SAGACITY (By Holmes Alexander)

On a short-term, day-to-day basis, America's best natural resource for 1955 is Dwight David Eisenhower, the good gray rock to which, as it sometimes seems, the Nation's sanity is anchored.

At this transitional period of his term it's clear that Mr. Elsenhower is a transitional President.

Only a moderate, as he calls himself politically, could have tapered us off the Fair Deal jag; only a public hero with a puritanical conscience would have accepted the popular power now in one man's hands without abusing it; only a five-star military officer would have the nerve and the knowledge to reduce the Armed Forces—as Ike intends to keep on doing—in the face of real danger and of phony danger, the latter raised like a goblin's head by certain Congress people, the military columnists, the munition-makers, and the Pentagon chiefs who year

after year lobby for more men and more armaments.

But the vein of gold in this Elsenhower lode is not his politics, experience, or expert knowledge; it's his personal character.

Just recently I sat alone for 30 minutes or more with a member of the President's Cabinet whom I'm not allowed to quote by name. But he won't mind if I use his words to make this point. This Secretary said:

"This is my last political job. After almost 2 years of it, I'm fed up with being slandered every time I open my mouth; my wife wants to go home, and I want to live where I can see my grandchildren grow up. But, so help me, every time I go to a Cabinet meeting and hear that fellow talk, I'm ready to take everything they can throw at me for another 6 months."

Middle-aged grandfathers like this Secretary do not thrill easily, and the President doesn't use a locker-room pep talk that makes for volatile emotions.

The Eisenhower leadership is of a mature, man-to-man nature. This is the stuff of leadership that sticks with the public, despite what the demagogues think. It is the quality which proved superior to the cranial appeal of Adial Stevenson and the visceral call of McCarthyism.

Ike has got something better than either. He's got, in the race track and not the sociological sense, "class."

Without having Stevenson's education or literary touch or lawyer's skill at reference and citation, Elsenhower is more intellectually capable than Stevenson.

Adiai could beat him on competitive exams and might outdo him in a debate but Ike's mind can go places where Adiai's would be a shivering stranger.

In the field of international politics—of "history in the making" if you will—Mr. Eisenhower is often profound. He thinks, and sometimes he speaks, like a man who views our struggle for the world from the distance of another century.

He is one step above being a statesman; he's a historian. And if he didn't have to calculate how his words look in tomorrow's headlines the President might say things too glaringly true for many of us to face.

Some of his admirers in the internationalist set can't follow like's domestic line. But that's their fault, not his. He comprehends better than most the interlocking aspect of free enterprise and national security.

Rather than add \$100 million to the national debt the President improvised the complicated but unshakable Dixon-Yates contract for attracting private capital into the hydroelectric field. Dixon-Yates was also a means of blocking the domestic "imperialism" of TVA.

Taken with the rest of his program this desocialization move is one of a master who's playing not just this single move but a vast chessboard of coordinated strategy.

Two years of Eisenhower is long enough to see what the startegy is. He himself has defined it as "liberal" toward human problems, "conservative" toward economic ones.

This definition is nowhere near snappy enough to make a slogan or an easily quotable administration adage. But it's so ruggedly true that it can't be beat for summarizing the program which includes: desegregation and States' rights; a new Department of Welfare, and a pinchpenny Department of the Treasury, emphasis on both "peace" and "massive retailation."

In his famed autobiography Henry Adams remarks that General Grant's flatfooted formula for ending the Civil War, "Let us have peace," would have been considered a gem of wit or wisdom had it come from Mark Twain.

That's how it is with many words and deeds of President Elsenhower. They are often so unpretentious, so simple that their penetrative sagacity is missed, more's the pity.

Annual Report of the President of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARRY FLOOD BYRD

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the annual report of the President of the New Jersey Taypayers Association, Inc., containing editorials from a number of newspapers in that State.

There being no objection, the report was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

YOU WERE THERE—A RECORD OF PERFORM-ANCE—ANNUAL REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT, THE NEW JERSEY TAXPAYERS ASSOCIATION

New Jersey Taxpayers
Association, Inc.,
January 1, 1955.

To the Membership:

Representative government rests upon citizen participation.

Today, however, government is so vast and complex that the individual, although desiring to keep abreast of its many activities, finds that he cannot.

Nearly a quarter of a century ago the New Jersey Taxpayers Association was formed to overcome this dilemma—to study the problems of government and express the interests of taxpayers in the halls of government.

On the following pages you will find the highlights of the association's record of performance in 1954—performance which permitted the taxpayer to amplify his voice so as to reach government effectively at all its levels, Federal, State, and local.

It is equally a record of service to govern-

Through this record, Mr. Taxpayer, when governmental problems were being considered, you were represented.

Through the New Jersey Taxpayers Association—you were there.

GEORGE E. STRINGFELLOW,
President.

GUIDING MUNICIPAL GROWTH

Municipalities in all parts of the State are confronted increasingly with perplexing problems of growth resulting from the rapid expansion of population and industry. After extensive study by the committee on municipalities, the association began publication of a pamphlet series entitled "Guiding Municipal Growth." The first of the series, issued in 1954, provides an introduction to the general subject and a description of pianning and other protective steps. Wide use of these publications is anticipated as a means of avoiding pitfalls and insuring a sound future economy to the State's 567 municipalities, whose combined municipal, school, and county tax levies now total one-half billion dollars.

WATER SUPPLY

When the State administration called public attention to the need for increased water supplies, the association promptly initiated study of the subject. Meantime a number of legislative bills were introduced, whereupon the association called attention to the wide range—from \$60 million to \$150 million—in the cost estimates, and urged legislative caution in authorizing a bond issue referendum until several basic issues had been further resolved. Proceeding then with the association studies, the staff assembled copious data for committee use, including analyses of all the legislative bills, various

descriptive statements, and the only comprehensive bibliography extant of the hundreds of New Jersey studies and reports on the State's water problem from 1894 to date.

SCHOOL AID

Early in 1954 the Commission on State Tax Policy rendered its seventh report, recommending a revised State school-aid program. The association published a digest of this report for its members, public officials, and others. Subsequently the legislature passed and the Governor signed a bill in accordance with the commission's recommendations, increasing school aid by approximately \$30 million annually, and establishing a distribution formula to remove serious and long-standing inequities. The principles upon which this legislation is based largely conform with those advocated earlier by NJTA when it appeared before the tax policy commission.

Legislative approval of the \$30 million increase in school aid constituted, in effect a stamp of official confirmation of association action during the previous year in strongly urging rejection of an earlier report by another commission which had recommended a \$60 million program. This program provided for distribution of State aid upon a formula which the association demonstrated was grossly inequitable and which it therefore opposed.

STATE BUDGET

An association staff representative was regularly present at the executive hearings on the State budget and the legislative hearings on the appropriations bill. Following the 1954 legislative hearings, the association published its regular annual summary of the appropriations measure. This activity offers many opportunities, often upon request, to make constructive suggestions to State fiscal officers and legislators.

When the new State administration assumed office, the staff submitted upon request an analysis of the organization of the executive offices in several comparable States. It also submitted important recommendations relating to capital budgeting and to improved personnel reporting, including its integration with the budget document.

MEDICAL COLLEGE

After studying the 1951 report of the New Jersey Medical College Commission and conferring with various authorities on the subject, the association announced its support of the \$25 million bond issue for the establishment of a State medical-dental college. submitted to the voters at the general election on November 2, 1954. It based this support upon the need to broaden medical training opportunity for New Jersey students, overcome the shortage of doctors and other medical personnel, alleviate deficiencles in graduate and refresher training, open new possibilities for research, and enable greater coordination of training and research programs carried on in medical institutions throughout the State to make generally available the newest advances in medical knowledge.

The referendum proposal was defeated by the voters.

IMPROVING MUNICIPAL BUDGETS

Over a period of years, the association through its committee on municipalities has cooperated closely with the division of local government (department of the treasury) in an effort to improve and make more easily understandable the official forms on which the State's 567 municipalities are required to prepare their annual budgets, now totaling over \$300 million. Based on association observation of local budget problems, this effort has been concentrated during the past year upon a search for simpler terminology and presentation. The association is pleased to observe that the division continues to make significant improvements in the published budget form. Supporting this prog-

ress, the association issued a budget timetable for 1955 for the use of citizens, local taxpayers associations, and others.

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS

As a matter of policy the association has long advocated that specific governmental functions should be assumed and financed by the lowest units of government capable of doing so effectively and economically. Consequently it has major interest in the Federal Commission on Intergovernmental Relations and the New Jersey Commission on Intergovernmental Relations," which are now in the midst of studies of the subject. The association, upon request, submitted suggestions to both of these commissions and supplied specific information respecting payments in lieu of taxes, principles regarding grants-in-aid and an extensive intergovernmental relations bibliog-A staff representative took part in a hearing by the Education Subcommittee of the Federal Commission, in cooperation with representatives of the California Taxpayers Association and the Oklahoma Public Expenditures Survey.

FEDERAL ACTIVITIES

In concert with State taxpayers associations in other States, and through the services of its committee on Federal affairs. New Jersey Taxpayers Association continued to urge that the Federal Government (1) balance its budget, (2) reduce Federal subsidies and grants to local government, business, and agriculture, (3) curb Federal competition with private business, (4) postpone any new public works until the budget is balanced, and (5) improve congressional facilities to study the budget. Augmenting its Federal studies, New Jersey Taxpayers Association made frequent use of the tax foundation's Federal research.

New Jersey Taxpayers Association's president personally appeared before a subcommittee of the House of Representatives Committee on Government Operations to urge that the Government get out of competition with private enterprise. His statement received wide press coverage in New Jersey and throughout the Nation. New Jersey Taxpayers Association views on Government competition with private business were also submitted to the Water Resources and Power Task Force of the Hoover Commission.

The Conference of State Taxpayer Association Executives stood squarely behind the move in Congress against increasing the Federal debt limit, which resulted in a temporary increase of \$6 billion instead of a permanent increase from \$275 billion to \$290 billion.

New Jersey Taxpayers Association urged New Jersey Congressmen to support the economy drive for a balanced budget; substitution of flexible for rigid price supports; steps to modernize antiquated congressional voting procedures; placing the postal service on a self-supporting basis; postponement of legislation extending Federal grants in various fields and launching new programs to finance waterpower and reclamation projects, pending completion of studies by Hoover Commission and Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, and support in principle of measures to improve congressional fiscal procedures.

ASSESSMENT ADMINISTRATION

New Jersey Taxpayers Association has been outstanding in its support of improved administration of local property assessment. This year the association published, and the New Jersey Department of the Treasury gave broad official circulation to, the first comprehensive review of progress in this field—progress in which the association had played a considerable part. Currently a representative of the committee on municipalities is represented on a special committee of the local property tax bureau which is consulting on the preparation of a manual for

property assessment throughout the State. At the same time the association continues to be represented on the general advisory committee to the bureau.

INSTITUTIONAL IMPROVEMENT

Having approved both of the State's earlier \$25 million institutional bond issues, the association, through its special committee of engineers, continues to advise with the department of institutions and agencies concerning progress under these bond issues. The bond funds are being administered under a procedural plan adopted by departmental officials and the division of purchase and property (department of the treasury), largely in accordance with association recommendations.

FINANCES OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

The association's annual publications on (1) municipal and school district finances and (2) county finances have become so widely accepted as standard reference works that their annual publication has become an event of significance. This year for the first time the two publications were combined, bringing under one cover comparative fiscal information concerning New Jersey's 567 municipalities, 549 school districts and 21 counties, thereby enhancing greatly the usability of the information for the thousands of taxpayers, public officials, associations and businesses who rely upon this service.

STATE LEGISLATION

The association reviewed all bills and resolutions submitted to the 1954 legislature, to identify those of primary concern to taxpayers. Appropriate study was then made of measures of particular interest. Information, often upon request, was submitted to legislators concerning a number of these and, depending upon the circumstances, the views of the association were made known to the legislature, the governor, and the public.

SALARY LEGISLATION

When a series of bills was introduced in the legislature to provide mandatory salary increases for legislators and a large number of State and county officials, the association, without taking a position on the merits of the individual proposals, publicized the positions affected and the increased cost. The association took the position that the public should know these facts and the press of the State responded by according the information wide publicity.

At the same time the association recorded its opposition to unsound measures which would have increased State and local salary costs by the salary equivalent of accumulated sick leave, but which failed of enactment. It likewise recorded its opposition to a bill now enacted to provide State-mandated annual increments for all teachers in public schools, as an unsound invasion of rights of local determination.

OPTIONAL MUNICIPAL CHARTER LAWS

Since their enactment in 1950, New Jersey Taxpayers Association has encouraged public interest in New Jersey's optional municipal charter laws. Today a number of municipalities, including the city of Newark, have adopted improved forms permitted under the law, and citizen and official interest in the subject is pyramiding throughout the State. The association has published many informative articles on the charter laws, keeps an up-to-date inventory of progress in this field, and scrutinizes all proposed modifying legislation.

SPECIAL SERVICES

No record of association activities would be complete without mentioning the great number and variety of requests from taxpayers, associations, business firms, and public officials for information concerning the operation and finances of government. Increasingly, taxpayers throughout the State rely upon the association as a source of (1) factual information not easily obtainable elsewhere, and (2) consultation on local governmental problems. Without preempting the fields properly reserved for local action, the association through its informational and consultative services has made possible innumerable improvements in local government operations and finance during the past year.

[From the Jersey Journal] A JOB WELL DONE

Nearly 25 years ago, the New Jersey Taxpayers Association was formed to study the problems of government, and to protect the interests of the taxpavers.

It has done an effective job. Such nuisances as sales and income taxes are-for the present at least-conspicuous by their absence in the State. The association can take a large share of the credit for this.

Not all the taxpayers have approved every thing the group has stood and worked for, but generally speaking it served to influence important and beneficial changes for the man on the street who pays the bills.

In the words of George E. Stringfellow, president, the association has also been of service to the government. The New Jersey Taxpayers Association can rightfully boast that its only goal has been to see that the people of New Jersey get their money's worth.

[From the Paterson News]

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association has turned out a booklet, Guiding Municipal Growth, which should be a must for all governmental agencies plagued with modern expansion headaches. * * * This is a worthy contribution indeed, not alone for the information it provides but because of the challenge it presents to face the grave problems sensibly and constructively.

[From the Bergen Evening Record]

The association's interests pervade every level of government, and its staff has developed valuable skills of analysis and persuasion, useful and used by little people as well as big. It has helped New Jersey to resist so far the income and sales tax. On the other hand, it has not yielded to the temptation, to so many others so overpowerto recommend that taxes be reduced while we're running a government in the red. Its behavior has been thoroughly adult.

[From the Daily Home News]

The annual report of George E. Stringfellow, president of the New Jersey Taxpayers' Association, records a banner year of accomplishment by the association, for the benefit of its members and for the benefit of all the people of the State of New Jer-

It clearly shows that the association has completed another year of energetic and successful effort to help the New Jersey tax-payer get full value for his tax dollar.

[From the Hunterdon County Democrat]

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association has performed a constructive service for rural municipalities in issuing a publication entitled "Guiding Municipal Growth." This publication will aid officials who are being asked by their citizens to tackle problems which grow out of the expansion and movement of population, commerce, and industry. * * *

The booklet has a place in the program of the Taxpayers Association because it can be so readily demonstrated that haphazard growth has almost inevitably brought tax burdens beyond the benefits derived from new valuations. Where proper safeguards have been imposed early enough, both existing and new property have sustained their values while the health, safety, and general appearance of the communities have been Ike's First 2 Years Made a Better U. S. A. enhanced.

[From the New Egypt Press]

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association has issued a booklet which describes the unusual growth of rural communities. . . . All of this means that communities such as ours, are sure to be faced now, or in the near future with very acute problems of greater facilities along every line. * * * We must look away from the past and into the future to plan properly for such demands.

[From the Courier-Post]

The association's information service is of invaluable aid to New Jersey newspapers, which would be lost without it. It is doubtless true, as Stringfellow says, that the cooperative efforts of the association and the press of the State are largely responsible for the fact that New Jersey has neither a sales nor an income tax. That alone would be sufficient justification for the association's existence.

The Courier-Post has frequently differed with the association in the past and doubt-less will in the future. But we think New Jersey is extremely fortunate in having such a privately sponsored organization to battle for the taxpayer and for economy in government. Few States have one that is so effec-

[From the Trentonian]

It may be that most of them don't know it, but when governmental deliberations are going on, the taxpayers of New Jersey are in

Not physically, of course, desirable as that might be, but through the good offices of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association which is about to "wrap up" another year of guarding the interests of people in the halls of government. * * *

* * * President Stringfellow's report is invaluable in many respects. Perhaps the most important is that it gives us a comprehensive view of the many matters affecting our tax moneys which arise during a year. It is comforting, indeed, to know that association valiantly continues to strive for economy in government on all levels-and that it is meeting with at least some success.

[From the Call]

To ease these growing pains and control tomorrow's taxes today, municipal officials will find the NJTA's brochures very helpful. In fact the booklets should be required reading by our future taxpayers—currently our high-school students.

[From the Ridgewood Sunday News]

We should like to recommend Guiding Municipal Growth as a valuable tool for planning boards whose task is to direct growth into desirable channels.

[From the New York World-Telegram] VOICE OF THE TAXPAYERS

The New Jersey Taxpayers Association does remarkable job for the public. It gives the citizens of that State the close participation in their government which they could not hope to obtain as individuals,

The association is the taxpayers' voice in the State capital. It is adviser to the administration, critic, legislative analyst, financial expert, and watchdog of the public interest.

The current report of the president, George E. Stringfellow, spells out the many various fields in which the organization has been active and, more important, effective. It all adds up to fine service in one of the best causes, good government at the lowest possible cost.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, this is the second anniversary of President Eisenhower's inauguration. The list of accomplishments toward a better U.S.A. during these 2 years is impressive indeed

The country is far better off on all fronts that it was 2 years ago. That is why, from what the public opinion polls show, most Americans seem to have this feeling about those 2 years: "Two down and, I hope, 6 to go."

That is why, in light of the shift in control of both Houses of Congress, thinking Americans have this question about the next 2 years: "Will repeated hostile political attacks occur which 'rock the boat' and hamstring this enlightened forwarding of the best interests of America and all Americans?"

Columnist Gould Lincoln makes the following fine, but incomplete, summary of Eisenhower administration accomplishments during the Republican 83d Congress in his piece in today's Washington Evening Star:

The country has had 2 years of Eisenhower administration, and it's better off. Today is the second anniversary of the President's inauguration.

A remarkable transition has been made from war to peace economy. At the same time, many improvements have been obtained on the international front. Business is good and employment is high, despite the fact there are a few soft spots. dislocation by reason of the transition has been confined to relatively few communities. The stock market's advance is an indication of the people's confidence in the President and his handling of the country's affairs. The production of houses has been greater than ever. Both the savings and the spending of the people as a whole have increased. And there is no sign of depression on the horizon.

In the last year, one of the greatest tax reductions, if not the greatest, has taken place. Notwithstanding the criticism of Democrats that the President has failed to balance the Federal budget, the way has been cleared for such a balance.

Indeed, the President has helped to bring both peace and prosperity to this country and, in considerable measure, to the free world. In the field of foreign relations, he has brought about an end of the war in Korea. And he and Secretary of State Dulles and other representatives of the President have helped materially in a number of international situations which might have blown up to real trouble. The Iranian situation, where the Communists were about to take over, has been ironed out.

OTHER BRIGHT SPOTS

The explosive problem of the Suez Canal and the British and the Egyptians, too, is being settled peacefully. So, too, problem of Trieste, a trouble spot for years. The Communist outcropping in Guatemala has been successfully curbed. An agreement for better international relations, looking to the arming of West Germany as part of the defense against Communist aggression, is

going forward and expected to become a sure accomplishment in the near future. In the countries of the Middle East, too, the real desire of the United States for peace and friendly relations is better understood.

The President has obtained the adoption of a material part of his legislative program, described as progressive-moderate and also as dynamic and progressive, during these first 2 years. Included is a new farm law, providing a system of flexible price supports. This is designed to bring production more nearly in line with consumption and to put an end to the great surpluses of food crops which the Government has in large measure been compelled to take over. The tax structure has been revised, and through great savings to the Government in administration and the paring down of appropriations it has been possible to lessen the tax burden on the people by many billions of dollars.

SOUND PROGRAM

The final 2 years of the President's present term of office are beginning. Mr. Eisenhower faces a Democratic controlled Congress—though the margin of control is thin, both in the House and Senate. His program is now before that Congress and it is expected he will get a considerable part of it. For his proposals are sound and humanitarian. Undoubtedly the President will face hostile political attacks. The Democrats do not relish the idea of building up the strength of a potential Republican candidate for President in 1956. If Mr. Eisenhower can be trapped or hamstrung, so much the better from their point of view.

The Democrats for the most part have given over predictions of depression—temporarily, at least. They have not forgotten, however, that a depression gave them control of the Government for a 20-year period immediately preceding Mr. Eisenhower. They continue to look with interest to the farm vote, and they hope to be able to stir the farmers up against Mr. Eisenhower and

Republicans.

In the last 2 years, the President has retained much of his great personal popularity. The people regard him as entirely sincere and as working for their interest, notwithstanding the attacks made on him by the New Dealers. That he has lost some ground in the South because of the Supreme Court decision desegregating the public schools is true. But if it comes to a showdown between Mr. Eisenhower and Adial Stevenson in 1956, it is by no means certain that the Democrats of the South will rally strongly back of Mr. Stevenson. They understand well that Mr. Stevenson and his supporters are committed to a compulsory Federal FEFC law.

Thirty-second Annual Convention, Oregon Division, Izaak Walton League of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a letter dated January 10, 1955, which I have received from Dan P. Allen, president of the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, together with a set of resolutions adopted by the 32d annual convention of the IWLA, held in Portland, Oreg., November 26, 27, and 23, 1954.

There being no objection, the letter and resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OREGON DIVISION, IZAAK WALTON
LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC.,
January 10, 1955.

The Honorable Wayne Morse, Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C.

Dear Senator Morse: The Oregon division of the Izaak Walton League of America, at its recent annual convention, considered many problems. The central theme of the convention was youth, and we had as our guests during our deliberations more than 100 young outdoor Oregonians, all of whom were particularly interested in those matters covered by the enclosed resolutions. This is understandable, in view of the fact they will be most directly concerned in future years with our wise management of today's natural resources.

I am sure most of the resolutions passed will be of interest to you. Your attention is especially directed to Resolution No. 1, which asks specific action from the Oregon delegation, and to other Resolutions Nos. 2 4, 8, 12, and 13. Copies of resolutions are enclosed.

When action on any of these problems seems imminent, I will probably write you further. With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely,

DAN P. ALLEN,
President, Oregon Division, Izaak
Walton League of America, Eugene,
Oreg.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY 32D ANNUAL CON-VENTION, IZAAK WALTON LEAGUE OF AMERICA, INC., OREGON DIVISION, HELD IN PORTLAND, OREG., NOVEMBER 26-27-28, 1954

RESOLUTION 1. MINING STATUTES

Whereas it is considered that the present mining laws in force since 1872 on the public domain and public forests and other public-owned lands within the United States are outdated and inimicable to the best interests of all the people; and

Whereas it has recently once again been demonstrated in the State of Oregon, through wide dissemination of information in connection with the Al Serena mining claims, that in many instances valuable surface and timber rights on such public lands rather than minerals are the real reason for the filing of mining claims. Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled. That newer revised laws be enacted by the Congress of the United States to provide that surface rights shall be separated from subsurface rights in order to prevent claims from being filed and/or patented mainly for valuable timber, stream, or other surface resources, and that Oregon representatives in Congress be and are hereby urged to immediately introduce such legislation for early enactment; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of the Interior, the chairmen of the Senate and House Committees on Agriculture, the chairmen of the Senate and House Committees for Interior and Insular Affairs, and to members of the Oregon congressional delegation.

RESOLUTION 2. RESEARCH APPROPRIATIONS

Whereas the public lands contain important big-game ranges in the West; and Whereas there is an increasing need for

big-game range research; and

Whereas the United States Forest Service has been given authority to do browse-range research, but no funds are appropriated for this specific purpose: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, request Congress to pass bill for an appropriation for browse-range research by the forest and range experiment

stations of the United States Forest Service, in cooperation with the State game commissions; and be it further

sions; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the chairmen of the Senate and House Committees on Agriculture and Forestry, the chairmen of the Senate and House Appropriations Committees, and to the Oregon congressional delegation.

RESOLUTION 3. MOUNT WASHINGTON AND DIAMOND PEAK WILD AREAS

Whereas the northwest regional office of the United States Forest Service has recommended that Mount Washington and Diamond Peak and the high plateau areas surrounding them be set aside as wild areas; and

Whereas it is a fundamental policy of the Izaak Walton League, at both National and State levels, to favor more rather than less of such areas for the use and enjoyment of coming generations; and

Whereas the two areas in question support only a very limited volume of commercial timber of low quality: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, express to the United States Forest Service its strong approval of this recommendation, its desire that the proposed areas include comprehensively the scenic and recreational lands around these peaks, and their hope that the recommendation to create these wild areas may be carried out at the earliest possible moment; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the Chief of the United States Forest Service, northwest regional forester, supervisor of the Willamette Forest, the president of the Wilderness Society, the president of the Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs, and others concerned.

RESOLUTION 4. BALD MOUNTAIN PROJECT (ILLINOIS RIVER DAM)

Whereas under power project No. 190, known as the Bald Mountain project, the Coos-Curry Electric Cooperative, Inc., proposes to build a dam in the Illinois River a few miles above its confluence with the Rogue River; and

Whereas the proposed dam would have a maximum height of 100 feet and a length of some 400 feet, and would divert water into a tunnel or canal approximately 9½ miles long; that the tunnel capacity would be 7,500 cubic feet per second, with an average diversion of 1,425 cubic feet per second, and the entire flow of the river could be so diverted; and

Whereas the dam itself would prevent the passage of migratory fish upstream and downstream, thereby raising havoc with the runs of Chinook, sliver salmon, winter run steelhead, cut-throat and resident trout, and would have an overall adverse effect on the fishery resources of the entire Rogue River Basin; and

Whereas fish ladders on a dam of this size would not be satisfactory and would not pass the said fish over the dam due to the long diversion, tunnel, or canal, and the low water left in the main channel of the river; and

Whereas there are 195 miles of accessible spawning area above the proposed dam and the Illinois River is the second in importance of the tributaries of the Rogue River: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, go on record as opposing the power project No. 190, known as Bald Mountain project; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the Secretary of the Interior, Federal Power Commission, Oregon State Fish and Game Commissions, and the Oregon congressional delegation.

RESOLUTION 5. WATER RESOURCES LEGISLATION

Whereas water is one of our chief resources in the State of Oregon; and

Whereas at the present time our water resources are overappropriated during our late summer and dry season; and

Whereas there is an ample supply available if properly stored and managed; and Whereas the theme of the 1953 conven-

tion of the Oregon division was water and brought forth the pressing need for laws controlling the use of our water resources; and

Whereas the interim committee of the Oregon Legislature studying the future water needs of the State will report to the assembly its findings and recommendations: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, devote its major attention at the next State legislative assembly to the enactment of sufficient and proper legislation to provide for the use of water to the best advantage to all concerned; and be it further

Resolved, That our legislative committee work in conjunction with the Soil Conserva tion Service, Bureau of Reclamation, State grange, and other agencies that are interested in promoting and safeguarding the proper use of our water resources.

RESOLUTION 6. WARNER VALLEY

Whereas Warner Valley is one of the major waterfowl-producing areas in the State of Oregon: and

Whereas the United States Bureau of Land Management, United States Fish and Wildlife Service, and Oregon State Game Commission have undertaken the cooperative development and management of certain public lands in north Warner Valley to preserve wildlife and recreational values; and

Whereas the private landowners in Warner Valley are developing their lands for more intensive use of the available water supply to the detriment of waterfowl production; and

Whereas the Oregon State Land Board controls approximately 20,000 acres of undeveloped but potentially productive waterfowl habitat in the vicinity of Crump and Hart Lakes in Warner Valley: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, urge that the Oregon State Land Board should permit the development of its Crump Lake and Petrie Marsh lands in a manner that will benefit nesting waterfowl and permit an adequate flow of water into the north Warner area, or through exchange, sale, or cooperative agreement make them available to the Oregon State Game Commission for development and multiple use by livestock, wildlife, and the public; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the United States Fish and Wildlife Service. United States Bureau of Land Management, Oregon Game Commission, members of State land board, and to the Lakeview Chamber of Commerce.

RESOLUTION 7. KLAMATH BASIN

Whereas the United States Department of the Interior through the United States Fish Wildlife Service is obligated by international treaties to protect and maintain the

migratory bird resources; and

Whereas the upper Klamath River Basin is historically a waterfowl concentration point and seasonally contributes to the maintenance of at least 60 percent of the migratory waterfowl in the Pacific flyway and is a major waterfowl nesting area; and

Whereas availability of food and nesting habitat are believed to be the limiting factors of migratory birds in the Pacific flyway;

Whereas hunting of migratory birds in the Klamath Basin contributes substantially to the local economy and the well-being of citizens of the States of Oregon and California;

Whereas the Department of the Interior through the United States Bureau of Reclamation is considering multipurpose plans for the further development and utilization of the land and the water resources of the upper Klamath River Basin: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, That-

- 1. Development plans for the Klamath Basin should provide for development and maintenance of marsh areas to a degree commensurate with reclamation losses
- 2. Adequate minimum stream flows and minimum pools in reservoirs should be es-tablished to minimize losses of fish and aquatic vegetation.
- 3. Homesteading or other disposal of the present 30,000 acres of public grain land should be denied until the reclamation program provides arable lands in excess of the need for waterfowl feeding areas and public recreation.
- 4. The Klamath Straits unit should have highest priority for retention in public ownership because of the large marsh and water area adjacent.
- 5. The right of the United States Fish and Wildlife Service to develop and maintain necessary refuge lands for waterfowl should be secured by congressional action.
- 6. The efforts of the Department of the Interior to assemble a comprehensive development program for maximum multiple use of the land and water resources of the upper Klamath Basin are commendable.

Be it further resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the Secretary of the Interior, Governor of Oregon, the Oregon congressional delegation, United States Bureau of Reclamation, and the United States Fish and Wildlife Service.

RESOLUTION 8, ROGUE AND ILLINOIS RIVER VALLEY LANDS

Whereas much of the public lands of the Rogue River and Illinois River Valleys of southern Oregon have been withdrawn from public entry for power purposes; and

Whereas these lands cannot now be used for any purposes other than for power sites; and

Whereas these withdrawn lands contain much valuable timber and minerals that should be made available to present users; and

Whereas the power sites involved are not now being developed, and their likelihood of being developed is exceedingly remote: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Oregon Division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, Petition the Secretary of the Interior to place as many of the power site withdrawals in the Rogue River and Illinois River Valleys again in the public domain as can possibly be done, with the end in view that the resources these withdrawn lands contain can be wisely used to sustain the economy of the area; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution the Secretary of the Interior, and to the Oregon congressional delegation.

RESOLUTION 9. WALDO LAKE AREA

Whereas it has come to the attention of this orgaization that the United States Forest Service is presently studying the Waldo Lake area, located in the high Cascade Mountain area of the Willamette National Forest, with a view to determining its fitness for designation as a recreation area; and

Whereas it would be presumptious to appear to prejudge the findings of this study by the Forest Service, but nonetheless pertinent to express approval of such study: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon Division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, does hereby state:

1. That this body does strongly believe that the Waldo Lakes area should be set aside in some form of restricted area at once:

2. That in the light of present information, it appears it should be designated as a recreational area.

Be it further resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the Chief of the United States Forest Service, and to the regional forester of the Pacific Northwest region.

RESOLUTION 10 THREE SISTERS PRIMITIVE AREA

Whereas the regional forester of the Pacific Northwest region of the United States Forest Service has given notice of a proposal to revise the boundaries of the area known as Three Sisters primitive area, located principally in the headwaters basin of the Mc-Kenzie River, approximately 60 miles east of the city of Eugene, Oreg., and to establish it as a permanent wilderness area; and

Whereas new boundaries as proposed would greatly reduce the area, and particularly proposes as a west boundary a line on the creek beds of Eugene Creek and Horse Creek: and

Whereas it is felt there exist in the area to be excluded from the wilderness area certain areas with potentially great recreational value and important scenic, historical, and scientific interest, which values in the long run might far exceed the economic value of timber in the area: and

Whereas numerous outdoor and scientific groups oppose any reduction and many others propose a compromise west boundary of the area to include the Horse Creek Basin intact; and

Whereas there appears no immediate need for the timber in the controversial boundary area: and

Whereas the Izaak Walton League is repeatedly on record favoring more rather than less of such areas: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, urge the regional forester of the United States Forest Service, Pacific Northwest region, to defer decision on the entire matter until such time as more thorough research may be accomplished, and that, in the event any boundary changes are made, such changes take into consideration the wealth of recreational opportunities which such a wilderness area affords, and the greatly increasing need for such areas resulting from increasing population, and of time and means for recreation, and the decreasing availability of such natural areas, and that when permanent boundaries are established they be of such a nature that future controversies may be avoided; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the Chief of the United States Forest Service and the regional forester of the Pacific Northwest region.

RESOLUTION 11. MINING AND DREDGING LEGIS-LATION

Whereas the present and future welfare of the State of Oregon demands the preservation and protection of the productive capacity of the land and streams; and

Whereas the uncontrolled dredging and mining operations which heretofore have been and now are being carried on in Oregon have destroyed, and will continue to destroy. the productive capacity of the land in that streams and reservoirs, for many miles below the scenes of operations, are so heavily silted that complete destruction of fish food, fish life, and spawning grounds of inestimable value is accomplished, and the land and streams laid waste for sport and commercial fishing and agricultural pursuit; and

Whereas the land and streams are of far greater value to the economy of the State of Oregon than the minerals recovered by such uncontrolled dredging and mining opera-tions, that legislation should be enacted at the earliest possible date, controlling such operations to the greatest practicable extent, and such legislation should have the support of the Oregon division: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, go on record as being in full support of the two measures proposed for introduction to the next ensuing session of the Oregon Legislature, to wit:
1. Requires all dredging be done in set-

tling basins so that only clean and filtered water shall be returned to the stream;

2. Requiring stockpiling of the soil before dredging, leveling of tailing piles, and replacement of topsoil currently, as the dredging operations proceed; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary send copies of this resolution to the Governor of the State of Oregon, and Representative Charles A. Tom, Rufus, Oreg.

BESOLUTION 12. UPPER MAIN M'KENZIE RIVER POWER DEVELOPMENT

Whereas the upper McKenzie River is nationally famous as a scenic and recreational area, and Clear Lake and the upper river are possessed of most unusual scenic values, and have been the mecca of tourists and nature

lovers for many years; and Whereas the Eugene Water and Electric Board has available federally generated power sufficient for anticipated requirements and in addition proposes to construct the power facilities at Cougar Dam on the South Fork of the McKenzie, which proposition has the approval of the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America; and

Whereas the construction of a generating plant, with the consequent fluctuation of the water level of Clear Lake, would ruin that beautiful body of water from both a scenic and recreational viewpoint: Now, therefore,

Resolved by the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, That it-

1. Requests the Federal Power Commission to deny the application of the Eugene Water and Electric Board for power develop-ment on the upper main McKenzie River and to rescind the 1911 withdrawal of this area for power-development purposes; and 2. Commends the United States Fores

Service on its administration of this area for recreational use, and conveys its appro-bation of the work of the Service in preserving this area in its natural state and administering it as a recreational asset; and be it

Resolved, That the secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the Secretary of the Interior, the Federal Power Commission, the Chief of the United States Forest Service, and to the Oregon congressional delegation.

RESOLUTION 13. FOREST SERVICE APPROPRIATIONS

Whereas the national forests' recreation facilities are now taxed much beyond their limits of development by overcrowding; and Whereas this overuse is detrimental to

public health and causes serious sanitation problems; and

Whereas the national forests are the homes of many game animals, game birds, and fish, Forest Service has no funds to improve this habitat: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, urge Congress to pass a bill that will provide for adequate appropriations for the United States Forest Service to properly develop, maintain, and operate the recreational facilities, and to improve the wildlife habitat on the national forests; and be it further

Resolved, That the Secretary of the Oregon division send copies of this resolution to the chairmen of the House and Senate Committees on Agriculture and Forestry, to the chairmen of the House and Senate Committees on Appropriations, and to the Oregon congressional delegation.

RESOLUTION 14

Resolved by the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled, That it express to its State officers, and especially to its president, L. C. "Jack" Binford, its sincere appreciation for their outstanding leadership in the year 1954.

RESOLUTION 15

Resolved by the Oregon division, Izaak Walton League of America, in 1954 convention assembled. That it express its gratitude for the hospitality, splendid appointments, and organizational efficiency provided by the convention hosts, Portland, City of Roses, Beaver, Sellwood-Moreland, and Air Force chapters, and particularly by the ladies of the Multnomah chapter, and the convention chairman, Henry Kness.

Economies in United States Stockpiling Cited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Speaker, here is the second of a series of two articles on the General Services Administration published in the Los Angeles Times.

The first article was put in the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD of January 20, 1955. ECONOMIES IN UNITED STATES STOCKPILING CITED-GENERAL SERVICES AGENCY CLAIMS

MUCH OF CREDIT FOR DROP IN RUBBER (By Ray Zeman)

(Second of two articles about the General Services Administration, the agency created by the Hoover Commission to cut waste in Government)

When the Army, Navy, Air Force, and American rubber companies were competing on the world market for rubber 3½ years ago, the price of crude rubber shot to 86 cents a pound.

Today it is around 23½ cents. The General Services Administration, created by the Hoover Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, claims credit for much of the drop.

PRICE DRIVEN DOWN

"We became the preclusive buyer for both the military and private industry for years," explains Robert B. Bradford, GSA regional director. "We drove the price down to 40 cents while more than 300,000 tons were imported through California ports. Then we stepped out.

"Now we buy only to rotate our stockpile of crude rubber. It is at 90 percent of what

we want. We are all right on rubber."

Bradford spoke with confidence at the GSA business service center, 1031 South Broadway, as he described stockpiles of some vital materials being stored for any war of a month, a year, or 5 years' duration.

PLATINUM BLOCK TOLD

But he told how the Government is trying to stimulate production of some and is totally helpless on an item like platinum.

"The Russians control all sources of platinum," he explained. "They can raise the price \$100 an ounce any time they want, It is now \$93. It has been up to \$186 within the last 6 months."

Platinum is only 1 of 93 critical strategic materials being stockpiled by the General Services Administration.

The location and size of each pile is secret. The Government has nearly \$7 billion worth of the products—ranging from agar and asbestos to zinc and zirconium-but it won't reveal whether it has enough for a 1-year or a 10-year war.

MATERIALS LISTED

It has copper, zinc, lead, tin, mercury, extra-long-staple cotton, silk, shellac, and It has oddities like quinine, opium, industrial diamonds, hog bristles, and even feathers and down for aviation suits, ski suits, and warm sleeping bags in case war come over the North Pole.

All but the metals have to be rotated be-

cause they deteriorate.

Titanium, the wonder metal is most critical.

"There is plenty of titanium ore but processing is tricky," Bradford said. "A year ago we wanted 15,000 tons. Today we want 115,000.

"NO TITANIUM STOCKPILED

"We're not stockpiling titanium because industry must have it for jobs like the heat-resisting interiors of jet engines. It has a high melting point, high tensile strength, and light weight.

"We're letting contracts to produce it all the time, trying to get the supply up."

The stockpiles of other critical materials are spotted within an overnight run of factories where they might be used. Metals are usually in ingot form so they can be used immediately.

"On the majority of the entire program we're paying the going market price," Brad-We're paying premiums on a few ford said. only to get domestic mines going.

MANGANESE BOUGHT

We're buying manganese now just as fast as men can dig it up in Arizona, Nevada and California.

"Eight pounds of manganese is needed in a blast furnace for every ton of steel to keep the bubbles out. This continent produces only 20 percent of the world's manganese. South Africa and India each provide 40 percent.

"Right now we have 80 percent of what we'll need for several years either stock-piled or being delivered. We need 100 per-cent. We pay slightly more than 10 cents a pound for manganese ore. The world price is 4 cents."

Most of America's tungsten comes from California—in the area near Bishop. Some comes from Arizona and Tonopah, Nev.

Tungsten is a hardening alloy for steel. All machine tools have it. The GSA's tungsten program is 80 percent complete-either in stockpiles or on order. The Eisenhower defense program demands 100 percent.

ORE FACTOR CITED

"If the ore has one-half of 1 percent tung-sten, it's considered rich," Bradford said.

"We're paying a domestic subsidy. Our price is \$63 a short ton. The world price is \$27. We want to stimulate domestic mines.

"We're buying \$2,500,000 worth a month and paying for it within 5 days. We're worried sick about tungsten being smuggled from Mexico to get the United States domestic subsidy. One smuggler has been

Bradford said domestic price-support programs for tungsten, chromite, manganese, and asbestos have permitted western mines to continue operation. The supports protect American producers from dumping of foreign ores.

ALUMINUM HELD O. K.

"We're all right on aluminum," he con-tinued. "Surplus plants sold to Reynolds and Kaiser after the war made the industry more competitive."

Bradford joined Frank A. Chambers, regional director of GSA business service centers, and Mrs. Margaret H. Bayless in telling how the centers like the Los Angeles one at 1031 S. Broadway, are "the answer to 5 percenters."

"All GSA bids of the country are posted on the wall here for examination," Chambers said, "and you don't have to "know Charley" or 'look up Edgar."

In this post-mink-coat era, bids are segregated by delivery points and by many commodity groups, such as paint, food, hardware, furniture, or office supplies.

BIDS KEPT UNDER LOCK

All bids are kept under lock and opened in public. At the time of opening, a long sheet of all bids is prepared and posted. Most purchases are from the lowest bidder, but if any deviation is made, the log sheet explains that the lowest was disqualified for failing to meet specifications or whatever the exact reason is.

Specifications for everything the Government buys are given out free so a manufacturer or distributor knows exactly what is wanted and how the product may be inspected.

If parts are wanted for a Detroit tank arsenal, copies of the Detroit specifications are available in Los Angeles and the bid can be made from here. Washington is bypassed and the 5-percent man is dead, Bradford said.

The emergency procurement service of the FSA buys 3 million different items for all branches of the Federal Government. Pencils, desks, trucks—practically everything in any store or mail order catalog—are wanted at one time or another.

The GSA's central supply service stores 10,000 different items in a Wilmington warehouse for use in this area. If one agency does not need something, it may be stored until another wants it.

until another wants it.

A teletype room in the Federal Building is linked with 53 major cities by 15,000 miles of leased wire.

One military unit may find \$3,500,000 of new field wire can't be used for office telephones and declare it surplus. After 9 months, another military unit is found which wants the same wire.

A shipyard issues a surplus declaration on 3½ miles of seamless, galvanized 3-inch pipe. Another shipyard 40 miles away buys 2 miles of it and the Government saves money on a cost contract.

A Stockton naval supply center was stuck with 187,000 boxes of odd-size mimeograph paper. A deal was made whereby it was traded back to the manufacturer at a discount and a credit was established to apply on future purchases.

It's a strange agency, the GSA. It may buy women's underwear for an Indian reservation, telephone posts for a military base or even snake-bite remedies.

In the dry season its warehouses are on call 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, for forest fire-fighting equipment.

COSTS DON'T RUN UP

In leasing land or buildings, the Army, Navy, Air Force, and other governmental agencies used to find themselves bidding against each other at times. Now the GSA is the only one bidding, Bradford said, and taxpayers' costs don't run up.

The GSA arranges for purchase of some buildings to save rents but at President Elsenhower's request it also spearheaded a drive nationally to get all Government agencies to kick loose all unneeded properties so they could go back on local tax rolls.

HOLE IN GROUND PAYS OFF

The last big thing sold in Los Angeles County was an underground gas reservoir at Playa del Rey.

In 1941 the Reconstruction Finance Corporation had taken it over because industry needed gas in wartime.

The Government got \$763,000 out of it in rental and royalties until a year ago when the RFC rated it as surplus.

"We put it out on bids and got \$2,150,000," said Bradford. "Isn't that pretty good for just a hole in the ground?"

Federal Assistance for School Construction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, on page A231 of the Congressional Record is a discussion of President Eisenhower's statement on Federal assistance for school construction in the state of the Union message by Dr. Edgar Fuller, executive officer of the Council of Chief State School Officers. Dr. Fuller suggests that there might be some significance in the last-minute change of the word "catalyst" to "agent."

In the mimeographed text released immediately before the delivery of the message, President Eisenhower's statement reads:

Without impairing in any way the responsibilities of our States, localities, communities, or families, the Federal Government can and should serve as an effective catalyst in dealing with this problem.

That is, classroom shortage.

In the official version of the message as it appears in the Congressional Record on page 98, the word "catalyst" was changed to "agent."

The use of the word "agent" certainly makes the nature of the proposed Federal contribution uncertain, but present indications are that catalyst is probably the more accurate word. In the budget message sent up to the Congress 11 days after the state of the Union message, the President, on page M56, says:

Concurrently, without impairment in any way of State, local, community, and family responsibility, the Federal Government should serve as an effective catalyst in dealing with the problem of classroom shortages.

In essence, this is the same statement made in the advance releases before President Eisenhower substituted the word "agent" for "catalyst."

Dr. Fuller says that if the function of the Federal Government is that of a catalyst, then it may easily damage rather than assist in the construction of schools

Of course, we will not know the administration's proposal until February 15, when the special message promised by the President will be sent to the Congress. But already indications of the contents of the proposal are circulating among Members of Congress and newsmen. On January 14 Mr. Eric Sevareid described the first tentative reports and his reaction in the following broadcast:

Good evening. In his state of the Union message the President said the country faces grave educational problems; his first really serious recognition of the school situation which is not only grave, but critical and rapidly growing worse; not only in terms of the classroom shortage he mentioned, but in

terms of the desperate teacher shortage, and, in consequence of all this, in terms of the relentless decline of standards and training; the harsh truth is that unless bold and imaginative steps are taken, and quickly, the United States is on the way to becoming an intellectually second-rate nation.

It doesn't look as if the bold steps are going to be taken by the Federal Government, unless the Executive is forced to bigscale action by a group of some 30 Senators supporting a bill for a billion-dollar emergency school construction program over the next 2 years; a bill to which the new chairman of the subcommittee concerned, Mr. Hill, of Alabama, is pledging top priority.

The Presidential scheme to alleviate the educational crisis is due in a special message 1 month from tomorrow. The first tentative reports on its contents reached Capitol Hill and this reporter today, and falled to impress school-conscious legislators who heard them. These reports indicate the President will propose a bonding authority, providing Federal guaranty of State school bond issues, \$25 million in Federal aid to schools in especially distressed districts, sclected by a rigid test of need; \$5 million to continue current studies of the crisis of elementary and second schools, another \$5 million for study of college needs, and a system of college scholarships, involving a total of \$250 millions over a period of several years.

The whole program represents a small fraction of the funds, effort and imagination that have gone into the President's \$100 billion scheme for developing the roads and highways of the country. There is no doubt that when the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare appears to testify, she will be severely questioned on the need for any more drawn-out studies and conferences on the school situation. This is one subject on which there is a superabundance of information already; studies of the matter are legion; the Federal Office of Education, in fact, is just completing a study authorized by Congress 2 years ago with an appropriation of \$3½ million.

The facts are at hand; what is required is action. In a capsule, the situation is this: There is an annual school enrollment increase of a million children and the flood will get heavier in the future. Add to this the fact that of the total tax dollar, Federal State, and local, only 8 cents goes to the schools, as compared with 16 cents before World War II; add to it the fact that we are losing teachers each year, not only proportionately, but in absolute numbers.

Some States are making valiant efforts to cope with the crisis. But it is still true that more than a million and a half children go to school in barracks, church basements, rented garages, and the like; that there are children now finishing the eighth grade who have never added school on anything but a part-time basis.

Mr. Eisenhower has long been concerned about the danger of Federal control of educational content. This can be avoided very simply by the terms of the legislation; what is stranger is the popular illusion that the Federal Government traditionally leaves the school problem to the States and localities. In fact, the history of Federal school action goes back to the Continental Congress and includes at least 50 major congressional acts. The Federal Government now finances over 200 educational activities, the largest being the annual three-quarter million dollar program for veterans. The President has a new program for educating soldiers and veterans for which there seems pressing need. But there are many who remain convinced that it is much wiser in the long run to eradicate ignorance and illiteracy at their source And that means a public-school system befitting the most important country in the free world.

This is Eric Sevareld in Washington.

The implication of the catalytic approach is that the Federal contribution will be minute in proportion to that of the States and local districts and that the Federal Government is going to insist on getting back its contribution after the process of school construction theoretically has been accelerated.

Such a program will not begin to reach the real need. It will do nothing for districts that have already reached the limit of their capacity. The Kearns subcommittee last October learned that it is going to take at least \$22 billion to have enough classrooms for our children in 1960. So the appropriation of \$25 million is a minute amount, and the establishment of State authorities to borrow money either from the Federal Government or from private agencies under a Federal guaranty would mean that the Federal Government was going to insist on getting its funds back.

The bills introduced by Mr. Balley and Mr. Kearns—H. R. 15 and H. R. 14—authorizing grants-in-aid for public-school construction should be given immediate consideration. There is no point in awaiting the President's February 15 message. The statements already made indicate that awaiting the President's program will only cause additional delay without any beneficial

results.

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, January 22 marks the anniversary of Ukrainian independence. After the Czarist Russian Empire collapsed in 1917, the Ukrainians set up a separate national republic in their country which for centuries had been under Russian domination. The first meeting of the Ukrainian Constituent Assembly met in January 1918, and on the 22d of that month a proclamation on the independence of the Ukraine was issued.

Unfortunately, the Ukrainian Republic was shortlived. By 1921 the country was overrun by the Russian Communists and the Ukraine again became a subjugated nation. It was one of the first and earliest victims of Soviet imperialism and has paid a tremendous toll in suffering and destruction. The Ukraine's national churches were destroyed, the country suffered terrible famines, mass murders, purges, and deportations. Nevertheless, the spiritual and moral resources of the Ukrainian people have not been exterminated, nor has its indomitable desire for national freedom been extinguished after all these years of enslavement and suffering.

The Ukrainian nation numbers some 40 million people and constitutes the largest non-Russian group behind the Iron Curtain in Europe. In the struggle of the free world against communism, the Ukrainians are a most important and potential ally of the Western democracies. They have never stopped their struggle for the liberation of their country from the Communist yoke.

The American people are following with great sympathy the plight which has befallen the Ukrainian people. Their cause is a righteous one. They deserve our support and encouragement.

On the occasion of the anniversary of their independence, we share in the aspirations of Ukrainians everywhere for the early liberation of their country. We extend our greetings and renew our wishes to all Americans of Ukrainian descent that their country of origin, the Ukraine, will soon regain its independence from the forces of evil and tyranny which are in control of it today.

A Reappraisal of European-American Relations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Sunrise in the West," written by Peter Viereck, and published in the Saturday Review of June 12, 1954. The article presents a thoughtful and interesting analysis of American-European relations.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SUNRISE IN THE WEST: A REAPPRAISAL OF EUROPEAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

(By Peter Viereck)

This attempt to reinterpret anti-Americanism in Europe reflects some recent travels abroad, during which this writer was lecturing on American poetry and culture at Oxford University and on the Continent. The present interpretations are based on the following article of faith: America and Europe have so much in common that the forces of love—the forces of reconciliation and of a voluntary unity within diversity—are stronger than hate and war.

America owes so much to the Old Worldour Bible, our Dante and Goethe and Shakespeare, our democratic Bill of Rights-that no American material aid can ever repay this spiritual debt. To me, as a poet, and also as a historian, the great writers and artists of Western Europe, yes, and also of Russia, mean so much that I would take Jefferson's saying: "Every man has two fatherlands, his own and France," and change it to read: "Every American writer has two fatherlands, his own and Europe." So when I call Europe's anti-Americanism a major catastrophe, this is not because it criticizes America (we need more criticism to overcome our smugness) but because the Europeans themselves thereby commit suicide. Anti-Americanism in Europe is a luxury that was good clean fun in the 1920's. So was anti-Europeanism in America. But for both of us it is a luxury suicidally expensive today, when Communist armies are poised to strike at some new Korea or Indochina.

One clue to psychological anti-Americanism is found by turning back to the year 431 B. C. and rereading a tactiess and embarrassing passage in the otherwise great speech delivered that year by Pericles, leader of the democratic and commercial empire of Athens; this was during the famous war against Sparta's militarist totalitarian dictatorship:

"We secure our friends not by accepting favors but by doing them. And so we are naturally more firm in our attachments; for we are anxious as creditors to cement by kind offices our relations toward friends. If they do not respond with the same warmness, it is because they feel that their services will not be given spontaneously but only as the repayment of a debt. We are alone among mankind in doing men benefits, not on calculations of self-interest, but in the fearless confidence of freedom."

This quotation of 2,400 years ago with its tone of self-righteous smugness helps explain what ineffective propagandists Americans are and what ineffective propagandists the equally unpouplar Athenians were. "Insufferable" is the only possible word for such Athenian propaganda; it sounded insufferable in precisely the way that America's righteous Lady Bountiful tone sounds insufferable to Europeans today. Every American citizen pays a fat slice out of every dollar to aid the European economy, a fact not widely enough appreciated abroad. Conversely, Americans don't sufficiently appreciate the fact that this aid is merely material, whereas in two world wars the peoples of Europe had to pay with millions of lives.

Let us examine anti-Americanism not merely among Europe's pro-Communist minority. Rather, let us also and especially examine the current increase of anti-Americanism among Europe's very finest citizens: those many idealists and heroes of the recent anti-Nazi crusade who are in no way fellow-travelers of any Kremlin line but who love liberty as much as Americans do, or often even more so. First of all, we have not yet convinced them of America's cultural creativity. Secondly, we have not convinced them of American fidelity to the common sacrament of antifascism which united Europe and America in World War II and which is one of the noblest inspiring passions in the whole history of freedom, Let us consider these two causes in that order.

Cultural prestige means more in Europe than America's narrowly economic or military experts have the background to realize. Even in terms of their own pragmatic, political, noncultural motives (which in this case accidentally happen to coincide with higher things), America needs to make its serious cultural achievements better known in Europe. Or to put the same point in the practical terminology of the teams of know-how experts, America must stage a cultural comeback abroad. Foreign policy and military security may seem remote from mere longhair stuff to a know-how team. Yet our entire Western alliance is subtly poisoned by Europe's disproportionate focus on our worst magazines and films as representing American culture.

Not in order to exonerate our own huck-sterdom but in order to record that Europe's philistia is just as prevalent, let it be recorded that nobody forces Europe to purchase so avidly not the best but the vulgarest Americana, which Europe's masses voluntarily prefer to their own great heritage. In that sense, the hatred of our admittedly vulgar Americana by cultured Europe today is a projection of Europe's secret self-hatred, its hatred of its rootless postwar detachment from its own great past, its hatred of becoming voluntarily even more "Americanized" than our own pluralistic America. For despite current huckster rampages which con-

descend to compare our leading scientists with crooked bank tellers, our pluralistic America does fortunately remain less "Americanized," less crass and materialistic, and more seriously cultured than had seemed to be the case in the Babbitt-baiting, of the twenties.

America is more complicated, both better and worse, than this oversimplified stereotype of the twenties, to which most Europeans still cling. Is is not time, through hundredfold multiplication of such exchanges as the Fulbright plan, to let Europeans revise their stereotype by freely judging, at first hand, America's new artistic and literary flowering? While it would be blasphemous to exchange cultural knowledge merely from the material motive of politicians and tradesmen, yet this crass motive must not obscure the fact that cultural exchange would also strengthen a modest little cause known as truth.

Unawareness abroad of our cultural creativity is a long-range factor; it goes back to the 19th century. Although it ought to have been discarded as an outdated cliché that whole visiting-lecturer clinché about "You Americans with your speed, speed, speed, and your Frigidaires," yet many important Europeans still think Americans are soulless and insensitive machines, a raw soclety of mass-produced healthy extroverts. Traditional American literary figures like Emily Dickinson, Melville, Thoreau, and "bitter Bierce" don't sound like insensitive soulless extroverts. Neither do some of our contemporary quarterlies. Yet I found Europe far more aware of the America of Hollywood and of Mickey Spillane than of this great literary tradition. For example, one French writer asked: "But how on earth can a poet live in America? Whom would he ever find to talk to about anything except lynchings and chewing gum?"

Only freer travel in both directions can correct this impression. In Europe, unlike America, it is not only esthetically put politically essential to be respected by the intellectuals. Listen, for example, to the diary of Heinrich von Einsiedel, "I Joined the Russians." In this diary, what most makes this grandson of Bismarck hesitate to break with communism and to face westward toward America are his following qualms; and please note that they are purely cultural qualms, not political, economic, or military qualms:

"Is Americanism a future worth striving for? Haven't pursuit of the dollar, the conveyor belt, skyscrapers, crime thrillers, the jazz mania done more to demoralize the world and turn man into a mass creature than could a collectivist party dictatorship inspired by a Socialist's ideal? Where is the towering cultural achievement of America which would lend inner justification to the wealth of the ruling classes?"

The second source of friction which good will on both sides can eliminate is the fact that Europeans find America not sufficiently militant against the Fascist evil. This evil ravaged and almost destroyed Europe in World War II; its horrors are, therefore, less easily forgotten by Europe than by an unracaged America. Americans have never been invaded by Germany, but they have suffered death and torture from Communists in Korea. France has not been invaded by Russia, its traditional ally against Germany since 1815, but has been 3 times invaded by Germany in the last century, and has been brutally occupied by Nazi Germans and Fascist Italians. Therefore, although intellectually both the rightest and the leftist forms of totalitarianism are obviously equally dreadful, emotionally history has made Frenchmen dread the rightest form more and has made Americans dread the leftist form more. Unless both Frenchmen and Americans keep in mind each other's historic scars, Americans will increasingly rage at Frenchmen for being soft toward communism, and

Frenchmen will increasingly rage against Americans for being soft toward fascism—or at least toward German nationalism abroad and toward mob conformism at home. In that case there will never be a meeting of minds between Western Europe and America.

The solution is for both Americans and Europeans to drop the outdated concepts of left and right in foreign policy; to drop these concepts not only semantically but psychologically; to drop as meaningless the mischievous notion of choosing a lesser evil between left and right despotisms. For in foreign policy each is but the mirrow image When you stand in front of a of the other. mirror, left becomes right and right becomes left, and the image remains the same. Semantically you will make Frenchmen more emotionally anti-Communist when you show that communism is nothing but Red fascism; you will make Americans more emotionally on guard against thought control when you show that this is nothing but the bolshevism of the right. The metaphor of the mirror image explains why Western Europe's increasing coftness toward the left and America's increasing softness toward the right are inseparable; both must stop simultaneously, or neither will stop. Let us turn to some examples proving that point.

Every time McCarrhy makes a speech

Every time McCarthy makes a speech threatening to sink British boats, Bevan's leftwingers and America-balters gain more adherents. Every time Bevan makes a speech for appeasing Red China and every time French Communists demonstrate against some just, legal, fairminded trial of some guilty American spy, McCarthy and our isolationist Europe-baiters gain more adherents. The great British liberal weekly, the Economist, defines Aneurin Bevan's slanders of America as "a deliberate recipe for striking down the free world's shield." Exactly. And what else but this are McCarthy's slanders of England?

Here is a second example of mirror images. Europeans tend to think (and here, as elsewhere, many American liberal intellectuals resemble the European side of the mirror) that everyone indicted for communism in America is being framed up. Thus they often-to my shock and amazement during recent trips abroad-deemed such proved traitors as Hiss and the Rosenbergs innocent and minimized the proved Communist infiltration in that erstwhile sacred cow, the Institute of Pacific Relations. Conversely, many nationalistic Americans tend to think everyone accused of communism is guilty. Thus some Americans-again to my shock and amazement-impute intentional pro-communism to a past administration which proved its anti-communism by the Truman doctrine in Turkey and Greece, by NATO, and by resisting Communist aggression in Korea. Here the American-nationalist mistake mirrors the European-liberal mistake; the former tends to call everybody guilty indiscriminately, without due process of law; the latter tends to call everybody a framed-up innocent indiscriminately, despite all evidence.

If, for the sake of Western unity, we discard the terms "left" and "right" with what shall we replace them? I suggest using the adjectives "separatists" and "westernizing" to bring out the contrast that really matters, the contrast between suicidal aloofness and Western collective security against the totalitarian aggressor, which alone could have prevented World War II and which alone can save us from world war III. Thus, fellow traveler and appeasement tendencies in Europe on the one hand and isolationist, xenophobic, and thought-controlling tendencies in America on the other hand, are both forms, by my terminology, of the same ism: separatism. 'Westernizing" I define as everything encouraging mutual aid, mutual trade, mutual military, and spiritual defenses in the free world against that ever-hovering

threat (which hangs over us all) of some Moscow-directed Pearl Harbor.

This terminology is more realistic than left and right because it puts together all who opposed the Marshall plan and the Atlantic Pact in the same camp, where they belong. For example, the junior Senator from Wisconsin, who voted against the Marshall plan and against adequately financing our anti-Communist armies in Europe, gets placed by this new terminology in the same camp (the separatist camp) as Nenni, Kingsley Martin, Jean-Paul Sartre, Alvarez Del Vayo, the New Statesman enemies of the Atlantic Pact in London, and its neutralist enemies in Paris and Rome.

In October 1952 the late Josef Stalin made one of the most important speeches of the 20th century. He predicted the Soviets would triumph not merely because of leftwing tendencies in the West but because of the disunity in the West created by nationalist rivalries. Quite diverse examples of such separatist nationalism are neofascism in Italy, nationalist jealousy between France and Germany, and America's high tariffs. If Stalin realized that the West can be destroyed by this tacit alliance of the trust-Russia leftists and the nationalist rightists, then let the West realize it likewise and act accordingly. Here, in the context of Stalin's October speech, is my definition of McCarthyite separatism: McCarthyism is that unwitting tool of the Kremlin criminals which, by replacing genuine anticommunism (that is, a freedom-loving anticommunism) with demagogic pseudo-anticommunism, lends aid and comfort to the real Communist agents (the real Hisses and Fuchses) by falsely accusing of procommunism countless anti-Communists (like Ambassador Bohlen, General Zwicker, Adlai Stevenson, Ed Murrow, Harvard's Pusey, and many others).

In short, the isolationists and McCarthyite separatists of America and the neutralist and fellow-traveler separatists and appeasers in Europe are as identical as a bump and a hollow. Opposing that bump and that hollow, the freedom-loving unity of the westernizers is not merely a temporary material expedient against communism but is rooted the lasting spiritual philosophies which the West has inherited from Athens and from Palestine. Fortunately, most Americans and most Europeans are still prowestern, not separatists, and so-as shown by their mass desertions to the West-are most East Europeans and Russians, despite their tyrannical separatist governments. It is not because most Americans are Fascist imperialists but because most Americans are democratic foes of fascism that they are, consistently, likewise the foes of the Soviet police state. Freedom must be defended simultaneously on several different fronts, not on one alone.

But while freedom has several fronts, they are not equally dangerous. Let us retain a sense of proportion about which front faces a permanent menace of 200 armed divisions and which front faces a demagogy that has no armed division behind it and can still be rendered ephemeral with ballots at home.

When Communists and McCarthyites both booed in protest against the giving of the Nobel prize for peace to the founder of the Marshall plan, they proved beyond dispute the validity of the mirror-image metaphor here suggested. Only this mirror interpretation makes sense of the fact that the Daily Worker and Senator McCarthy both opposed, and still oppose, the Marshall plan and all subsequent manifestations of same cooperative western unity. While left and right still have a certain legitimate validity in domestic politics, obviously they must be replaced by the concepts of westernism and separatism in any realistic analysis of European-American foreign relations. Westernism does not stand for coercive uniformity or for the end of independent political parties with lots of healthy disagreement; that would be the very totalitarianism we combat. What westernism means is that those who share it share a common value code; they share a common anti-Fascist, anti-Communist framework of parliamentary liberties. Therefore, westernism means no blind conformism; it means free indi-Vidualism with a close but voluntary unity.

Don't blame Communist propaganda exclusively for anti-Americanism abroad. Blame also America's meanspirited isolationists and zenophobes. Our Europe-baiters and would-be thought-controllers look more important from afar than they actually are at home. In any case, whether important or unimportant at home, these noisy slanderers give wavering Europeans the impressiona false impression-that all America has the rabies. This much-cited rables quotation is from one of the most skillful Soviet-sympathizing writers in Paris. He welcomes McCarthyism as a godsend. In exactly the same way, European neutralist and fellowtraveler periodicals, such as much of the nonliterary section of the London New Statesman, are a godsend to America's Eu-rope-baiters and McCarthyites.

Readers who still recall their college science courses will remember the classic case of a traveling cook called Typhoid Mary. Herself immune to the typhoid germs she teemed with, she left typhoid epidemics in her wake, unintentionally and with blissful unawareness. May we not call Joseph Mc-Carthy the Typhoid Mary of anti-Amer-icanism?

The more we tell Europe about the horrors of communism (though it is indeed monstrously horrible), the more will Europeans tell us about the horrors of fascism, which only recently occupied their countries. being so, let more Americans have the empathy, the sensitivity to put themselves in Europe's place and to think again of the horrors of nazism. If more Americans do so, I guarantee that more anti-Americans in Europe will reciprocate by greater awareness of the horrors of communism.

This reciprocity may not be logical. Logically you make people anti-Communist by talking against communism. But it is psychological. Psychologically, America will not make Europeans sufficiently anti-Commuhist unless America in addition talks about the dangers of Fascist-style thought-control and demagogy. And mere lip service to antifacism is not enough; a rebirth of the anti-Fascist spirit in America—the psychological prerequisite to a rebirth of anticommunism in Europe-must, in Wordsworth's phrase, be "felt in the heart and felt along the blood." Not narrow nationalism but the generous passionate idealism that stopped Hitler is what will stop the appeal of communism abroad.

This freedom-loving idealism cuts across right and left just as does "communazi" to-talitarianism; this idealism is found alike in the conservatism of a Churchill or Eden and the democratic socialism of a Mayor Reuter, of Berlin, or a Norman Thomas; not economics but ethics must be the criterion. No mere economic cooperation with Europe (though I favor it for other reasons) will do as much to inspire Europe against the criminal Soviet aggressor as will a nationwide rekindling in America of our anti-Fascist conscience. What a thrill of renewed faith in NATO and in American leadership would Surge through wavering Europe, what panic and gnashing of teeth would excruciate the propagandists of pro-Soviet appeasement, if our President—while never relaxing our alertness against Communist spies-took the lead in a dramatic all-out drive against all Senators, Congressmen, and newspapers who would corrupt that necessary altertness into attacks on free institutions. And by allout drive I do not mean vague platitudes; I mean naming names and hitting hard.

At the very same time, by the law of mirrored reciprocity, a lot more Italian and French voters would have to vote against communism and for NATO in order to en-courage more Americans to vote out of office our nationalistic know-nothings. ropeans learn that the road to effective anti-McCarthyism must begin with a more sincere anticommunism. Let Americans learn that the road to anticommunism must begin with a sincere anti-Fascist revival.

A big increase in European Atlantic Pact anticommunism and European knowledge of our serious cultural achievements on the one hand, and a big increase in American freeminded individualism, passion for civil liberties, and tolerant world-mindedness on the other hand, will need each other, will feed each other, and will both be gloriously right. This entirely voluntary unity will be based on liberty and not merely on temporary military expediency. Only yesterday this unity saved both Europe and America from Hitler. If today it saves us both from an otherwise inevitable world conquest by Chinese and Russian communism, then for a second time in one century, and by a reversal of astronomy, the sun will rise in the west.

Anti-Nixon Smear Campaign Exposed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the January 24 issue of Time magazine, on the newsstands today, contains an exposé of the cruel, hard, and ruthless political strategy behind the latest wave of smear attacks against Vice President Nixon. Fair-minded Americans will not softly judge those who conceived and are executing this "politician cries foul" switch on the old "boy cries wolf" dodge.

The Time article is as follows:

THE VICE PRESIDENCY

TARGET: THE ISSUE

For more than 2 years Democratic leaders have been agreed on the identity of the party's political enemy No. 1. It is RICHARD Since Dwight Eisenhower's political NIXON. armor is hard to pierce, it has been logical Democratic strategy to shoot at the second In midcampaign, 1952, Democratic strategists thought they had downed their man-and the GOP too-with their shouts about the Nixon fund, but Nixon skillfully turned the attack to his and his party's advantage. Since then Democratic leaders have watched Nixon's every move, ready to kick when the word was passed. Last week a new Democratic attack on Nixon was in full kick.

Open season

The new anti-Nixon movement was set off during last fall's campaign by Adlai Stevenson, who accused the Vice President of perpetrating McCarthyism in a white collar. week after the election: Steve Mitchell, then Democratic national chairman, called upon Nixon to "retract and apologize for his campaign excesses." When Congress convened, House Speaker Sam RAYBURN took up the "are not cudgel, growled that Democrats going to say that just because we do not like somebody politically he is soft on com-At a Democratic luncheon in munism. Washington last week, Delaware's freshman Representative HARRIS B. McDowell cried: "It's open season on the Vice President."

After that, Republican leaders decided that the attacks had become serious enough to return the fire. At his press conference, Dwight Eisenhower moved into the battle. When a reporter asked how he felt about the criticism of NIXON, Ike bridled slightly and asked a question of his own: Was the reporter's query based on what Nixon actually said or on what the critics said he said? The reporter replied that he was working from the critics' words, not from Nixon's deeds.

After establishing that point, the President went on: He had never heard of Nixon's making any sweeping condemnation of any party. The Vice President had talked about certain individual cases and the way they were handled administratively, had ques-tioned good judgment, but not loyalty.

The record clearly supported the Eisenhower position. Even in his "chamber of a display in Washington designed to smears. dramatize the attack, Democratic National Chairman Paul Butler could actually show only scattered and minor reference to the Vice President. Most of the space was devoted to local advertisements against Democratic candidates that had no connection with Nixon, for example, a Wyoming ad that called United States Senator Joseph C. O'MAIONEY "Foreign Agent 783" (because that was his number as a registered congressional lobbyist for Cuban-sugar inter-

One Democratic exhibit blandly repeated an error that had been discovered and corrected last September. In a speech at Huron, S. Dak., Nixon had said that the Republican administration was "kicking the Communists and fellow travelers and security risks out of the Government * * * by the thousands." An Associated Press dispatch misquoted Nixon, leaving out the phrase "fellow travelers and security risks." Although a tape recording proved what Nixon had said. the Democratic strategists are still using the erroneous dispatch.

Closed cases

Throughout the campaign, Nixon hit the Democrats hard on the Communist issue. But he never adopted JOE McCARTHY's line that the Democratic Party is the party of treason. Carefully pointing out that he was not charging disloyalty or treason, he made the very different charge that the Democratic administrations of Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman had, in some very important instances, failed to understand and to meet the threat of Communist subversion. To support his case, he could, and did, point to specific closed cases, e. g., Soviet Agent Harry Dexter White was permitted to build a whole cadre of followers in the United States Treasury despite repeated warnings from the FBI; Soviet Agent Alger Hiss, whom NIXON helped uncover, was unconscionably defended by Harry Truman and Dean Ache-

Democratic attack on The Nixon is not aimed primarily at the Vice President, although knocking him out politically would be a useful byproduct for the Democrats. What the party strategists are really trying to do, with help from Democratic-leaning reporters of the press and radio-TV, is to perform a quick rewrite of history. Before 1956 they want to erase the record of negligence in dealing with Communist subversion.

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

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Appendix

Address by the Ambassador From Norway to the United States. Wilhelm M. Morgenstierne

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, a very fine address was delivered in Minneapolis on January 15 by the dean of the diplomatic corps in Washington, the Ambassador of Norway, Wilhelm Munthe Morgenstierne, on the occasion of the 60th anniversary banquet of the Sons of Norway.

It is an address which is of genuine interest, not only because of the man who delivered it-who is so widely respected and beloved in this country-or the useful organization which he addressed.

It is a tribute to the sturdy men and Women of Norse extraction who have made a worthy and a constructive contribution to our American life, and it contains a splendid description of Nor-Way's sturdy people, their traditions and achievements, and their ideals of freedom which are so much akin to those of the United States.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the manuscript will be approximately 234 pages of the RECORD, at a cost of \$220.

I ask unanimous consent that Ambassador Morgenstierne's address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

TEXT OF ADDRESS BY WILHELM M. MORGEN-STIERNE, AMBASSADOR FROM NORWAY TO THE United States, Delivered at 60th Anni-Versary Banquet, Sons of Norway, Radis-SON HOTEL, MINNEAPOLIS, SATURDAY EVE-NING, JANUARY 15, 1955

Thank you very, very much. I speak from my heart when I say that I appreciate more than I can express to be with you here today on Sons of Norway's 60th anniversary celebration. Some of you may recall—I certainly do—that I was with you and talked to you 10 years ago on the occasion of your 50th anniversary. The fact that you wanted me to come again means a lot to me. may have heard of that very popular man who was invited everywhere, but never twice. That you wanted me to come again is indeed a great honor, and to me a pleasure which

could not be greater.

I do feel that here I am among friends, good old friends. Do you know that almost 45 Years have gone by since my first acquaintance with some of your lodges here in Minnesota and in North Dakota. When I first was at the Norwegian Legation in Washington, I had a vacation coming to me in the summer of 1911. A good friend of mine in Wash-

ington told me: You cannot make better use of your vacation than going out to see your kinsmen in the Middle West. And he quoted Horace Greeley: "Go West, young man." And I did. From that time dates my lifelong friendship with men like Laurits Stavnheim, Olaf Rove, Halvard Askeland—all great Sons of Norway and pillars of your society. And so, when I was sent as Norweigian Commissioner to the San Francisco World's Fair in 1915, I attended and met many friends at the Sons of Norway convention which was held there that year. lodge. Norden in Tacoma asked me to visit with them on my way back, and there President Martin Ulvestad, the indefatigable collector of material about our pioneers, presented me with this beautiful badge, which carries the inscription AEresmedlem. always has meant a lot to me, even if I have learned later that Sons of Norway recognizes no such thing as honorary member. Thinking it over, I have come to the conclusion that I much prefer to be a regular brother, an honorable, but not honorary member of our great organization.

On that same trip in 1915 I also had the opportunity to visit many of your lodges. I recall vividly that vigorous lodge, Ivar Aasen, in Santa Barbara, where sturdy men from Summre were growing lima beans-lots of them. The greatest impression on me was made by the newly arrived, forest-clearing settlers along Puget Sound, north of Seattle. I visited Silvana, Edison, and Mount Vernon, and watched their steam donkeys in action. I think that Lodge Skjaergaarden, where I spoke, is the nearest I ever came to the pioneer stage. I shall never forget it. You know those steam donkeys were wonderful. I saw them at work in virgin forests. They reminded me more than anything else of trolls, mechanized trolls, as they came rushing through the forest, uprooting big trees, making a clearance through the dense underbrush the first step in what was to become the fertile homesteads of the pioneers.

Now we are getting old. You are 60 years old, and I am 67. Isn't it strange that there is always these 7 years between you and me? I sometime hoped that once I would overtake you, and be just as young as you are. But no. Strangely enough there was always those 7 years.

I cannot quite escape the feeling that this may come to be my swan song to you. In 3 years I shall retire from my present position in Washington and go home to Norway, and carry on as best I can on my pension, spending my remaining years in my log cabin. At least I shall not be here when you celebrate your 70th anniversary. And so I want to take this opportunity to thank you for everything. I also want to make a confession to you. And that is that my association with you through all these years has meant a tre-mendous lot to me. In more than one way it has meant a lot to me as a human being.

It meant to me the opening of a new world, a relevation of a greater Norway, in the sense of Norwegian men and women, Norwegian ideals and traditions, Norwegian love of freedom, independence, and democracy, leaving its indelible imprint on those sturdy, self-assured sections of America called the Middle West and the great Northwest. I was never the same afterwards. My eyes were focused on larger horizons. Det Norske Amerika was enclosed in my heart

besides my own Norway.

But it also meant a lot to me in my official osition as Norway's representative to the United States. And all this was nourished by my close contact with Nordmanns-Forbundet as secretary-general and vice president. In that capacity I traveled more widely in the United States and met more people than would ever have been possible for a mere diplomat. I do believe that it greatly helped me in my task of creating understanding and good will between our two countries.

During these, my almost 45 years in America, I sincerely felt that I had two main aims: To promote close and friendly relations between the United States and Norway, and to strengthen the bonds between the Norwegian people and our kinsmen in this new Norway across the ocean.

That gave perspective, direction, and happiness, to my work in Washington. And when I look back on my official life, I find that I have been singularly blessed.

I hope you will forgive me these personal references, but they have a distinct bearing on my presence here tonight, my long and close association with Sons of Norway.

In those 60 years since the first Sons of Norway Lodge was organized here in Minneapolis, you have accomplished great things.

True to one of your basic aims, to organize

mutual aid in sickness and in death, there has grown a modern life insurance organization with lodges all over the United States. What this has meant to thousands upon thousands of Norwegian men and women in a new land, only the beneficiaries themselves, and the historians, could fully evaluate.

But in addition to such mutual assistance Sons of Norway from the very beginning aimed at preserving the cultural and spiritual traditions of Norway. The Sons of Norway, through the years, have always realized that by keeping alive the Norwegian heritage, or what we call fedrearven, the lives of its members would always be enriched, and they would thereby be able to contribute that much more to their country of adoption.

Now, of course, the word "fedrearven" is used so often that perhaps it is in danger of losing its full meaning and becoming somewhat stale. Yet, no one will deny, I am sure, that the thing itself, our Norwegian heritage, is an ever present, dynamic reality in the lives of all those who received it from the cradle on.

For a long time I struggled in order to find an adequate expression for all that the word "fedrearven" implies. I cannot do better than I once defined it before, and so I will quote it here. I said:

"What, then, are these golden treasures of the mind and the spirit passed down to us from our common fathers? I do not think a comprehensive and satisfactory definition of "fedrearven" has been given as yet. Perhaps it cannot be done, because some of its elements are as illusive as the elfs dancing on lavebrua and the play of nokken in the waterfall.

"But we are not in doubt as to some things, quite a few things, which go to make up our Norwegian heritage. There are the sagas, both the heroic tales themselves and the rhythm of the telling, which have become part of the consciousness of our people. There is Norwegian history, tracing our national life through the centuries, with its glories and its humiliations, its light and its deep shadows, but always with one distinguishing, indelible line—the love of indivi-dual liberty and national independence, sometimes submerged and dormant, but always there, latently. And last, but not least, the determination of the people that with law shall we build our land. Med lov skal land bygges.

One of the treasures which your fathers brought along with them from Norway was the deep religious traditions of the wegian church. Many pastors graduated from the University of Norway came with the Norwegian immigrants to this country, and this meant a great deal both in a religious and a cultural way to the newcomers to a foreign and strange country. Theirs remained the faith of their fathers.

A very essential part of our heritage is Norway itself. Not exactly or exclusively the beautiful flords and mountains, the valleys, or the great highland plains, but the atmosphere, the soul of all these things. Why do the elfs, the nisse, the trolls, the nokken take such an important place in the deeper consciousness and the folk tales of our people? Not because they actually exist as such, but because in the intuitive imagination of the people they represent the mystic, but nevertheless real, interplay and fundamental oneness of the spirit of Norwegian nature and Norwegian cultural and national life.

Part of our national heritage is, indeed, the contribution made by Norwegian scholars and scientists and pioneers in many fields of human endeavor to the advancement of human knowledge. Our great Arctic and Antarctic explorers, for instance, have added immeasurably, not only to humanity's common knowledge of the earth we inhabit but to the prestige and the glory of the country which fostered them.

What more than perhaps anything else makes fedrearven a living reality is Norwegian literature and music. I wonder whether there is any country where literature and music enter so intimately into the daily life of the people. Wergeland, Welhaven, Bjornson, Ibsen, Kielland, Ivar Aasen, Vinje, Garborg, Hamsun, Collett Vogt, Und-set, Kjerulf, Nordraak, Grieg, Sinding—to Grieg, Sindingmention some of the brilliant stars on the Norwegian firmament. All these, and many others, are part of our daily fare; we read them, we quote them, we sing them; they have become inseparably intermingled with our lives.

I know, and everybody in Norway knows, how you were with us in thoughts and sympathy during the years, 5 long years, when Norway was occupied by the enemy, and our people were crushed under the heel of the Nazis. We shall never forget how you stood by, spiritually and with your material support, in the hour of Norway's greatest need.

Today, with that terrible war and cruel occupation behind us, I know that your thoughts and your love still find their way across the ocean, and perhaps you may want me to tell you what has happened during these 10 years since Norway's liberation. How is Norway today? I am happy to be able to tell you:

Norway is all right, now. But we have had a rough time. When the sun rose over a free Norway in May 1945, we found a land devastated by the enemy, many of our towns in ruins, our railroads, bridges, factories destroved. We faced a tremendous task of reconstruction.

And not only that: We faced a double task. We had not only to rebuild our country, but at the same time to see to it, that it must not happen again.

This double task placed a tremendous burden on our people. If we succeeded, and I think that we are well on our way, it was mainly for the following reasons: First, the spirit of the Norwegian resistance movement during the occupation years had, to some extent, carried over to the postwar period. Political parties, political differences, did not mean as much as they used to. Above all differences, all quarrels, there was Norway. We worked together to rebuild and protect our country. I believe that most Norwegians today would say with the leader of the home front during the occupation: "We have learned this, too, that there is something greater than our personal affairs and wishes: Our country, our people, this Norway which has been sustained through adversity, ravaged, pillaged, and poor, but free, and our own deeper, more intimate sense than ever before '

I think it is significant that in the postwar years there were no strikes in Norway. What that meant in the reconstruction years, I do not need to dwell upon.

Secondly, in the years immediately following the war, certain aspects of the economic world situation turned out to be favorable for Norway. We found, for several years, profitable markets for our principal export And in addition, our merchant marine found full employment at profitable freight rates.

Last, but not least, there was that unique manifestation of American statesmanship, vision, and generosity—the Marshall plan. I want to say right here that without Marshall plan Norway, and indeed all of Western Europe, might have been an easy prey for aggressive communism. And let me add one thing: I have heard it said some-times that we in Western Europe do not appreciate the American aid, that you may have won enemies and not friends, by your generosity. May I say as strongly as I can, that this is not true, at least not as far as Norway is concerned. We are sincerely and deeply appreciative and grateful, and your aid in our time of need will go down in our history as one of the finest chapters in international relations. And I believe we made judicious use of the Marshall aid. At least the Marshall plan administration told us so again and again. We used it mainly for investments, not for consumption. In Norway we continued a regime of austerity for many years after the war.

We used a large part of the Marshall aid for the enlargement of our industrial plant, thus enabling us to increase our exports considerably. And also for the restoration of our merchant marine. During the war we lost 51 percent of our tonnage. Today we have not only rebuilt our fleet, but we have a larger total tonnage than before the war. Norway with its 3,250,000 people has the 3d largest commercial fleet of all the countries in the world. Our total tonnage is now 7 million tons. More ships of Norwegian registry visit American ports than those of any other foreign nation, except Great Britain.

As you know, we have a labor government in Norway, as a matter of fact we have had one-with the interruption of only a few months-since 1935. It is not a socialist government in the old sense, in the sense in which it is still often understood. My government does not go in much for socialization or nationalization. It has found that greater social and economic justice, greater well-being for the people, all the people, can be reached in a different and a better way. believes that a nation should also take into its service the advantages, the incentive of personal initiative, of private capitalism, under government control and regulation. It believes that the ultimate solution lies in utilizing all the constructive forces, all the resources of the country, in one great combined effort to reach the maximum strength of the nation.

Of course, government control and regulation are not always popular, nor are high taxes-neither in Norway, nor in any other country. There are, of course, differences of opinion among the people regarding the eco-

nomic policies of the government. And the political parties are quite sharply divided on some of the measures introduced by the government. But, I would say that on the whole, and considering the heavy burdens of the postwar period, we have not been doing badly.

Let me mention one fact which to me seems to have a bearing on the situation. In the Norwegian Paliament (the Storting) we used for a few years after the war to have 11 Communist representatives. Today there are only 3 Communists in the Norwegian Storting.
On the whole I think it is correct to say

that Norway today is a welfare state, laying more stress upon the ultimate aim—that is the welfare of all the people-than on the means to accomplish this aim.

The means by which we have succeeded in furthering the aims of a welfare state, without resorting to nationalization, have been many. I shall mention a few of them: The government has laid great stress on

securing full and efficient employment. The government has done everything within its power to secure a steady rise in

production and productivity.

Great and largely successful efforts have been made to secure a reasonable and just distribution of goods and services. There has in a part, a small part, of the American press been misrepresentations of economic conditions in Norway. It was thus stated recently in an influential paper that under the labor regime there were all kinds of shortages and difficulties.

In this connection it was said that Norway still had wartime rationing, and that it was difficult, for instance, to secure a suit. This. of course, is not so. All rationing in Norway was abolished several years ago, and ir. our shops one can buy practically everything, just as in this country. And not only that. We produce ourselves lots of things for export to other countries. When I was with you 10 years ago, I remember com-plaining that the Quislings ate all our brislings. We have plenty to export to you, for instance.

Through taxation there has been effected a leveling of income, and means have been made available for improving the lot of the common man.

There has been an extension of benefits to the people in the form of social insurance (old-age pensions, insurance against sickness, unemployment, etc.). Also an extension of free educational facilities. Public education is free in Norway, and this applies to public schools, high schools, and universities.

A great deal has been done to spread among all the people our cultural treasures and evoke interest in the fine things of life. Recreational facilities for the people have been provided. It might be said, that as the goals are stable, the means are flexible, and they are judged solely in terms of their effectiveness in creating human welfare and a richer life.

I believe that any objective observer visiting Norway today will find that as far as social justice and well being is concerned. we have gone a long way during the last 20 years. There is less economic inequality. less class distinction, and greater general contentment among the people than there used to be. I believe one would find a deeper feeling, that Norway, with all its material and cultural resources, belongs to all the people. This feeling, I am sure, greatly con-tributed to the fact that when war came, the entire nation rallied to the defense of our land and our freedom. More than ever all the people felt that they had something to lose and so much to defend. The great question is, of course, how far one can safely go with regard to taxation, without inter ferring with a healthy economic development and expansion.

I think that an important part of Norway's role in the world today is to have shown that through peaceful, democratic means it has been possible to organize a soclety based on a higher degree of economic Wellbeing and social justice. There still remains a lot to be done in this field-but I Sincerely believe that we are on our way.

I thought that I should give you this

short outline of our internal situation before I say something about Norway's foreign policies and the role it plays internationally in

the world today.

For many years back Norway has en-Joyed an international reputation as a peaceloving country. For more than a hundred years, from 1814 until we were attacked in we had not known war. Norway had been in the forefront of the countries which Worked for international arbitration agreements, seeking to find peaceful solutions of conflicts between nations. In recognition of this Mr. Alfred Nobel, a Swedish industrialist with warm humanitarian interests, in his testament-provided that it should be left to a committee of Norwegians, appointed by the Norwegian Parliament, to award the annual Nobel peace prize.

I have already related what happened in 1940, when the aggressor suddenly and with-out any provocation on our part broke into our peaceful land. We fought, as you know, bravely for 5 years. When the liberation came in 1945, we, and the free world generally, felt deeply that such aggression must not be permitted to happen again. We must join in organizing collective security and prepare together to defend our freedom and

all that goes with it.

And so in the spring of 1945, with the prayers and high hopes of the peace- and freedom-loving world, the United Nations was organized in San Francisco. I had the privilege to be there myself and to sign the United Nations Charter on behalf of Norway, and I shall never forget the 26th of June 1945 when the charter was signed by all the 50 nations represented in San Francisco. There was a wonderful spirit of relief and optimism in the air. We had real hopes that all the members would now be willing to cooperate in times of peace, as they had during the years of war.

Tragically, this situation did not last long. Soon all kinds of difficulties arose between the Western and the Communist world.

The happenings of the last 9 years of socalled cold war-sometimes not so very cold—are only too vivdly in our minds. Peacemaking with Germany and Austria has been sabotaged. Solemn agreements that free and unfettered elections should be held in liberated countries like Poland, Rumania, Bulgario, and others, were cynically broken. Freedom and human rights were brutally suppressed. Overnight these and other countries were turned into totalitarian dictatorships, with utter disregard for the will of the people. A few years later also the free, democratic country of Czechoslovakia was raped and deprived of all the blessings of freedom and popular government. Iron curtains were lowered for the purpose of keeping out all influences from the free world. Terror, lawlessness, concentration camps flourished. Perhaps worst of all was the gradual poisoning of the moral climate of the world. Untruths were flying thick and fast. The generally accepted meaning of words were perverted. Dictatorships were called democracies, slavery was called free-dom, peaceloving states were called warmongers, and white was called black or red.

The veto power of the permanent members of the Security Council of the United Nations, which had been agreed upon in San Francisco on the explicit understanding that it should be used only in extreme cases, was continuously misused with the result that the United Nations was virtually paralyzed.

It did not prove possible to get the Communist members to cooperate on what was to have been one of the main pillars of the United Nations—a military organization to enforce its decisions and the peace of the

It took some time before we realized what we were really up against, and what this insidious obstacle was, which we seemed to meet at every crossroad. Gradually it dawned upon us that it was the most unscrupulous, aggressive force which the world had ever known, namely the conspiracy of international imperialist communism. sonally I fear that many people even today do not fully realize the mortal danger in which we find ourselves-that we are facing the greatest struggle of all times between the forces of freedom and progress, and the dark evil forces of reaction. It was hard to realize that after having fought and sacrificed to get rid of nazism, we had ended up with something still worse, namely aggressive communism.

Strangely enough there still seems to be some people, not Communists only, who cling to the idea that there is something liberal or radical, even progressive, about communism. They seem blind to the fact that communism is black reaction, trying to tear down what the common man has fought for and sacrificed for through generations—that is freedom of speech, freedom of the press, of assembly, of elections. We know that at elections in Communist states they have a single list, prepared by the Communist gov-The voters have no choice. Vote for the single list, or else. I must think of a Communist satellite state in Europe, which a few years ago was going to have one of the single-list elections. One of the news-papers in that country wrote: "These are going to be really free elections, because they will be free of the demagogy of opposition parties.'

There is nothing the matter with the Charter of the United Nations. It is a fact that the charter stipulates most of the things to which a free, peace-loving world aspires. It reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person. It stipulates that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest. It emphasizes the duty of member states to respect the obligations arising from treaties, and it obligates them to practice tolerance and to live together in peace with one another as good neighbors.

No, there is nothing the matter with the charter. If all the members would scrupu-lously respect its stipulations then we should certainly not be in the mess in which we

But, may I ask, what organization can possibly succeed if some of its members openly flaunt the principles to which they themselves have solemnly subscribed?

Under these circumstances a way had to be found to protect the free world against aggression, until the United Nations should be in a position to fulfill the great task planned for it.

Norway, never forgetting the 5 long years of totalitarian domination, strongly felt that we must continue our search for security for our rewon freedom.

Alone, we could not accomplish this. We knew that, and our first thought, naturally, was to turn to our neighbors and friends in the north to see what the three of us together could do. As we saw it, the best solution, not only for ourselves but for the cause of freedom and democracy generally, would be a Scandinavian regional defense pact, under the Charter of the United Nations, and in some way affiliated with the great western democracies.

Our Swedish friends could not see it that way. They found that they had to adhere to Sweden's traditional neutrality, based on her past experiences and, no doubt, in accordance with the wishes of the majority of the Swedish people. A Scandinavian neutral defense pact, however, without solidarity with a larger democratic regional group, offered no solution for Norway's problems. strongly felt that neutrality in these days had no relation to the facts of life.

And so, in 1949, together with Denmark, we decided to join with 10 other countries of the North Atlantic regions in a defense alliance. The alliance was named the North Alantic Treaty Organization, NATO for short. This was in full accordance with article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, which provides for individual or collective selfdefense of its members. As we know, nations have not always taken to heart the lessons of history. But here was one instance where a group of free countries did decide to profit by the bitter experiences of the past, and not allow an aggressor to pick them off one by

From now on a would-be aggressor, whoever he might be, would face a strong group of peace- and freedom-loving countries. An attack on one of them would constitute an attack against all. Only a country which has aggressive aims needs to fear the Atlantic Pact.

This organization is steadily getting stronger. Under the inspiring leadership of General Eisenhower and his successors as commander of the NATO forces, it made great headway. I don't think there is any doubt that the Atlantic Pact has been largely responsible for preventing so far a new world war. It has deterred any would-be aggressor from attacking.

Norway is happy and proud that from the very first we joined this great organization, in spite of the fact that we were seriously threatened by the Communists. Norway is the only one of the Scandinavian countries which has a common frontier with Soviet Russia, as a matter of fact a frontier more than 100 miles long. The risk we took was, consequently, particularly serious.

I must not keep you much longer. Let me say this only: Is it not a wonderful thing, that after all these years of close friendship, of common ideals and ideas, our countries, America and Norway, are today allies?

In the fact of the threat to our common peace and freedom we are brothers in arms in a great defensive alliance. It is a natural development of our thousand years of understanding and friendship.

Only the Atlantic Ocean separates us. What unites us is of sterner stuff than water.

No nations could be more sincerely peaceful than yours and mine. We both devoutly pray that divine providence will spare us, and all men, the indescribable horrors of

There is only one thing that we hate more than war, and that is slavery under a to-talitarian master. And only one thing we love more than peace, and that is freedom and all that goes with it.

Warning Against Proposed Columbia **Basin Interstate River Compact**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "What Gain in a Compact?" published in the Portland Oregonian of January 18, 1955.

The editorial warns against the proposed Columbia Basin Interstate River Compact in the Pacific Northwest. I subscribe to its general conclusions.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHAT GAIN IN A COMPACT?

The Columbia interstate compact, in our opinion, will be adopted by the Legislatures of Montana, Idaho, Nevada, Utah, and Wyoming, but has no more than a 50-50 chance in the Legislatures of Oregon and Washington. If the Democratic senatorial bloc from Oregon, Washington, and Montana opposes a compact bill in Congress, the necessary Federal authorization may not be obtained.

When the final compact draft was signed in Portland Saturday, State Senator Robert D. Holmes, of Astoria, a member of the Oregon compact drafting delegation, refused to sign with the others. This may mean that it will be Democratic policy to oppose the compact. All four "major" States—Washington, Oregon, Idaho, and Montana—must ratify, and Congress must approve, if the compact is to go into effect. But it is noteworthy that there is no escape hatch for Oregon, once it has joined. A State may stop paying its "dues," but the compact goes on unless it is dissolved by the four major States with consent of Congress.

Our greatest disappointment in the compact plan is that almost from the beginning the conferees decided that the States should not attempt to build dams and transmission lines for the development and distribution of hydroelectric power, nor engage in multipurpose projects of water use. Instead, the proposed compact commission will be recommendatory only. Yet its recommendations will be based on a formula which rigidly establishes the superiority of "upstream beneficial consumptive' use of water-irrigation, etc., in which most of the water is not returned to the rivers-over "downstream nonconsumptive" use-power, navigation, flood control, industrial poses, pollution control, preservation of fish and wildlife, and recreational use.

There may be benefit in such an interstate agreement establishing the priorities of water use. But the section on allocation of power leaves us queasy.

This section is not so objectionable as it was before the recent Spokane meeting, in which the formula was made less rigid. Still it is the purpose of the compact to assure an upstream State the full power production of dams in that State, plus a "fair and equitable" share of power produced because of such storage at downstream plants. The compact commission will determine what is "fair and equitable." A loophole was left in the final draft. It reads:

"A recommendation for the reservation of the full amount of the power and energy so determined shall be made as to projects to be reviewed hereunder unless the commission finds the making of a reservation to be impracticable."

So, in the end, everything is left to the agreement of a commission in which the 4 "major" States will each have 2 votes and the 3 "minor" States 1 vote each—with 8 votes being a legal majority. Most of the unauthorized big power sites are in upstream States. The greatest need for power is in the western portions of Oregon and Washington. Obviously, the upstream States will insist on "drawback" provisions in any contracts for power to the industrial coast.

There are a great many factors in this complicated proposal which need careful consideration by the Oregon Legislature. We hope the assembly will not divide on po-

litical lines on this basically economic issue. The main point is whether the best interests of Oregon and the entire Northwest will be advanced. Of this we remain somewhat skeptical, to put it mildly.

Tariffs and Trade Barriers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GEORGE A. SMATHERS

OF FLORIDA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. SMATHERS. Mr. President, on behalf of the Senator from Arkansas [Mr. Fulbricht], I ask unanimous consent that there be inserted in the Appendix of the Record two articles by Ralph Mc-Gill dealing with tariffs and trade barriers, which recently appeared in the Atlanta (Ga.) Constitution.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

GOP GHOSTS ARE AGITATED

(By Ralph McGill)

As Republican high-tariff leaders of the period of looting and special interest grabs, which began with the Grant administration and continued to Grover Cleveland in 1834, watch Republican Dwight D. Elsenhower striving to reduce tariffs, there must, indeed, be a great many agitated ghosts and graves.

That a GOP Chief Executive should be engaged in attacking the Hamiltonian structure so firmly rooted in the economic and political life of the Nation is perhaps the most dramatic feature of today's aspect of those two subjects—politics and economics. When the tariff bill of 1828 was being de-

When the tariff bill of 1828 was being debated, Abbott Laurence, a Massachusetts manufacturer, wrote Daniel Webster thanking him for amendments which helped the position of woolens. "I must say," he penned the great Senator, "that New England would reap a great harvest by having the bill adopted as it now is. * * The bill if adopted as amended will keep the South and West in debt to New England the next 100 years."

No prophecy was ever more accurate. By the time the War Between the States was ended the Republican Party, dominated by industrialists, had political control in a vice-like grip. They set out to enlarge the tariff cornucopia which since 1828 had hung over the industrial east showering it with billions of dollars in privilege profit—most of it from the Nation's farmers and small consumers.

MOVE TO WEST BEGINS

There was discontent with the tariff at war's end, but the West was pacified by the homestead law, passed in 1862 and implemented when peace came. With it was loosed a great flood of money available for all who would build turnpikes, canals, and railroads. Land values boomed and thousands of farmers sold out and began to move westward.

But, by 1881 the Treasury was embarrassed to find itself with a surplus of more than \$100 million. Taxes were high. Costs of all goods were up. Farm prices were down. Gold from new fields was plentiful.

Railroads boosted rates and, joining the industrialists, gave certain favored commodities and friends low rates and their competitors higher ones. Farmers in Iowa burned their corn for fuel because, at 15 cents the

bushel, it was cheaper than coal, though in the East corn was being sold at \$1 a bushel. They properly accused the railroads of extortion. The Farmers Grange and politics of protest began to grow.

President Arthur's tariff commission of

President Arthur's tariff commission of high-protectionist men were honest enough to recommend a reduction of 25 percent. But, lobbyists got to the Congress. The reduction was 5 percent.

POLITICS OF PROTEST

The politics of protest grew in the face of such angered looting and Grover Cleveland was elected in 1884. He made the tariff a party issue, denouncing it as a "vicious, inequitable, and illogical source of unnecessary taxation."

Cleveland also punctured the favorite claim of the high-tariff leaders—that it protected the American workingman. He proved that only 15 percent of all American labor was in protected industries.

In 1838 Cleveland got the most votes but William Harrison won in the Electoral College. Promptly, in 1890, came the McKinley Tariff Act raising the rates to 49 percent. Prices of all food and consumer goods shot up and Democrats were swept back into office in 1892, for the first time since the War Between the States, electing a President controlling both Houses of Congress.

controlling both Houses of Congress.

But, by this time, many Democrats from the more industrialized States were dominated by tariff interests. Tariff reform failed. A bill introduced by Representative William Wilson, of Virginia, and Senator Arthur P. Gorman, from Maryland, was emasculated when Gorman betrayed Cleveland and managed to gain a heavy protection duty on coal, sugar, iron ore, and iron products—and leave the farmer's products to bring what they would. President Cleveland called it a piece of "party perfidy and dishonor." It became law without his signature.

Next great enlargement of the tariff cornucopia came after Harding's election—as we shall see in the next chapter.

"YE WORSE THAN BLIND" (By Ralph McGill)

The voice—speaking today on a need for lowering trade barriers—is the voice of President Elsenhower. But the words are those of Woodrow Wilson and Cordell Hull.

In one of his last messages to Congress President Wilson said:

"Clearly, this is no time for the erection of high trade barriers. It would strike a blow at the large and successful efforts which have been made by many of our industries to place themselves on an export basis. It would stand in the way of the normal readjustment of business conditions throughout the world, which is as vital to the welfare of this country as to that of all the nations."

They went unheeded. The tariff has powerful friends.

In 1920 the Nation turned its back on the economic and political facts of life. It repudiated the League of Nations. Had it not been deceived into thinking this country could become another Tibet, it might have avoided world depression and the second great war.

(Many historians and observers of international affairs have said so, including Winston Churchill.)

USED OUR LOANS TO BUY

But we did so vote—a decision which has cost, and still costs, blood and money.

In 1922 the Harding government approved the Fordney Tariff Act. It was like the elephant fleeing from a mouse. Europe could not flood us with goods, since she was war ravaged and needed desperately to buy. The act made it impossible for her to buy. The irrational quality of the financial minds of that time is hardly comprehensible. Having lent more money than ever before in our history, we passed a tariff act which made repayment impossible. But since we needed to sell our goods, our international bankers made huge loans abroad, floating bonds as security, so that nations which didn't have the money to buy, could use our loans to do so.

There is no record of any financial house warning the people that the bonds couldn't possibly be any good—unless the nations borrowing could sell the products of their factories.

The spiral of prosperity mounted higher and higher. But by the end of 1928 certain uneasy men abrutly halted the lending.

This precipitated world economic disorder. It rocked the newly formed, small democracies of Europe. Our answer was more tariff.

ECONOMISTS PROTESTED

The GOP Congress enacted the Hawley-Smoot tariff aet which raised rates to the highest point in our history. Hoover signed, let it be noted, over the protest of practically every reputable economist in the Nation.

Four years later, speaking before the National Republican Club in New York City, in February 1933, a wistful Herbert Hoover said: "We cannot isolate ourselves. During the past 2 years the crash of one foreign nation after another * * * has dominated the whole economic life of our country."

(Herbert Hoover, no matter how one tries to excuse him as a well meaning man, was a bumbler in office and little else. In 1955,

he is again an isolationist.)

The crash of foreign nations had dominated our, and his, economic life. Our huge export industry had collapsed through the folly of our tariff acts. We had built up new plants for the war and expanded others. They needed to sell more—not less. Our cotton, wheat, tobacco, lard, and fruit which formerly went abroad was piled up in surpluses—costing the taxpayers great amounts of money. Not only that, but the tariffs started other nations on great plans—and successful ones—to grow their own cotton, tobacco, and wheat. Many now have surpluses of their own.

Today the President, heeding economists, sees that. So do most of our new industrialists—such as Henry Ford and the many others who made the Randall Report urging trade.

Meanwhile—what does it mean to the consumer?

Let's look tomorrow.

Durum Growers Need Help

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Durum Growers Need Help." The editorial refers to the raising of durum wheat in the Northwest, and was published in the Devils Lake Journal of January 23, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

DURUM GROWERS NEED HELP

Unless something is done to bring more farmers into the crop insurance program.

durum acreage in the lake region, the Nation's top durum production area, will take a drastic slump, estimated at 50 percent.

Although one of the smallest crops of durum was produced in 1954, little is being done on the national level to encourage farmers to plant durum next spring.

While the macaroni manufacturers plead for more quality durum, the Department of Agriculture, fearful that rust will hit the crop again next year, has canceled any new crop insurance in 16 North Dakota counties which produce most of the Nation's durum.

In effect, the ruling means that farmers who had no insurance in 1954 will be unable to take out any wheat coverage on the 1955 crop. Faced with a continuing rust threat, farmers without insurance will be unlikely to gamble on much durum next season.

If the Government really wants to encourage durum production, steps should be taken to assume part of the risk with the farmer

through crop insurance.

Even those farmers who had insurance on their 1954 wheat acreage will be reluctant to concentrate on durum because of its vulnerability to rust. Without insurance, it will be impractical for them to plant durum at all.

Part of the inconsistent action on national level can be attributed to the fact that some of our agriculturalists have not yet learned a basic lesson—that hard wheat and durum are not the same thing. They are both classed as wheat, but are used for entirely different purposes.

Looking at the record, it was no doubt seen that the durum area had become particularly vulnerable to rust. Because of heavy losses, it was believed practical to deny new coverage farmers in the durum area.

Were the Nation blessed with an abundance of durum, as in the case of hard wheat, removing the 16-county area from any new insurance could be more easily understood. However, the Nation has a crying need for durum to supply the demands of the macaroni and spaghetti manufacturers.

In view of the shortage, restricting crop insurance only to those who had it in 1954 will do little to encourage production, but will rather have the opposite effect. Few farmers, knowing the vulnerability of durum to rust, will want to take a gamble on raising durum, without some sort of protection.

It is time that the Department of Agriculture takes a more realistic attitude toward durum, if it really wants to encourage farmers of this area to continue raising the crop. In cases of severe shortage, some form of subsidy, such as through crop insurance, would appear to be justified, if only to get the Durum Triangle back on its feet again from the heavy blows it has suffered in the past 2 years.

Anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record my statement of January 22, 1955, commemorating the anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER, OF MARYLAND, COMMEMORATING THE ANNI-VERSARY OF THE PROCLAMATION OF URRAIN-IAN INDEPENDENCE

January 22 is the day set aside for the traditional observance of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence. Since 1918 this memorable day in the history of man's struggle against oppression has been a reminder to us, both of the athetistic dictatorial forces at large in our world and equally as important, the unbounded zeal of the Ukrainian people to attain the freedom and liberty for which they have so long aspired.

We, in America, together with the other free peoples of the world, are the present keepers of the flame of freedom—man's undiging will to live in peace and friendship with his fellowman in accordance with the principles of God. As we enjoy these blessings, we cannot and we will not forget the freedom-loving people of the world who are not free, those who cherish liberty, but who must live without it, and those whose offer of a faith and charity to their neighbors is scorned by godless dictators whose thoughts and ambitions are of world domination and slavery for mankind rather than the protection of the inalienable rights of the individual.

No people have been more heroic, nor fought more bravely against countless odds for liberty and freedom than the Ukrainian people. We in America are not unmindful of their present plight nor of our solemn obligation to them. On this anniversary, we hail the free spirit of Ukrainia and renew our pledges of the past to continue to seek the means by which they can throw off the oppressor's yoke and walk with us as a free people.

Discovery of a Natural Bridge in the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERMAN WELKER

OF IDAHO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, on October 30 of last year our distinguished colleague from Arizona IMr. Goldwater discovered a natural bridge in the world-famous Grand Canyon of the Colorado River. He flew into that inaccessible area by helicopter and was able to prove discovered of the beautiful natural bridge to which I have referred. He first discovered the existence of the bridge by flying his own private plane several times over that natural wonder in 1950, and reported his discovery to the National Park Service.

I ask unanimous consent that a news item which appeared in the New York Times of Sunday, January 23, 1955, entitled "Bridge Is Found in Grand Canyon," be incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the item was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BRIDGE IS FOUND IN GRAND CANYON—SUNA-TOR OBSERVES A NATURAL SPAN WHILE FLYING OVER ISOLATED CREEK BASIN

WASHINGTON, December 30.—A United States Senator has reported the discovery of a natural bridge in the Grand Canyon. Senator BARRY GOLDWATER told the National Park Service of a large bridge in the

isolated Nankoweap Creek basin. On October 30 the Arizona Republican flew by helicopter into the rugged area to establish its

location deunitely.

The Arizona Republican related that he first saw the bridge 4 years ago from his private airplane while flying to a trading post he operated on the Navajo Indian Reservation in Arizona. Subsequent flights bore out his first observation, he said, but the shifting light within the deep canyon hindered the aerial survey.

During the recent election campaign he

said he took a day off and engaged a helicopter to fly to the canyon from Cameron, Landing within the basin and along Nankoweap Creek, the Senator and his pilot, Bob Gilbreath, hiked more than 3 miles to a point near the base of the redwall for-

mation.

The formation stands out to air travelers because of its often brilliant reddish hue. It comes from water discoloration of the

canvon's limestone walls.

The bridge is approximately 2,500 feet be-Point Imperial on the north rim of Grand Canyon and near the head of Nankoweap Creek. Nankoweap is an Indian word meaning echoing waters.

The bridge has a span of about 200 feet at its base and a height of some 200 feet to the underside of its arch. Senator Gold-water and park service officials believe that it may have been cut by a waterfall immedi-

ately above it.

Preston P. Patraw, superintendent of Grand Canyon National Park, said that a check of park records had shown that Senator GOLDWATER was the first person to have reported the existence of the natural bridge. said few persons had ventured into the Nankoweap basin, particularly in recent years.

Senator GOLDWATER said that he had found no evidence, such as campsites, that indicated anyone had been in the canyon with its sheer redwall limestone walls. He said he had noted some pieces of old Indian pottery near the helicopter landing place. The creek empties into the Colorado River 6 miles away.

The Senator also recalled that on trips down the Colorado River he had passed the month of the creek but never thought of exploring the area. He suggested to the park service that the bridge be named after the Kolb family, Arizona pioneers.

Prevention of Commercial Logging in Three Sisters Wilderness Area of the Willamette National Forest

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Outdoor Groups Oppose Logging in Three Sisters Widerness," published in the Portland Oregonian of Sunday, January 16, 1955.

The article describes the efforts of outdoor and conservation groups in the State of Oregon to prevent commercial logging in the present Three Sisters Wilderness area of the Willamette National Forest.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows.

OUTDOOR GROUPS OPPOSE LOGGING IN THREE SISTERS WILDERNESS

The United States Forest Service has set February 16 as hearing date on a proposed reclassification of the Three Sisters primitive area which would lop 55,600 acres from the western section and allow logging in that area, located in the Willamette National Forest.

Outdoor groups, two major timber unions and numerous Northwest organizations will be represented at the Eugene hearing to oppose the plan either totally or in part. County lumber interests will seek a bigger reduction.

Major source of opposition is the 21,000member Federation of Western Outdoor Clubs and a specially formed committee called the Friends of the Three Sisters Wilderness Area. These groups are prepared to do friendly battle against the Forest Service only insofar as the western boundary change will affect 12,000 coveted acres.

STONE TO REPORT

Following the hearing Regional Forester J. Herbert Stone will make a full report on the issue to the Secretary of Agriculture, who will make a final decision on the reclassification provisions.

The regional office of the Forest Service in Portland released January 14 a fact sheet on the proposed reclassification which de-scribes as the crux of the controversy the selection of Horse Creek as the western

boundary.

Outdoorsmen want 12,000 acres between Horse Creek and the summit of Horse Pasture Mountain-Olallie Mountain ridge safely within the wilderness areas. They said this area has outstanding scenic beauty and is a natural laboratory for study of flora and geologic formations.

Virlis L. Fischer, Portland, chairman of the WFOC's conservation committee, said other than that the federation will go along with the Forest Service in its plan to change the primitive area into a better protected

wilderness area.

The executive committee of the A. F. of L.'s Northwest council of lumber and sawmill workers and the CIO woodworkers union, however, have gone on record as opposing any reduction in the 246,000 acre tract.

AFL WANTS PROTECTION

Julius C. Viancour, assistant to the Northwest council secretary, said the decision was in line with the AFL's policy to protect recreation areas. A. F. Hartung, CIO-IWA international president, said that the timber resources of the area don't merit logging.

Purpose of the reclassification is to conform with a forest-service goal of making national forests serve the greatest good to the greatest number in the long run.

The regional forest office explained that the Sisters primitive area, set up under regulation L-20 in 1937 and 1938, was originally given protecture status until a survey could be made from which to base permanent

Reclassification, under regulations U-1 and U-2 for wilderness and wild areas, actually will give former primitive areas greater protection from encroachments. In conformity with the regulations, the Three Sisters wil derness area still would include 196,640 acres.

Willamette national foresters said principal reason for the readjustment is the timber situation in Lane County. The area west of Horse Creek contains 1,500 million board-feet of sawtimber, which the foresters believe must be opened for logging to prevent crisis in Lane County's lumber economy.

The service pointed out that 60 percent of the county's available sawtimber is located on national forest land, but that only 26 percent of the annual yield is from those stands. On the other hand, private timberlands, owned mostly by large operators, contribute 65 percent of the annual cut. represent only 30 percent of available timber.

George Owen, Eugene, spokesman for the small or medium-sized operators in that area, said the Horse Creek boundary is between it and Separation Creek, near timberline. With Separation Creek as the line, the operators could take 24 million or more board-feet of sawtimber from the area every years. Horse Creek boundary would provide an annual cut of about 16 million board-feet.

Large timber companies in Lane County are only nominally interested in the possible

stumpage addition.

A Forest Service boundary survey extended over four summers. Subsequent to its findings, the regional office set Horse Creek from the confluence of Eugene Creek as a defensible boundary, because the timberland west of the creek" contains nothing of especially outstanding scenic quality." The outdoorsmen strenuously protest this point.

VALUE LOSS FEARED

Other reasons for the Horse Creek decision, as listed in the fact sheet, are as follows: The excessive amount of merchantable timber (4 billion board-feet) in the entire primitive area; the possibility of giving permament employment to 75 families if the 1,500,000,000 board-feet of the western section were opened to logging; the adequate size of the ramaining portion of wilderness; the large amount of timber (500 million board feet) located on only 12,000 acres be-tween Horse Creek and the ridge. The op-position argues otherwise on the latter point.

Opponents declared that interrupting the. continuity of the Horse Creek drainage will destroy wilderness values east of the stream. Hikers of the high country and Skyline Trail would be confronted by the scarred ever-present site of the ridge's logged east slope.

They pointed out that pressure would be great to open up the remainder of the forest.

The Forest Service answered this charge with the statement that "reasoning of this nature disregards entirely the multiple-use plan of management followed by the Forest Service." Cutting would be in small, unobtrusive patches, the Service statement continued. Roads would be located away from streams.

LOGGING ROADS STRESSED

Any logging roads would be located outside the wilderness area, from which the Forest Service manual bars any motor traffic.

The Forest Service intends to set up wild areas composed of no less than 5,000 acres at Mount Washington and Diamond Peak. Aggregate would be some \$2,000 acres. offer to set aside a portion of the ridge as a natural area. The Outdoorsmen countered, however, that while this might preserve the

flora, it would be a "needless removal from the Three Sisters wilderness area of the outstanding feature which contributes so much The ridge is "the meeting place of three distinct flora. Nowhere else, in or out of the

wilderness area, is the overlapping of these

flora so apparent or so accessible to the student," a WFOC bulletin declared.

Asserting that keeping the drainage area intact will help preserve the wilderness character and allow science groups to study native fauna, the WFOC also contends that the Government must not lose track of poplation pressures on a long-range basis. of a large wilderness area will increase in stride with the growing number of persons privileged to use it.

California his six times as much land devoted to national parks, monuments, and wilderness areas as Oregon, Fischer said. Washington has 21/2 times as much.

"The wilderness area belongs to all the Nation and not to just a handful of timber operators in Lane County who might be interested in bidding so much a thousand feet," the WFOC declared.

Timber in the disputed area would provide an annual yield of only about 6 million to 7 million board-feet, the opponents claimed.

They pointed to the necessity of increased use of the total forest product and asserted "there is no pressing need for this timber."

"Much of the forest cover in the disputed area is made up of slow-growing alpine species that would contribute little to a sawlog economy," the WFOC pointed out.

Groups in opposition to be represented at the 9 a. m. hearing in Eugene's Veterans Memorial Building include Mazamas, Chemeketans, Obsidians, Seattle Mountaineers, Sierra Club, Wilderness Society, American Nature Study Society, Nature Conservancy, Oregon and Seattle audubon societies, Eugene Natural History Society, Willamette University's science department, Izaak Walton League, Boy Scouts of Portland and Eugene, Men's Garden Club, Garden Clubs America, Portland Women's Forum, McKenzie River Guides Association, Santiam Sportsmen's Association, McKenzie Bridge Chamber of Commerce, National Forest Recreation Association, and the Oregon Academy of Sciences.

Keep Murphy General Hospital Opened

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following resolutions by the House of Representatives of the General Court of Massachusetts.

The resolutions follow:

Resolutions memorializing Congress to prevent the closing of the Murphy General Hospital in Waltham

Whereas the proposed closing of the Murphy General Hospital in Waltham would cause great inconvenience to disabled war veterans and would greatly lessen the hospital facilities available for such veterans: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the House of Representatives of the General Court of Massachusetts urgently requests that the Federal Government take such steps as may be necessary to prevent the closing of said hospital; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be sent by the Secretary of the Commonwealth to the President of the United States, to the Secretary of the Army, and to each Member of the Massachusetts delegation in Congress.

House of Representatives, January 17, 1955. Adopted.

LAWRENCE R. GROVE,

Clerk.

A true copy. Attest: EDWARD J. CRONIN, Secretary of the Commonwealth.

A Threat to the Nation's Glass Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD. I desire to call the attention of my colleagues to the dangerous threat to the Nation's glass industry should the proposed Japanese Treaty be approved

The following article from the Weston Democrat, Weston, W. Va., one of the leading glass-producing centers, is quite significant

The article, including a table on glass imports from the United States Tariff Commission, follows:

[From the Weston (W. Va.) Democrat of December 17, 1954]

TARIFF CUT WOULD HURT, GLASSMEN TELL BUREAU

The manufacturers of table, stem, and ornamental glassware today told the United States Tariff Commission and the Commitfor Reciprocity Information that any reduction in the present tariffs on their ware would be very injurious to the now critical and unprofitable state of that industry. It would cause more unemployment in the industry which is now operating at only 60 percent of its capacity.

The handsome table, stem, and ornamental glassware industry's opinion was presented by Thomas C. Heisey, executive vice president of A. H. Heisey & Co., of Newark, Ohio, and by W. F. Dalzell, president of Fostoria Glass Co., of Moundsville, W. Va. Earl W. Merry, vice president and secretary of Indiana Glass Co., of Dunkirk, Ind.,

manufacturers of hand and machine household pressed ware and producer of lens and private mold glass, stated it was his opinion that handmade glassware loss of business recently was due to imports from low-wage paying countries with which American manufacturers could not compete.

Samples of recently imported ware purchased in several department and specialty stores were displayed, which bore price tags of 50 percent less than comparable ware

made by American manufacturers.

Marshall T. Gleason, secretary of Rodefer Gleason Glass Co., of Bellaire, Ohio, manufacturers of illuminating and industrial glassware, declared that competition from imports were already a source of great concern because Japanese labor was only 22.8 cents per hour, while the American average wage is at least \$1.72 per hour.

It was the consensus of manufacturers' opinion that the industry was in a very pre-carious condition due to the reductions of tariff rates within the past few years. has resulted in liquidation of several old established American glass companies re-cently. To further reduce tariffs, as seems contemplated by the proponents of the Japanese negotiation, could only lead to greater crippling of the industry.

The speakers were emphatic in their claim that, in view of the vital part played by the glass industry in the past two World Wars and present national defense program, any action that might impair the survival of their industry would adversely affect the national security.

Table and art glassware; 1 United States imports for consumption, by principal sources, 1951-53 and September and October 1954

[Foreign value in thousands of dollars]

Fource	1951	1952 2	19532	1954 2	
				Sep- tem- ber	Oc- to ber
Germany 3	530 518	953 671 568 444 684 383 270	1,070 679 641 541 520 413 408	98 65 60 36 32 32	138 58 54 36 35 48
Austria Canada Netherlands Belgium Portugal Yugoslavia Hungary	39 166 281 54 19	72 177 150 102 22 75	268 207 142 137 77 62	23 1 30 13 10 4	38 (4) 22 11 12 3 4
Finland Denmark Poland Czechoslovakia All other	53 18 5 462 68	42 18 9 12 57	52 46 42 37 67	7 2 1 14 12	(4) 17 6
Total	4, 642	4, 709	5, 407	444	497

¹ Covers imports under tariff pars. 218 (d), 218 (f) (except Christmas tree ornaments), 218 (g), and certain classes under 230 (d), all of which consist largely of table and art glassware.
² Freliminary: beginning in 1954, individual importations for immediate consumption that do not amount to more than \$250 under a statistical classification are not included in the data in this table. It is estimated that the total value of imports so excluded from the above data for September and October 1954 amounted to about \$100,000 each month.
² Includes both East and West Germany. Imports from East Germany in 1951 are not separately reported; in 1952 they amounted to \$16,000; in 1953 to \$8,000; during the period January-October 1954 imports amounted to \$3,100.
² Less than \$500.

Less than \$500.

Source: Compiled from official statistics of the U. S. Department of Commerce.

Widespread Objection To Adopting President's Suggestion That Local Interests Share the Cost of Deepening Delaware

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, as an indication of the widespread and substantial opposition to the President's plan suggested in his budget message, that local interests be required to share the cost of deepening the Delaware River Channel, I include as part of my remarks the following newspaper comments:

> [From the Philadelphia Inquirer of January 20, 1955]

GIVE THE PRESIDENT FACTS ON CHANNEL President Eisenhower's statement at his press conference, reaffirming his position that local interests should help pay for the deepening of the Delaware River channel to 40 feet, will strengthen the impression held by many that the President has no clear understanding of the channel project and has been badly advised about it. In his recent budget message to Congress, he had proposed a supplemental appropriation of \$6 million to get the channel work started, provided local interests contribute about \$18 million of the \$91 million total cost

The President's share-the-cost edict made it imperative to determine whether it meant that a new Government principle, applying to all public works in which Federal appropriations figure, was being set up, or whether Philadelphia and Delaware Valley, United States of America, were being made the targets of a discriminatory measure.

A direct question to this effect was put to President Eisenhower at his news conference yesterday by John C. O'Brien, head of the Inquirer's Washington Bureau.

The President replied that he felt there should be some participation in the Delaware River channel job by those who were going to profit directly and in a major way. He stated that he believed that when the Federal Government spends money that is mainly in the interest of a locality, some way should be found to make that locality participate.

If this means anything, it would seem to indicate a new Government policy of requiring communities and private interests to share the cost of federally financed improvements that are expected to bring some benefit to them.

The scope and implications of such a policy are tremendous. If local beneficiaries of the deeper Delaware channel are to be assessed \$18 million to help pay for it, corresponding contributions should be exacted in the case of other projects.

A case in point is the St. Lawrence seaway, which is expected eventually to cost the Federal Government about \$2 billion. A great many local areas and local industries are going to profit from this expensive undertaking.

But has there been any step taken by the Federal Government to get the city of Cleveland, for instance, to help defray the cost of the seaway, which presumably will benefit Cleveland business? The M. A. Hanna Co., which was headed by Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey prior to his acceptance of the Cabinet post, and which has large investments in many fields, including steel, will doubtless benefit largely from the seaway. Will it be forced to share the cost?

If the policy is not to be confined to the Delaware Valley, it should mean that in every river and harbor improvement where any local area receives benefit—could there be any where local benefits are absent?—the cost would have to be shared by local interests.

It is obvious that if such a scheme of massive local assessment for federally directed improvements were to be pushed by the administration, or if individual corporations benefiting from the St. Lawrence seaway were compelled to shoulder part of the cost, there would be loud howls in Congress.

If Mr. Eisenhower does not seriously contemplate wholesale applications of his sharethe-cost principle, he should not discriminate against the Delaware Valley.

nate against the Delaware Valley.

It may be his impression that the United States Steel Co.'s Fairless plant would solely profit from the deepening of the upper channel and that, therefore, the corporation should share the cost. But that view is wholly inaccurate, as can be demonstrated very easily.

very easily.

The share-the-cost recommendation will be fought by Pennsylvania Senators and Representatives in Congress, and every effort will be made to uphold the original authorization by Congress for full Federal appropriation for the channel.

But there is a good chance that the President might reverse himself in the matter and back the appropriation if the facts are fully presented to him personally and not

through go-betweens. An effort to make direct presentation should be pressed at once.

EISENHOWER SETS POLICY ON CHANNEL COST— WANTS LOCALITIES TO HELP FINANCE ALL SIMILAR WORK

(By John C. O'Brien)

Washington, January 19.—President Eisenhower said today that requiring local interests to share the cost of major Federal improvements—as he has demanded in the case of the upper Delaware River—should be the new national policy.

His share-the-cost plan would involve a drastic reversal of the historical policy under which the Federal Government has assumed full responsibility for developing and maintaining navigable waterways. Further, Mr. Eisenhower indicated the same policy should apply to any projects in which Federal spending was largely in the interest of a particular locality.

FIRM ON CHANNEL

He upheld his budget message position that he would recommend no Federal appropriation to deepen the upper Delaware River channel unless local interests contributed some \$18 million. He emphasized, however, that he would not specify whether the contribution should be through tolls on shipping, by direct contribution, or some other method.

Reminded by this reporter that private industry has never before been assessed for a navigation project, he was asked whether the cost-sharing plan applied only to the Delaware River project or whether it was a new Government policy.

new Government policy.

If it is a new policy, Mr. Eisenhower replied, he thought it should have been considered long ago.

OPPOSITION CERTAIN

His program was almost certain to face strong opposition from commercial and shipping interests throughout the country and from Congressmen in all sections.

In the Delaware Valley, maritime spokesmen renewed their demands that the entire \$91 million needed to dredge a deepwater channel from Philadelphia to Trenton should come from the Federal Treasury. Any requirement that local interests share the cost, they said, would discriminate against Delaware River ports and might be, in fact, unconstitutional.

They recalled that Congress considered a proposal last year that local interests contribute to the channel project—and rejected it. They had sought a \$25 million appropriation in the new budget to start work on the waterway this year, with no strings attached.

Instead, the Budget Bureau held out for a local donation of at least \$18 million, and agreed, if that payment was guaranteed, to recommend a Federal appropriation of only \$6 million.

The local interest that should provide the \$18 million was not identiged in the budget, but the original proposal turned down by Congress was that the United States Steel Corp. should make the contribution because its Fairless Works at Morrisville would be supplied by ore vessels using the new channel.

In discussing his share-the-cost plan at his news conference today, the President said he believed that when the Federal Government spent money that was mainly in the interests of a locality some way should be found to make that locality participate.

Delaware Valley spokesmen, in and out of Congress, have argued that the Delaware channel would benefit not one industry or locality but hundreds of industries and, basically, the entire country. Its importance as a national defense asset has been stressed to be a stressed to be

FINANCING METHOD OPEN

Mr. Eisenhower said he was not, by any manner of means, specifying the method by which the partnership between the Federal Government and localities could be worked out.

He said he supposed the range of things that could be studied would be all the way from tolls—that is, from vessels actually using the channel—to some direct participation in the original cost.

But, he added, he believed that in projects such as the deepening of the Delaware, the Federal Government should try to find a way to get the local concern or the economy or the local benefits reflected in the appropriations the Federal Government makes.

INDORSED BY NEW JERSEY

Admitting such a project might benefit the Nation as a whole, the President maintained that cost sharing by the local community was proper, whether or not it was a new policy of the Government.

It was pointed out to the President that the new feature of the Budget Bureau's proposal on the Delaware channel was the assessment of part of the cost on private industry—not the sharing of expenses by State or local governments.

He repeated that he was not wedded to any particular form of cost sharing. He said he wouldn't say this should not be done by tolls, but he still felt there should be some local participation by those who are going to profit directly and in a major way.

SCOTT PREFERS TOLLS

Commenting on the President's remarks, Representative Hugh Scott, Jr. (Republican, Pennsylvania), said he still believed the Federal Government should pay the entire cost of the project. But failing that, he said, he would favor tolls rather than assessing a few private firms for a share of the cost.

The United States Steel Corp. has spent \$500 million to build its integrated Fairless plant, which sparked the industrial expansion of Delaware Valley, United States America. The deeper channel, although needed by the steel company, also has been warmly indorsed by New Jersey officials as a vital necessity for the Trenton Marine Terminal, north of the Fairless Works.

The plan to levy tolls on river shipping, mentioned by the President, was especially denounced by maritime leaders here. Such charges would place the entire Delaware River port area at a serious disadvantage against competing ports, they said.

POLICY DENOUNCED

Despite the President's position, advocates of the channel in the Philadelphia area renewed their demands that the channel be dredged entirely as a Federally financed project.

Members of the Delaware River Port Authority went on record formally in denouncing the local responsibility concept as one that Congress had never considered and one which appears in unprecedented contravention of the responsibility of the Federal Government with respect to navigable interstate waters.

PAYING FOR THE CHANNEL

To the EDITOR OF THE INQUIRER:

President Eisenhower's proposition that private interests should contribute directly for dredging the Delaware River channel is an odd one for a Republican President to make. I suppose these industries should also pay directly for the building of streets, highways, and other public facilities. But then what would happen to our free enterprise system? Would not private interests soon claim ownership and other rights to the exclusion of the public?

REPUBLICAN.

PHILADELPHIA, January 18.

Minority Report on Investigation by Special Campaigns Committee in Ninth Congressional District of North Carolina

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, House Resolution 439, 2d session, 83d Congress, created a special Committee To Investigate the Election of the Members to the House of Representatives of the 84th Congress. By the terms of the resolution the committee expired with the end of the 83d Congress.

The majority report of the committee was filed on January 1, 1955. At that time I was in my home district of Louisiana and did not have an opportunity to examine the report prior to its being filed.

The report was not signed by myself or by Representative Frank Karsten of Missouri. We were the minority members of the committee. The committee having expired, there is no procedure whereby a minority report may be attached to the majority report. Representative Karsten and I are using this means of publishing the report which we would have filed. It follows in full:

MINORITY REPORT ON INVESTIGATION BY SPECIAL CAMPAIGN COMMITTEE IN NINTH CONGRES-SIONAL DISTRICT OF NORTH CAROLINA

Ordinarily we would not issue a minority report concerning the procedure followed by the Campaign Expenditures Committee in its investigations and hearings. But we are particularly concerned with the report issued relative to the investigation conducted in the Ninth Congressional District of North Carolina. This report, plus various and sundry press releases, issued in the name of the committee has, in our opinion, created in the minds of the voters of that district widespread misconceptions and we think the record should be set straight.

In our opinion neither the hearings nor the investigations were warranted.

The bearings demonstrated the soundness of the rule previously adopted by this committee that only complaints filed under oath in writing by either the victorious or the defeated candidate for Congress would be considered. This rule was neither adopted nor followed in the 83d Congress. The soundness of such a requirement is obvious. Without it complaints, by crackpots and others, could undoubtedly be filed in all of the congressional districts of our country.

In the Ninth Congressional District North Carolina the committee never had a complaint in writing from either the winner or the loser in the congressional race. The only complaint was that filed by the Republican organization of North Carolina. At the time that complaint was filed we took the position that it involved the election laws of the State of North Carolina. (We are not authorities on the election laws of North Carolina, although we did learn a few things about them while there.) At the most it seemed to us that what was indicated was action by the Legislature of the State of North Carolina, amending, if necessary, the North Carolina absentee ballot laws, but in no instance was Federal legislation or Federal election laws involved. Throughout the existence of our Republic the States have zealously guarded their rights to determine election procedures.

We most certainly condemn the violation of any election laws. The privilege of voting is the greatest heritage that the American people enjoy. A man who stultifies that right or seeks to buy or sell a vote or stuff the ballot box is a criminal. Nevertheless the net effect of 3 days of hearings in North Carolina simply confirm our original conviction that the election laws of North Carolina must be determined by the representatives of that State acting in their own legislature. The investigative rights of Congress ought never to be used as a weapon to accomplish the desires of a political party in any locality because that party at the moment happens to be the majority party in the Congress of the United States.

It appears to us that one of the main objectives of the Republican Party in North Carolina was to create doubt in the minds of the voters on the soundness of the North Carolina election laws, particularly those sections dealing with absentee voting in that State. These laws may very well need changing. We are not prepared to say yes or no. We do feel, however, that it is not the function of this committee to dictate to the Legislature of North Carolina.

In its effort to justify its expedition into the Ninth District, reckless and greatly exaggerated statements were made by members the staff of the committee during and after the hearings. Cases were presented to the committee without adequate preparation, some of which had no bearing whatsoever on the congressional election. Frequently only one side of a case was pre-sented to the committee. Several cases were presented as illegal which were not so. The alleged irregularities were magnified by the staff of the committee. A careful check of all of the irregularities has been made. On the basis of the testimony before the committee it is doubtful that more than a dozen or two votes would have been changed had there been a complete recount in the That could hardly be called gross irregularities in a district which casts from 70,000 to as many as 130,000 votes. In the November 2, 1954, election, approximately 100,000 votes were cast.

In order to clarify the above conclusions we deem it necessary that we here review in brief the evidence in the record county by

Alexander: Evidence was presented to the committee that 14 absentee ballots were voted prior to the date of issuance of the ballots with further evidence that the office of the chairman of the board of elections erroneously failed to enter the dates when the applications were received and when the ballots were sent out. There was some controversy about challenges by Republicans and some misunderstanding of the law of North Carolina relating thereto on the part of the election officials. There was some evidence that an invalid woman received \$7 for voting. This was denied by her sister who was there. In another matter brought before the committee there was hearsay testimony that someone voted an absentee ballot for a lady without her knowledge. From the evidence there was a misunderstanding between the Democratic and Republican members of the board of elections as to just who could see the election records with evidence that the Republican member at one time had illegal possession of part of the records. There was no showing that any candidate was prejudiced by what transpired.

Alleghany: Three cases were erroneously brought before the committee, all of which concerned residence qualifications under the North Carolina law. Had counsel for the committee prepared his cases adequately and had he checked the North Carolina law, he would have found that each of the voters were duly qualified under the law and that there was no irregularity from this county.

Ashe: There was evidence with affidavits and counteraffidavits that an invalid man 80 years old, who was forgetful, stated he didn't vote his own absentee ballot. Yet there was evidence that his son accompanied the notary public at the time the father voted the

There was evidence presented that the ballots for one precinct were not properly guarded. In one case a newspaper reporter and others offered conflicting evidence as to whether or not 2 or 3 aged invalid ladies, who did not appear before the committee when subpensed, had not received their ballots by mail. No prejudice was shown from this county to any candidate.

Cabarrus: Evidence that one registrar left books in custody of clerk with instructions to contact him if anyone desired to present any challenges and that this was not done on that day but the next day the registrar heard the challenges.

Caldwell: Nothing was presented to the committee concerning this county.

Rowan: Nothing was presented to the com-

mittee concerning this county.

Stanley: Evidence given by a 45-year-old son, who couldn't read or write, that "X" mark on absentee ballots of father, who couldn't read or write, and who died on night of election was not the "X" of the father.

Watauga: Evidence was offered that the chairman of board of elections failed at one time to let the Republican member of board see election records. Evidence was presented by a Republican watcher who kept a record of people who voted that more votes were turned in in one precinct than had actually voted, but no more for congressional candidates than she had written in her book. No prejudice to any candidate was shown from this county.

Finally, we would like to emphasize that at no time during the hearings were there any indications of any nature that either candidate for Congress participated in any fashion in any of the alleged irregularities. Our own conclusions are that the Legislature of North Carolina should make a thorough study of the election laws of that State and take whatever action is deemed necessary in the premises. We reiterate the inadvisability of congressional committees concerning themselves with matters which should be left to the respective States.

HALE BOGGS. FRANK KARSTEN.

Ike's Power Partnership: One Horse for One Rabbit Deal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLAIR ENGLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. ENGLE. Mr. Speaker, the President's much-talked-of power partnership program is a 1 horse for 1 rabbit deal, with the Federal taxpayer getting the rabbit. As Mr. Stokes points out in the following article, the Federal Government gets all the nonrevenue-producing features of these great water and power projects, while the private power monopoly gets the major profitmaking feature, the powerhouse—the cash registers. The Federal Government takes all the risks. Furthermore, this program amounts to a complete repudiation of

the low-cost public power policy solemnly announced by the Interior Department in August 1952. Unless the Federal Government builds the powerhouses, generates, and sells the electricity, there will be no more low-cost public power to help irrigation development or to build an industrial empire such as has grown up around the low-cost public power in the Northwest area. The test of the President's partnership program is to ask what would have happened to the Columbia River Development, the Central Valley project in California, and the TVA if it had been in effect when those great projects were planned. The answer is that they would not have been built-or, if built, would not have contributed what they have to the economic life of the country. I include the article by Mr. Thomas L. Stokes in the Star of January 20, 1955, for his excellent comments on this subject:

PARTNERSHIP FOR WHOSE BENEFIT?—EISEN-HOWER PHILOSOPHY SEEN LEADING TO GREAT MONOPOLY IN POWER AND CONSERVATION AND WITH TAX MONEY

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

In his messages to Congress President Eisenhower harps constantly and repeatedly upon his "partnership" idea, so-called, for conservation and development of our natural resources. He refers to a "partnership" among Federal, State and local governments and private enterprise, with emphasis upon shifting responsibility away from the Federal Government.

Already it has raised the question: Part-

nership for whose benefit?

For purposes here, we will just mention in passing the revelation of how special benefits are being conferred upon powerful electric utilities by operation of this policy in development of water resources. What "partnership" means is that the utilities "monopolize the bulk of revenues" at the dams. So the trick is described by newly-elected Senator Richard L. Neuberger, Democrat, of Oregon.

He knows. He won election, as the first Democratic Senator from Oregon in 40 years by exposing the harmful effects of the "partnership" program on the people of his State and on development of the Pacific Northwest. He is a recruit to a group in Congress which is very familiar with this issue from long experience. In the coming session this band will resist encroachment of the Eisenhower "partnership" idea and try to prevent damage to TVA in the southeast, the great public projects in the northwest, and the Southwest Power Administration in Missouri, Oklahoma and Texas and its rural electric cooperatives.

So much for hydroelectric power. There is, however, another threat to the public and consumer interest which is less readily detected because it is an almost new field. That is the production of power from atomic fuels. In a few years this will far out-distance production of electricity by other means.

You will remember how the last Congress enacted a law by which private industry was admitted to partnership in development of power from atomic fuels, all under pressure of the administration, the Atomic Energy Commission and politically powerful private utility and other interests.

You will recall also, because of the dramatic filibuster, to which they had to resort, how an embattled band in Congress was finally able to insert a few protections to the public so that the law was not the complete giveaway of the Nation's heritage in this new source of energy that otherwise it might have been.

But the law is still full of confusions and loopholes by which a monopoly could be set up that would make the once all-powerful private utility monopoly look pale and wan and minuscular.

Another attempt will be made in Congress at this session to insert further protections to the public in the law after a detailed review of how the AEC is operating under the present law. That review will be through hearings by the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, headed by Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, of New Mexico, that he announced will begin the last of this month and run for 2 weeks or more. After hearing from the AEC, the committee then will listen to representatives of the industry and the public.

What is the partnership story here?

In the first place, the whole atomic-energy plant belongs to the people of the United States for the simple reason that they paid for it by their taxes, involving a certain amount of toil and sweat. Some \$14 billion of our money has gone into atomic energy to date. We are the owners—and the partners. The Government holds our investment in trust for us.

What do we see happening now? The Government—which means us—is farming out part of our holdings to private industry to develop power reactors to produce electricity. The terms are favorable to a few industrial giants which worked with the Government during the war and since to produce atomic bombs and do research in peacetime uses under contracts with the Government for payment for their services. They are on the inside and on the ground floor.

They have the know-how.

We are already subsidizing one company and will subsidize others with our tax dollars. They are the favored and, unless we watch out, they can monopolize the field to the exclusion of others. This is because of specifications in the law that will make it difficult for others, private industries as well as public power agencies such as municipalities and rural electric cooperatives, to get fuel and get into development of power. These specifications must be corrected. For another defect in the law, there is nothing to force private power producers from atomic fuels to pass along in rate reductions the subsidies from us, the taxpayers.

Also, while the law contains a provision for compulsory licensing of patents for 5 years, this is not tightly enough drawn in the view of some experts to prevent the giant "insiders" from withholding patents from others entitled to them.

Unless Congress and all of us are alert, we are on the eve of permitting creation of the greatest monopoly the world ever saw, and with our own money.

If we allow it, we will deserve what we get.

Christmas Message of Pope Pius XII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HALE BOGGS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BOGGS. Mr. Speaker, on January 3 His Holiness Pope Pius XII delivered a delayed Christmas message to the world. It was one of the most thoughtful addresses in the long and distinguished career of this great spiritual leader. It was delayed because of his illness.

I ask that it be included in full. The message follows:

"Behold I will bring upon her, as it were, a river of peace." (Isaias 66: 12.) This promise, announced in the messianic prophecy of Isaias, was fulfilled, with mystic significance, by the incarnate word of God in the New Jerusalem, the church: and we desire, beloved sons and daughters of the Catholic world, that this same promise should resound again over the entire human family as the wish of our heart this Christmas Eve.

A river of peace upon the world: this is the desire which we have most constantly cherished in our heart, for which we have most fervently prayed and worked, ever since the day when God in His goodness was pleased to entrust to our humble person the exalted and awe-inspiring office of common father of all peoples which is proper to the vicar of Him to whom all races are given for His inheritance. (Psalms 2: 8.)

Casting a glance backward over the years of our pontificate with regard to that part of our mandate which derives from the universal fatherhood conferred upon us, we feel that it was the intention of divine providence to assign to us the particular mission of helping, by means of patient and almost exhausting toll, to lead mankind back to the

paths of peace.

At the approach of the feast of Christmas each year, we would have ardently wished to be able to go to the cradle of the Prince of Peace and offer Him, as the gift He would cherish most, a mankind at peace and all united together as in one family. On the contrary we had to experience—during the first 6 years—the indescribable bitterness of seeing nothing all around us but peoples in arms, carried away by the mad fury of mutual destruction.

We had hoped—and many others had hoped with us—that once the rage of hatred and revenge had finally ceased, there would very soon have dawned a period of secure peace. Instead, there continued that agonizing state of uneasines and danger, which public opinion described with the name "cold war" because in reality it had little or nothing in common with true peace and had much of the character of a truce that trembled at the slightest touch. Our annual return to the cradle of the Redeemer continued to be a sad oblation of sorrows and anxieties, with an intense desire to draw therefrom the courage that was necessary in order to persist in exhorting men to peace and pointing out to them the right road to attain it.

Can we, at least now in this 16th year of our pontificate, fulfill that wish? According to many reports, the cold war has slowly been replaced by a period of decreased tension between the opposing parties, as if they were giving each other a longer breathing space: and not without some irony, this decreased tension has been given the name "cold peace." While we willingly recognize that this does represent some progress in the laborious ripening of peace properly socalled, nevertheless it is not yet a gift worthy of the mystery of Bethlehem, where there appeared "the goodness and kindness of God our Saviour" toward men (Tit. 3: 4). For it is in too vivid contrast with the spirit of cordiality, of sincerity, and of brightness that hovers around the cradie of the Redeemer.

In fact, in the political world, what is meant by cold peace if not the mere coexistence of various peoples based on fear of each other and on mutual disillusionment?

Now it is clear that simple coexistence does not deserve the name of peace, to which Christian tradition, formed in the school of the lofty intellects of Augustine and Thomas Aquinas, has come to apply the definition "the tranquillity of order." Cold peace is only a provisional calm, whose duration is

conditional upon the changeable sensation of fear and upon the varying calculation of present strength: while it has about it nothing of true order, which presupposes a series of relationships converging toward a common purpose that is right and just. Besides, by excluding all bonds of a spiritual nature between peoples so fragmentarily coexisting, cold peace falls far short of which was preached and desired by the Divine Master: for His peace is founded on a union of souls in the same truth and in charity. It is defined by St. Paul as the "peace of God" which binds in the first place men's minds and hearts (cf. Philippians 4: 7), and it is put into practice by acts of harmonious collaboration in every field of life, not excluding the political, social, and economic

Such is the reason why we do not dare to offer cold peace to the Divine Infant. It is not the simple and solemn pax (peace) which the angels sang to the shepherds on that holy night. Much less is it the pax del (peace of God) which surpasses all understanding and is a source of interior and complete joy (cf. ibid.). It is not even that peace which mankind today dreams of and longs for after so much affliction. However, we wish to examine in detail its shortcomings, in order that from its hollow void and its uncertain duration there may be born in the rulers of nations and in those who can exercise any influence in this field, the imperative desire to transform it as soon as possible into true peace, which is, in reality, Christ Himself. For, since peace is order and order is unity, Christ alone is able and willing to unite men's minds in truth and love. It is in this sense that the church points Him out to all peoples in the words of the prophet, as being Himself peace: "Et erit iste pax" (and this man shall be our peace). (Micheas, 5: 5; cf. Liturgical Office for Feast of Christ the King, passim.)

COEXISTENCE IN FEAR

It is a common impression, derived from the simple observation of facts, that the principal foundation on which the present state of relative calm rests, is fear. Each of the groups, into which the human family is divided tolerates the existence of the other. because it does not wish itself to perish. By thus avoiding a fatal risk, the two groups do not live together, they coexist. It is not a state of war, but neither is it peace: It is a cold calm. Each of the two groups smarts under the fear of the other's military and economic power. In both of them there is a grave apprehension of the catastrophic effect of the latest weapons.

Each follows with anxious attention the technical development of the other's armaments and the productive capacity of its economy, while it entrusts to its own propaganda the task of turning the other's fear to its advantage by strengthening and extending its meaning. It seems that in the field of concrete politics reliance is no longer placed on other rational or moral principles, for these, after so many delusions, have been swept away by an extreme collapse into skepticism.

The most obvious absurdity of the situation resultant from such a wretched state of affairs is this: current political practice, while dreading war as the greatest of catastrophies, at the same time puts all its trust in war, as if it were the only expedient for subsistence and the only means of regulating international relations. This is, in a certain sense, placing trust in that which is loathed above all other things.

On the other hand, the above-mentioned political practice has led many, even of those responsible for government, to revise the entire problem of peace and war, and has induced them to ask themselves sincerely if deliverance from war and the ensuring of peace ought not to be sought on higher and

more humane levels than on that dominated exclusively by terror. Thus it is that there has been an increase in the numbers of those who rebel against the idea of having to be satisfied with mere coexistence, of renouncing relationships of a more vital nature with the other group, and against being forced to live all the days of their lives in an atmosphere of enervating fear. Hence they have come back to consider the problem of peace and war as a fact involving a higher and Christian responsibility before God and the moral law.

Undoubtedly in this changed manner of approach to the problem there is an element of fear as a restraint against war and a stimulus to peace; but here the fear is that salutary fear of God—Guarantor and Vindicator of the moral law—and, therefore, as the psalmist teaches (Psalms 110: 10), it is the beginning of wisdom.

Once the problem is elevated to this higher plane, which alone is worthy of rational creatures, there again clearly appears the absurdity of that doctrine which held sway in the political schools of the last few decades: namely, that war is one of many admissible forms of political action, the necessary, and as it were the natural, outcome of irreconcilable disputes between two countries; and that war, therefore, is a fact bearing no relation to any kind of moral responsibility. It is likewise apparent how absurd and inadmissible is the principle-also so long accepted-according to which a ruler, who declares war, would only be guilty of having made a political error, should the war be lost. But he could in no case be accused of moral guilt and of crime for not having, when he was able to, preserved peace.

It was precisely this absurd and immoral concept of war which rendered vain, in the fatal weeks of 1939, our efforts to uphold in both parties the will to continue negotiations. War was then thought of as a die, to be cast with greater or less caution and skill, and not as a moral fact involving obligations in conscience and higher responsibilities. It required tombs and ruins without number to reveal the true nature of war: namely, that it was not a luckier or less lucky gamble between conflicting interests but a tragedy, spiritual more than material, for millions of men; that it was not a risking of some possessions, but a loss of all: a fact of enormous gravity.

How is it possible-many at that time asked with the simplicity and truth of commonsense-that, while every individual feels within himself an urgent sense of moral responsibility for his own most ordinary acts. the dreadful fact of war, which is also the fruit of the free act of somebody's will, can evade the dominion of conscience, and that there be no judge to whom its innocent victims may have recourse? In the atmosphere of that time, when people were beginning to return to commonsense, widespread approval was given our cry, "war against war," with which, in 1944, we declared our opposition to the pure formalism of political action and to doctrines of war which take no account of God or of His commandments. That salutary return to commonsense, instead of being weakened, became more profound and more widespread in the years of the cold war, perhaps because prolonged experience made more clearly evident the absurdity of a life lived under the incubus of fear. Thus the cold under the incubus of fear. peace, with all its incoherences and uneasiness, shows signs of taking the first steps towards an authentic moral order and towards a recognition of the elevated doctrine of the church regarding just and unjust war, and the licitness and illicitness of recourse to arms.

This goal will assuredy be attained if, on one side and the other, men will once again sincerely, almost religiously, come to consider war as an object of the moral order, whose violation constitutes in fact a culpability which will not go unpunished. In the concrete this goal will be attained if statesmen, before weighing the advantages and risks of their decisions, will recognize that they are personally subject to eternal moral laws, and will treat the problem of war as a question of conscience before God.

In the conditions of our times, there is no other way to liberate the world from its agonizing incubus except by a return to the fear of God, which in no way debases the man who willingly submits to it; rather, it saves him from the infamy of that awful crime—unnecessary war. And who can express astonishment if peace and war thus prove to be closely connected with religious truth? Everything that is, is of God: the root of all evil consists precisely in separating things from their beginning and their end.

Hence also it becomes clear that pacifist efforts or propaganda originating from those who deny all belief in God—if indeed not undertaken as an artful expedient to obtain the tactical effect of creating excitement and confusion—is always very dubious and incapable of lessening or of eliminating the anguished sense of fear.

The present coexistence in fear has thus only two possible prospects before it: either it will raise itself to a coexistence in fear of God, and thence to a truly peaceful living-together, inspired and protected by the Divine moral order: or else it will shrivel more and more into a frozen paralysis of international life, the grave dangers of which are even now foreseeable.

In fact, prolonged restraint of the natural expansion of the life of peoples can ultimately lead them to that same desperate outlet that it is desired to avoid: war. No people, furthermore, could support indefinitely a race of armaments without disastrous repercussions being felt in its normal economic development. The very agreements directed to imposing a limitation on armaments would be in vain. Without the moral foundation of fear of God, they would become, if ever reached, a source of renewed mutual distrust.

There remains, therefore, the auspicious and lightsome other way which, based upon the fear of God and aided by Him, leads to true peace, which is sincerity, warmth, and life, and is thus worthy of Him Who has been given to us that men might have life in Him and have it more abundantly (cfc. John 10: 10).

COEXISTENCE IN ERROR

Although the cold war—and the same is true of the cold peace—keeps the world in a harmful state of division, yet it does not, up to the present, prevent an intense rhythm of life from pulsing therein. It is true that this is a life developing almost exclusively in the economic field. It is, however, undeniable that economics, taking advantage of the pressing progress of modern techniques, has by feverish activity attained surprising results, of such a nature as to foreshadow a profound transformation in the lives of all peoples, even those heretofore considered rather backward. Admiration unquestionably cannot be withheld for what it has done and what it promises to do.

Nevertheless, economics, with its apparently unlimited ability to produce goods without number, and with the multiplicity of its relationships, exercises over many of our contemporaries a fascination superior to its potentiality, and extends to fields extraneous to economics. The error of placing such trust in modern economics is again shared in common by the two camps into which the world is today divided. In one of these, it is taught that, since man has given proof of such great power as to create the marvelous technico-economical composite of which he boasts today, he will also be able to organize the liberation of human life from all the privations and evils from

which it suffers, and in this way effect a kind of self-redemption. On other hand, the conception gains ground in the opposing camp that the solution of the problem of peace must be sought in economics, and particularly in a specific form thereof, that of free exchange.

We have already had occasion at other times to expose the baselessness of such teachings. About a hundred years ago followers of the free-commerce system expected wonderful things from it, attributing to it One of its most an almost magical power. ardent converts did not hesitate to compare the principle of free exchange, insofar as its effects in the moral world are concerned, with the principle of gravity which rules the physical world, and he attributed to it, as its proper effect, the drawing of men closer together, the elimination of antagonism based on race, faith, or language, and the unity of all human beings in unalterable peace (cfr. Richard Cobden, Speeches on Questions of Public Policy, London, Macmillan and Co., 1870: vol. 1, pp. 362-366).

The course of events has shown how deceitful is the illusion of entrusting peace to free exchange alone. Nor would the result be otherwise in the future if there were to persist that blind faith which confers on economics an imaginary mystic force. present, moreover, there are lacking those foundations of fact which could in any way warrant the over-rosy hopes nourished today, as in the past, by followers of this teaching. As a matter of fact, while in one, of camps which coexist in cold peace, this highly vaunted economic freedom does not in reality yet exist, it is, in the other, completely rejected as an absurd principle. There is, between the two, a diametrical opposition in their ways of conceiving the very fundamentals of life-an opposition which cannot be reconciled by purely economic forces. Nay more, if there are—as there actually -relations of cause and effect between arethe moral world and the economic world, they must be so ordered that primacy be assigned to the former; that is, the moral world which must authoritatively permeate with its spirit the social economy. Once this scale of values has been established and its actual exercise permitted, economics will, insofar as it is able, consolidate the moral world and confirm the spiritual postulates and forces of peace.

On the other hand, the economic factor might place serious obstacles in the way of peace—particularly of a cold peace, in the sense of an equilibrium between groups—if, employing erroneous systems, it were to weaken one of the groups. This could occur if, among other eventualities, individual people of one group were to engage, without consideration or regard for others, in a cease-less increase of production, and a constant raising of their own living standard. In such a case, an upsurge of resentment and rivalry on the part of neighboring peoples would be inevitable, and consequently also the weakening of the entire group.

Prescinding from this particular consideration, however, one must be convinced that economic relationships between nations will be factors of peace insofar as they will obey the norms of natural law, will be inspired by love, will have due regard for other peoples and will be sources of help. Let it be held for certain that in relations between men, even merely economic relations, nothing is produced spontaneously-as does occur in nature which is subject to necessary laws but everything depends substantially on the spirit. Only the spirit, the image of God and the executor of His designs, can establish order and harmony on earth, and it will succeed in doing so to the same extent that it becomes the faithful interpreter and docile instrument of the only Saviour Jesus Christ, who is himself peace.

Moreover, in another matter even more delicate than that of economics, error is shared by the two camps coexisting in the cold peace: an error, namely, regarding the principles which animate their respective unity. One of the camps bases its strong internal cohesion on a false idea, an idea, moreover, violating primary human and divine rights, yet at the same time efficacious; while the other, forgetful that it already possesses an idea that is true and has been successfully tested in the past, seems instead to be tending toward political principles which are evidently destructive of unity.

During this last decade since the war, great yearning for spiritual renovation urged to unite Europe strongly, the impetus coming from the natural living conditions of her peoples, with the purpose of putting an end to the traditional rivalries between one and another, and of assuring a united protection for their independence and their peaceful development. This noble idea did not present motives for complaints or diffidence to the world outside of Europe, in the measure that this outside world was favorably disposed to Europe. It was also believed that Europe would have easily found within herself the animating idea for her unity. But the succeeding events and recent accords which, as is believed, have opened the way to a cold peace, no longer have for a basis the ideal of a more extensive European unification. Many, in fact, believe that the governing policy is for a return to a kind of nationalistic state, closed within centralizing therein its forces, unsettled in its choice of alliances and, consequently, no less perilous than that which had its time of highest development during the last century.

Too soon have been forgotten the enormous mass of lives sacrificed and of goods extorted by this type of state, and the crushing economic and spiritual burdens imposed by it. But the real error conststs in confusing national life in its proper sense with nationalistic politics: the first, the right and prized possession of a people, may and should be promoted; the second, as a germ infinitely harmful, will never be sufficiently repelled. National life is, in itself, that operative composite of all the values of civilization, which are proper and characteristic of a particular group, for whose spiritual unity they constitute, as it were, its bond. At the same time, it enriches, as its own contribution, the culture of all humanity.

In essence, therefore, national life is something not political; and this is confirmed by the fact that, as history and practice demonstrate, it can develop alongside of others, within the same state, just as it can also extend itself beyond the political frontiers of the same state. National life became a principle of dissolution within the community of peoples only when it began to be exploited as a means for political purposes; when, that is to say, the controlling and centralizing state made of nationality the basis of its force of expansion. Behold then the nationalistic state, the seed of rivalries and the fomenter of discord.

It is clear that, if the European community were to move forward on this road, its cohesion would become, as a result, quite weakened in comparison with that of the opposing group. Its weakness would certainly be revealed on that day of future peace destined to regulate with foresight and justice the questions still in abeyance. should it be said that, in new circumstances. the dynamism of the nationalistic state no longer represents a danger for other peoples, being deprived, in the majority of cases, of effective economic and military power, for even when the dynamism of an imaginary nationalistic power is expressed in sentiment rather than exercised with actions, it is equally offensive to the mind; it feeds on dis-

trust and breeds suspicion within alliances, impedes reciprocal understanding and thereby loyal collaboration and mutual help, to the same extent as it would if it had at its command effective force.

command effective force.

What would become, then, in such circumstances, of the common bond which is supposed to bind individual states in unity? What kind of a grand and efficacious idea would that be which would render them strong in defense and effective in a common program for civilization?

Some would like to see it as agreement in the rejection of that way of life destructive of liberty, proper to the other group. Without a doubt, aversion to slavery is worthy of note, but it is of negative value, and does not possess the force to stimulate the human spirit to action with the same efficacy as does a positive and absolute idea.

Such an idea, instead, could be a love of the liberty willed by God and in accord with the needs of the common good, or else the ideal of natural law, as the foundation of an organization of the state and of states.

Only these, and like spiritual ideas, acquired now for many long centuries as part of the tradition of a Christian Europe, sustain comparison—and moreover emerge victorious in it, to the extent that these ideas are really lived—with the false idea, though concrete and effective, which apholds together in cohesion, not parently without the aid of violence, the other group, the idea, namely, of an earthly paradise to be attained as soon as a determined form of social organization would be realized. Though illusory, this idea has succeeded in creating, at least outwardly, a compact and hardy unity, and in being accepted by the uninformed masses; it knows how to inspire its members to action and voluntarily to make sacrifices. The same idea, within the political framework which expresses it, gives to its directors a strong capacity for seduction, and to the adept the audacity to penetrate as a vanguard even into the ranks of the other side.

Europe, on the other hand, still awaits the reawakening of her own consciousness. Meanwhile, in what she stands for—such as the wisdom and organization of associated living and as an influence of culture—she seems to be losing ground in not a few regions of the earth.

Verily, such a retreat concerns the promoters of nationalistic policy, who are forced to fall back before adversaries who have taken over the same methods and made them their own. Especially among some peoples until now considered colonial, the process of organic maturation toward an autonomous polity, which Europe should have guided with perception and care, was rapidly turned into nationalistic outbreaks, greedy for power. It must be confessed that even these unforeseen eruptions, damaging to the prestige and interests of Europe, are, at least in part, the fruit of her own bad example.

Does this mean only that Europe has momentarily lost her way? In any case, that which must remain, and without doubt will remain, is the genuine Europe, that is, that composite of all the spiritual and civil values which the West has accumulated, drawing from the riches of individual nations to dispense them to the whole world. Europe, conforming to the dispositions of Divine Providence, will again be able to be the nursery and dispenser of those values, if she will know how to resume wisely her proper spiritual character and to repudiate the divinization of power.

Just as in the past the wellsprings of her strength and of her culture were eminently Christian, so now too will she have to impose on herself a return to God and to Christian ideals, if she is to find again the basis and bond of her unity and true greatness. And if these wellsprings seem to be in part dried up, if this bond is threatened with rupture and

the foundation of her unity crumbling, the historical and present responsibility falls back upon each of the two groups who find themselves now facing each other in anguish and mutual fear.

The motives ought to be enough for men of good will, in one and the other camp, to desire, to pray, and to act, in order that humanity may be liberated from the intoxication of power and of preeminence, and in order that the Spirit of God may be the Sovereign Ruler of the world, where once Almighty God chose no other means for saving those whom He loved than that of becoming a weak babe in a poor manger. 'A child is born to us, and a son is given to us, and the government is upon his shoul-(Isaiah 9: 6; cf. Introit, Third Mass of Christmas Day.)

COEXISTENCE IN TRUTH

Although it is a sad thing to note that the present rupture of the human race took place, in the beginning, between men who knew and adored the same Savior, Jesus Christ, still there appears to us to be a wellfounded hope that, in His name, too, a bridge of peace may yet be built between opposing shores, and the common bond, so sadly broken, be reestablished.

There is, in fact, some hope that today's coexistence may bring mankind closer to peace. In order, however, that this expectation be justified, such coexistence must in some way be coexistence in truth. Now a bridge cannot be built in truth between two separate worlds unless it be founded on the human beings living in one and the other of these worlds, and not on their governmental or social systems. This is so because, while one of the two parties still strives in large measure, whether consciously or unconsciously, to preserve the natural law, the system prevailing in the other has completely abandoned this basis.

A one-sided supernaturalism might refuse entirely to take such an attitude into consideration, alleging the reason that we live in a redeemed world and are therefore withdrawn from the natural order; or some might say that the collectivist character of that system ought to be recognized as a historical truth, in the sense that it, too, corresponds to the will of God, but these are errors to which a Catholic can by no means submit. The right road is quite different.

In both camps, there are millions in whom the imprint of Christ is preserved in a more or less active degree: They, too, no less than faithful and fervent believers, should be called upon to collaborate toward a renewed basis of unity for the human race. It is true that, in one of the two camps, the voice of those who stand resolutely for truth, for love, and for the spirit, is forcibly suffocated by the public authorities, while in the other people suffer from excessive timidity in proclaiming aloud their worthy desires. It is, however, the duty of a policy of unification to encourage the former and to make heard the sentiments of the latter.

Particularly in that camp where it is not a crime to oppose error, statesmen should have greater confidence in themselves: They should give proof to others of a more firm courage in foiling the maneuvers of the obscure forces which are still trying to establish power hegemonies, and they should also show more active wisdom in preserving and swelling the ranks of men of good will, es-Pecially of believers in God, who, everywhere, adhere in great numbers to the cause of peace.

It would certainly be an erroneous unification policy, if not actually treachery, to sacrifice in favor of nationalistic interests the racial minorities who are without strength to defend their supreme posses sions; their faith and their Christian cul-ture. Whoever were to do this would not be worthy of confidence, nor would they be acting honorably if later, in cases where their own interests demanded it, they were to invoke religious values and respect for law.

There are many who volunteer to lay the bases of human unity. Since, however, these bases, this bridge, must be of a spiritual nature, those sceptics and cynics are certainly not qualified for the task who, in accordance with doctrines of a more or less disguised materialism, reduce even loftlest truths and the highest spiritual values to the level of physical reactions or consider them mere ideologies.

Nor are those apt for the task who do not recognize absolute truths nor admit moral obligations in the sphere of social life. latter have already in the past-often unknowingly, by their abuse of freedom and by their destructive and unreasonable criticism-prepared an atmosphere favorable to dictatorship and oppression; and now they push forward again to obstruct the work of social and political pacification initiated under Christian inspiration.

In some places it happens not rarely that they raise their voices against those who, conscientiously, as Christians, take a rightful active interest in political problems and in

public life in general.

Now and then likewise, they disparage the assuredness and strength Christians draw from the possession of absolute truth, and on the contrary, they spread abroad the conviction that it is to modern man's honor, and redounds to the credit of his education, that he should have no determined ideas or tendencies, nor be bound to any spiritual world. Meanwhile, they forget that it was precisely from these principles that the pres-ent confusion and disorder originated, nor will they remember that it was those very Christian forces they now oppose that succeeded in restoring, in many countries, the freedom which they themselves had dissipated.

Certainly it is not upon such men that the common spiritual foundation can be laid and the bridge of truth built. Indeed, it may well be expected that, as occasion demands, they will not find it at all unseemly to be partial to the false system of the other shore, adapting themselves even to be overcome by it in case it were momentarily to triumph.

In awaiting, therefore, with confidence in the divine mercy, that spiritual and Christian bridge, already in some way existing between the two shores, to take on a greater and more effective consistency, we would exhort primarily the Christians of the nations where the divine gift of peace is still enjoyed to do everything possible to hasten the hour of its universal reestablishment.

Let these convince themselves, above all, that the possession of truth, if it were to remain closed within themselves, almost as if it were an object of their contemplation for deriving therefrom spiritual pleasure, would not be of service to the cause of peace; the truth must be lived, communicated, and applied to all phases of life. Also truth, and particularly Christian truth, is a talent that God placed in the hands of His servants in order that, with all that they undertake, it may bear fruit in works for the common good.

To all possessors of this truth, we would wish to propose a question, before the Eternal Judge asks it, whether they have used this talent fruitfully, in any way to be worthy of the invitation of the Master to enter into the joy of His peace. How many, perhaps even priests and lay Catholics, ought to feel remorse for having instead buried in their own hearts this and other spiritual riches, because of their own indolence and insensibility to human misery.

In particular, they would become cul-

pable if they should tolerate that the people be left as though shepherdless, while the enemy of God, taking advantage of his powerful organization, is producing destruction in the souls not solidly enough formed in the truth. Equally responsible would the priest and laity be, if the people were not to receive and find from Christian charity in practice that active help which the divine will prescribes. Nor would those priests and laity fulfill their obligations, were they voluntarily to close their eyes and keep silence concerning the social injustices of which they are witnesses, thus furnishing an occasion for unjust attacks against pacity of the social action of Christianity and against the efficacy of the social doctrine of the church, which, with the help of divine grace, has given so many and such unquestionable public demonstrations in this regard and also in these recent decades.

In case the failure to which we have referred were to occur, it would likewise be those priests and laity who would bear the responsibility that groups of the young, and even pastors of souls, let themselves, in some cases, be won over to radicalism and erroneous progressivism.

The conduct of Christians—be they of high or humble state, or be they more or less prosperous-who would not be resolute in the recognition and observance of their own social obligations in the management of their economic affairs, would cause more grave consequences to the social order, and also to the political order. Whosoever is not ready to limit justly in relation to the common weal the use of his private goods, be it done freely according to the dictates of his own conscience, or even done by means of organized provisions of a public character, he is helping, insofar as it depends on him, to impede the indispensable primacy of personal impulse and responsibility in social life.

In democratic systems one can fall easily into such an error, when individual interest is placed under the protection of these collective organizations or of a party, where one seeks protection for the sum total of individual interests, rather than the promotion of the good of all; under such a guise the economy becomes easily subject to the power of anonymous forces which dominate it politically.

Beloved children, we are thankful to the divine goodness for having given us yet another opportunity to indicate to you, with paternal solicitude, the path of goodness. May the earth, abundantly watered by the giver of true peace, be able to proclaim glory to God in the highest. "Let us go up to Bethlehem." (Luke 2: 15.) Let us go back there close to the crib of sincerity, of truth, and of love, where the only begotten Son of God gives Himself man to men, in order that humanity may know again in Him its bond and its peace. "Today true peace comes down to us from heaven." (Office of Christmas, response, second lesson.) In order that the earth be worthy to receive it, we invoke upon all abounding divine blessings.

Reappraisal in Formosa Strait

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, in this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald the column by Mr. Walter Lippmann presented some information regarding Formosa and its neighboring islands which I believe to be basic and germane to any discussion of the crisis in that area. I think it is appropriate to call the attention of the Congress to Mr. Lippmann's excellent column.

TODAY AND TOMORROW (By Walter Lippmann) REAPPRAISAL IN FORMOSA STRAIT

In their press conferences on Tuesday and Wednesday of last week Mr. Dulles first and then the President made known the decision not to defend the Tachens and the other offshore islands which are held by Chiang's Nationalist forces. This marked the turning

of a page.

Until then our military commitments in this area had as a matter of policy been left undefined and uncertain. Our policy was to keep everybody guessing. Thus under the proposed security pact with the Nationalist Government our military commitments are quite specifically limited (art. VI) to "Taiwan (the Chinese name for Formosa) and the Pescadores." The treaty promises nothing beyond that, nothing, that is to say, about the offshore islands. But notes exchanged by Mr. Dulles and Mr. Yeh, the Nationalist Foreign Minister, which go with the proposed pact, do say that the United States could by joint agreement act in the other territory—which means the Tachens and the offshore islands. We were not bound to act there. But we had left ourselves the option of acting if we chose.

Some time ago the Peiping government began to test our intentions in this unclarified situation. They took to shelling and bombing offshore islands, and finally by an amphibious operation they conquered one of them last week. It was at this point that the administration abandoned its policy of deliberate uncertainty, and made known the decision not to intervene in the defense

of the offshore islands.

This might be described as a sound decision taken under embarrassing conditions that should have been foreseen and avoided. The policy until last week was a bluff that was called, and we have retreated in the face of Red Chinese military action. Since for good reasons we had never meant to fight for the effshore islands, it was a serious error to give the impression that we might fight for them.

Moreover, the President gave a very poor reason for our decision to draw a line between the Formosa-Pescadores territory which we will defend and the offshore islands which we will not defend. He said that the Tachens and the small islands are not "a vital element, as we see it, in the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores." This takes it for granted that we have a unilateral right to intervene in foreign territory for strategic reasons—that the controlling principle of our policy is not law but strategy. This, to give it its true name, is militarism.

We do not need to resort to militarism to protect our interests in this area. There is a radical difference in law between the two sets of islands. Throughout the 20th century Formosa and the Pescadores belonged not to China but to Japan. They were captured from Japan by the United States, not by China. Under the Japanese surrender terms of 1945, which were formally ratified by the 1952 Treaty of Peace (ch. II, art. 2b), "Japan renounces all right, title, and claim to Formosa and the Pescadores." But now let us note this. Though Japan has renounced the title, no one else has acquired it.

In the President's message of January 10, 1952, submitting the Japanese Peace Treaty to the Senate, he put into the Recorn the official statement of Mr. Dulles to the San Francisco Conference. In that statement Mr. Dulles said that "some Allied Powers suggested that article 2 should not merely deplimit Japanese sovereignty according to Potsdam, but specify precisely the ultimate disposition of each of the ex-Japanese terri-

tories. This, admittedly, would have been neater. But it would have raised questions as to which there are now no agreed answers. * * * Clearly, the wise course was to proceed now, so far as Japan is concerned, leaving the future to resolve doubts by invoking international solvents other than this treaty."

None of this applies to the offshore islands. They have always been Chinese. We have a right to be present in Formosa and the Pescadores under the terms of the Japanese surrender, and of the Japanese Peace Treaty. We have a right to see that their ultimate disposition is not settled by force but in accord with the interests of the people of Formosa and of the interests of the powers concerned in the Pacific. Our presence for these purposes is not intervention in the Chinese civil war. It is not intervention because Formosa and the Pescadores are not really Chinese territory.

But were we to intervene in the offshore

But were we to intervene in the offshore islands, we would be acting on Chinese territory in a Chinese civil war. For these reasons our actual decision not to intervene in the offshore islands would not only look better but would in fact be better if it were based not on the strategical opinions of the White House and the Pentagon but on the law and the right about Formosa and the

Pescadores.

Our right to defend Formosa rests on the fact that it is territory ceded by Japan about which the ultimate disposition has not been settled by any treaty. Even though both Chinese governments claim Formosa as Chinese, even though we promised in 1953 at Cairo to restore it to the Republic of China, Formosa is not now, it is not yet, Chinese territory. Because of that, our presence in Formosa is not intervention in the Chinese civil war.

On these grounds we have obligations and rights in the disposition of Formosa, regardless of whether we think Chiang or Mao is the head of the legitimate government of China. Our position in Formosa does not depend upon Chiang. For Chiang has never acquired a legitimate title to Formosa. Our position is the consequence of an international war, and on that ground we can make a case before the opinion of mankind to invoke their collaboration in reaching an international solution.

Wiretapping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the Record, I am pleased to include an editorial from the Wall Street Journal, January 19, 1955, entitled "Wrong Number."

This editorial deals with wiretapping, and it is an editorial that I can recommend for everyone to read because it touches on a very delicate subject and one which caused, in the last session of Congress, a great deal of controversy:

WRONG NUMBER

A State supreme court justice in New York refused a few days ago to authorize the use of wiretapping to catch three bookmakers. The reasons given by Justice Hofstadter for his refusal went straight to the heart of an issue the Congress doubtless will debate again this year.

New York State law authorizes wiretapping in some circumstances, but Justice Hofstadter denied the police because, he said, whatever the results they would not warrant the invasion of privacy that would have followed his issuance of the order. In a word, the medicine was worse than the illness.

To place a wiretap on a telephone is not only, as Justice Hofstadter reasons, an undue invasion of that person's privacy; it is also an invasion of the privacy of every other person who uses that telephone from either end. It is, in fact, much more than that; article IV of the United States Constitution protects "the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures." The Constitution further restricts issuance of search warrants to "probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation," and the warrant must describe particularly the place to be searched and the person or thing to be seized.

But would not a Federal law authorizing wiretapping reverse that process? Would it not allow an unreasonable search—and a secret one—to cast about for a probable cause?

Now no reasonable man would compare the catching of gamblers to the treasonable Communist conspiracy. The Red intrigue is certainly to be feared and fought; but it must be fought with weapons that do not injure our Nation as one of free men. The heart of the issue here is the same in either case; the medicine of wiretap is equally bad, for it is the prescription of the police state.

is the prescription of the police state.

Indeed, the convictions in the courts of many of the Communist leaders show that police-state methods are not needed. There are statutes on the books under which they can be, and have been, successfully prosecuted. And if need be, the Congress can provide for the calling up of the militia should the conspiracy reach insurrection.

No one has suggested that course.

Meanwhile, we see no need for chipping away at the rights and privileges of people who are not Communists in order to catch Communists. Perhaps the latter can be more easily trapped through wiretapping; certainly it will make the job of our police easier, or the Department of Justice would not have sidered endorsing last year the proposal Representative Keating has again introduced. The job of the police would be made easier also if they could go about arresting anyone they chose and if they could break down any door and if they could bloid in prison a suspect as long as they wished. But restraints were placed on Government and on police so that these things could not happen.

So it should be with wiretapping. Let it be accepted in one field of law enforcement and it will be soon accepted in all. Intimate conversations will be recorded by unseen ears, and the unseen nand of fear and suspicion may rest on every phone call; perhaps

on a wrong number.

Strike Averted Following Intervention of Governor Ribicosf

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, today I am calling to the attention of the member-ship a significant occurrence in the State of Connecticut last week.

A statewide strike of some 2,200 employees of the Connecticut Co., the Connecticut Light & Power Co., which would have paralyzed a large portion of the transportation system of Connecticut, was called off after Gov. Abraham Ribicoff intervened and succeeded in bringing both sides together.

Many of my colleagues will remember Governor Ribicoff as my distinguished predecessor, the Representative from the First Congressional District of Con-

necticut.

Governor Ribicoff believes that the Welfare and prosperity of this country to a very large extent depends upon a harmonious and cooperative effort between employees and employer. Several times in the course of his public career he has publicly voiced this philosophy.

In the bus strike he applied this philosophy with great effectiveness. As a result of his efforts, this strike which Would have been disastrous in many respects, was completely avoided.

For his successful efforts, the bus drivers' union and officials of the Connecticut Co. have both expressed their thanks to the Governor. The people of Con-necticut join in this expression of gratitude.

I have taken this time to bring this matter to the attention of the House, not only to pay tribute to a great Governor Who was a former Member of this body, but as well to point out that this is the kind of leadership in Government which Will produce a more stable society in the United States of America.

Increase in Cotton Acreage Urged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ARMISTEAD I. SELDEN, JR.

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. SELDEN. Mr. Speaker, recently I introduced a measure—H. R. 2438-Which, if enacted into law, will increase the national acreage allotment for the

1955 crop of cotton to 19,500,000 acres. The Secretary of Agriculture, under existing legislation, has set the 1955 allotment at 18,113,208 acres which com-Dares with the 1953 acreage of 25,151,400 and a 1954 acreage allotment of 21,379,-358.

I have introduced this legislation, and urge its early passage, because many of the cotton farmers of my district and State are already in very bad financial circumstances due to last year's crop failure caused by a disastrous drought.

The cotton farmers of America have demonstrated time and time again their Willingness to cooperate in a nationwide program which enables them to keep production in line with reasonable consumer demands. They know, as I do, that if we are to have a price-support program, we must also have acreage quotas. Yet, I believe that under certain conditions it may be unwise to reduce surpluses in certain years as drastically as they have been in others. I believe that 1955 is a year, certainly in the district I represent, in which our national acreage allotment should not be reduced by as much as 3 million acres.

Our national acreage allotment in 1954 was almost 4 million acres less than the 1953 acreage. In addition, my section of the country as well as other areas suffered the most disastrous drought that can be remembered. Another cut in cotton acreage for 1955 amounting to more than 3 million acres can only mean bankruptcy for some of the cotton farmers in my State and district. I am certain it would be better at this time to spread out our acreage reduction over a longer period of time rather than throw thousands of cotton farmers out of work by another drastic acreage cut this year.

I therefore urge the members of the Agricultural Committee and the Congress to give careful and early consideration to my bill and to other measures that propose an increase in the cottonacreage allotment for 1955.

To delay consideration of such legislation could mean that any increase the Congress adopts might be too late for the planting season.

Money Sent Abroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Daily Press, St. Mary's, Pa., of December 29, 1954:

MONEY SENT ABROAD

You as an American taxpayer should be interested in what your Government spends abroad as every last cent is taken from your pay envelope whether you are paid by the hour or draw a monthly salary.

Paul Martin, chief, Gannett Papers, Washington bureau, who has made an intensive study of the subject, quotes the late Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, of Michigan, as saying "the foreign policy of America in the past 14 years," and he was referring to the era before Eisenhower took over, "as the most gigantic speculation since time began."

During this time, and we refer again to Mr. Martin, the American people have made available United State Government grants or loans totaling at least \$117 billion to relieve human distress, improve civilian economies and build up defense establishment of foreign countries.

This, adds Mr. Martin, includes \$50 billion worth of lend-lease equipment during World War II and \$67 billion in economic, technical, and military assistance since the

United States foreign aid funds have been spent in 63 nations and 67 dependent territories around the world. They have cost American taxpayers an average of more than \$2,000 per person—and what you could do with that \$2,000 makes your eyes bulge in anticipation.

Most of this money, according to Mr. Mar-tin, has gone to Western Europe, Of this sum the British empire has received approximately \$50 billion. France and her possessions received \$17 billion in round figures, and yet when it comes time for France to line up with the Allied world in defense against communism, the free world has generally been the loser.

Not all foreign aid investment has gone to friendly countries. It has been estimated, says Mr. Martin, at least \$15 billion worth of United States civilian, economic, and military supplies has gone behind the Iron Cur-

This includes \$11 billion in lend-lease assistance given Russia of which she has not

paid one penny in return.

The \$117 billion this country has poured out in the last several years would have built new schoolhouses in every town of over 5,000 in the United States, would have provided new hospitals in every town of similar size, and would, in addition, provide adequate housing for every serviceman and his family.

Therefore it becomes questionable what America has gained by her display of lavish spending. There is little doubt but what European economy has been benefited to no end, and reports from there say 1954 has been a good year for business all around, gratifying this side of the Atlantic, but the more sober query is how does it assist in an alliance against communism.

When you take a country like France that has received \$17 billion in American help and find her reluctant to line up with United States in military alliance one begins to think much of that \$17 billion gift has been wasted, and would have been far better spent helping American GI's get on their feet.

It has become customary in some parts of the world to look upon Uncle Sam as a man with a bottomless purse. Hardly any for-eign nations sends a diplomat to Washington who does not have his hand out for financial aid.

And the men and women you have elected to represent you in Washington have made it possible for them to dip deeper and deeper into the United States Treasury.

It has become a fixed habit among Ameri-can newspaper readers to ask "How much did he get?" when they read of this or that European dignitary heading for home after visiting the National Capital.

The trend toward this giveaway is being changed at the present time and this may be even more pronounced in the coming congressional session as added Members of Congress become aware that the gold this country possesses could reach the end of the trail. plus the futher realization folks back home who have to foot this tremendous bill are fed up.

At a time when many have to beg, borrow. or come close to stealing enough to pay their personal income taxes, it grates their nerves to see this country so generous with other countries with money that comes from their earnings.

Outside the financial help given United States by France in crucial days of the Revolutionary War not one single country abroad has ever given this country as much as a thin dime.

This all-paying-out, nothing-coming-in, philosophy should soon terminate.

Who Condones or Excuses Immorality?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the Machinist:

WHO CONDONES OR EXCUSES IMMORALITY?

The extent of the fraud being perpetrated on State legislatures under the guise of "right-to-work" is beginning to dawn on the American people.

These laws, already adopted in 17 States and about to be considered in other State legislatures, are based on a lie and a deception.

These misnamed "right-to-work" laws and bills have one single purpose—to weaken labor organizations, to handleap labor at the bargaining table. They guarantee no man's right to work. Nor do they protect anyone from discrimination on the job because of age, race, color or because he belongs to a union.

A LIE AND A DECEPTION

Instead, these laws are intended to encourage men and women to work without union protection, without seniority, without any guaranty that wages won't be cut.

Any movement that is based on a lie, on deception, as is this right-to-work movement, can best be weighed and evaluated by those qualified to judge morality and de-cency, respected men of experience and cency, respected men of experience and good will, men grounded in the morality of

That is the reason the International Assoclation of Machinists has invited three recognized religious leaders to appraise the morality of the so-called right-to-work movement and the laws and bills it pro-

On pages 4 and 5 of this issue the Ma-chinist presents Rabbi Goldstein's assess-ment of right-to-work laws and his conclu-When he was invited to prepare this article for the Machinist, he was told that no policy or opinion of this organization would interfere with publication of anything he chose to say.

Rabbi Goldstein's article is the second in this series. The first, by Rev. William J. Kelley, an oblate father at Catholic Univer-Washington, D. C., appeared in the Machinist for November 18.

Like Father Kelley, Rabbi Goldstein has written what is in his mind and in his heart, without fear of criticism either from union members or the chamber of com-

We believe that, like Father Kelley, Rabbi Goldstein's analysis is damning. Both Father Kelley and Rabbi Goldstein have condemned these right-to-work laws as immoral. No man of God uses that term lightly. with means wicked, vicious, inconsistent vigood morals, and contrary to moral law.

A RIGHTEOUS CAUSE

With this teaching before us, there can be no doubt of the righteousness of our cause in asking for repeal of these anti-union-security laws in the 17 States where they now exist and in urging legislators in other States to relegate them to the wastebaskets where they belong.

In the weeks ahead we will publish the third article in this series. Together, we believe the three articles will provide not just labor but all decent Americans with a sound basis for moral judgment on these so-called right-to-work laws.

Modesto, Calif.: All-American City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEROY JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Mr. Speaker, in Look magazine on February

8, 1955, will appear an article in which the magazine and the National Municipal League, assisted by a group of distinguished civic leaders, selected 11 cities as all-American cities.

In this group is the city of Modesto, Calif. It is the county seat of Stanislaus and the second largest city within the 11th Congressional District of California, which I have the honor to represent in the House of Representatives.

I congratulate the mayor, Harry Marks, the city manager, and the City Council of Modesto, and Lawrence Robinson, Jr., chairman of the citizen's committee, on receiving this honor. But I must confess that I was not surprised. Many years ago when I was a municipal official in California, and a director in the League of California Cities, I organized the Central Valley division of the league. This included Modesto and from that time on I have had knowledge of the city government of Modesto. It has always been a well-governed city. Over Highway 99, the major through highway in the city, is a huge sign with this inscription: "Water, wealth, contentment, health."

Modesto is in the center of one of the richest agricultural areas in the United States. In Stanislaus County are the two most fabulous irrigation districts in California. They are the Modesto Irrigation District and the Turlock Irrigation District. They are operated jointly. Last year they had paid off their bond issues. They furnish the water to the fertile land that raises the fruits, nuts, row crops, alfalfa, and so forth, which make the county so rich and its county seat, Modesto, so prosperous.

Modesto, like most California cities, was afflicted with "growingitis." So many from outside of California came into the area that contiguous to Modesto's boundaries was a population much larger than the city's population. So the people began to agitate and later they organized to provide money, through a bond issue, to make various improvements that would attract the outside area. It did. Then came annexation to the city of many of these areas. The schools were improved to the tune of \$4.3 millions by the sale of bonds approved by the voters for necessary expansion and improved teaching techniques. Incidentally, the superintendent, James H. Corsor, was an Olympic games star in Amsterdam in 1928. He was a world champion discus thrower for a short time, being outdistanced by another American 15 minutes after he had broken the world's record.

Good municipal government in California is partly due to the nonpartisan elections which California adopted over 40 years ago. Partisan party politics are out in our city elections. The elective officers of our cities are selected by the voters who vote for those they think best able to conduct the affairs of the city government.

Under leave to extend my remarks I am including a portion of the article from Look magazine about Modesto, Calif. It follows:

(By Jack Star)

Despite the traditional cynicism of politics, an American community—if it becomes

indignant enough and determined enoughcan stem graft, choke creeping blight, root out bumbling inefficiency, make streets safe for women and children.

As proof, the National Municipal League and Look again point to 11 communities where energetic, purposeful, and intelligent citizen action has accomplished such endsand more. The league, which for 60 years has provided tools and inspiration for better local government, and Look have named these communities the All-American Cities of 1954.

The winners include the second largest city in the land and one of the smallest hamlets. None is necessarily a model town, but all, because of citizen action, are better places in which to live.

In the words of Dr. George H. Gallup, league president and director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, the awards are given not for good government, efficient municipal administration, or a specific improvement, as such, but rather for citizen

This year, a record 225 communities were nominated for awards. The 22 finalists presented their cases before a distinguished tury of civil leaders at the annual national conference on government in Kansas City,

The winning communities are Chicago, Ill.; Decatur, Ark.; Maricopa County, Ariz.; Mexico, Mo.; Modesto, Calif.; Newark, N. J.; Pueblo, Colo.; Richfield, Minn.; Rock Island, Ill.; Rockville, Md.; and Warren, Ohio.

These are their stories:
Modesto, Calif.: Late in the 1940's, Modesto discovered that while its own population (17,000) had remained unaffected by the postwar California boom, the area outside its city limits had blossomed into an industrial section of 34,000. This huge fringe population posed a crushing problem: The suburbanites used Modesto's facilities and paid few taxes. Modesto, with no place to dump its sewage, found itself girdled by 10,000 cesspools.

The solution was annexation-make all problems common and solve them for the common good. But outside industry feared higher taxes and stricter regulation. In 1953, the voters adopted city-manager government (which had once been ruled illegal) and began wooing the suburbanites.

"Some outside industries began boycotting our merchants," recalls Mayor Harry Marks. "So we decided to make them want to come in, to offer them a city they would beg to become a part of."

A committee of 21 swelled into a committee of 1,000 and began a campaign of doorbell ringing to publicize a \$2.5 million sewer-improvement bond issue. It carried 8 to 1. improved fire department meant lower in-

surance rates for industry. The annexations began. By the end of 1954, so many areas had been annexed that Modesto's population had more than doubled and more areas were waiting their turn. The voters approved spending \$4.3 million schools; a youth center that stood unfinished for 3 years was completed in weeks with donated labor and materials. Many more improvements are on the way.

Events in Costa Rica

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT P. MORANO

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. MORANO. Mr. Speaker, on January 12 of this year I sent a telegram to our able Secretary of State, Hon. John Foster Dulles, urging immediate and vigorous action by the United States under Mr. Dulles' personal direction and Within the framework of the Organization of American States to bring about a cessation of hostilities and of needless bloodshed in Costa Rica. I am pleased to report that the Organization of American States has moved swiftly and it now Would appear that a serious menace to the Panama Canal and to the entire Western Hemisphere has been averted. All of us can be proud of the Organization of American States and of the vigorous leadership taken by the United States within that organization's frame-Work

As the membership of the House well knows, the headquarters of the Organization is in Washington, located several blocks from the White House and the Department of State. I urge as many Members of this House as possible to become better acquainted with the Organization of American States by observing at first hand the many useful activities pursued at its headquarters.

There follows the text of an address delivered in Houston, Tex., on January 20 by the Honorable Henry F. Holland, our able, courageous, and very effective Assistant Secretary of State for Inter-American Affairs, covering the events which have been transpiring in Costa Rica:

During the past 10 days much of our attention has been centered on the conflict in the Central American Republic of Costa Rica. Through the newspaper, television, and radio you have followed events there. I would like to discuss with you their significance as regards the inter-American system, and the policies of our own Government.

The dimensions of the conflict itself may be small—some 10,000 Government forces, only 4,000 of them well armed, pitted against six to eight hundred revolutionaries; nevertheless, the principles and issues involved in the conflict are basic and of lasting importance to the peace and order of our hemisphere.

What has been taking place in that small Central American country is in the first place a matter of humanitarian concern to all of us because human lives and welfare are affected. If, and to the extent that, this is a domestic upheaval, it is regrettable, and would not be an occasion for United States or OAS political action. nature and apparent origin of the conflict suggest intervention from abroad and thus have presented problems of deep preoccupation to the American family of nations. At stake have been the principle of non-Intervention and collective action to maintain international peace which are cornerstones of the relationship among the American States—a relationship which is unique in the divided world of today. In the balance stood the expressed intention of the American nations to come to the assistance of a sister republic when the integrity of its territory or sovereignty or political in-dependence was threatened, thereby demonstrating the effectiveness of the inter-American regional security system. Beyond this, what is taking place in Costa Rica and the response of the Organization of American States, in my opinion, carried serious implications for the fabric of collective security which binds the nations of the free world. Happily, in this case there the free world. the free world. Happily, in this case there was no evidence that international communism had gained control of the political

institutions of Costa Rica. If that had been the case, the Caracas declaration would have applied and the Communist-dominated government would have been deemed a common danger to all of the American Republics.

I am pleased to say that the challenge has been met by the OAS, and in a rapid, effective, and resourceful manner.

Before taking up the course of events in the Costa Rican crisis and their significance, I believe I should very briefly describe the inter-American machinery to which that country appealed for any of you who might not be familiar with it. The Organization of American States, or OAS as we generally refer to it, is a regional organization within the United Nations. All 21 American republics are members. Its affairs are normally directed by a council comprised of representatives of each member state and which under emergency conditions such as those in the existing situation is accorded certain unusual and extensive powers such as those it has exercised during recent days.

Among the organization's basic purposes as expressed in its charter are the following:

1. "To strengthen the peace and security

of the continent."

"To prevent possible causes of difficulties and to insure the pacific settlement of disputes that may arise among the member states."

states."
3. "To provide for common action on the part of those states in the event of aggression."

A fundamental principle vouchsafed in the charter is that:

"If the inviolability or the integrity of the territory or the sovereignty or political independence of any American state should be affected by an armed attack or by an act of aggression that is not an armed attack, or by an extra-continental conflict, or by a conflict between two or more American states, or by any other fact or situation that might endanger the peace of America, the American states, in furtherance of the principles of continental solidarity or collective self-defense, shall apply the measures and procedures established in the special treaties on the subject" (art. 25).

The principal treaty referred to in this article is the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance, known as the Rio Treaty. It is under this treaty that Costa Rica on January 8 appealed to the Council of the Organization for assistance, considering itself to be in imminent danger of invasion.

The Costa Rican call for OAS action brought to a head issues and difficulties which have hovered in the background for some time. Last spring, after frustration of an attempt to assassinate him, the President of Nicaragua asserted that the President of Costa Rica, from whose territory certain of the conspirators had come, was implicated. Thereafter the Costa Rican Government from time to time asserted that a revolutionary movement was being prepared against it from outside its territory, with the toleration, if not assistance, of other governments.

During this period of tension in the area those of us dealing principally with Latin American affairs in Washington were informed of these developments. Not infrequently we were called upon to lend our assistance in an effort to ease the difficulties. At times, both before and after the recent outbreak, we have been asked to provide more direct assistance ourselves.

In response to such appeals, the policy of the Government of the United States has been to take such informal and friendly steps as we believed would be proper and helpful to bring about a more cordial atmosphere between the governments concerned. We also encouraged them to make every effort to resolve their difficulties by direct negotiations. All members of the Organization of American States clearly have a responsibility

to strive for such settlement under the charter of that body, the Rio Treaty, and the U. N. Charter. However, we have firmly and consistently insisted that governments which found themselves unable to resolve their difficulties by direct negotiations should utilize the abundant and effective machinery of the Organization of American States in achieving that peaceful solution which is enjoined upon all members of the inter-American community. Specifically, we have repeatedly advised that a government which had reason to believe that its sovereignty or political independence were endangered from outside its territory should place its complaint before the Organization of American States. We believe that procedures which are readily available in the OAS can be effective, and that the degree to which they achieve good results depends small measure upon the degree to which the American States resort to them, and thus demonstrate their confidence in them. No machinery for the maintenance of peace and security can demonstrate its effectiveness unless it is used by the governments that created it.

Now let me review briefly the order of events in connection with Costa Rica's appeal to the OAS. That will permit a clear understanding of the role played by the United States and the other members of the OAS.

On Saturday, January 8, the Costa Rican representative notified the Council of the Organization of American States that his government believed an invasion of its territory was imminent and that the movement was being supported in violation of the obligations of the governments under inter-American treaties. These prohibit any American state from resorting to force in a dispute with another and require each state to take effective measures to prevent its territory from being used to further an armed attack on any other state. Costa Rica asked that the provisions of the Rio Treaty applicable to such emergencies be invoked.

The Chairman of the Council immediately called a meeting of that body for the following day. Subsequently, the meeting was postponed 24 hours, with the concurrence of the representative of Costa Rica, because of the absence of the Nicaraguan representative from Washington.

The Council met on the afternoon of Monday, January 10, and heard Costa Rica present its case and Nicaragua's denial of the allegations of its complicity in any revolutionary movement. No act of violence having taken place, and considering it desirable for the representatives to consult their governments on the matter, the Council scheduled a further meeting for Wednesday, calling upon the Governments of Costa Rica and Nicaragua to take the necessary measures to prevent any acts which might aggravate the situation.

The situation changed drastically the following morning, Tuesday, January 11. Rebel attacked forces and occupied the Rican town of Villa Quesada, some 60 miles within Costa Rica, north of its capital, San José. At the request of Costa Rica, the Council of the OAS met immediately that day. In view of the new circumstances, it did not hesitate to apply the Rio Treaty, and as a first step to send an Investigating Committee without delay to the scene to ascertain the facts. The United States was privileged to be designated as a member of the Committee, together with Mexico, Brazil, Paraguay, and Ecuador. The Committee was named at 9 o'clock in the evening. At 6 the following morning the group was on its way in a plane which, in view of the urgency of matter, was furnished by the United States. The Council had acted with vigor and dispatch.

While the Investigating Committee was en route on Wednesday, a new element entered

the picture: Costa Rica reported that during the day several towns, including the capital, had been bombed and strafed by aircraft coming from the north. Costa Rica pointed out that, having no air force of its own, this development posed a new and serious danger to its security. Not only was the danger in-creased, but it appeared that such elements could only have come from outside Costa Rica.

In response the Council called urgently upon all American governments to take the measures necessary to prevent the use of their territories for any military action against another government. But it also made what I think is an historic decision in the inter-American system; the establishment for the first time of an international aerial patrol under the supervision of an OAS body for the purpose of making peace-ful observations over the region affected by the situation. To accomplish this, the member governments in a position to do so were requested to place at the disposal of the Investigating Committee aircraft which would fly in its name and under its supervision. Within 2 hours after this decision was unanimously taken by the Council, our Government announced that it was making planes available. Ecuador, Uruguay, and Mexico have taken the same step.

The use of peaceful observation flights under the supervision of the Investigating Committee is a new development in inter-American peace machinery. Multiplying the eyes and expanding the vision of the fiveman committee, this procedure doubtless also served as a deterrent to any international transit of men and arms in violation of treaty obligations.

Recognizing the need for a finding of facts, the Council requested the Investigating Committee to send immediately a prelim-This inary report on the situation. Committee did with noteworthy speed.

This report received late Thursday indicated that aircraft originating from outside Costa Rica had machine gunned and bombed several places in the country, and that there existed grave presumption that arms entering Costa Rica were continuing to across its northern frontier. On Friday the Council, on the basis of this information, condemned the acts of intervention against Costa Rica: it called on all American governments, especially Nicaragua to the north, to redouble their efforts to prevent their terri-tories from being used for military action. It also directed its Investigating Committee immediately to send observers to all airports and other places in the region which might be used to transport military elements into Costa Rica. Meanwhile, constant aerial surveillance under the supervision of the Investigating Committee continued, as did the other activities of the Committee.

At midnight on Saturday, January 15, the Committee reported that its reconnaissance indicated that the air force of the revolutionary group operating in Costa Rica had been increased by the addition of one P-47 which had come from outside Costa Rica. This plane had been used in strafing opera-The Costa Rican Government had no combat aircraft with which to meet this new threat.

At 2 o'clock in the morning on Sunday the Council of the OAS met to consider what should be done in the light of this latest development. The Council was inlatest development. formed that Costa Rica had asked that the United States sell it four P-51's. Since the problem was being dealt with by the OAS, we would not send such war material into the area except at the request of the Council. We told the delegates that we could, under our laws, make a sale of the four planes to Costa Rica, and that, if the Council requested that such aircraft be made available to the Costa Rican Government, we would do so. Five hours later, at 7 in the morning last Sunday, the Council unanimously approved a resolution which made known its desire that these aircraft be sold to Costa Rica. At 3 that afternoon the 4 P-51's were on They arrived on their way to Costa Rica. Monday, January 17, and have been turned over to the Costa Rican Government.

There has been speculation in the press as to the price of the planes which have been transferred to Costa Rica. United States law requires that the price of military equipment sold to other friendly governments be fixed at its fair value, which is determined according to standards specified in the Mutual Security Act of 1954. In past sales of similar equipment that price has been far less than the original cost of the planes. The price in this case is now being determined by the Department of Defense and will be fixed on the basis of the type of plane and equipment, spare parts and services made available with them. I might add that if because of price or any other reason Costa Rica would now prefer not to have the planes, we would be satisfied to have them returned. They were withdrawn from National Guard units here in Texas, where they are useful.

After its night session the Council reconvened at 4 o'clock Sunday afternoon to consider what further measures might be taken to insure against treaty violations. It had before it petitions from both Costa Rica and Nicaragua that effective surveillance of their frontier be established under the OAS for the purpose of keeping watch on border crossings by revolutionary forces or supplies. The Council approved this request, directing its investigating committee to plan and maintain effective vigilance of the border through its military advisers.

Aerial reconnaissance revealed that the rebel forces had 4 planes-2 AT-6 trainers, a DC-3 cargo plane, and the F-47, which I have mentioned. The DC-3 crashed last Sunday. On Monday the air patrol reported that the three remaining planes had left the rebel airstrip in Costa Rica. Later the two trainers were observed to land in Rivas, Nicaragua, where the pilots surrendered to Nicaraguan authorities who report that the Government has interned the aircraft and crews. The whereabouts of the fighter plane has not been determined.

This account of the action taken by the OAS speaks well of the forceful and expeditious manner in which the 21 American republics, operating through their regional organization have been able to act. Not only has its action saved lives and property which would undoubtedly have been destroyed had the fighting become more widespread, it has also shown to the world that effective machinery exists and is being used in this hemisphere for the prevention of international conflicts. This success will strengthen the Organization of American States by giving a concrete demonstration of its power as a deterrent to warfare in this hemisphere. The United States as a member of the OAS may be justly proud of its contribution to this joint undertaking.

A question often asked me in the last several days is, "Who is responsible for this armed conflict in Costa Rica? Are the accusations made by the Governments of Costa Rica and Nicaragua against each other true?" This is not a question for any one member of the American community to decide, and we shall not engage in speculation. The determination of facts and the assessing of guilt, if any, is the function of the OAS. If we want to preserve the dignity and integrity of our regional organization we must not prejudge issues which it is studying preparatory to rendering a decision upon them. Nor must we expect hasty decisions from it. The Investigating Committee still in the field. It has just spent time in Nicaragua where at the invitation of that Government it has been assembling information. Until all of the facts are in, it would not be proper to render any judgment, as the voicing of unfounded or unsupported accusations by an official spokesman of any of the American governments would only tend to worsen the situation.

The importance of the OAS action thus far lies chiefly in the prompt and resourceful way in which it acted to protect the sovereignty, integrity, and inviolability of the territory of one of the member states. Despite the small size of the military engagement which is involved, the issues presented were the kind that could in the future arise in connection with any member of the group. The measures applied were unique. before has the Organization requested the establishment of pacific observation flights or requested the sale of military equipment to a beleaguered member. Under these circumstances one cannot exaggerate the significance of the fact that all decisions not only of the Council but of the Investigating Committee have been taken unanimously. Americans throughout our 21 republics can be grateful that the peaceful solution of our problems has been entrusted to this regional organization to which the Soviet veto cannot extend.

The OAS has acted with speed and efficiency which deserves the applause of all the members of the inter-American system. less than 4 days actions were taken which put an investigating group into the affected area and gave it the means for carrying out peaceful observations of the widest possible scope. I doubt that in any similar situation an international investigating body has discharged its duties with greater diligence, greater speed, or greater resourcefulness.

Furthermore, as a result of the OAS action, aircraft were made available which enable Costa Rica to defend itself against marauding planes introduced from outside its territory. The basis has been established for a system of effective frontier vigilance. These are remarkable achievements for any international organization.

Let me summarize the policy which the United States Government has pursued and will continue to pursue in this matter. First, we support vigorously all appropriate steps determined by the Organization of American States to protect the obligations and guaranties of the treaties upon which our inter-American system is founded, and we make every effort to insure that these steps are taken on the basis of facts rather than charges or rumors. Finally, we are committed to a policy of strengthening the OAS as an effective international organization within the United Nations to which members of the American family should in the first instance refer such problems as this for peaceful solution.

Communists' Ruthless Technique

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very interesting editorial from the Lawrence Daily Eagle, Lawrence, Mass., Saturday, December 4, 1954:

CRUEL BUSINESS

Nothing is quite so maddening to a peaceloving nation like our as the Communists' ruthless technique of false imprisonment on trumped-up charges. It is most aggra-Vating because it is so difficult to combat.

latest shocking episode of this kind, Red China's imprisonment of 13 American citizens for terms from 4 years to life, dramatizes a painful fact that has been long known: That the Communists did not return all Allied prisoners as they were required to do under the Korean truce agreement.

It goes without saying that this cruel business is international gangsterism of the worst sort, a violation not alone of the Korean pact but of the laws of war governing the status of prisoners. Men in uniform are not spies, as charged.

But the point, of course, is: What can we

do about it?

A few voices raised in and out of Congress have demanded that we resort to drastic measures, declaring that "only force" will free these men.

Such a course clearly does not recommend itself to President Eisenhower, Secretary of State Dulles, or Secretary of Defense Wilson, nor would it be likely to have appeal to most Americans who give the matter sober

For force can mean just one thing—war. Even if we could find where the imprisoned Americans were being held, we could not, by any stretch of the imagination, expect to conduct a successful rescue raid into sprawling China. Thus war is the sole conceivable course of action left to advocates of force.

Yet, as much as we cherish the life of every single American, the idea of plunging the whole Nation into war and sending millions to their deaths in perhaps a vain effort to save 13 men from prison terms is something we cannot consider.

It would be very surprising if a single 1 of the 13 wants so colossal a sacrifice to

be made in his behalf.

Frustrating thought it may be, all we can sensibly do is protest. But it ought to be understood that protest is sometimes effective, and it could be again.

Both the United States and its ally, Britain, already have vigorously denounced this newest Red act in defiance of international Justice. But the question should be of instant importance to the United Nations, under whose command the imprisoned Americans fought, and to the neutral Korean Armistice Commission now overseeing the truce.

It is always arguable whether this sort of pressure works best if accompanied by loud hoises of indignation, or if more subtly ap-Plied against the high councils of the hostile state involved.

Ordinary Americans, deeply angered at this latest outrage, nevertheless cannot decide which approach is wisest in this case. But they can insist that every ounce of pressure be resolutely and relentless applied until these and other falsely imprisoned Americans are restored to full freedom.

Heavy Caseload in Federal Judicial Districts of the State of Iowa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KARL M. LeCOMPTE

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. LECOMPTE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I call to the attention of the Congress a resolution adopted by the Iowa State Bar Association on June 5, 1954.

This resolution expresses the concern

of the members of the association over the heavy load of cases pending in the Federal judicial districts of the State of Iowa and urges legislation by the United States Congress to relieve the situation there and in other areas throughout the Nation.

"Whereas the members of this association are seriously concerned with the heavy load of cases pending in both the northern and southern Federal judicial districts of the State of Iowa and with the fact that the amount of litigation is increasing rapidly and that as a result a congestion of cases and of business has been avoided only through the almost superhuman efforts of the judges both in the northern and southern districts of Iowa; and

"Whereas not only are the judges overworked but serious strain is placed upon jurors, court reporters, litigants, and attorneys, and other officers of the court; and

'Whereas there is now pending in the Congress of the United States a measure designed to bring relief for this situation and other similar situations now existing else-where in the United States: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved by the Iowa State Bar Association in its 81st annual meeting assembled, That we urge upon the Senators and the Members of the House of Representatives from the State of Iowa that they give the strongest possible support to the proposed legislation referred to above and to any other legislation which may be designed to bring relief to the two Federal districts in this State; be it further

'Resolved, That copies of this resolution be forwarded by the secretary of this association to each of the United States Senators from Iowa and to each of the Members of the House of Representatives from the State

of Iowa."

I certify that this is a true and correct copy of a resolution passed by the Iowa State Bar Association on June 5, 1954.

> EDWARD H. JONES Secretary, the Iowa State Bar Association.

Delaware River Channel Between Philadelphia Naval Base and Newbold Island

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following resolution:

I, John M. McCullough, secretary of the Delaware River Port Authority, hereby certify the attached to be a true and correct copy of a resolution duly adopted by the authority at its meeting of January 19, 1955; that said resolution has not been altered, amended, or repealed, but is in full force and effect.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and the seal of said authority, this

19th day of January 1955. [SEAL] JOHN M. McCullough,

Secretary.

"Whereas the Delaware River Port Authority by formal resolution of December 16, 1953, recorded its objection to the recommendation of the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, that local interests be required to contribute in cash to the United States one-half of the additional cost of construction of the recommended improvement of the 40-foot channel in the Delaware River between the Philadelphia Naval Base and Newbold Island in excess of the cost of the 35-foot channel:

"Whereas this position of the authority was respectfully reaffirmed by formal resolution of January 20, 1954, following consideration of a communication from the Chief of Engineers, Department of the Army, presenting his opinion 'that the needs of the prospective general commerce on the Dela-ware River will be served by a channel 35 feet deep'; and

"Whereas the Congress of the United States on August 18, 1954, authorized the deepening of the channel of the Delaware River between the Philadelphia Naval Base and Newbold Island to a depth of 40 feet without reference to the requirement for participation by local interests in defraying the cost thereof and said authorizing legislation was signed by the President of the United States

on September 6, 1954; and

"Whereas the President of the United States in his budget message to the Congress of January 17, 1955, recommended that token supplemental funds for the channel project be provided only if, as a prerequisite thereto, local interests pledged themselves in advance to provide a sum three times greater than the proposed supplemental appropriation or its equivalent thereof in work; and

Whereas this concept of local responsibility in an obligation of the Federal Government is one never before proposed in this precise form, one which the Congress has not previously had the opportunity to consider, and one which appears in unprecedented contravention of the responsibility of the Federal Government with respect to navigable interstate waters; and

"Whereas the importance of the Delaware River as a highway of commerce and of its industrial hinterland as a vital factor in the national security and a healthful national economy have not diminished, but in fact and as attested by statistics and reports both available to and published by the Federal Government have been enhanced markedly during the past year: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved, That the Delaware River Port Authority views with grave concern and deep misgiving the recommendation of the budget message as applied to channel-deepening projects; and be it further

"Resolved, That the authority reaffirms

most vigorously its opposition to any requirement that local sharing of costs be a prerequisite to approval of a project of this character in the realm of the public interest: and be it further

"Resolved, That attested copies of this resolution be forwarded promptly to all parties having an interest in the matter."

Effect of Bicycle Imports on Domestic Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS of New York. Mr. Speaker, in a few weeks this House will once again consider the question of United States foreign trade policy. Believing that the following information will prove of interest and help to the Members of this body, in consideration of this issue, I wish to place in the RECORD a copy of a letter from one of the larger manufacturers of bicycles in this country, whose plant is located in my congressional district:

H. P. SNYDER MANUFACTURING CO., INC., Little Falls, N. Y., January 17, 1955. Hon. WILLIAM R. WILLIAMS, House Office Building.

Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN: Many thanks for your note of January 10, and the attached copy of the President's message to Congress on reciprocal trade, dated January 10, 1955. So many comments with regard to this speech come to my mind that it is impossible for me to put them down in writing or you would be reading a new edition of Gone With the Wind.

To say the least, I continue to be greatly distressed by our President's refusal to recognize that his world-trade policy is selling American business down the stream, and I am continually more and more impressed by the fact that his judgment is being affected by the thinking of big business, which seems to have a temporary advantage by investing capital in foreign lands, which capital will undoubtedly be lost within the next 10 years by some upheaval in those foreign lands. It is more than distressing to an American to see our country and our Chief Executive encouraging the investment of American capital in foreign lands instead of investing same in our own country for our own benefit.

In the meantime, may I advise you that our own situation worsens by the Imports of bicycles are going to rise to the 900,000 level for 1954 and new lows in pricing occur every day. I have in my office at the present moment a German balloon-tire bicycle, a duplicate of the very best American balloon-tire bicycles, gorgeously finished with hand polishing and hand decorating that is beyond the possibilities of American bicycle manufacturers due to the expense of performing the operations, which bicycle is currently selling f. o. b. the docks in New York, duty paid, for \$19.90, 2 percent discount. If we were to duplicate this machine in detail, which we could do, our cost (in American plants, including our own, which we feel are superior in efficiency to the German plants) would be in the neighborhood of \$25 or \$26.

If our company had its percentage of the 900,000 bicycles that came into this country last year, we would have employed over 200 more people steadily throughout 1954. In a community of this size, and in a community which has lost so much business in the last year or two, this is disastrous. After 60 years in the bicycle business, BnL, we are really in danger of collapsing in another year, if this keeps up. Let's pray the Lord that the Tariff Commission and our President recognize this situation and correct it within the next few months. As you know, we must have a report from the Tariff Commission by March 14, 1955.

Sincere thanks for your interest. With best personal regards to you and Fred, we remain,

Sincerely yours, H. P. Snyder Manufacturing Co., Inc., H. W. Snyder, President.

Polish Union Testimonial

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-

ORD, I include the following editorial from the Wilkes-Barre Times-Leader of January 22, 1955:

POLISH UNION TESTIMONIAL

The women's division of the Polish Union of the United States of North America, headed by Miss Charlotte Zajkowski, of Wilkes-Barre, is sponsoring a testimonial in Hotel Sterling on Sunday night in honor of Stanley W. Warakomski, of Nanticoke, who has been general secretary of the Polish Union for 33 years. It is an impressive tribute to an executive whose long tenure has few parallels in fraternal circles.

Once described as a product of historic necessity, the Polish Union has leaned heavily on Mr. Warakomski for more than three decades. A native of Poland, he is unusually well equipped for the active management of an organization, dedicated to the welfare of Americans of Polish extraction, most of whom in the early days were, like himself, newcomers to this land of opportunity. He combines in his person a keen insight into the American way of life and a genuine appreciation of the problems confronting his compatriots.

The Polish Union has gone a long way under the guidance of Mr. Warakomski. The immigrant of yesterday is now an American citizen and so are his children. Language is no longer a barrier and the country of his adoption is now home. But old ties, cultural and personal, remain. These the Polish Union seeks to preserve as well as to provide insurance benefits, education, and other assistance to the membership through a program that is constantly expanding, thanks to the role of Mr. Warakomski and his progressive associates. The old and the new march side by side.

The years have dealt very kindly with Mr. Warakomski. His hair has silvered in the interim, adding distinction to his appearance and offering proof of maturity, mentally as well as physically. Otherwise, he is the same friendly and persevering individual who answered the call to duty after the First World War.

While the Polish Union has been his principal interest, by virtue of his office he has been identified with other movements, dedicated to the betterment of America, Poland, and humanity. As general secretary of the Polish Union, Stanley Warakomski has made a substantial contribution to the land of his birth and to the land of his adoption.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, this week the people of Ukrainian ancestry all over the world are observing the anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence which will take place on January 22, 1955.

It would seem to me that this anniversary observance presents us with a splendid opportunity for the reaffirmation of our strong faith in the eventual freedom of all of the peoples who are presently enslaved and subject to totalitarian domination.

The principle of self-determination of all peoples has played an important role in the conception and history of our own Nation. We have always maintained and continue to believe that the nations of the world have the right to work out their own destinies, in accordance with the expressed desires of their people.

On this occasion of the anniversary of Ukrainian independence, let us reaffirm our stanch adherence to that principle. May those nations who are presently deprived of representation and the right of self-determination find hope and encouragement in this reaffirmation of our principles.

Anti-McCarthy Technique

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I wish to insert the following editorial by Raymond Moley, which appeared in the Los Angeles Times on January 18, 1955.

ANTI-McCarthy Technique (By Raymond Moley)

It is hardly necessary to mention that the pattern of the leftlists who dominate such a large part of the Democratic Party and also of the so-called liberal Republicans in their campaign to drive a wedge between the Vice President and the President follows the pattern used in the long campaign against Senator McCarthy.

With powerful help because of the indiscretions and extreme comments of Mc-Carthy, the campaign against him succeeded. And so the opposition moves on to knock off one after another of the people who have attempted to hold the Roosevelt-Truman regime responsible for its softness toward subversive elements in and out of government.

Once more the promoters of the unending campaign to isolate the President from a majority of his party have been helped by an old and familiar trick practised in his press conferences. The President, by adding lengthy comments to what might have been an adequate answer, provided a back-

handed blow to his party.

In this instance, the President was asked for his opinion about attacks on Nixon "for the manner in which he conducted himself in the 1954 campaign." It took approximately 230 words for the President to answer that simple question. In the course of that answer, he said that (a) he did not believe that any party is guilty of treason, (b) that there are as many patriots in one party as in the other, (c) that "he had never heard" of Nixon making a charge that the whole Democratic Party is a party of treason, (d) that Nixon had so assured him, (e) that not only Nixon but the people who were criticizing him were loyal and patriotic, (f) that he would admit that "in the heat" of a campaign words might "be taken out of context" and be "the subject of legitimate criticism." Finally, he asked if the man who asked the question had read Nixon's speeches.

This highly qualified answer enabled a prominent anti-Nixon newspaper to say correctly in a first-page headline that the President had defended both Nixon and Nixon's critics. All this is highly satisfying to the anti-Nixon people, who can say that all the President had to go on was Nixon's word.

that the Democratic Party (which they will identify with the Truman administration) had just as many loyal people as the Republican Party (which they will identify with the Eisenhower administration).

All this leaves Nixon in a highly probationary status so far as the President is con-

cerned.

critics.

It does not, however, lessen the admiration for Nixon held by those Republicans who believe that a campaign is a campaign and that its purpose is to hold the opposition

responsible.

I have read Nixon's campaign speeches so far as they were written out. I secured them immediately after the election, because the success of the Republican Party in the States where Nixon did most of his campaigning made it clear to me that an attack would be made later on. And I found no scintilla of evidence to support Nixon's

What Nixon said over and over was that 6.926 security risks had been unearthed since the Republican Party took over in 1953, that the Truman administration had cleared and hired these people, and that the Eisenhower administration—had fired them.

This is true. It is legitimate campaigning. It holds an administration accountable for what happens under it. And it was very good evidence indeed that the Truman administration had been lax in protecting

the national security

Of course behind this attack upon Nixon is a bitter memory and a great fear. The memory is that Nixon was the man who brought the Hiss case to the bar of justice, and fear is that Nixon in 1956 will be a Powerful factor in preventing a return to power of a Fair Deal regime.

The Memory of Agnes G. Shankle: Fighter for Pensions

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following in memory of the late

Agnes G. Shankle.

The older people of the United States have lost one of their very best friends, in the passing of Agnes G. Shankle, who was secretary-treasurer of the National Pension Federation, Inc., Washington, D. C., and editor of the National Pension

Guide.

Adequate universal pension coverage for all our senior citizens 65 years of age and older without any ifs, buts, or ands, this was the goal to which she devoted

herself unsparingly.

Not for personal gain or glory, but out of the fullness of her heart, finding ful-

fillment in helping others.

Before congressional committees she argued cogently and convincingly on the need of a national pension, and she provided inspiring leadership for the millions of aged to whom she was the symbol of hone

The facts and figures she presented to prove that a national pension is not only necessary but inevitable were illuminated by her own earnestness and sincerity Into the arena of economics and politics, she brought the saving grace of humanity and the spirit that is eternal.

When the day surely comes that her vision becomes reality, every older person in this Nation can thank the pioneering efforts of Mrs. Shankle for the security they will enjoy during the closing years of their lives.

Our grief is comforted by the knowledge that she is safely home in the

kingdom of the blessed.

As she would wish, we shall continue the good work to which she dedicated her life until a national pension becomes a beneficent law of this land and a living memorial to Agnes G. Shankle.

FPC Regulation of Natural Gas Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, this Congress has been asked to alleviate the unfortunate effects of a recent decision of the Supreme Court ruling that the FPC must, under the law as now written, engage in the extensive regulation of the production of natural gas. The basic criteria in deciding between regulation and nonregulation are these: First, would regulation serve the public convenience? Second, is regulation necessary to protect the public?

The regulatory burden imposed on the natural gas industry and the FPC as a result of the court's decision meets neither of these criteria. In fact, it does violence to them as explained in a recent editorial appearing in the Long Beach (Calif.) Press Telegram. The editorial

reads as follows:

WAS PUBLIC INTEREST REALLY SERVED?

Federal regulation, theoretically an instrument to guard the public interest, often has reverse effects. A case in point is Government interference in the natural-gas industry.

In 1938 Congress passed the Natural Gas Act. It gave the Federal Power Commission regulatory authority over transportation of natural gas in interstate commerce. By a Supreme Court interpretation the FPC has assumed also authority to regulate the price at which all independent producers sell natural gas to pipeline companies which carry the gas in interstate commerce for resale.

The Government has moved to take a throttle-hold on prices, and therefore on production, in a highly competitive business. The end result can be diminishing of supply and increase of cost to consumers.

Without regulation and under free competition the price of natural gas has increased less than commodity and cost-of-living prices in general. Federal control offers no benefits to consumers. Certainly it offers none to producers. Both can be hurt by interference that stifles production incentive and encourages retrenchment in a basic industry and sets a precedent for Federal price regulation of other products.

In 1950 Congress passed a bill to clarify its original intent in the Natural Gas Act. That

intent was to exempt from regulation the production and gathering of natural gas. The bill was vetoed by Harry Truman. Passage and signing of corrective legislation is long overdue. Here is an important task for the 84th Congress.

Pay for More Pay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, the following article from the Journal News, of Nyack, N. Y., is so intelligent and so different from some of the publicity we have seen on postal rates, that I feel it is very worthy of the attention of the House.

I firmly believe that many citizens believe in the opinion expressed in this article. Most people know that anything they get they pay for, no matter how much we sugar-coat the pill.

PAY FOR MORE PAY

As a people, we Americans don't do too well at arithmetic. Maybe other nationalities are just as poor at figures. Addition and subtraction are the weak spots and with them goes an inability to apply the old saying about robbing Peter to pay Paul. Which brings us around to the proposal that's gone to Congress to raise the pay of post-office employees, provided the letter mail rate goes to 4 cents and other adjustments are made along the line. We've heard no opposition at all to the proposal to raise the salary of the post-office employees but we've heard yards of complaint about raising postal rates.

That's where the addition and the subtraction come in. If you have just so much money to run the business and the people working for you are getting a salary total that lies within that income, you can't give them all raises without hoisting the income also. If your income is unchanged, you run into a minus figure known as a deficit. You can go to the bank to borrow money or you can ask a wealthy friend to give you a right smart donation. The Post Office doesn't borrow money—it asks for an appropriation from Congress.

Then comes some more adding and subtracting. Congress adds the amount of the appropriation to the budget, thereby increasing the tax rate. The time comes for establishing taxes and the Government, in due course, subtracts your share of expense from your bank account. So you take your pick—more taxes or higher postage rates. The increase is inescapable, no matter which way you turn. Moreover, you're the one who pays.

Some of us can remember back, no doubt, to the time when letters had those nice red 2-cent stamps, postal cards pretty 1-cent green ones. Now you put the 2's on unsealed Christmas cards, the 1's on 2's to make 3's for your regular letters. Moreover, the way it looks from here, you'll be adding 1's to 3's or doubling up 2's to make 4's before you're too many years older than you are now.

We don't like the proposed increase any more than the next one. It's an added cost of business, it adds maybe a dollar to the annual expense in personal mail. Moreover, the full expense comes out of all our pockets in one way or another. Yet we don't see what else to do about it in the light of the general increase in cost of everything, the

general increase in wages and salaries. We believe the postal employees should have pay increases for work well done; we believe efforts have been made in the direction of improving Department efficiency and cutting down needless expense from outworn methods.

We've heard, too, the howls of protest that have gone up from post office patrons at any time service has been curtailed in an effort to reduce expense. The public still wants the same or better service on today's costs of living at yesterday's prices. That's another thing that doesn't add up and we don't see how it can be made to, no matter how loud the complaints. The Post Office Department says it can operate within its budget if the income request is granted. Isn't it better to have those who use the service pay the freight than to have it spread over everyone through extra taxes?

Last year, you may remember, the pay raise for postal workers was in the mill but was left high and dry for the simple reason no method was included in the legislation for providing the money that was needed. The mailmen were peeved, for which you can't blame them, but it was still the best thing to do under the circumstances; even Government agencies can't afford to operate too deep in the red. We don't think anyone wants a Postofice Department which is run altogether on Government subsidy, for that would affect taxes seriously.

It is easy enough to complain about the way the mails are handled, but we still get excellent uniform service. You know from the postmark when the letter you got this morning was mailed. There will be times when it takes longer to go a short distance than a long distance, but there's explanation for that which is quite logical if you take the time to inquire. You can't, what's more, take a single exceptional case as an example of what happens regularly and as a matter of accepted routine.

You can't argue that postoffice costs have remained stationary during the time the cost of living has been going up. Every single item and every service the postoffices have to have costs considerably more than it did, whether it's fuel or rent or the price of the gum on the back of the stamps. There's no reason, therefore, to feel that postage rates can't be allowed to go up just because a letter has been sent for 3 cents for so many years. It went for 2 cents for a good many years, don't forget, and the public was stunned when that price was raised but lived to tell the tale. The same thing will happen if the 4-cent rate is approved. Maybe we won't write so much for a while but then we'll get back in the groove and go on just as if nothing has ever happened to make 4-cent stamps popular.

A Time for Caution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I clude the following editorial from the Kane (Pa.) Republican:

A TIME FOR CAUTION

. It can only be hoped that the Congress will look long and hard at President Elsenhower's recommendation for further tariff reductions at a time when foreign imports, especially those of petroleum products, are having an adverse economic effect in Pennsylvania.

Mr. Eisenhower, in submitting his program to Congress, expressed the belief that there exist today too many man-made barriers to mutually advantageous trade and the flow of investment.

In all due respect, it should be remembered that foreign trade is a many-sided problem which calls for a delicate balancing of the Nation's domestic welfare as well as its foreign policy and its relations with other nations.

Sometimes a general reduction of American tariffs does not prove mutually advantageous but benefits only foreign countries. This could just possibly be one of those times. While there is no reason why this country shouldn't work for an expansion of world trade, the utmost care should be exercised to make sure that our efforts do not work to the disadvantage of American industry. For, in that direction lies economic trouble, disrupted markets, less take-home pay, and additional unemployment.

It will do us no good to pump new life into the economic structures of other nations if, in so doing, we injure production and bring about mass joblessness at home. An American depression would shoot around the free world like wildfire. And, needless to say, such an eventuality would bring joy to the Communist hearts of the men in the Kremlin. From their point of view, it would be worth a hundred Koreas and a thousand Indochinas.

Rockville, Md.: A Winner in All-American Cities Awards Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DeWITT S. HYDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, as representative of the Sixth District of Maryland, I am proud that Rockville, Md., has been chosen one of the winners in the 1954 all-American cities awards competition, cosponsored by the National Municipal League and Look Magazine.

The following article was taken from Look magazine saluting Rockville, Md.:

ROCKVILLE, MD.—When Teddy Roosevelt lived in the White House, he bought horehound drops 16 miles away at a little drugstore in Rockville. This suburb of Washington has grown rapidly in recent years, its population increasing from 2,500 in 1940 to 13,000 today. But, like the drugstore Roosevelt made famous, Rockville's local government had resisted change.

New residents found it almost impossible to vote; it took a minimum of 3 years' residence before local franchise was granted. One day, the community's water supply failed. A sewage disposal crisis forced suspension of all new home construction.

A group calling itself Citizens for Good Government, some 300 strong, called public incetings to inquire into the water crisis. Ignoring charges that they were trying to take over the town, the reformers acted to elect a new government. They were successful, but only after a grueling campaign which divided the community.

Needled by the reformers, the old government had contracted for water and built a giant storage tank. The new government

has guaranteed a vote to any citizen after a year's residence. Voting machines were installed. An audit resulted in the mailing out of \$24,000 in previously overlooked bills. Taxes were reduced. A professional city manager was hired.

There is still much to be done in Rockville, but Citizens for Good Government say it will be done.

be done.

Difficult Years Ahead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the New Era, official publication of the Conference of Eastern Pennsylvania Central Labor Unions:

DIFFICULT YEARS AHEAD

If one man in our Commonwealth is in an unenviable position, he probably is our new Governor, George M. Leader. This youthful chief executive took his oath

This youthful chief executive took his oath of office in Harrisburg on Tuesday at noon and thereupon embarked upon 4 long years of leading the State of Pennsylvania from a chaotic condition created by the ruinous policies of 16 years of Fine, Duff, Martin, and James rule.

Financial problems are staggering, even for as energetic and comparatively youthful man as George Leader is. Public agencies need new ideas and more liberal direction, giving the great mass of people more service for their tax dollars. And workers want to see the rule of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers Association brought to an end while at the same time beneficial legislation is enacted by the legislature to aid the average working man and woman.

There can be no doubt in anyone's mind that not only the new Governor, but the entire Democratic Party will be on trial. Unless the people see demonstrations of new spirit, new direction, and new results for the general welfare, we can be certain that this administration will go the way of the Earle administration.

Voters want results. They felt the Fine machine had corrupted the Commonwealth to the point where the odor was nationwide. In George Leader they saw clean, aggressive leadership. In the Democratic Party they envisioned a new hope for the future.

Responsibility for the record of the next 4 years obviously lies with Governor Leader. His inaugural speech offers an awareness of that responsibility and calls upon all of us to contribute to a solution of grave problems.

Already there are reports that Republicans controlling the senate contemplate obstructionist tactics.

It is up to the press to keep the record straight so that when the day of reckoning arrives in some future election, we can catalog the hits, runs, and errors where they belong.

Our faith in the new Governor, however, remains undiminished because we believe the gritty chicken farmer possesses talents that eventually will vault him into the national political arena as a candidate for high office. Given support and an opportunity to carry out his program, Governor Leader is destined to be one of our State's greatest Governors.

I Believe in Massachusetts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, I include in my extension, remarks that I made on a radio program, I Believe in Massachusetts, on January 23, 1955, over station WALE, operated by the Narragansett Broadcasting Co., of Fall River, Mass.:

Thank you very much. I am glad to make my contribution to your radio audience on the subject, I Believe in Massachusetts.

If my discussion seems to reflect a Washington viewpoint, it perhaps may have value because we can evaluate the position of Massachusetts in its relationship with the other 47 States and view our position as part of the national picture.

It seems to me quite unnecessary that we should raise the question of belief in Massachusetts because all of us have a strong faith in the future of our Commonwealth and all of its people, a conviction that we need never

question.

In my opinion, the future of Massachusetts is very bright. Look in every direction and you will find clear indications of a better future, which gives conviction to my belief that we are probably entering the greatest period of economic success and expansion that we have ever seen in our State. There are many signs that point in this di-

Most of our citizens depend upon industry in our State for their livelihood. We have, I believe, been passing through a period of industrial change. Today we can now see, new signs of stabilization and growth that should be encouraging to everyone.

May I point out that change in industrial life is occurring in every State in our country, brought about chiefly by technological advances and the development of thousands of new products, that are making fundamental changes in our economy, replacing older modes of living and opening up new opportunities in increasing numbers to our citizens who are alert to these advances and will grasp the opportunities.

We should never entertain the thought that Massachusetts is declining or losing our predominant position. We are only changing and change is merely another ex-

pression of life.

We have many outstanding advantages in Massachusetts to offer the world. We have the most skilled supply of industrial labor in the United States and we have the best industrial labor record in the United This is recognized everywhere in the industrial world.

People in the Fall River and New Bedford as well as the Lawrence areas have witnessed the gradual loss of their textile industry. While part of this loss is represented by companies that moved away, there were a considerable number that permanently went out of business.

You also probably know that the causes for this loss in textiles were largely a worldwide over-productive capacity and a worldwide growth in substitutes for cotton and woolen products. New uses for cotton and Woolen products should be discovered. Intelligent research will enable such discoveries. The best brains of Massachusetts should be addressed to solving this problem.

May I point out to you that when an industry moves from a northern industrial center it only takes its capital, its manage-

ment, and its machinery and it leaves behind its industrial plants, its highly skilled labor, the industrial facilities that they have built into the community together with many servicing organizations that do busiwith industry.

If utilized, these are tremendous assets of great advantage to other industrial companies. The difficulty lies in the fact that normally industry is slow in making up its mind to change and the problem is to hold all of these assets together until they can be

grasped by new companies.

is my considered opinion that the textile industry in New England is now at its lowest position and that from now on it will experience a new growth, a new life that spells opportunity for our textile industry centers that is if we have intelligent management leadership. We have the intelligent leadership in the ranks of labor.

At the same time, I am firmly convinced that new, other types of industry will quickly develop or move to these textile centers and in the end our textile communities will be healthier because of wider diversification

of manufacture.

Today there are probably 150,000 business concerns in Massachusetts, of which about 12,500 are manufacturing establishments.

Back of all of these industrial concerns lays the greatest concentration of research institutions and technical engineering concerns to be found anywhere in the world. We are today recognized as the greatest center of technical education. It is inevitable that from the explorations and discoveries of these engineers and scientists will come many new products of inestimable value to Massachusetts and to the world. For example, 18 percent of all doctorates in engineering and 14 percent of all doctorates in physics in the country are awarded in edu-cational institutions within 50 miles of Boston. Another instance is that Massachusetts Institute of Technology awards more than 25 percent of all doctorates in metallurgy in United States.

In the fields of electrical manufacturing and plastics we are probably the fastest growing State in the country. Within the last month employment in the electrical machinery industry has become the largest employer of industrial labor in our State.

It is estimated that today Massachusetts industry is growing at the rate of one new manufacturing company or important plant expansion every working day. While most of these are small, it is from small starting and steady growth that large industries develop.

Boston is the greatest medical center in the United States. This is a well-known and self-evident fact. For illustration, the American Heart Association is allotting more funds for heart research to Massachusetts institutions than to any other State in the country.

We still lead the country in many of the major products, including shoe production which this year in Massachusetts is 9 percent higher in production than last year. It can be considerably improved upon. In spite of the concentration of certain industries, like textiles and shoes, Massachusetts is the third most diversified industrial State in the

We have become a great military research center. Witness the recent opening of the Consolidated Quartermaster Research Laboratory at Natick and the new and rapidly expanding Air Force Research Center at Bedford, which are encouraging and stimulating new industrial growth. I introduced the bill which brought this great research laboratory to Massachusetts.

Occasionally we hear of an industrial company closing down or going away but we rarely ever hear of the many large companies that are either moving to Massachusetts or establishing plants here. Massachusetts is a natural for the establishing of large plants here. We have the market and we have the skilled labor.

Let me repeat the advice of our beloved late Gen. George Patton, which was "Never

take counsel in your fears."

The idea that better opportunities lay in other sections of the country is either completely false or wholly temporary—so my message to the people of Massachusetts and especially our workmen is that retaining any faith in ourselves they will probably never find better opportunity than is facing us to-day in our grand old Commonwealth.

Clyde E. Hopping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, recently the 25th District lost an esteemed civic leader with the passing of Clyde E. Hopping, founder-president of the Alhambra Foundry Co., Ltd.

I consider myself most fortunate in having had the benefit of his sage advice and counsel. Mr. Herbert G. Klein, editorial writer of the San Diego Union has provided an excellent summary of the life and good works of Clyde Hopping in an editorial which was written on Tuesday, January 11, 1955. The editorial follows:

Have you ever wondered how you will be remembered when you leave this earth? Or will you be remembered? Have your contributions been such that some part of your influence will last past death?

Most of us try to do our best day by day and give little thought to the subject. is probably enough that we have made life a little better for our children, our fellow workers or some segment of the com-

Some communities and individuals construct memorial buildings or even statues in remembrance of someone now gone. After World War II many towns built swimming pools as living war memorials for the war Auditoriums have been constructed dead with the same idea.

Infuence is carried on even before death by those who donate money to universities and colleges. Some provide scholarships and others buildings. Certainly this is a way to make the world better, by assisting in the education of the younger generation. Some of our Nation's most wealthy famiothers buildings.

lies have started foundations which they hope will contribute to the cultural growth of the country.

But a living memorial need not take money. And it will not necessarily be in the form of a building, or anything the eye can see. Perhaps the most lasting memorial any of us can contribute is contained in the lives of those who live beyond us.

Most of us can recall persons whose lives have become immortal because of lasting influence.

We found an outstanding example of this in reviewing the life of a foundry owner who died at Laguna Beach last week. His name, Clyde Hopping, is not nationally known but his influence is

The life of Mr. Hopping, a distinguished gray-haired gentleman, provides a story which was typical of that we like to think of as fulfillment of the American dream. He

came to Los Angeles when it was only a small city and started a tiny foundry business in nearby Alhambra. By the time of his death the small business was a large one.

foundry was growing prosperously.

What we consider to be Mr. Hopping's memorial goes beyond the business field, how-ever. This was a man whose principles and personality were such that his guidance was sought. And he seemed to take special de-

light in helping young people.

A young attorney from Whittier once profited from the encouragement and thoughts of this senior citizen. Guided in part by the advice, he became a Congressman and then a United States Senator. He now is the Vice President of the United States, RICHARD

Mr. Hopping took special interest in the funior chamber of commerce. One of the youths he worked with, Clifford D. Cooper, climbed to the top of the organization to become president of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce, the spokesmen for thousands of young men. He now is successful as an industrialist.

The list of young men who will contribute more to their country as the result of knowing this foundryman is long and varied. It includes a young market owner, a rival industrialist, the workers in the foundry, police officers, a Congressman, a Presbyterian minister now in La Jolla. This writer was among those who profited from knowing Clyde

Rotary Clubs throughout southern California will also remember this man-a cham-

pion of service above self.

Looking at this one life, one can only draw the conclusion that one's contributions on this earth need not be accompanied by money to be carried on after death. The opportunity is there for all of us, well known or unknown. It is a man's principles which count.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of the Ukrainian Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, I wish to join my colleagues in rendering tribute to the 37th anniversary of the founding of the free and independent Ukrainian Republic, which was celebrated on January 22, 1955. Thousands of Americans of Ukrainian descent on that day reaffirmed their active faith in the eventual

liberation of all the enslaved nations in the Communist empire.

As a nation of over 40 million people-the largest non-Russian nation behind the European Iron Curtain-Ukraine stands as one of our most important and natural allies in the eventual defeat of Soviet imperialism. should not ignore its historic claim to national freedom and independence. Its place as a sovereign and equal partner in the building of a free Europe of tomorrow must be assured if the foundation of permanent peace among freedom-loving nations is to be unconquerable.

For two or more nations to coexist there must be a common ground of understanding, based on responsibility, confidence, and respect. Above all, there must be a respect for each other's sovereignty. When sovereignty is respected responsibility and confidence will follow. A Communist dictatorship to hold its people must create havoc between themselves and other nations, such as cold wars, little hot wars and big wars, blaming and pointing to the rest of the world as warmongers and aggressors against them. Ukrainian principles are an abomination to Communists, who would destroy every principle of life that is religious and good, since it is their aim to bend everyone to the atheistic precepts of Marxism.

Attacking the Vice President

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by David Lawrence, appearing in the Washington Star of January 13, entitled "Eisenhower answers wisely-Refuses to Let Question on Nixon's Tactics Be Used To Generate Friction Inside Republican Party":

EISENHOWER ANSWERS WISELY-REFUSES TO LET QUESTION ON NIXON'S TACTICS BE USED TO GENERATE FRICTION INSIDE REPUBLICAN PARTY

(By David Lawrence)

President Eisenhower is beginning to get the feel of national politics and especially the way prejudices are built out of charges that have no foundation.

Instead of allowing his press conference to be used as a means of encouraging friction inside the Republican Party, the President answered firmly and courageously a question yesterday about Vice President Nixon's speeches which had been the subject of criticism by Speaker RAYBURN and other Democratic leaders. Mr. Eisenhower made it clear that he didn't think Mr. Nixon had accused the Democratic Party of treason, as some Democrats tried to make it appear. By meeting this budding controversy in its incipient stages, the President prevented the Democrats from maneuvering him into a battle inside his own political family.

For several weeks now-in fact, ever since the November elections-various Democratic Party spokesmen have been saying over and over again that Vice President Nixon conducted an unfair campaign because of his references to the handling of Communists in Government by the Truman and Roosevelt administrations. The criticisms have been repeated often in Washington, where there still is a predisposition in some quarters to believe what Democratic politicians say without ferreting out the facts.

The President asked one of the reporters if he was inquiring about Mr. Nixon's speeches on the supposition that the Vice President had said what his critics claimed or on the basis of what Mr. Nixon really did say in the campaign. It turned out that the query was based solely on the allega-tions of the Democrats.

Mr. Eisenhower thereupon said he would give a few facts himself. First of all, he declared that he didn't consider any political party in America to be a party of treason, and that only the Communist Party could be held to be treasonable. At its last session Congress by statute declared the Communist Party subversive.

Next, the President said no such sweeping condemnation of any major party had been made by Mr. Nixon. Mr. Eisenhower revealed that he had been assured by the Vice President himself that never, even by implication, had he tried to condemn an entire party, but that the speeches which had been criticized contained references only to Individual cases and to the way they were handled administratively. Mr. NIXON, the President said, had questioned good judgment but never loyalty.

What the Democrats have employed re-

cently is not, of course, a new device—to raise a smokescreen in rebutting a charge of ad-ministrative incompetence. When Attorney General Brownell made a speech in October 1953 criticizing former President Truman for having been lax in handling the case of Harry Dexter White after the FBI had made specific reports concerning White's role in a Communist ring, there was a hue and cry to the effect that Mr. Brownell had questioned

the loyalty of Mr. Truman.

Despite Mr. Brownell's prompt disavowal of any such inference, the Democrats stuck to the accusation and to this day their speakers repeat the canard that Mr. Brownell questioned the loyalty of the former President.

Now it turns out that the same game is being played in an effort to discredit Vice President Nixon. In the past, such propaganda schemes have not been perceived by Mr. Eisenhower, and some of his answers at press conferences have been susceptible of an unfriendly interpretation with respect to members of his own official family.

By coming out flatly and demanding that the accusers of Mr. Nixon give chapter and

verse to support their criticism, the President is well advised. It shows he is recognizing the importance of uniting the Republican Party and preventing political opponents from driving a wedge between him and other

prominent Republicans.

If the Democrats think it politically desirable to pursue the controversy, they will in the long run be injuring themselves. For the last thing the Democrats should want to see happen is a rehash with kleig lights of all the cases in which the Democratic administrations of the past were remiss in ferreting out Communists and security risks in Government.

The President is acting more like the leader of his party, and it is a healthy sign because in 1956 a united Republican Party is a prerequisite to victory.

GI Educational Benefits Should Be Extended

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LAURENCE CURTIS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement which I made this morning before the House Committee on Veterans Affairs in support of H. R. 587, to permit persons now in the armed services or who will be in service on January 31 of this year to continue to accrue rights of educational benefits despite the termination of the war

emergency on that date. My statement follows:

I strongly urge that this legislation be given prompt and favorable action. President Eisenhower has given his sup-

port to this legislation. His press secretary

stated on January 13, 1955:

"We would be very much in favor of it. The President believes that it would be unfair to take those rights (school accrual rights) away from men already in service. We could not include that in the Executive order (terminating the war emergency) because it required approval of Congress and legislation was necessary. We are in favor of such legislation."

I have received a number of letters from parents of young men now in service asking that justice be done in the cases of those who had voluntarily joined the armed services on the understanding that GI educational benefits would continue. It is only fair that these men who entered the service with this understanding, and whose educa-tion is being interrupted, be given a chance to complete their education when they are released from active duty.

The educational benefits program has been one of the most valuable and successful projects for veterans. To cut off their rights of accruing benefits as of January 31 would be an unfair hardship; and their loss of educational opportunities would also be a

loss to the public.

Thirty-fifth Anniversary of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call to the attention of the House the 35th anniversary of the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce observed January 21, 1955.

I have had a personal interest in the work of this fine organization for almost a decade, having been an active member, committee chairman, and member of the board of directors of the San Francisco Junior Chamber of Commerce.

The Jaycees have grown to where they now command the well-established position of one of America's most dynamic groups. I understand that nationally there are over 2,750 local chapters and 200,000 individual members. In addition, the junior chamber is worldwide in scope; it exists in 58 countries and has a foreign membership of over 100,000 young men practicing the same democratic principles that we practice here.

I am particularly proud of the fine Work our California Junior Chamber has done. Their slogan, "California Jaycees Get the Job Done," indicates the attitude with which this organization operates. In addition to participation in civic improvement and public affairs, the California organization encourages and emphasizes youth development and leadership training in young men.

I wish to extend my sincere congratulations to the United States Junior Chamber of Commerce for its work in the past and best wishes for continued success in the future.

Its Treachery

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio broadcast I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., on Saturday, September 18, 1954.

The address follows:

EYEWITNESS REPORTS ON COMMUNISM AND ITS TREACHERY

Communism mocks divine precepts and human virtues.

Honor, truth, justice, kindness—these have no meaning for the Reds except as balt with which to trap humanity and imprison it in slavery.

There is no wider gulf in the world than the distance and the difference between Communist promises and Communist prac-

To expose this cruel deceit, the Committee on Communist Aggression of the United States House of Representatives conducted hearings in Chicago, New York, London, Munich, and Berlin. Out of these came first-hand reports from those who had escaped the Red terror, ripping the mask from Communist propaganda, and destroying for-ever the illustion that the free world can coexist with this menace to all human freedoms.

I want to bring to you some of the findings of that report.

The cross section of witnesses included members of former ruling royal houses as well as ordinary workers and peasants; internationally known generals, political leaders, and soldiers; members of the formerly free parliaments and governments; clergy-men of all denominations; labor leaders, seamen, and housewives, intellectuals, and even children. They were people who escaped from their Communist-controlled homelands just a few months ago, as well as those who escaped during and after World War II.

As the report says: "Barbed wires, mined fields, machineguns, savage dogs, and ruthless frontier guards, have not been able to shut the door of freedom to those who chose escape to the West."

It is proof that communism with all its power can never conquer the human yearning for freedom.

All who testified had one thing in common: they were eyewitnesses. They saw. They experienced. They were there. Most They experienced. of them suffered the tortures of communism. They came separately from the different nations enslaved by communism, but with fundamentally the same story: the antihuman nature of real life under communism. The basic conclusions from their total testimony, under oath, cannot be questioned. It was a tragic parade of witnesses—people from another world, a dreadful world of mass murders and anonymous graves, of concentration camps, torture prisons, slavelabor camps, the ever-present secret police, and hatred, hatred beyond the comprehension of us Americans.

For years the world has been bombarded with propaganda that communism was both a system and a method to establish a utopia, a workers' paradise. Under it there would be no injustices and inequities which Marx had no injustices and inequities which mark had charged up against both capitalism and Christianity. Communism would establish a classless society. The state would no long-er exist. So communism preached.

But how did actual conditions measure up to these rosyhued promises?

The Select Committee on Communist Aggression was authorized by Congress to investigate and find out the truth.

What they found was shocking, to say the

Testimony revealed that communism was able to fix its rule upon the people of cap-tive nations only when it was supported by the Red army, preceded by subdivision which was politically, technically, and financially engineered by the Kremlin. As soon as the Communist-controlled Red army, infiltrated and dominated as it was by political commis-sars and elements of the NKVD, entered any area, terror, robbery, and violations of women and children became the order of the day. The people learned through bitter experience that the Communists would do whatever they wanted to do without regard for any laws, ethics, or moral codes. The people also learned that any opposition to whatever action the so-called Communist liberators took, meant certain imprisonment or death.

Then came Kremlin agents working with local traitors.

They set up governmental bodies which they tried to clothe with the appearances of legality and respectability to mislead the world and confuse local public opinion.

King Michael of Rumania testified that at the time he was the constitutional head of the country, on March 6, 1945, he stated to Mr. Vishinsky, the then Soviet foreign min-ister: "I am doing things in our manner and according to the interests of my country, and besides, the conference at Yalta says that every country is free to choose its own form of government."

To which Vishinsky bluntly replied: "In this case I am Yalta, and I tell you what to

A recent escapee from Hungary put it this way: "Before the war I had the right to vote, and elections were held in an orderly manner. Everyone could vote for the party of his choosing. After the Communists took over completely in 1948, when the elections were held, we received the ballot and couldn't even look at it. We didn't even know who the people on the ballot were. We simply placed the list in an envelope, sealed it, and dropped it in the box. At the same time the Communists transported truckloads of Communist soldiers all over the district who voted many times. That was all. It was a

To destroy non-Communist political forces, the Reds resort to mass arrests and deportations. Testimony was taken by our congressional committee from many who were themselves deported. They told how men, women, and children were awakened in the darkness of night, given 1 hour to pack their modest belongings, were locked in cattle cars for transportation to Siberia. For days they had no food, water, heat, or sanitary facilities. They died like files.

To break resistance they practice manmade famines.

In the Ukraine during 1932 and 1933, when the harvest was above average, it is estimated that from 6 to 7 million people starved to death.

Armed guards were placed around the churches and other buildings used for stor-ing grain and the grain was allowed to spoil while people begged for something to eat. Mrs. Anna Kravchenko testified that about one-half of the people in the village where she lived died from starvation, and that special brigades of Communists were sent from Moscow to search out all food and to confiscate it.

Another witness, who requested that his true identiy not be disclosed because a large number of his relatives still live in the Ukraine, gave vivid testimony of the way in which the Communists covered up the millions of deaths caused by their planned famine. He told how a famous statesman visited the Ukraine during the time of the famine, and was taken on a conducted tour by the Communists. Every minute of his visit, every home he saw, every person he talked to, every route he followed was carefully prearranged without his knowledge. He saw the fronts of houses newly painted, while directly in back of them peo ple were living like animals in holes dug in the ground. He saw in the windows of the country shops along his prepared route, stocks of loaves of bread, and people who appeared to be freely buying them. he was not allowed to see was that behind these shops and newly painted houses the police had closed off all roads to the faminestricken population.

Other witnesses testified to instances of cannibalism, of how parents tried to save their children by turning them over to the State children's homes, how the militia would punish them if they were caught leaving their children anywhere near those homes, of how quotas were set each day for collecting corpses for burial in the fields.

We can imagine that Clement Atlee, former Prime Minister of Great Britain, and other Laborites were given the same false front tour when they recently visited Russia and China.

As to life under the Communist tyranny, Jan Jasinski testified, and I quote: arrested me about 3 a. m. and took me to Kilce. When they saw that they were not getting much out of me, they began to torture and beat me. They poured salt water down by nose and pinched by fingers in a door joint. They used what looked like a twisted copper cable to beat the soles and heels of my feet, cutting the flesh so badly that I couldn't walk except on my hands and knees for 6 weeks. After 6 years in prison I escaped with a friend to the Czechoslovakia-German border. I got across, but my friend was killed."

Multiply that testimony by millions of other cases and you begin to get the picture of the cruelty and the terror that communism tries to palm off as paradise.

The committee is in possession of documentary material relating to the violent persecution of all forms of religion.

Eyewitness testimony concerning Cardinal Mindszenty's ordeal and his show trial was received by the committee. The cardinal appeared with his face gaunt and emaciated covered by a pink makeup to create an impression of health. He used Communist jargon as if it was his usual way of speaking. Saliva was trickling down his chin. He was unable to control his voice. The fraudulent nature of his trial and the false confession forced upon him by his tormenters, were exposed.

The select Committee on Communist Aggression of the United States House of Representatives, after considering a mountain of evidence detailing Communist crimes, came to the conclusion that peaceful coexistence is a Communist myth which can be attained only through the complete surrender of our free way of life for one of sia-very under Moscow-controlled communism.

Knowing the fate that awaits us should we fail should make all of us more vigilant. Peace and freedom will be in mortal dan-

ger as long as the thing called communism reaches out to enslave the world.

The Late Dwight L. Rogers

SPEECH

HON. BROOKS HAYS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 5, 1955

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, every Member of the House who had the great privilege of serving with DWIGHT Rogers begins this session with a sense of grief. His death robs us of an association we cherished, and the Nation of the service of an able and devoted public servant. His responsible use of his rare endowments of mind and heart for the advancement of his State and Nation was widely recognized, and the passing of such a leader brings great personal

In one of his last utterances in this Chamber, DWIGHT ROCERS spoke of the curtain of death. It is our faith that the drawing of this curtain opens the way to a larger life, and certainly our beloved Member from Florida was prepared for the adventure. We may say of him, as Georgia Harkness said of her friend, Galen Fisher:

He was a gentle soul of valiant strength.

In him was life forever young and strong; Around the world men loved him, for the length

Of shadow that he cast was straight and

The new year comes-the old must have an

And many a wish is spoken, kind and true. So, forward turns the spirit of our friend To work with God in fields of service new.

Dangerous Dependence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Kane (Pa.) Republican of January 15,

DANGEROUS DEPENDENCE

Russell R. Brown, general counsel of the Independent Petroleum Association of America, recently made a report to the president of that organization which should interest everyone in Kane and its surrounding area. He warned that propaganda of oil importing companies is leading America into a state of complacency over increasing dependence on foreign oil.

Mr. Brown pointed out the obvious but seldom recognized fact that these companies have been using publications, speeches, radio, television, and paid publicity to further the myth that continued excessive imports of foreign oil are necessary.

He also stated that the American people would not stand for the United States becoming dependent on foreign sources for water power, which now supplies about 4 percent of our total energy needs. But he added, we are already more dependent on imported oil which now constitutes about 6 percent of the Nation's energy needs.

We'd like to go a step further than Mr. Brown and point out that in time of war, particularly if that war should be with the Soviet Union, a large part of those foreign sources would be cut off from us. For example, the enormous Saudi Arabian fields lie just 600 miles south of Russia and could be overrun in a few days' time if the Russians decided to move against them. In such an event, our dependence on foreign sources would be a costly and highly dangerous business.

Havm Salomon: Son of Liberty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 11, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I ask to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial by Harry H. Schlacht, noted jour-nalist, entitled "Haym Salomon: Son of Liberty," which appeared in the issue of the East Side News on January 8, 1955.

The story of Haym Salomon and his contribution to the cause of American freedom, is picturesquely portrayed in Mr. Schlacht's article. It should, in the opinion of outstanding historians, be thoroughly familiar to every citizen in the United States, for Haym Salomon's life typified the finest traditions of our land, and should prove an inspiration to all of us.

Mr. Schlacht pleads that this country should remember Haym Salomon for his patriotic services. He asks that Congress pass a resolution setting aside a Haym Salomon Day, so that this American hero should not be forgotten.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD as follows:

> HAYM SALOMON: SON OF LIBERTY (By Harry H. Schlacht)

Haym Salomon, one of our early American patriots, is still remembered for his contributions to the cause of American freedom. He loved our land so much. He served it so well.

We honor the 170th anniversary of the death of Haym Salomon, son of American liberty. We salute his memory, his example, his inspiration, and his achievements to the cause of American independence.

The American Revolutionary period was a time that tried men's souls. It was also a time that tried men's purses. We remember with gratitude this great Jewish patriot whose qualities of mind and heart endeared him to our Founding Fathers.

The life story of this noble man is both fascinating and tragic. He saw from afar the temple of liberty rising like an exhalation from the soil. He saw beneath its shielding dome a home for oppressed peoples. He saw God's country, where kings were unknown, where liberty was a star, where thrones were

Havm Salomon came to our blessed shores from Lissa, Poland, seeking religious free-dom. He came to help build a Nation which gives to bigotry no sanction; to persecution no assistance. He gave all that he had, he gave all that he could borrow, that this Nation might be conceived in liberty.

It was Haym Salomon who helped raise the money to equip the Continental Army, who contributed all of his personal fortune, who gave his all to enable George Washington to keep his tattered forces on the march until victory was won. It was he who advanced \$640,000 in freedom's holy cause. And he died penniless.

Haym Salomon was a man of great character, of noble self-sacrifice, of whole-hearted patriotism, of martyrlike devotion to high ideals. He was a simple man; the badge of a great soul. He toiled, sacrificed. and lived in the very shadow of anonymity. He would have shrunk from wordly acclaim. He loved America with deeds and dedication, and he merits the gratitude of our Nation.

As we contemplate the life of Haym

Salomon in the light of his background, as

We dwell upon the character of this immigrant who came here to seek liberty, as we think back upon the deeply rooted passion which he derived from his Hebrew heritage— We are reminded of an ancient Hebrew legend.

This legend, relating the creation of man, tells of God gathering the dust from all parts of the earth—from the East and the West, from the North and the South. This was done the legend recounts, so that no country or nation could say that of it alone did God create the human race.

In Chicago there are statues of George Washington, Robert Morris, and Haym Salomon. These patriots symbolize America at its very best. Each worshipped God in his own way. Each dared the hangman's halter, yet each held as one the torch of liberty.

Let America remember Haym Salomon. Let the Congress pass a resolution setting aside a Haym Salomon Day. Let the President of the United States sign this resolution. Let Haym Salomon cease to be the forgotten man in American history.

His contribution to the cause of American independence should be deeply engraved in our hearts and indelibly inscribed in our historic annals. He belongs to us, he is ours by more than the patriotic self-devotion with which he came to the aid of our country in the crisis of our fate.

He is ours by the unshakable gratitude for his services, which is the precious portion of our inheritance. He is ours by that the of love stronger than death which links his name for the endless ages with Washington, Jefferson, Morris, Madison, and the other immortals of our glorious history.

Buy American-Made Goods

EXTENSION OF REMARKS.

HON, THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955
Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following very appropriate editorial from the Boston Post, Boston, Mass., Saturday, January 1, 1955:

BUY AMERICAN

Administration plans dating back to last March to modify the national policy of buy American are apparently going to be abandoned. This buy-American policy was enacted away back in 1933 at the bottom of the depression, and was designed to promote purchase of American-made goods as against foreign goods in order to stimulate home production. In recent years when the Government has been spending billions of dollars in buying goods from friendly foreign countries, there has been complaint at home that we have been too generous. On the other hand the foreign governments complain when their bids are turned down, if they are anywhere near the level of the domestic producer's price.

An important advantage in buying the home product is, not only that it furnishes employment for our own labor at a time when asveral million are unemployed, but we also get a cut in the profit of the home producer through taxation which amounts to 52 percent of the total profits made by a corporation. That the foreign competition has already been built up to serious proportions by our heavy buying of military equipment abroad was indicated the other day when proposals were made by some of our Government officials to deny the foreign producer the advantages of American know-how in production.

Invitation to House Members To Give House Un-American Activities Committee Their Ideas About Committee Rules of Procedure

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, at the executive meeting of the House Un-American Activities Committee for the 84th Congress, which committee meeting was held on January 20, presided over by the new chairman, Hon. Francis E. Walter, Pennsylvania, the following three members were named as a subcommittee to consider and report back to the full committee on the subject of committee rules of procedure for the committee investigations and hearings during the 84th Congress. The subcommittee appointed was Hon, CLYDE DOYLE, Democrat, California, chairman; Hon. EDWIN E. WILLIS, Democrat, Louisiana; and Hon. HAROLD H. VELDE, Republican, Illinois.

During the 83d Congress your Committee on Un-American Activities operated under a printed and publicly announced and distributed set of rules from July 1953, and the same rules were approved for the committee's operations for the 84th Congress, subject to changes and amendments which may be adopted by the full committee, based upon the report of the Subcommittee on Rules in this statement announced. It was my pleasure to be chairman of the Committee on Rules for the committee during the 83d Congress. Mr. Velde, full committee chairman, was the other member. We have been informed that it is probable that the rules promulgated and published by us on July 15, 1953, is the first time in recent history, at any rate, of Congress, that such a set of rules was printed and distributed for the benefit of witnesses before congressional committees and for their legal counsel and also for the information of the

Pursuant to the continued desire of the House Un-American Activities Committee to have and receive the benefit at all times of the considered opinions of all Members of the House on this important subject of rules of procedure, I this day sent to all Members of the House the following invitation to participate in aiding the subcommittee in its submission of any changes or amendments to the full committee:

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES,

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington, D. C., January 21, 1955.

MY DEAR COLLEAGUE: Good morning. Your House Un-American Activities Committee on yesterday named the following subcommittee to bring back to the committee, by February 20, its report and recommendation relating to the committee rules. The subcommittee is as follows: CYDE DOYLE, California, chairman; EDWIN E. WILLIS, Louisiana; and HAROLD H. VELDE, Illinois.

The Committee on Un-American Activities has been operating under a printed set of rules which were publicly announced on

July 15, 1953. I am placing those rules in the Appendix of the Congressional Record to help you the better to cooperate with your committee and to have an opportunity for your expression of opinion and recommendations as to any additional or different rules and procedures which you may wish to recommend to the Committee on Un-American Activities.

This is a cordial invitation for you to send me on or before Tuesday, February 1, what you wish your Committee on Un-American Activities to consider in this matter of rules of procedure for the committee.

Address your communication as follows: Representative CLYDE DOYLE, of California, 1030 House Office Building.

With best wishes to you for a year of achievement and satisfaction, I have the honor to be,

Your colleague,

CLYDE DOYLE, Member of Congress.

P. S.—The present rules of the House Un-American Activities Committee will appear in the Appendix of the Congressional Record for Monday, January 24, or Tuesday, January 25, with extension of remarks by me.

Said full committee will receive the subcommittee report on or about February 20. Although the rules of procedure which guided the committee during the 83d Congress, subsequent to July 1953, when they were adopted were announced in the appendix of the Congressional Recompromptly after adoption and were reported to the full committee by the subcommittee consisting of Hon. Clyde Doyle, chairman, and Hon. Harold H. Velde, I am sure that all the Members of the House, and especially the new Members, will appreciate having the text of the existing rules brought to their attention, as it will clearly help all the Members to promptly consider what changes, amendments, or additions they would recommend; and then to promptly send these changes and recommendations to me on or before February I.

The Committee on Un-American Activities for the 84th Congress consists of the following: Francis E. Walter, chairman; Harold H. Velde; Bernard W. Kearney; Donald L. Jackson; Edwin E. Willis; Gordon H. Scherer; Morgan M. Moulder; Clyde Doyle; and James B. Frazier, Jr.

Said rules now in effect, and which were printed in a handy, attractive booklet for distribution to all witnesses, counsel, and other interested parties are as follows:

RULES OF PROCEDURE, COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES, UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D. C.

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PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress (1946), chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

"Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * *. "Part2-Rules of the House of Representa-

tives "Rule X

"Section 121. Standing committees

"17. Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

"Rule XI

"Powers and duties of committees

"(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American Activities.

"(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

'The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it

deems advisable.

"For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member."

RULES OF PROCEDURE

I. Initiation of investigations: No major investigation shall be initiated without approval of a majority of the committee. Pre-liminary inquiries, however, may be initiated by the committee's staff with the approval of the chairman of the committee.

II. Subjects of investigation: The subject of any investigation in connection with which witnesses are summoned or shall otherwise appear shall be announced in an opening statement to the committee before the commencement of any hearings; and the information sought to be elicited at the hearings shall be relevant and germane to the subject as so stated.

III. Subpenaing of witnesses:

A. Subpenas shall be signed and issued by the chairman of the committee, or any member of the committee designated by said chairman.

B. Witnesses shall be subpensed at a reasonably sufficient time in advance of any hearing, said time to be determined by the committee, in order to give the witness an opportunity to prepare for the hearing and to employ counsel, should he so desire.

IV. Executive and public hearings;
A. Executive:

(1) If a majority of the committee or subcommittee, duly appointed as provided by the rules of the House of Representatives, believes that the interrogation of a witness in a public hearing might endanger national security or unjustly injure his reputation, or the reputation of other individuals, the committee shall interrogate such witness in an executive session for the purpose of determining the necessity or advisability of conducting such interrogation thereafter in a public hearing.

(2) Attendance at executive sessions shall be limited to members of the committee, its staff, and other persons whose presence is requested, or consented to by the committee.

(3) All testimony taken in executive sessions shall be kept secret and shall not be released or used in public sessions without the approval of a majority of the committee.

B. Public hearings:

(1) All other hearings shall be public. V. Testimony under oath: All witnesses at public or executive hearings who testify as to matters of fact shall give all testimony under oath or affirmation. Only the chairman or a member of the committee shall be empowered to administer said oath or

VI. Transcript of testimony:

A complete and accurate record shall be kept of all testimony and proceedings at hearings, both in public and in executive session.

Any witness or his counsel, at the expense of the witness, may obtain a transcript of any public testimony of the witness from the clerk of the committee.

Any witness or his counsel may also obtain transcript of any executive testimony of the witness:

(1) When a special release of said testimony prior to public release is authorized by the chairman of the committee or the chairman of any subcommittee; or

(2) After said testimony has been made public by the committee.

VII. Advice of counsel:

A. At every hearing, public or executive, every witness shall be accorded the privilege of having counsel of his own choosing.

B. The participation of counsel during the course of any hearing and while the witness is testifying shall be limited to advising said witness as to his legal rights. Counsel shall not be permitted to engage in oral argument with the committee, but shall confine his activity to the area of legal advice to his client.

VIII. Conduct of counsel:

Counsel for a witness shall conduct himself in a professional, ethical, and proper manner. His failure to do so shall, upon a finding to that effect by a majority of the committee or subcommittee before which the witness is appearing, subject such counsel to disciplinary action which may include warning, censure, removing from the hearing room of counsel, or a recommendation of contempt proceedings.

In case of such removal of counsel, the witness shall have a reasonable time to obtain other counsel, said time to be determined by the committee. Should the witness deliberately or capriciously fail or refuse to obtain the services of other counsel within such reasonable time, the hearing shall continue and the testimony of such witness shall be heard without benefit of counsel.

IX. Statement by witness:

A. Any witness desiring to make a pre-pared or written statement 2 for the record

¹The committee seeks factual testimony within the personal knowledge of the wit ness and such testimony and answers must be given by the witness himself and not suggested to witness by counsel.

*Statements which take the form of personal attacks by the witness upon the motives of the committee, the personal characters of any Members of the Congress or of the committee staff, and statements clearly of the proceedings in executive or public sessions shall file a copy of such statement with the counsel of the committee within a reasonable period of time in advance of the hearing at which the statement is to be presented.

B. All such statements so received which are relevant and germane to the subject of the investigation may, upon approval, at the conclusion of the testimony of the witness, by a majority vote of the committee or subcommittee members present, be inserted in the official transcript of the proceedings

X. Rights of persons affected by a hearing: A. Where practicable, any person named in

a public hearing before the committee or any subcommittee as subversive, Fascist, Communist, or affiliated with one or more subversive-front organizations, who has not been previously so named, shall, within a reasonable time thereafter, be notified by registered letter, to the address last known the committee, of such fact, including:

(1) A statement that he has been so

named.

(2) The date and place of said hearing.
(3) The name of the person who so

testified.

(4) The name of the subversive, Fascist, Communist, or front organization with which he has been identified; and

(5) A copy of the printed rules of procedure of the committee.

B. Any person, so notified, who believes that his character or reputation has been adversely affected or to whom has been imputed subversive activity, may within 15 days after receipt of said notice:

(1) Communicate with the counsel of the

committee.3 and/or

(2) Request to appear at his own expense in person before the committee or any subcommittee thereof in public session and give testimony, in denial or affirmation, relevant and germane to the subject of the investigation.

C. Any such person testifying under the provisions of B (2) above shall be accorded the same privileges as any other witness appearing before the committee, and may be questioned concerning any matter relevant and germane to the subject of the investigation.

XI. Admissibility of testimony: A witness shall be limited to giving information relevant and germane to the subject under in-The committee shall rule upon vestigation. the admissibility of all testimony or information presented by the witness.

XII. Relationship of husband and wife: The confidential relationship between husband and wife shall be respected, and for reasons of public policy, one spouse shall not be questioned concerning the activities of

in the nature of accusation are not deemed to be either relevant or germane.

* All witnesses are invited at any time to confer with committee counsel or investigators for the committee prior to hearings.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities is a congressional committee, not a court (see pp. IV and V). Moreover, the committee has neither the authority nor the vast powers of a court of law.

A congressional committee conducts &

search for information, not a trial.

The requirements of time, the nature of the fact-finding hearing, the complications of travel, the realities of expense, and the voluminous duties of Members of Congre all add together to make it impractical for courtroom procedure to be followed.

The committee has given frequent and diligent consideration to this subject, and has determined that in order to carry out its re-sponsibilities imposed by law, the rules of evidence, including cross-examination, are not applicable.

the other, except when a majority of the committee or subcommittee shall determine otherwise

XIII. Televised hearings:

A If a hearing be televised:
(1) Television facilities in the hearing room shall be restricted to two cameras, the minimum lighting facilities practicable, and the television production shall be available on a pool basis to all established television companies desiring participation.

(2) Telecasts of committee hearings shall be on the basis of a public service only, and this fact shall be publicly announced on television in the beginning and at the close of each telecast. No commercial announcements shall be permitted from the hearing room or in connection therewith, and no actual or intimated sponsorship of the hear-

ings shall be permitted in any instance.

B. Upon the request of a witness that no telecast shall be made of him during the course of his testimony, the chairman shall direct that television cameras refrain from Photographing the witness during the taking

of his testimony.

XIV. Committee reports:

A. No committee reports or publications shall be made or released to the public without the approval of the majority of the com-

B. No summary of any committee report or publication and no statement of the contents of such report or publication shall be released by any member of the committee or its staff prior to the official issuance of the report.

XV. Witness fees and travel allowance:

Each witness who has been subpensed, upon the completion of his testimony before the committee, may report to the office of the clerk of the committee, room 227, Old House Office Building, Washington, D. C., and there sign appropriate vouchers for travel allowances and attendance fees upon the committee. If hearings are held in cities other than Washington, D. C., the witness may contact the clerk of the committee, or his representative, prior to leaving the hearing room.

XVI. Contempt of Congress: No recommendation that a witness be cited for contempt of Congress shall be forwarded to the House of Represeentatives unless and until the committee has, upon notice to all its members, met and considered the alleged contempt, and by a majority of those present voted that such recommendation be made.

XVII. Distribution of rules: All witnesses appearing before the House Committee on Un-American Activities shall be furnished a Printed copy of the rules of procedure of the committee.

Internal Security

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 20, 1955, entitled "Clearly Consistent," together with an article from the New York Herald Tribune of January 21, 1955, entitled "Why Security Needs Review":

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 20, 1955]

CLEARLY CONSISTENT

Harold Stassen's statement detailing the reasons why the Foreign Operations Administration hired Wolf Ladejinsky went as far as it could to restore some balance in this atroclously mishandled affair. President Eisenhower at his press conferences yesterday seemed aware of the confusion caused by his unfortunate remarks of last week. But the procedure he enunciated for resolving differences within the Cabinet on such matters did not strike at the heart of the The lesson of the Ladenjinsky case will be lost unless there is recognition that the standards of the security program itself contain a built-in formula for conflict as well as injustice.

Especially for this reason some more com-prehensive reform is needed than the rather vague continual review mentioned by the President. That is, a reappraisal which, while respecting the real security needs of the Government, will point the way toward a more judicial, less capricious system for weighing the qualifications of individuals. Essential to such reform, it seems to us, is a change from the current negative regulation that employment must be clearly consistent with national security-a remote doctrine that prods the phobias of gumshoe security officers and invites administrators to employ the most ill-founded doubts and hearsay as a rationale for branding a person a security risk.

Just this sort of reform was suggested by former Senator Harry P. Cain the other day when he proposed instead a regulation that no person should be dismised on security grounds unless his employment were found to be "reasonably inconsistent with the na-tional interest." This suggestion, incidentally, was of a constructive and positive na-ture, and it deserved more recognition than it received from the President.

Some significant private work is being done in this area by such studies as that being made for the Fund for the Republic by the Association of the Bar of the City of New York. It is important, too, to take note of the generous move of the District bar association in making legal counsel available to defendants in security cases who cannot retain attorneys of their own. But something broader is needed, something that will convey official authority and responsibility. Many months ago this newspaper suggested the appointment of a Commission of distinguished and disinterested men to study and report on the checks and balances nece in an internal security system. Several bills are pending in Congress—notably those by Senator Humphrey and Representative Fre-LINGHUYSEN-to establish a bipartisan group for this purpose. Congress could do no more important work in this troubled area than to approve such a study. The cross currents in the Ladejinsky case are but another reminder of the compelling need for some astringent means of bringing sanity to a system which, however praiseworthy its intention, has gone berserk in far too many applications.

[From the New York Herald Tribune of January 21, 1955]

WASHINGTON

(By Roscoe Drummond)

WHY SECURITY NEEDS REVIEW

WASHINGTON .- The Eisenhower administration is being pressed from numerous di-rections to undertake a thorough, top-level review of its security program.

The President doesn't like this pressure, and would like to resist it firmly. But plainly the White House does not feel too secure in resisting it and would like to find some way of giving the security program a little check-up but not a real review.

Mr. Eisenhower has announced that a spe cial division of the Justice Department will give security advice on troublesome mat-ters referred to it by department heads and that in order to avert another Wolf Lade-jinsky case any future conflicts of judgment will be referred to him personally before

action is taken.

This is a tentative, timid move in the right direction. I am convinced that it rests upon an inadequate appreciation of the widespread, genuine anxiety that the security system, however unintentionally, is doing too much harm to too many innocent per-

A bolder, more energetic, less smug, more questioning reexamination is needed. My judgment would be that if the administration does not act promptly and decisively. it will do itself serious damage—not just in the eyes of its critics but in the eyes of many people who esteem the President's good intention.

The security program must have two controling objectives:

To safeguard the security of the Government from subversion.

To safeguard the integrity of the individual from injustice.

There was a period when, as I see it, the Truman administration seriously neglected the first of these two objectives and came tardly to recognize its mistake. It wundoubtedly hurt because of this mistake.

Today, the Eisenhower administration runs the danger of itself becoming the victim of so much concentration on the one goaltotal, technical security—that it neglects the other-full, faithful, painstaking justice to the individual.

This administration is certainly not soft on subversion, and that's good. But it can't afford to be soft on injustice. It doesn't intend to be but enough has already gone wrong on the side of unfairness to make it imperative that the administration give its program a good, hard look.

Former Republican Senator Harry P. Cain, strongly conservative, strongly anti-Communist, now a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board, has courageously warned that the security program is "unnecessarily destroying individuals" and making it seem that mental blanks are the nearly ideal can-

didates for Government jobs.

"A whole clique of spies," he says, "could hardly do as much damage to us as could our failure as a government to have confidence in our people." He referred to "brutality of bureaucracy at its worst," a bureaucracy which at times seems more powerful than the men who make it up and even capable of reversing their intentions.

Obviously the administration wants to avoid another Ladejinsky case, but another Ladejinsky case is already in the making. There is in the Pentagon right now a top scientist doing valuable work in weapons development who has been fully and carefully cleared for top secret work by one branch of the armed services and refused clearance by the Defense Department itself—each operating theoretically under the same

If the security program is operating as well as the President honestly thinks, the country needs to be convinced. If it is operating as loosely as many others honestly think, the President ought to be convinced. In either event, a searching and self-searching review is desirable.

The Late Kenneth Charles Morton Sills

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT HALE

OF MAINE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. HALE. Mr. Speaker, I have asked for this time to memorialize, briefly as I know I must, the life and services of a citizen of Maine who died on November 15 last. I refer to Kenneth Charles Morton Sills, president emeritus of Bowdoin College, one of the best known and best loved men who ever lived in our State.

Born in Halifax, Nova Scotia, on December 5, 1879, he came to Portland, Maine, with his parents in the year following. His father was for several years dean of St. Luke's Episcopal Cathedral in Portland. Kenneth Sills graduated from Bowdoin in 1901. He returned in 1903 as instructor for a single year in classics and English. He came back to the college again in 1906, to teach Latin, and remained at the college until his retirement in 1952. As it happens, I was a freshman at Bowdoin in 1906 and from the day of his advent to the college down to the moment of his death I was his devoted and admiring friend.

In 1910 Mr. Sills became dean of the college, in 1917, acting president, and in 1918, president. His services as president terminated with his retirement at the close of the academic year in 1952. For the rest of his life he was president emeritus. In the later years of his incumbency as president of Bowdoin, he was senior in point of service to most of the college presidents in the country. His judgment was sought and followed by educators everywhere. After his official retirement in 1952, he was constantly active in the cause of education and in an endless succession of good works.

I shall attempt no lengthy biographical sketch of former President Sills, nor shall I list his honors academic or otherwise. I am glad to see that my colleague the Honorable Frederick G. Payne referred to these in brief remarks which he made in the Senate on December 1st, 1954. See the Appendix to the Record, pp. 6887, 6888. I should have made these remarks more seasonably had not the House been in recess at the time of his death, and thereafter until this month.

Kenneth Sills was above all an educator, concerned with the great responsibility of helping immature minds to become mature—of making boys into effective men. He believed in the liberal arts and in the humanities. In his life he exemplified the famous words of Terence, "Homo sum, humani nihil a me alienum puto."

As president of Bowdoin College for 34 years and a member of its faculty for an even longer period, Kenneth Sills naturally left a strong impress on the college. No one who attended it in all those years will gainsay his influence on the college and few will gainsay his influence on their own individual lives. That influence was unfailingly for good. He believed in men. He believed in men's hearts, and in their intellects.

Although we was primarily an educator his mind, like all first-rate minds, wandered into many fields and illumined whatever it touched. It goes almost without saying that he took an acute interest in everything that went on in the world about him. He was deeply concerned with the government of his State and of his Nation. A lifelong Democrat, and his party's candidate for the United States Senate in 1916, he was nevertheless no narrow or hidebound partisan. Though he had not the

temperament of the professional reformer, he was always thinking about how things could be better done. Only a few weeks before his death he and I were corresponding vigorously about possible amendments to our State consti-

President Sills was a profoundly religious man. He was for many years one of the leading laymen in the Protestant Episcopal Church.

One cannot write about Kenneth Sills in terms of particular things he did or said or even of his opinions and judgements. He will be most remembered by everybody who knew him for his capacity for friendship, and the generosity of feeling which endeared him to all with whom he came in contact. He had a warm, responsive nature. To the students of the college, to its alumni, to the members of its boards of trustees and overseers, he gave himself ungrudgingly. His friendship was always stimulating. He brought out the best in people because he believed in them. I can never forget his kindness to me on occasions without number and for much more than a generation.

Also I cannot forbear to mention his devoted wife, now left a widow. The hearts of all his friends go out to her in her sorrow.

Foreign Oil Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Bradford Era, of November 23, 1954:

FOREIGN OIL IMPORTS

A showdown is coming soon on this matter of imports of foreign oil. No matter how they are analyzed or explained, imports are too high for domestic producers to take without a fight.

This was evident in the temper and the statistics displayed at last week's meeting of the Independent Petroleum Association of America. Partisan this outfit may be, but its statistics are pretty sound and its forecast is the best available at present.

cast is the best available at present.

Here's the estimate of the current year compared with 1953; Total demand up 1 percent, domestic production down 0.9 percent, imports up 1.5 percent.

The 1955 forecast: Total demand up 3.1 percent, domestic production up 2.3 percent, imports up 7 percent.

And that's not the whole picture. The most significant factor is domestic capacity to produce. If this were slipping, imports would be welcome, and no problem.

In recent years the domestic industry has

In recent years the domestic industry has increased its capacity to produce crude oil by 300,000 to 400,000 barrels daily each year. This is more than the average annual increase in total demand in this country during the same period.

Several years ago we had a reserve capacity to produce 1 million barrels per day beyond the then current rates—a desirable safety factor though expensive for the industry to carry. Today that reserve capacity is in the neighborhood of 1,700,000 barrels per day—so high that producers say it hampers future expansion.

Imports were 12.8 percent of new supply in 1953, will be 13.1 percent in 1954, 13.6 percent in 1955—a slow rate of increase but a lot of barrels, a trend in conflict with availability of domestic supply.

Domestic producers, by and large, have not suffered seriously yet as measured by statistical yardsticks of activity. But they foresee a creeping paralysis if imports' share of the market keeps rising in the face of excess producing capacity here.

Global thinkers may talk about foreigntrade balances and the need of other countries to export. Statisticians may compute the percentages a little differently. Economists may discuss such corollary factors as the growth of natural gas and natural-gas liquids, changes in inventories, the special place of residual fuel, or the geographical impact of imports.

But, any way it's figured, imports are so high as to convince producers that the health of the domestic industry in endangered.

Domestic producers aren't going to stand for it much longer. They feel they've been patient long enough. They are getting set for a showdown—a hard drive for restrictive legislation by the next Congress. (The Oil and Gas Journal.)

Address by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland, at Inauguration of Dr. Wilson Homer Elkins as President of University of Maryland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD T. MILLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. MILLER of Maryland. Mr. Speaker, last Thursday, Maryland's recently reinaugurated Gov. Theodore R. Mc-Keldin spoke at another important inauguration in the Free State. The occasion was the formal assumption of the presidency of the University of Maryland by Dr. Wilson H. Elkins.

Governor McKeldin, with customary eloquence and vision, pointed out in his remarks the vital role required of a great university and the heavy responsibilities that fall upon its leadership. He clearly expressed a parallel of the verses of Homer Van Dyke that quote "Stone walls do not a prison make" and "marble floors and guilded walls can never make a home" when he told Dr. Elkins he did not "cherish the delusion that possession of a superb physical plant" is enough to assure a successful institution.

Under leave granted, I insert herewith Governor McKeldin's address;

I have the honor and pleasure of welcoming Dr. Elkins into the service of the State of Maryland, and I discharge that function with a mixture of pride and humility. I take pride in the fact that we are offering him physical facilities comparable to any in the country; but I do not cherish the delusion that possession of a superb physical plant is enough to assure him that he may be at ease in Zion.

There is a definite limit to the physical expansion of any institution of learning, including State universities, and it may be that the University of Maryland is approaching that limit. But the wisest of men has never discovered any limit to the intellectual and moral development of a university. Therefore I feel that we are summoning Dr. Elkins to a task whose boundaries are beyond human computation; and in calling a man to such an enterprise one should speak, if not exactly with apologies, at least with a certain humility. It is as it was in the old days, when one sent a champion into the lists, confident of the outcome, and yet fully aware of the heat and burden of the conflict that lies ahead.

Dr. Elkins assumes leadership of a university whose expansion in recent years has been, I think it fair to say, the amazement and to some extent the envy of the academic world. But I do not believe that the people of Maryland require or expect him to exceed, or perhaps to equal that astonishing record. What we do hope from his administration is that it may set a record in scholarship comparable to the physical growth of the university.

I am well aware that this is a hard task and to some extent a thankless task since the development of high intellectual standards is not measurable by any physical yardstick, and excellent work along that line often falls of public appreciation. Nevertheless it is a service to the State of the very highest value and in years to come, if not immediately, it will be appraised at its true worth.

For in our complex modern civilization the intellectual capacity of the citizen is of rapidly increasing importance. It is the thinker who will survive. To some extent this has always been true, but it is more important today than it was yesterday, and it will be more important tomorrow it is today. Socrates thought that ignorance was the only evil. One may not go that far and yet admit that in the 20th century ignorance, if not the source of all evil, is certainly the source of fatal weakness. Once it was the strong in body who lived to perpetuate the race; but today it is the strong in mind, those who have acquired the skill to control the physical environment and even more those who have acquired the skill to control the human environment. The ability to persuade men is today a vastly more potent factor than the ability to compel men.

We look to the University of Maryland to supply us in ever-increasing measure with citizens who know the physical world about them and the laws that govern its phenomena; but even more ardently we look to it for men who know themselves, and through that knowledge are capable of knowing others. We ask the University of Maryland to teach our young men science; but over and above that, and far more important than that, we ask it to teach them wisdom; for he that getteth understanding has a treasure more previous than rubies, yea, than much fine gold.

The accomplishment of this task is no

The accomplishment of this task is no child's play under the most favorable circumstances. The people of Maryland have done what they could to supply the favorable circumstances, but for the major part of the work they must rely on Dr. Elkins, his present colleagues, and those whom he may summon to his aid. For that reason we welcome him, not with boastfulness, but with confidence and hope.

As representing the State administration I here and now pledge him all the proper support within available State resources in whatever project he may undertake to make the university even greater as an institution of learning. Provisions have been made in the current budget for a library and all necessary funds to effect accredidation. The State administration can at best play no more than the part of a willing and enthusiastic lieutenant in this work, which must

be accomplished for the most part within the university. But what we can do shall be done; and I doubt not that together we may make this institution constantly more effective as an interpreter of our present civilization and as a prophet pointing to the greater and nobler civilization that is to come.

Long Beach, Convention City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, for many years my home city of Long Beach, Calif., has been well known as a convention city. Every possible hospitality is afforded our convention visitors and fine facilities for meetings, housing, and amusement are available at all seasons of the year.

Since many bureaus and agencies of the Federal Government find it necessary or convenient to hold area and regional meetings from time to time, I take this occasion to call to their attention the possibilities of Long Beach for this purpose.

The following article appeared in a recent issue of the Long Beach Press Telegram and adds further details to what I have said concerning the desirability of Long Beach as a meeting site:

Invasion of Long Beach by more than 200 members of the State Dental Assistants Associations next weekend will inaugurate a 1955 convention season for Long Beach due to attract an ultimate of more than 300,000 out-of-town guests and more than \$10,000,000 from out-of-town spending before the year has run its course.

First of more than 100 of the 1955 conventions on the city's agenda is that of the Southern California State Dental Assistants' Associations. In charge is Mrs. Alpha D. Cook, of Long Beach City College.

While this organization has the honor of leading off the convention batting order, numerous other State, regional, and national organizations have planned their 1955 meetings in Long Beach.

At the present time approximately 80 of such groups have booked their meetings here, while the future picture shows that already the 1957 convention of the California American Legion is destined to bring upwards of 20 000 rightors to the city.

20,000 visitors to the city.

Meanwhile, President H. G. Markworth, of the Long Beach Convention and Visitors Bureau, yesterday stated, "With construction of the new addition to the Auditorium close at hand, plus development of nearby Disney Land and Marine Band of the Pacific, additional thousands of out-of-town visitors will be attracted to Long Beach.

In addition to the conventions booked by the convention bureau, 14 major events including the Miss Universe Pageant, the All Western Band Review, trade shows, and similar activities, attracted approximately 750,000 persons to Long Beach.

"National surveys of convention dollar expenditures point out that this source of revenue circulates freely through many phases of our local trade", according to Howard Jones, convention bureau manager.

Jones stated that approximately 25 percent is spent for lodging, 27 percent for food, 6 percent for beverages, 19 percent in retail stores, 9 percent in entertainment, and the

balance in transportation, gas and auto needs and miscellaneous services.

Several national conventions slated for Long Beach in 1955 will attract an interesting cross section of delegates, according to convention bureau officials. Typical of the wide variety of national groups slated to convene here are the United Spanish War Veterans, 2,500 delegates; National Quarter-Horse Racing Association, 200 delegates; International Council for Exceptional Children, 1,500 delegates; National Water Well Drillers, 1,500 delegates; and the National Women's Christian Temperance Union, 1,000 delegates.

In addition, Long Beach has already been chosen as 1955 convention city by a great many State and regional groups, and other dates will be announced in the first few weeks of 1955.

The bureau leaders point out that competition for convention business is keen and that many California cities are expanding their local facilities in order to attract group business to their areas. Bond issues for additional auditorium, exhibit and meeting facilities have been approved or are under discussion in San Francisco, Santa Monica, Richmond, San Diego, Oceanside, and other California cities.

Local attractions such as climate, beach facilities, the harbor, and excellent recreation facilities are playing an important part in creating an interest in Long Beach throughout the United States. A colorful new brochure outlining the combined attractions of the area is currently being developed by the convention bureau on behalf of Long Beach.

"The growing interest in southern California continues throughout the Nation and the key location of Long Beach in the very center of some of America's greatest attractions, will prove a genuine advantage in the years ahead," according to Convention Bureau President Markworth.

Commission on Organization of the Federal Judiciary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, much has been said over the past years concerning the sad conditions which exist in the Federal judiciary. Everyone agrees that something should be done and various suggestions arise from time to time, but nothing ever happens. I believe that now is the time to stop piecemeal measures and inquire into the problems of the judiciary in the broadest manner possible

We hear about crowded calendars, insufficient number of judges, inadequate physical facilities for holding court, lack of sufficient courts, and lack of funds. These are subjects which are not charged with emotion and not too many people think about them until they themselves become litigants and victims of the inadequate system.

It is our duty as legislators to see that American citizens are not denied justice for want of an adequate, well-working court system. After all, the Bill of Rights and other constitutional guaranties mean nothing if our people do not have the instrumentalities to put them into effect.

I do not pretend to offer all the answers to the problems raised. As a member of the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, I merely desire to call them to the attention of the Congress and offer a plan of attack.

I have prepared legislation and will introduce it today to establish a Commission on Organization of the Federal Judiciary. The idea is not novel and involves no departure from precedent. This plan is frankly patterned after the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, poularly known as the Hoover Commission. We know of the outstanding work performed by the Hoover Commission in past years, and at the present time we are awaiting the reports of the new Hoover Commission as authorized by the 83d Congress.

The Commission contemplated by my bill would be composed of 16 members. The President of the United States, the Chief Justice of the United States, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives would be authorized to appoint four members each. Half of those appointed by the President would be selected from persons in the executive branch of the Government. Half of those appointed by the Chief Justice would be from the Federal judiciary. The two congressional leaders would make half of their appoint-ments from Members of their respective bodies, and all other selections would be made from individuals in private life. All appointees to the Commission should be lawyers in good standing. This suggestion is made because of the technical nature of the subject and specialized knowledge required.

The Commission would be given a broad mandate to inquire into every phase of the Federal court system. A few of the subjects of inquiry might be:

First. The volume of litigation, delays incident thereto and suggested remedies.

Second. Recommendations should be made concerning the advisability of consolidating courts of special jurisdiction such as the Tax Court and others, with district courts.

Third. The necessity of realinement of judicial districts, geographical areas, and places of holding court as dictated by modern-day conditions, shifts in population, and other factors.

Fourth. The adequacy of buildings, courtrooms, libraries, and other physical facilities necessary for efficient administration of justice.

Fifth. Recommendations for liberalizing retirement laws in order to encourage retirement of judges whose efficiency is impaired due to age, infirmity, or other reasons.

Sixth. Recommendations concerning advisability of delegating jurisdiction to State courts in certain cases.

Seventh. Recommendations concerning court aids such as clerks, marshals, and others.

Eighth. Recommendations for improvement of appellate procedures,

Ninth. Other recommendations that the commission may deem appropriate.

I have not raised the question of the pay of judges inasmuch as that subject has been considered by another commission and recommendations have been made.

The proposed commission would have the usual power to appoint a staff, hold hearings, and obtain necessary data for proper discharge of its duties. It would be required to report to Congress 1 year after the commission is established.

If the Congress sees fit to authorize the establishment of a Commission on Organization of the Federal Judiciary, an opportunity will be given for the first time to the lawyers, judges, and other citizens of the United States, to submit their suggestions to one forum which is considering the individual problems and how they affect the whole judicial system. It would be expected that the bar associations and other groups concerned with the improvement of the administration of justice would take an active part in supplying necessary data, members of task forces, and rendering other valuable assistance. The advice and counsel of Members of Congress and Federal judges would also be sought. It should be kept in mind that the final duty for securing adequate justice to the American people rests with Congress. Our duties do not end with the appointment of a commission. It is incumbent upon us to rise to the challenge and follow through with the necessary legislation once we have the recommendations. The commission would gather the facts for us on a nonpartisan basis, free from political considerations and unfettered by the myriad of details which are incidental to service in the Congress.

Anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GERALD R. FORD, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, the traditional observance of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence, January 22, 1918, presents an opportunity for American citizens to assure to all escapees from tyranny scattered throughout the world their sympathy, and their determination to continue the struggle for the freedom of all people.

This America believes: "That all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This applies to men both behind and outside the Iron Curtain.

We hear much of peaceful coexistence today. Every one of us wants peace. To be realistic we must recognize that we do exist in a world divided into two great idealogical camps. And we can hardly demand that every people and every nation adopt our form of Government or our way of life. Yet, we must strive in every legitimate way to assist those who would bring freedom to nations enslaved, or to peoples oppressed.

There are those who say that the internal rule of the Communists is none of our concern. To a displaced person this must have a strange sound. Furthermore, that attitude cannot be defended if we understand the fundamental philosophies of democracy and communism. If democracy means anything, it means a firm faith in the inherent infinite worth of the individual, in the innate dignity of the human being. If we honestly believe this, we will not be satisfied until the worth and dignity of every human being in the world is recognized, and that human being is permitted to live and act freely.

This is not to advocate preventive war nor rash and unintelligent action, but it is to warn all despots that we will continue to strive for justice and decency for all mankind.

There are good and noble people in my district who dream of the day when their captive homelands will be free again. They are working and preparing for that day. Such men were Tomas Masaryk, of Czechoslovakia, and Syngman Rhee, of Korea. To these good people and all like them we pledge our help and our cooperation in securing a body of free nations in a free world.

Anniversary of Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, on January 22, 1918, the Ukrainian National Republic issued a proclamation of Ukrainian independence. Last Saturday was the anniversary of this proclamation of Independence. Since that time the Ukrainian people have suffered greatly and they are now among the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain.

The centuries-old struggle for freedom and independence on the part of the Ukrainian nation constitutes an impressive chapter in the annals of human his-This indomitable will for national freedom clearly crystallized itself in the old Ukrainian Kievan state from the 9th to the 14th century, in the Ukrainian Kozak state from 1648 to 1783, and more recently in the Ukrainian National Republic from 1917 to 1920. As one of the first victims of Soviet imperialism, Ukraine, since the very inception of alien Bolshevik tyranny, has proved to be the Achilles Heel of the Soviet Union. The destruction of its national churches, the horrible man-made famine of 1932-33, the mass murder at Vinnitsia in 1937-39. and the vast purges and deportations decreed by Moscow have failed to exterminate the spiritual and moral resources

for national freedom in Ukraine. The historic capital of Kiev, with centuries of rich tradition and culture conserved in its vaults, still symbolizes today the indestructible hope and passion of a nation destined to be sovereign, free, and in-

During the Second World War millions of Ukrainian patriots seized the shortlived opportunity of the German-invasion to realize once again this hope, only to be frustrated in their valiant efforts by the scourge of another imperialism. But this unbending will continues to be strong and powerful in the epic struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA) against the evil forces of Soviet imperialism, and in the resistance of the Ukrainian people.

As a nation of over 40 million peoplethe largest non-Russian nation behind the European iron curtain-Ukraine stands as one of our most important and natural allies in the eventual defeat of Soviet imperialism. Its historic claim to national freedom and independence cannot be ignored. Its place as a sovereign and equal partner in the mutual construction of the free Europe of tomorrow must be assured, if the foundation of permanent peace among freedomloving nations is to be impregnable.

States Rights Conceal Rule of Special Interests

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from Labor, official publication of the railroad labor organizations:

STATES RIGHTS CONCEAL RULE OF SPECIAL INTERESTS

Forty-four of the Nation's State legislatures are meeting this year; most of them are already in session. They have a real opportunity now to put meaning into the

much-publicized slogan of "States rights."
Will they do so? Will they demonstrate that States can lead the way in improving the lot of all the people? Will they bring their unemployment insurance and workmen's accident compensation laws up to date to meet modern standards? Will they enact fair labor laws and remove from the statute books those that now unfairly hamstring Workers and their unions? Will they adopt tax measures based on ability to pay?

Answers to questions such as those will determine whether States rights will serve as a banner of progress or flag of reaction.

In past years, that slogan has all too often been used as a cloak by forces seeking to turn State legislatures into instruments for cracking down on the rights of labor and serving predatory interests.

Why has this been so? One good explanation can be found in the recent book, Adventures in Politics, written by RICHARD L. Neuberger, now United States Senator from Oregon, and before that a State senator, as Well as distinguished journalist.

"With few exceptions-New York being one—State government is attempting to operate with stone-age tools," NEUBERGER points out in the book. "Legislators who write State laws and State executives who enforce them are, for the most part, part-time offi-cials. Other sources provide their basic incomes. And where the treasure is, there is the heart-and the vote."

NEUBERGER goes on to cite the condition in his home State as an example: Legislators are paid just a pittance and rely for a living on the special interests for whom they work

He cites many examples of senators on the floor of the legislature arguing for legislation to benefit their employers—the utilities, tim-ber barons, or real-estate interests for which they serve as lawyers or in other capacities and from which they draw their main income. Such situations, he said, "help explain why State government is such a gamboling ground for privilege and monopoly."

He cites many other factors which have led to gross deterioration in State government-an important one among them, failure to reapportion legislatures so they will represent a State's population as it exists today, not as it did in the frontier past." In State after State, representation is rigged so that farm and rural areas have a far greater voice than the cities. Democracy-in the sense that every citizen has an equal voice and vote-does not exist in many States when it comes to electing members of the legislatures.

This lopsided situation helps explain why so many States have put over the false-face right-to-work measures, which enthrone the right to scab; have enacted sweatshop wage laws that provide a competition in laxity; have imposed sales taxes instead of income taxes, and have, so often, kowtowed to self-

ish and predatory private interests.

Legislatures meeting this year have it in their power to demonstrate that States rights need not mean States wrongs; that States can lead the way to a better life, so as to make it less necessary for Congress to intervene. Will they meet the challenge?

Responsibilities of Management

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, EDWIN E. WILLIS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WILLIS. Mr. Speaker, over the weekend, I attended the 21st annual meeting of the Mississippi Valley flood control branch of the Associated General Contractors in Memphis, Tenn. It was probably the most largely attended meeting in the history of the association. The outgoing president, Mr. C. W. Volmer, and his associated officers who guided the destinies of the association so very well in the last year, will be succeeded by equally competent and outstanding businessmen in the persons of Mr. C. R. Weymouth and Mr. Larry A. Tvedt, both of Memphis, as president and vice president, respectively, and Mr. C. W. Crumpecker, of Charleston, Mo., as vice president at large. The managership will remain in the capable hands of Mr. Bruce Tucker, assisted by Miss Tempe Wills.

It was a treat to hear the very splendid address of Hon. Ben H. Wooten, president of the First National Bank in Dal-

I desire to share with my colleagues in this body the inspiration which Mr. Wooten brought to all of us. The address, entitled "Responsibilities of Management," follows:

It is a privilege to speak to this splendid group of businessmen and their ladies, and I am deeply grateful. You are successful in am deeply grateful. You are successful in that you have established yourselves in your cities on a social, professional, and financial basis. Success, whether in the field of art, literature, science, business, or construction, is evidence of possession of that extra some-thing that makes for achievement.

A splendid atmosphere permeates this audience. I observed the friendliness with which one greeted another, and I know that many of you have been colleagues in the construction business for a long, long time, and as a result of contacts and mutual experience, friendships have been generated. Someone has said:

"There are no friends like old friends, None so good and true; We greet them in the morning, As the roses greet the dew.

"No other friends are dearer, Though made in kindred mould; While we love our new friends, We treasure more the old.

It seems that the contractors of America have, without intent, formed a kind of fraternity, with no secrets and no passwordsan organization where you have learned to know and appreciate each other. It is very important that we know each other—that nations know each other. An author whose name I do not know has written:

"Here lies the tragedy of our race: Not that men are poor— All men know something of poverty; Not that men are wicked-Who can claim to be good? Not that men are ignorant— Who can boast that he is wise? But that men are strangers."

If it were possible for the average Russian, the average Chinaman, to know the average American and thus be assured that we have no designs on their countries-that we have never taken any territory as a result of any war—I am convinced that international stresses and strains would be immediately alleviated. It is so important that we know those who live and work close to us.

"Life is but a journey taken on a train, With a pair of travelers at each window pane,

I may sit beside you the whole journey through,
Or I may be seated elsewhere never knowing

you;

But if fate should mark me to sit by your side.

Let's be pleasant travelers-Life is so short a ride."

You like the contracting business or you would not have chosen it as a vocation. I like the banking business, having spent 35 years in it. I like to think of life as a bank. The Bank of Life is open every day, and we make deposits, regardless of how short our stay. In the Bank of Life we deposit kind-ness, helpfulness, work, devotion, and char-acter; and out of the Bank of Life we draw fellowship, friendship, contentment, and happiness. There are men in this room who have great deposits in my personal Bank of Life, and, draw as many checks as they will, not one will ever be returned marked, "Insufficient funds."

Ladies always add beauty, charm, and elegance to any meeting, and this we have in abundance tonight. I am reminded that the highway of success is filled with women pushing their men along.

Occasionally we hear an egotist remark that he is a self-made man. This just isn't true.

If you There never was a self-made man. will just for a moment let your mind travel back through a decade or two, you will observe that somewhere along the line a friend, a relative, a loved one gave you a lift and supplied the impetus necessary to make of you a success. You, of course, had to take advantage of your opportunities, but their faith, confidence, and perhaps financial help enabled you to reach the high pinnacle of your profession which you now occupy. If the individual who believes that he is made would look into a mirror, he would see a good example of the work of unskilled labor and I believe would come to the conclusion that he might have done better by letting out the construction contract on a turnkey basis.

The year 1955 is a new year. We have 344 days to use as we will, and it is fitting that we ask our selves: What plans are we drafting on the drawing board of time, and if we should be successful in completing these plans during the year, will we be pleased? Are they of sufficient magnitude and importance to draw the best out of us? Daniel Burnham said, "Make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's blood, and little plans, if realized, bring no satisfaction."

Let's have a positive approach to 1955, with the firm belief that we can do what we set out to do, keeping in mind that those who have a negative approach to problems receive only the leavings of life.

There are many interpretations of our economic position at this time following different routes but arriving at the same destination, namely, good times in 1955. Due to these devious routes followed by forecasters there is some confusion as demonstrated by a poem by N. A. Mack:

"It may be so—
But then it's not;
It could be good—
Or not so hot.

"You might say this—
But in the light of that,
You can't be sure,
Just where you're at."

We can be pretty sure of our economic location at this time, and those who plan well, work hard, and spend wisely will, at the conclusion of this year, look back upon it with satisfaction.

It is really great to be an American and have the privilege of gathering in a convention where we can say what we think without fear of intimidation. No potentate, no dictator can tell you or me what to think, what to say, and how to pray.

At the beginning of this new year, however, let's not forget that freedom within itself exposes us to personal and economic pitfalls. Freedom permits one to think for himself—and how fine it is that we are privileged to make errors and have reverses; otherwise, we would not be free.

We as free men must remember that life cannot be one continuous round of pleasure and success. If we did not have ugliness, we could not appreciate beauty; if there were no valleys, we could not enjoy the majesty of mountains. Into every life some rain must fall, but, even so, we Americans must continue to be willing to take the economic risks of freedom. We come to the very definite conclusion that our business world is not one for weaklings. We know that we shall make mistakes. We know that our Government has made mistakes, domestic and foreign, and that it will continue to do so—yet our country is the most blessed place this side of Heaven.

A good contractor is a builder at heart, and he is ashamed of the slightest flaw in one of his structures. Somehow I feel that he desires to make each structure a monument unto his knowledge, his personality, and his character, and he looks upon it as an edifice that the ravages of time will not destroy.

Ralph Waldo Emerson said, "He who digs a well, constructs a stone fountain, plants a grove of trees by the roadside, plants an orchard, builds a durable house, reclaims a swamp, or so much as puts a stone seat by the wayside makes a fortune which he cannot carry away with him but which is useful to his country long afterward."—Of such are you, my hosts.

We are pleased to have so many of our military personnel here, especially the engineers. We admire the army. There is something fascinating about a well-dressed, snappy army officer. I am reminded of that old-time limerick:

"There's something about a soldier,
That is fine, fine, fine,
Something in his bearing,
Something that he's wearing,
Makes him hit the line, line, line."

To the civilian, the engineers are in peacetime the most useful segment of the Army. I make this statement knowing full well that our country cannot maintain her national existence and honor without every branch of the armed services.

We are pleased that throughout our broad land we find the Army engineers everywhere, and we want them everywhere. They are the closest tie between the civilian and the military, and only with their help have we been able to make some progress in harnessing the rivers, subduing the forests, and scaling the mountains. It is they who are enabling us in many instances to conserve our soil and reforest our wastelands. We would join with the engineer in emphasizing the importance of the conservation of our soil through the stopping of erosion.

Too few people have been concerned about the tragic toll that is being exacted from our fine farmlands everywhere. When land was cheap and plentiful, it did not seem to matter much if the fertility of the soil was gone, in that the farmer could move to a new location, clear new land, and start over again. In the life of our Nation, 50 million acres of good land have been ruined and abandoned. Another 50 million acres are swiftly coming to that stage, and on another hundred million acres more than half the top soil is gone. Only prompt, vigorous, and intelligent action can stop further losses and start the restoration of fertility to much of our land. tinuation of permitting our land to become nonproductive is a sure road to economic trouble, and we are grateful to the Army engineers for their leadership in endeavoring to save our soil.

My subject (and I have finally gotten around to it) is, "Responsibilities of Management." The manager is the dynamic, life-giving element in every business. Without his leadership, resources remain resources and production just does not come about. In referring to management in the contracting business, I am in most instances referring to the owner of the business; however, in other types of business this is not so often true.

Superior management is the only effective advantage that one enterprise has over another in our competitive economy. In this connection, I am reminded of a writing by Elia Wheeler Wilcox:

"One ship drives east, and another west, With the self-same gale that blows; "Tis the set of the sail, and not the gale,

This the set of the sail, and not the gale That determines the way we go."

Never before in our history has the attitude and responsibility of management so greatly affected our economic, social, and spiritual life as now.

Management's responsibilities and obligations seem to fall under four distinct headings: (1) To the owners of the business; (2) to the public it serves; (3) to the city. State, and Nation; (4) to the employees. The order of the naming of these headings is not in-

tended to be an indication of their impor-

Management's first obligation is to operate an ethically profitable business, and only slightly less important is the necessity for growth. The profit responsibility is absolute and cannot be abdicated.

No business can make its best contribution to society unless it makes reasonable profit. Management that through the years makes meager profits must ultimately be classed as meager management. A profitless business is an ulcer on society, yet a well-managed, prosperous business is a definite strength to our country.

I am reminded of a parody:

"Count that day lost,
Whose low descending sun,
Sees bids put in at cost,
And business done for fun."

Stockholders in our major corporations are scattered throughout the Nation, and major businesses are no longer owned by a handful of pompous individuals. Management that makes money for these millions of stockholders is really serving America well. Let's not forget that the business that goes bankrupt first went bankrupt in management, and any business that does not make a profit will not last long.

It is also the duty of management to produce and sell a quality product or a quality service. In other words, our products—our finished buildings, our levees, our residences, our banking services—must be exactly what the public buys in appearance, in performance, and in quality. A shabby product, a shabby service can be sold only once and, of course, should not be sold at all. Let's be sure that if we were our own customer, we would like to do business with our firm.

We in the United States are the greatest producers, the best fed, the best clothed, the best educated people on earth because you and thousands of other men like you have responded to obligations of management under our individual incentive form of government.

Management has dared to dream, and dreamers are the architects of greatness. Their brains have brought our so-called miracles—our great inventions, beautiful music, majestic temples, educational institutions, our cathedrals and shrines—and in America God has given to management the mind to dream, the soul to aspire, and the body to execute. So let's, as managers, keep on dreaming, keep on developing, keep on achieving and putting our very best every day into our jobs.

In the long ago in old New England, trading ships would leave from Old Salem. slowly traveling around the earth, and would be gone for a long time. It was the custom of the captains to permit individuals to send private cargoes in the vessels, and during the long absence from home of the ship and its crew, those who had sent private cargoes were wont to say, "When my ship comes in-" and then let their imaginations trail away into realms of luxurious living which they envisioned for themselves and their loved ones as a result of the anticipated profit from their venture in the cargobut one thing they knew full well-no ship could come in bringing treasures to them unless they had ventured something in the cargo. And so it is with you and me. Our ship will come in bringing treasures if we venture the best we have in time, talents, and energy into the cargo of management.

Men grow civically in proportion to their participation in civic activities, and an active life of a businessman in civic affairs can bring real joy because of the challenge to satisfy, in part at least, the needs of unfortunate people. All of us and the businesses we represent have specific obligations as relates to the unfortunate in our com-

munity, and we want to do our full share in Community Chest, Red Cross, etc.

It is well to take note of the fact that welfare is our fourth largest business. In the year 1954, \$49 billion was spent by the Government and through private donations for welfare. The spending of this tremendous sum needs the executive talent possessed by the managers of our great businesses. The American heart is big, and any cause that pulls upon the heartstrings will get a ready response—but it is your duty and mine to see that the American heart is not only big but also that it is selective in order that there may not be great waste.

I know that it shall never be truly said that in our respective communities there will be more sorrow, more anguish, mode despondency, more suffering, more juvenile delinquency because any manager in this room Iailed to do his local civic duty.

Hardly a day goes by when some outstanding manager does not assert a new public responsibility. We are all aware of the financial plight of our educational institutions, and I believe that management is going to have to assume more responsibility for the survival of our liberal-arts colleges.

It is most important that management consider the impact of every business policy and action upon society and whether or not that policy is likely to promote the public good, to advance the basic beliefs of our society, to contribute to its stability, strength, and harmony. We should always disseminate American economic truths as widely as possible.

We have an obligation to the people who work for us. Let's ask ourselves right now: How would I like to work for me? What kind of a boss am I, anyway? It makes a big difference whether or not the boy or girl in passing the president's office thinks of him as

an old sourpuss or a right guy.

Around the turn of the century it was kind of taken for granted that in the scheme of things there must be a conflict between labor and capital. The capitalist of today is mainly propaganda, because of the very wide distribution of stock owned by millions of Americans, and there is no irreconcilable difference between labor and management. There are problems, to be sure, but labor and management are not two different specles of human beings. Most of the managers of today came from the ranks of labor, and in the corporations of today the laborer Who has the capacity to take on greater responsibilities and places the welfare of the institution for which he works next to that of his family can easily be a superintendent

Let's never lose sight of the fact that management is not the directing of things; it is the directing of people, and good management listens as well as talks. A good manager knows that a high degree of performance can be attained only through leader-

ship.

Each of our businesses has a good, bad, or mediocre disposition in the minds of the public, and that picture is but the lengthened shadow of the manager. If he has a warm, affable, friendly disposition, it will permeate his organization. If his disposition is cold, sullen, and repelling, that, too, will permeate his organization. There is a great deal of difference between a big man and a big shot. I know men who can strut sitting down, but I do not know an individual who admires such a man.

If we would evaluate others, let's first evaluate ourselves. Let's get under the microscope, and as a result we will be less stiff, less irritable, more modest, humble, and

easy to approach.

A happy employee requires a happy boss. Rappiness is not a destination. It is a journey. We cannot buy a ticket to happiness. We find it all along the way of life. It flows from the inside of the individual out, and in my office there is an inscription, "Happiness is a journey traveled not alone." If

you and I would be happy in our businesses, let's make our people happy.

The best manager is concerned about the welfare of the people who work for him. He has a friendly interest in their families. He inquires about their home affairs. Wherever possible he learns their names. He dispenses fairness without favoritism. He keeps the confidence of his employees, and he gives credit where credit is due. Under no condition will a good manager take credit for the work or ideas of any person employed by him, whether it be a janitor or a foreman.

We all need praise. I am not referring to flattery; I mean well-earned praise. It lightens the load of the laborer; it increases efficiency; it produces enthusiasm; it assures cooperation—in a way, it greases the skids of life. So let's never get too busy or too big to take thought upon those who are doing a good job.

There never was an indispensable man, so let's not take ourselves seriously. I recently read a quotation, "Blessed is he who taketh himself seriously, for behold, he shall afford

much amusement."

Let's remember in dealing with our people that a smile is a language that a baby can understand, and a man's code of ethics is not necessarily the motto on his desk but that written in his heart and before we can command others, we must be able to command ourselves.

It was Aristides who said, "Not houses finely roofed or the stones of walls well builded, nay, nor canals and dockyards, make the city, but men able to use their opportunity." As managers, let's be sure that we afford our people the chance to

better use their opportunities.

People are our most precious possessions, and I am convinced that in order to be helpful and to give proper counsel, there must be in the life of every manager a spiritual experience for, after all, there is a Divine Designer of the universe who cares for every individual in it, and if we would be in tune with the best in life, our hearts must be in tune with the source of all life.

The world owes no man a living, but every man owes the world a life, and if we pay the world that which we owe for our lives, it will pay us a living and as much more as we justly earn. Let us, therefore, make a life

while we are making a living.

There is a poem I like very much:
"It is always a joy in life to find,
At every turn of the road,
A strong arm of the comrade kind,
To help me onward with my load.

"Since I have no gold to give,
"Tis love must make amends;
It is my prayer that while I live,
God shall make me worthy of my friends."

I know you share with me this beautiful sentiment. In assuming the full responsibilities of management, let's pray that God shall make us worthy of our shareholders, of the public we serve, of the city, State, and Nation in which we live, and of the employees who work for us.

You are a grand audience—so kind and so considerate—so sympathetic, and this evening will ever be a pleasant experience in my garden of memories.

Restoration of the Rights and Liberties of the Ukrainian People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN TABER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. TABER. Mr. Speaker, Commuthemselves. With the termination of dinist Russia has enslaved the people of rect United States economic aid, coun-

the Ukraine, and they no longer have the liberties which they formerly enjoyed, nor do they have an opportunity to better themselves.

I know many people who came from the Ukraine, and they make good citizens, and are entitled to recognition in the Republic of the United States of America.

The restoration of the rights and liberties of the Ukrainian people is one of the things that should be sought after by the free world just as soon as the opportunity presents itself.

Italy's Complaint on United States Subsidy of American Citrus Products

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, because of the administration of our laws on the high policymaking level, a conflict has developed between our foreign policy as expressed in GATT—General Agreement on Trades and Tariffs—and our statutory law as expressed in the Agricultural Act of 1935.

As a participating nation in GATT, the United States is committed to a policy of limiting subsidies where it would seriously prejudice the interests of other participating nations. Under section 32 of the Agricultural Act, however, the Secretary of Agriculture has a mandate to encourage the exportation of agricultural commodities through the use of subsidies in order to help increase America's competitive position in foreign markets. The subsidy provisions of the Agricultral Act, however-and this is an important distinction to remember—are not mandatory but permissive and give the Secretary a wide discretion in both the granting or withholding of subsidy benefits, and in the selection of the commodities to be subsidized.

The present export program of agriculture grants heavy subsidies on citrus fruits which compete directly with Italian, Israeli, North African, and Spanish citrus products in the European mar-As a result, Italian oranges, for example, are being crowded out of Italy's traditional orange markets, not because Italy's oranges are inferior, but because of United States financing of American citrus fruits. While it is presently asserted that subsidy assistance is to help American exporters to maintain their foreign markets, the fact is that the Department, through subsidies, is seeking to expand America's competitive position in foreign markets and is in fact lengthening the time period of America's socalled summer citrus market in Europe.

The United States is committed to a foreign program of helping war-ravaged and poor countries rehabilitate themselves, so that by raising their economic levels, these countries may, one day, help themselves. With the termination of direct United States economic aid, coun-

tries like Italy more than ever need their traditional foreign markets and, in fact, Italy must expand hers in order to take up the slack caused by the ending of direct United States assistance. Because it is lacking in many natural resources and cannot compete in the industrial field, Italy must rely most heavily on The her agricultural export trade. United States citrus industry, on the other hand, is enjoying an all-time high and has access to other foreign markets such as Canada without having to invade the European market on an unfair United States subsidized competitive basis, at least not at the present time. Furthermore, if we are to follow the principle of "trade not aid" then these subsidies must be rarely if ever used. If we drive Italy and other countries similarly situated too hard and they have markets for their citrus fruits that are narrowing more and more, we force her to sell wherever she can-behind the Iron Curtain if need be.

SUGGESTED ACTION

The above statement may be an oversimplification of the problem which is indeed a complicated one with many facets. Yet, in the final analysis, it is clear that there must be greater coordination between our executive agencies, in order that conflicts, brought about by the administration of our laws, may be avoided. Negotiations under GATT have reached an impasse. The GATT agreement, unfortunately, has no true en-forcement provisions, and its success de-pends upon the willingness and consent of the countries concerned. Since the policies set forth therein represent our latest thinking on the subject, the Department of Agriculture should revise its policy so as to eliminate those aspects which are harmful to countries like Italy, Israel, Greece, and Turkey. States is presently subsidizing dried raisins and apricots, to the detriment of Greece and Turkey; and oranges, to the detriment of Italy, Israel, Spain, and North Africa. Without seriously preju-dicing United States citrus producers, subsidy payments could be suspended on American citrus exports which are shipped to the traditional European markets of these countries, at least during their market season, which is from November through April.

Anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, January 22 marked the 37th anniversary of the Ukrainian people. This anniversary symbolizes the love for freedom by all the peoples enslaved by Communist domination. Their indefatigable spirt of opposition to Communist oppression commands the admiration and the support

of the entire American people. When their unity of purpose and resistance forced the regimes in Hungary and Czechoslovakia to retreat and make concessions, what better proof could we have that the captive people entrapped behind the Iron Curtain are our stanchest allies; brothers in arms who man the outpost in the never-ceasing struggle against Communist imperialism.

Such friends will never be forgotten, for their suffering and their sacrifices serve the cause of freedom of men everywhere. Their aspirations of national independence, human rights, and dignity are the same cornerstones on which our Republic was founded and maintained. How could we fail to support, wholeheartedly, these aspirations which are the essence of democracy in which we believe, and for which thousands of Americans gave their lives on the battlefields of Europe and Asia.

The American people will not be fooled by Communist slogans of coexistence which means enslavement for millions of our brothers. We shall continue to strive for the just aspirations of the captive nations, as we have done in the past. That the Congress of the United States, and thus the people who elect their representatives, continuously study means and ways to support the enslaved peoples behind the Iron Curtain is manifested in the work of the House Committee on Communist Aggression and the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The House committee recommended to the Government a specific course of action, specifically designed to help the now captive nations attain their goal of self-determination, while the Senate's studies on tensions in Eastern Europe again demonstrated to the American people that the Communist regimes in that area only derive their power from inhuman terror and atrocities. American people are fully aware of these conditions, and true to their tradition have formed organizations to combat them. Such private organizations as the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., and the Free Europe Committee, are truly representative of the feeling of American sentiment. More important still, they prove by their action, be it by radio or leaflets dropped by balloons, that the voice of the once free nations can never be silenced as long as the American people stand side by side with their freedom-loving brothers behind the Iron Curtain.

ORT in North Africa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, in my tour through French Morocco, Tunisia, and Algeria, I made a special attempt to visit the ORT schools and facilities, and I willingly testify to the dynamic and realistic approach made by them. I

know of nothing more useful in raising the standard of living of our unfortunate Jews in the Mellah than to afford the young men and women the opportunity to become skilled workers. ORT provides a great ray of hope to thousands of these people. It is really and truly the Organization for Rehabilitation and Training.

I saw ORT installations in schools in Algeria and Casablanca. I am sorry, indeed, I was not privileged to see many of the other schools which ORT has established.

I wish to draw particular attention to some 50,000 Jews, sometimes called Berber Jews, who live in the Atlas Mountains region of Morocco. They have for centuries been small craftsmen and tradesmen, who sold their wares to the Berber Moors. With the impetus of the coming of industry to Morocco, a change has occurred bringing with it new problems. Machine-made goods are replacing handmade goods and the Berber Moors are coveting the cheaper machinemade goods. This tendency is displacing some of the Jews and taking them out of the economic market. It is essential that many of these Jews be trained by ORT; for example, in the use of machines for making shoes, clothes. radios, auto supplies, and so forth.

Up until a decade ago, Jews in Morocco had a monopoly on trading in the southern part of Morocco. Now the Berber Moors are competing with them, and the Berber Moors are given the preference. The Moors only buy from the Jews when they cannot buy from the Berbers. It is to the great advantage of the Jews, therefore, to learn all they can about electronics, about the work of beauticians, and other trades in which the Moors themselves are untrained. ORT can help the Jews get ready for industrial jobs through its training program.

I know of no better service to which money can be put than in contributions to the activities of ORT. The knowledge that we, the more fortunate, cannot take for granted that poverty, ignorance, and disease must always be with us—that help can and must be extended to the individual to aid him in finding a place for himself in this ever increasingly complicated society. ORT has shown the way, and to ORT every support and contribution should be given.

As I have been thinking of the development of ORT and the necessary statistics that must accompany its history. I was forcibly struck by an amazing parallel. I repeat what I said once before, that the point 4 program of the United States Government is exactly the drama of the work that ORT has been carrying on for more than 70 years. When President Truman announced the point 4 program, it was hailed—and rightfully so-as a dynamic concept of far-reaching significance in the training of the individual for the realization of a productive society. A new emphasis was placed on the individual, on his training. on his rehabilitation, teaching the use of tools first for his own benefit and for the benefit of the society in which he lives. It was a departure from mass thinking. It focussed attention on the needs of the individual, on the dignity of

the individual, and how he as an individual contributes to the common good. It struck me then how ORT quietly, persistently, and even doggedly had inaugurated just such a program many years

In 23 countries of the world ORT is training people in new uses of the hands and the eyes and the mind, lifting from them the weight of their uselessness and with such training bringing an understanding of new standards, of pride Which will some day reflect itself in their children yet to be born.

A fact to be noted and remarked is the realization that ORT follows the line of history. The camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy are now closed. Most of the DP's are gone. ORT has turned its gaze eastward and to Africa, as has the rest of the world. The Near, Middle, and Far East, as well as North Africa, have by the pressure of events forced the western nations, not only to acknowledge their existence, but to begin to understand for perhaps the first time that these regions of the world must relate themselves to each other. So with ORT. While retaining and maintaining its ties with the western civilization, it has brought its greatest intensity to bear upon these areas.

One cannot feel kinship with Jews in one part of the world and choose to forget about Jews in another. Sooner or later the facts will creep through to your consciousness. One cannot escape. One has to recognize the chain that links all people together regardless of geography. In Iran, in Moslem North Africa, in French Morocco, in Tunisia and Algeria. Jews have huddled in the ghettos of those forgotten worlds, feeding for centuries only on the strength of Judaism. They are no longer forgotten, ORT will not let us forget. ORT is bringing new values to live by, a new dimension to life itself, to these people whom civilization has bypassed. This is not the age of despair.

In these turbulent years one fact has emerged-that it is not a natural law for some to be born and to die in helplessness, in futility and in hopelessness. I do not exaggerate when I say that in the realization of this concept, ORT has shown us how to open the doors and windows to let the sun come in, cleansing and reviving. ORT has been on that road a little before anybody else.

Can Stock Market Be Controlled by Amendment of Capital-Gains Tax?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, in view of widespread interest in the present stock market situations, and the feeling upon the part of some that there should be some restraint, it seemed to me that consideration might be given to the suggestion of Lucian O. Hooper in his follows:

MARKET COMMENT

(By Lucien O. Hooper)

Any market which advances for 17 months without a single correcton of as much as 41/2 (in the D-J Industrials) naturally is not as cheap as it once was. An accident always can happen as the excuse for a welcome setback. The fact remains, however, usual technical background for an inter-The fact remains, however, that the it will take something unexpected to make stocks available as much as 10 percent below current prices-and 10-percent declines in a churning market like this until recent years were regarded as just routine.

The big supporting factor in this market, as I see it, is the unwillingness of those who own securities to take profits and pay the capital gains tax. Millions and millions of shares which otherwise might be sold in profit-taking maneuvers are being held undisturbed because of capital gains tax inhi-

The great mass of stocks is held by people who regard themselves as pleasantly locked in by the present tax system. Rising prices do not bring out a supply of shares. Prices go higher and higher because eager buyers must cajole reluctant sellers into making

More and more will be heard about what steps should be taken to control the stock market, or tame it. You can't tame a market which is not based on borrowed money by raising margin requirements; and the people who own stocks at such large profits do not scare easily.

The one logical control measure (open only to Congress) is to reduce the capital-gains tax to a level where people won't feel that they are impoverishing themselves unneces-sarily when they sell. I know hundreds of people who would be willing to take profits in their life-insurance shares, for instance, if the tax were 10 or 12 percent on long-term profits instead of 25 percent. I would guess that 90 percent of all the General Motors (102) stock now outstanding cost the present owners less than half its current price. Probably 95 percent of the owners of International Business Machines (362) paid less than 65 for their stock. I imagine 90 percent of the owners of Lincoln National Life (385) paid less than 100. Just figure what it would cost them, with a 25-percent capital gains tax, to sell.

It might also be remarked that if the Federal Government wants to share in this big market through a larger tax collections, it can do so in a big way by reducing the capital-gains tax. I would guess hat the cap-ital-gains tax yield would increase 200 to 400 percent each year if the tax were made 10 percent instead of 25 percent, and I suspect that this is an overconservative estimate. So here is your argument, Representatives and Senators: cut the tax rate on capital gains and you will (a) tame this rise in stocks, and (b) increase the Government's revenues. Don't forget that 8 million people or more hold stocks. Most of them vote, too. (Taken from Forbes, January 15, 1955.)

Lee, Maury, and Jackson

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Speaker, on Thursday, January 20, I had the privilege of hearing United States

pamphlet Market Comment, reading as Senator Olin D. Johnston, of South Carolina, deliver a very inspiring speech at the meeting of the District of Columbia division of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. By unanimous consent, I include Senator Johnston's speech as an extension of my remarks:

> Mrs. Harlee and my friends in the United Daughters of the Confederacy, there is more of realism than sentiment which keeps organizations like yours alive. An attachment to ideals and principles, often misunderstood. binds us together. A communion with the past strengthens us as we face our present and future problems.

> Several years ago a friend of mine whom I have known since my college days received a letter from the distinguished and now ceased president of our college. In that letter was the statement, casually written:

> "Whenever a people forgets its worthy past, the day will come when it will not have a past worth remembering."

> Let that casual thought be the theme of our brief discussion and reflection this evening. It is no waste of our time to reflect upon the lives of some of the great men whose memory we honor tonight. Preemi-nent among the leaders in the tragic fratricidal conflict between the North and the South will always be the names of Lee,

> Maury, and Jackson. To you, Daughters of the Confederacy, belongs a distinction I have always liked to recall. Besides the testimonials and enduring monuments of granite and marble which dot the Southland as living memorials of your evaluation of your heritage, the glory of our past and as a bulwark of hope for the future, there is the universally accepted national holiday—Memorial Day, May 30, of each year—which is credited to your acts of remembrance in placing flags and fresh-cut flowers on the graves of the Confederate and Union soldiers alike. The inspiration for the issuance of General Logan's famous order establishing Memorial Day in 1869, had its origin when he was witnessing the evidence of your patriotism. Later by act of Congress, Memorial Day on May 30 was established for the Nation. This fact has not altered the happy custom of celebrating other memorial days on other and separate dates in our Southern States. Your objects and purposes and those preceding you in this patriotic organization were to petuate the recollections of the sacrifices, hardships, and deeds of valor of our brave forebears in the struggles of 1861 to 1865. Just and righteous to them was their conception of duty and principle. They labored for a time in vain, but not without permanent rewards to us, the beneficiaries of their valor, heroism, and ideals. The pages of unbiased history record for all time their unprecedented genius for being able to accomplish so much with so little.

> While we reflect with great and justifiable pride upon the achievements of our great generals and Commander Maury, I doubt but few, if any, there are who now would have history reverse the conclusion of the Civil The scars of that conflict are healed and these assemblages have higher purposes than to keep alive the strife of the days gone by.

> We have builded upon the heritage of their sacrifices. The courage and loyalty to principle, exemplified in our leaders, are the com-

mon property of us all.

On Palm Sunday almost 90 years ago an undernourished, poorly equipped, and scantily clad army of less than 150,000 men began to slowly disperse from the several surrendering posts to wend its weary way home-ward. Surviving loved ones welcomed their return as though they were conquering heroes. The plenty and security which they had left behind when they had volunteered to fight in a lost cause had disappeared. They found instead shattered and destroyed homes. Cities, villages, and farms had been laid waste and pillaged. Pestilence, poverty, famine, distress, destitution, and desolation stalked every countryside. Indiscriminate waste, death, and destruction lay in the path of Sherman's march, 60 miles wide and 300 miles long. What a spectacle of hopelessness faced the veterans of our southland.

There was no money. The currency was valueless. The entire economy was wrecked. What small industries and manufactures there were had been destroyed or rendered useless. Four years of neglect had rendered homes and dwellings almost uninhabitable. Farms had been scorched. Storehouses, mills, and small factories had been denuded. Our railroads were torn apart; communications were chaotic. Precious little of material value remained after the Civil War. The tangibles of life were few.

Under the beneficence of an almighty God, our men and women had preserved some of the great intangibles of life. There was courage, faith, hope, character, and a determination to rise again.

Contrast this condition with the problems of the war-torn nations of today. There is no parallel in all history. For 12 years following the Civil War, the South suffered under the unspeakable domination, economic and political, of its conquerors. Sordid pages of history record brother's mistreatment of brother. A sustained, calculated, and premeditated design of oppression was practiced upon a once proud but now subdued segment of our American Nation. Revenge, greed, avarice, and treachery were the daily experience of a struggling and suffering people.

A kind providence stood at our side. In gracious benediction. He lighted our paths and kept our spirits alive. Congress refused all relief appropriations. Less than \$1 million was donated for our relief by several philanthropic societies in Philadelphia and Baltimore.

Lend-lease was not then in the English or American dictionary. No point 4 program was projected. There was no Economic Cooperation Administration. No War Claims or War Damage Commission was created for us. No Marshall plan was established for the South. The ingenuity and kindness of man had not progressed to the point of being able to conceive of the term of "mutual assistance or mutual aid." Eighty-nine years had to elapse before the phrase "Foreign Operations Administration" could be born. The administration of the affairs of the South was marked with a suppression compounded by oppression.

I need only to refer to one illustration of the ruthlessness and utter indifference of the times with which you are all too familiar. The ancestral home of the Custis family, we known as the Custis-Lee Mansion, was appropriated by the Government. It has only been recently and within our lifetime, fol-lowing years of persistent struggle, that meager compensation has been paid the survivors of the Lee family for this wanton act of banditry. Contrast this condition with the manner of our treatment of friend and foe alike after the close of World War II We have spent many billions of dollars in rehabilitating the economies and restoring the damage caused by the war to the various countries all over the world. Even many countries rely on our bounty who took little part in the recent war. And in this connection, unless we keep constantly on guard, this generosity may become a permanent part of our national existence and to the point of so weakening our own economy as to make us the easy prey of our enemies.

But the spirit of the South would not die. Your early members kept it alive. Your recollections of the past and your intermittent meetings serve to refresh the spirit and to keep it alive. This is nurture for ourselves and future generations.

. When the name of Lee is mentioned to the

unprejudiced, at once he is associated with the great generals of all time. We link him with Alexander the Great, Caesar, Napoleon, Washington, Jackson, and a few Born the son of a distinguished Revolutionary soldier, his scholarly attainments at West Point made his recall there as superintendent a natural sequence. While he at first opposed secession with such means available to his as an Army officer and was offered the supreme field command of the United States Army, he, nevertheless, through loyalty and devotion to his native Virginia resigned his commission and became the leader of all the southern forces. His ability and leadership was demonstrated under General Scott in the War with Mexico. While he may have resisted to the bitter end, his regard for the welfare of his men, his beloved Southland and her future caused him to tender his sword to Grant at Appotomax on April 9, 1865. His greatness, his humility. and his reverence for the things eternal are reflected in his final order to his troops which he issued on the following day of April 10, 1865. His words in that order were:

HEADQUARTERS, ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, April 10, 1865.

After 4 years of arduous service, marked by unsurpassed courage and fortitude, the Army of Northern Virginia has been compelled to yield to overwhelming numbers and resources. I need not tell the survivors of so many hard-fought battles, who have remained steadfast to the last, that I have consented to this result from no distrust of them; but, feeling that valor and devotion could accomplish nothing that could compensate for the loss that would have attended the continuation of the contest, I have determined to avoid the useless sacrifice of those whose past services have endeared them to their countrymen. By the terms of the agreement, officers and men can return to their homes and remain there until exchanged. You will take with you the satisfaction that proceeds from the consciousness of duty faithfully performed; and I earnestly pray that a merciful God will extend to you His blessing and protection. With an increasing admiration of your constancy and devotion to your country, and a grateful remembrance of your kind and generous consideration of myself, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

R. E. LEE, General.

The eloquent tribute to the bravery and devotion of his men were expressed in Lee's last order to his troops. His affection for them and consideration for their future led to the cessation of hostilities.

Matthew Fontaine Maury, of Fredericksburg, Va., having been educated at the United States Naval Academy, became an officer in the United States Navy. Historians say he was trained to the sea. After a few years, due to an accident, he retired but continued his devotion to naval affairs as a civilian. His worldwide fame was achieved at a conference in Brussels in 1855. This resulted in his restoration to active naval service as a commander. He had distin-guished himself as head of the United States Naval Observatory and Hydrographic Office. His authorship of the Physical Geography of the Sea, Wind and Currents Charts, and other meteorological works resulted in the renown for him in his day as the world's most distinguished oceanographer and hydrographer. When the War Between the States began, he resigned his command in the Navy of the United States and assumed the harbor defenses of the meager southern navy. Upon the close of the war, he retired to Lexington as the professor of meterology at the Virginia Military Institute. By training, study, and excellence in naval affairs we are happy to acclaim him as one of the leading naval authorities of our country and particularly of the Southland.

Thomas Jonothan Jackson, one of the most daring and successful military tac-ticians ever to wear a soldier's uniform was much younger than either Lee or Maury. From Clarksburg, then a part of Virginia, he entered and graduated from West Point. He gave evidence early in life of his military genius. His army career with the United States was of rather short duration, for we find him as military instructor at Virginia Military Institute when hostilities began. He became a colonel in the Virginia Militia and soon rose to the rank of brigadier and major general. His achievements, his courage, and valor have become the topics of discussion among military men of all succeeding generations. His surprise attacks and sudden exploits in the Shenandoah Valley confounded and surprised the Union forces to the extent that Jackson soon had the reputation of being the ablest of Lee's generals. While a strict disciplinarian, he was an ardent Calvinist and a devout Christian. His troops loved him for his genius, his abilities, and his personal worth. eral Lee once said that had he had the services of Jackson at Gettysburg, the outcome there would have been different.

To praise these men is not to minimize others; nor does that praise detract from the respect and admiration, for the rank and file of our men and women; yea the debt, we shall never be able to pay.

Defeats and sorrows give us a better nature. They add to our resourcefulness. In crises we surprise ourselves with what can be accomplished. I am indebted to the great minister who conducts the national pulpit of the air on Sunday mornings for the thought that in despair and reverses that Dante wrote his masterpriece. John Milton wrote his greatest work when blindness had fallen upon him. Tennyson, in struggle for light during his sorrow over the death of a friend, gave us his great In Memoriam. Continuing, Doctor Sockman said:

"Dr. Edwin Mims, of Vanderbilt University, once declared that Robert E. Lee did more for the South in the 5 years after his surrender at Appomattox than during the 5 years he was so brilliantly leading his troops. He took the leadership of a college in Virginia and with no rancor of spirit, he manifested a magnanimity and nobility which made him revered in the South and respected throughout the whole Nation."

While we could spend hours rehearsing the lives and deeds of any one of the three whom we honor tonight, vain would be our proceedings unless from "Defeat we receive its dividends." Surely the morale of the human race has been lifted more by those who have courageously borne their defeats than those whom success have ever attended. The inspiration of these lives to our fathers and mothers are ours to transmit to our children and they to theirs. In complete succession we shall ever keep fresh in the minds and hearts of our people the measure of gratitude to these illustrious men of our past. Back of me on the wall of my office is an almost life-size picture of Robert E. Lee. As I gaze upon it, my spirit from day to day is refreshed by thought and hope that in defeat, sorrow, and surrender comes crowning achievements if we will but persist in the right. So my friends, it is well that you have dedicated yourselves to carrying on in the paths your parents treaded. Surely, the joy, the happiness and blessings which ours shall then increase for all. The faith of our fathers and mothers must remain with us as a constant reminder. In that faith, sustained by the influence of the Supreme Being are born the virtues of our existence exalted in the lines:

"God in all His glory rules
Watching over us with care
He sends us wisdom, love and truth
With his fellowman to share."

To Lee, Maury, and Jackson, representative as they are of all that is noble in a cause dear to their hearts, we of the South must never cease to acknowledge our debt of gratitude and appreciation. Their names as symbols of many others must ever be spoken of in reverence. To remember them is both an opportunity and a pleasure. To you and me it shall ever be a sacred duty.

Protest Against Contemplated Merger of Chase National Bank and Bank of Manhattan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I have written to the Honorable William Mc-Chesney Martin, Jr., Chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, urging him to do all in his Power to prevent the merger of the Chase National Bank and the Bank of Manhattan Co. In addition, I have asked that the Federal Reserve Board withhold its approval of any application for the establishment of branch banks which may be made as a result of this union.

In the light of the excessive accumulation of capital in the control of the Parties to this merger, it is highly questionable whether the resulting banking corporation can avoid conflict with the laws and policies of our Federal Government involving monopolies and/or undue restriction of competition. Inasmuch as the merger concerns two of our largest banking institutions which are daily engaged in intensified competition with each other, there can be no doubt that the union of the two will be in defiance of and will directly flout the whole spirit and policy of our antitrust laws. I secured the passage of the Celler Antimerger Act which prohibits the merger of corporations where such consolidations tend to substantially lessen competition in any section of the country. The merger of these two banking institutions is clearly at odds with the whole intent and policy of that law as well as with the antimonopoly policies established under the Clayton Act and the Sherman Antitrust Act.

Together, these 2 banks presently have over 80 branches concentrated in a 50-mile area in the city of New York and are daily vying with eath other for the business of the people in New York. In addition, the Bank of Manhattan Co. is also set to acquire the Bronx County Trust Co. The danger is therefore evident that the merger will unduly lessen the competition which large competing banks provide and may tend to create a monopoly to the disadvantage of the People of New York and to the country generally. The businessman and merchant will find it increasingly difficult to establish credit facilities and they will be at the mercy of a financial colossus Which, because of the lack of competition, will be able to set the standards providing for the bank's best interests, to the detriment of small-businessmen and other customers.

There have been 14 bank mergers in New York City in the past 7 years. Unless some brake is placed on this trend, serious consequences will befall that section of the country. If the present merger is approved, an all-powerful oligopoly, made up of the National City Bank, the Manufacturers Trust—both the results of mergers—and the new Chase-Manhattan Bank, will have a stranglehold on New York banking facilities. Under these circumstances, the Attorney General has the clear duty, under the Sherman Act, to investigate and prevent this merger.

In addition, I have asked the chairman of the House Banking and Currency Committee to hold hearings on my present bill, H. R. 2115, which is a measure designed to subject all bank mergers and consolidations to the scrutiny and written approval of Federal banking author-The bill, in substance, would require that before any bank merger can be effectuated, the approving Federal official would determine whether or not the merger or consolidation would lessen competition unduly or tend unduly to create a monopoly contrary to the policy of Congress hereby declared in favor of local ownership and control of banks and competition in the field of banking.

I advise Chairman Martin of the Federal Reserve System, Attorney General Brownell, and Governor Harriman, Superintendent of Banks in New York State, and the Comptroller of Currency, that, in the event this merger goes through, it is my intention to have a full and complete investigation by the House Judiciary Committee of which I am chairman.

Also, because of the unwarranted rise in the stocks of these banks, there are strong indications of stock jobbing and sale manipulations. The records of brokers, traders, directors and officers of the banks in question should be closely scrutinized by the Securities and Exchange Commission.

I have in addition, introduced a bill designed to subject all bank mergers and consolidations to the scrutiny of Federal banking officials. The bill, in substance, would require that before any bank merger could be effectuated, it would be necessary to obtain the written consent of appropriate Federal banking authorities as follows:

First. If acquiring bank is insured national or District of Columbia bank, approving agency is Comptroller of the Currency.

Second. If acquiring bank is insured State member bank, approving agency is Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

Third. If acquiring bank is insured nonmember bank, approving agency is Federal Deposit Insurance Corp.

Fourth. If acquiring bank is noninsured bank, approving agency is Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve Sys-

In determining whether or not to approve the merger, officials, under the

terms of the bill, would be required to determine if the effect of the merger or consolidation "may be to lessen competition unduly or * * * tend unduly to create a monopoly contrary to the policy of Congress hereby declared in favor of local ownership and control of banks and competition in the field of banking."

The bill would enlarge upon existing statutory provisions in several important respects. As provided by the Federal Deposit Insurance Act of 1950, Federal banking officials must approve mergers between insured banks only where the capital stock or surplus of the resulting bank will be less than the aggregate capital stock or surplus of the two institutions combined. Under existing law, the Comptroller of the Currency also must grant his approval before the merger of two national banks or a national bank and a State bank can occur; and the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation must lend its sanction to mergers between insured and noninsured banks. In none of these instances, however, is the competitive impact of the merger a necessary element to be considered in granting or withholding approval of Federal officials.

The bill I have introduced would extend the merger provisions of existing statutes to include all insured banks regardless of the capitalization of the financial institution resulting from the merger and to require approval of mergers and consolidations of all non-insured banks as well. It would also make it necessary for Federal officials, in adjudging the merits of proposed mergers, to inquire as to the effect of the consolidation upon competition and monopoly power in the field of banking.

In introducing the proposed legislation, I wish to emphasize that no impartial observer viewing the financial structure of the Nation can feel other than alarm over the constant and unremitting decline in the number of banks serving depositors and borrowers in the country. This is a trend which began well before the great depression and has continued even into the most prosperous periods of our history. In 1951, more than 80 banks were lost through consolidation or absorption into other institutions. In the first half of 1952 alone, 52 banks went

by way of merger. Many of these consolidations result principally in strengthening the already powerful position of large banking institutions. Manufacturers Trust Co., for example, has risen to the position of the fifth largest bank in the United States principally by virtue of the efforts of the many fine banking institutions which it has absorbed, such as Brooklyn Trust Co., Equitable Trust Co., of New York, Flatbush National Bank, of Brooklyn, and others. Mellon National Bank & Trust Co., 11th ranking bank in the United States, has in recent years embarked upon a program which has resulted in the acquisition of many small suburban banks in the residential communities surrounding Pittsburgh. see in the Bankers Trust Co., as another example, this surge toward financial concentration. Bankers Trust Co., since 1950, has absorbed such independent

banking institutions as Title Guarantee & Trust Co., Lawyers Trust Co., Flushing National Bank, Commercial National Bank & Trust Co., and the Bayside National Bank, of New York. At the present moment there is a contemplated merger between the Chase National Bank and the Bank of Manhattan Co.

Something must be done to put a halt to this continued decrease in our bank population. Access to capital for all types of businesses, small as well as large, must be safeguarded. Concentration of financial power in a comparatively small number of banks must be discouraged. These are not partisan objectives—on the contrary, they are the aims of all those interested in preserving free and independent enterprise.

Present laws relating to bank mergers are completely inadequate. This is confirmed by the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, whose Chairman wrote me some time ago, as follows:

It is apparent, therefore, that present statutory provisions with respect to bank mergers and consolidations do not provide effective means for the prevention of mergers and consolidations which may result in a lessening of competition or a tendency to monopoly. Even in those cases in which consent is necessary, the law does not specifically require the Comptroller of the Currency, the FDIC, or the Board, in determining whether to grant or withhold consent, to consider whether the proposed merger or consolidation will lessen competition or tend to a monopoly or to consider any other specific standards or guides.

The objective of this bill is consonant with that of the Congress in recently enacting the Celler Antimerger Act amending section 7 of the Clayton Act extending the merger provisions of that statute to acquisition of corporate assets as well as stock by those concerns subject to the jurisdiction of the Federal Trade Commission. It is now time to close another loophole in our salutary laws against mergers, and I believe this is the kind of legislation to which Members of both parties can freely lend their support.

Sun-Times Calls Calumet-Sag a Must

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, supplementing my remarks of last week concerning the Calumet-Sag Waterway project included in the President's budget message, I now am respectfully directing the attention of my colleagues to the lead editorial appearing in the Chicago Sun-Times of today, January 24, 1955, illustrated with a cartoon by Burck in which a mermaid says to old man Neptune "What do you know, pawe're going to New Orleans by way of Chicago."

The editorial in the Sun-Times which follows, reflects the great interest with the press and the people of Chicago in

a public works development on the early completion of which hangs the prosperity and the security of the entire middle-western area. As the Sun-Times well says: "Cal-Sag has become a must. It is time for a decision in Congress."

WIDEN THE DITCH IN PROSPERITY'S PATH

Narrow and inadequate, the winding Calumet-Sag Channel is an archaic ditch in mid-America's route to prosperity. When the St. Lawrence seaway opens. Cal-Sag could be a thriving link between the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico for foreign cargoes. Literally, this aquatic road would bring the world's vessels to America's hidden heartland.

Cal-Sag is a short but vital waterway, built originally as a sanitary canal. It is but 16.2 miles long, just half the distance from Chicago's Loop to suburban Park Forrest. Now, it carries 4 million tons of freight annually. Army engineers estimate it could float some 18 million tons after it is developed.

For years Chicago area proposals to widen this channel have been mired in obscure political debate in Washington despite manifest need. A decade has passed since Congress O. K.'d the plan. Since then, only \$300,000 was set aside for the work.

In his 1955 budget message, President Eisenhower wisely earmarked \$4 million for a major start by Army engineers on widening 5 miles at Cal-Sag's western end. This, of course, is a minor amount in the \$98 million in estimated Federal and non-Federal money that must be allocated to complete the missing link.

Cal-Sag is important to all of America, not just the Midwest. Its completion will bring new-found prosperity to many areas, it will aid in the military defense of this entire country, it will bring Americans closer together, and it will cut cargo costs.

Cal-Sag is not an overnight job. It will take years to complete. So now is the time for every Congressman and Senator to get behind it. Support of the President's budgetary request has been promised by all members of the Illinois delegation in the House.

Nature endowed the Midwest with the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River, neither of which yet have been used to their greatest potential. Man can tap their unending availability by using a little money and plenty of imagination. Thanks to the Cal-Sag Waterways Development Committee, Inc., headed by Henry E. Seyfarth, the community is being kept aware of the project's need and progress.

The indecision and sidestepping that have marked the Cal-Sag project no longer can be tolerated. Because of the St. Lawrence Seaway Act, Cal-Sag has become a must. It is time for a decision in Congress.

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The Public Printer is authorized to furnish to subscribers the daily Record at \$1.50 per month, payable in advance.

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The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939). LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Door-keeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and I at the Capitol.

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It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Schator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodie is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

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Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

Appendix

Displaced Textile Workers in New England

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following statement of William H. Miernyk, associate professor of economics and director of the Bureau of Business and Economic Research, Northeastern Uni-Versity, Boston, Mass., before the Committee for Reciprocity Information, December 6, 1954:

I have been asked by the New England Textile Committee to appear before this committee to summarize the results of a research project, recently completed by the Bureau of Business and Economic Research at Northeastern University, dealing with the employment experience of displaced textile Workers in New England.

It has often been assumed that textile workers displaced from their jobs by the liquidation of New England mills have been absorbed by establishments in other industries which have been expanding in this region. For many years competition from lower-wage southern mills has had an adverse effect upon textile employment in New England. Although there has been some expansion of employment in other industries, much of this has occurred in nontextile areas and there has been considerable chronic unemployment in New England tex-tile centers since 1947. Our study was made to test the hypothesis that displaced textile Workers are finding employment in other industries or in nonmanufacturing occupations. The results are summarized in the tables appended to this statement. All of the tables are taken from chapter 2 of Inter Industry Labor Mobility, a report of the Bu-reau of Business and Economic Research, copyrighted by Northeastern University.

In all, six case studies were made in the areas listed in table 1. The mills involved had been liquidated over a period ranging from 6 months to 21/2 years prior to our sur-Vey, which was conducted between September 1953 and March 1954. They were selected to obtain a good sample of representative mills, both geographically and over time.

We found that about 43 percent of the displaced workers were unemployed at the time of our survey. Another 12 percent had withdrawn from the labor force, although not all of the latter were voluntary withdrawals. About 30 percent of the total group had been unemployed continuously since their layoff. Men were more successful than women in finding jobs, but 33 percent of the men were unemployed when interviewed, and 21 percent had been continuously unemployed since their layoff (table 2).

The sample workers were relatively old compared to the civilian labor force of Mas-

sachusetts (table 3). On the whole, younger workers were better able to find jobs than those past the age of 45, although nearly 30 percent of the unemployed were also under 45.

Textile mills provided the chief source of employment despite the fact that textile employment in New England was declining during the period covered by our survey, while employment in other industries was increasing. Nearly 36 percent of the dis-placed workers who found new jobs were once again working in a textile mill. The next largest single group found service jobs. mostly in relatively low-paying, unskilled occupations. The expanding industries employed a small proportion of the displaced workers (table 5).

Sixty-four percent of the sample workers reported that they were earning less than they had prior to their displacement (table Forty-seven percent felt their new jobs were generally worse than their mill jobs had been, and 54 percent of those who found nontextile jobs indicated a preference for textile employment (table 8).

Short-run labor mobility and immobility are matters of degree, and our survey re-vealed some of both. But in view of the vealed some of both. But in view of the employment trends in New England during the period covered by our survey we found a surprisingly small proportion of displaced textile workers employed in the expanding industries. This is not due to their unwillingness to accept other jobs, but to a lack of job opportunity.

This survey suggests that if large numbers of manufacturing workers are displaced from their jobs through the liberalization of our foreign trade policy we should not assume that they will be automatically absorbed by other manufacturing industries, or that they will readily find employment in nonmanufacturing jobs. The displacement of textile workers in New England has been largely due to interregional competition. employment effects of international competition should not differ significantly from those of interregional competition.

It is unrealistic to assume that declining employment in some industries will always be offset by an expansion of job opportunities in other industries in the same labor market areas, or that displaced workers are able to move without difficulty to other labor market areas where job openings might

We found that workers often have only the most fragmentary information about labor market conditions, and this has been supported by earlier studies of labor mo-bility. All of the unemployed workers in our sample were actively seeking jobs. They were unable to find employment in their own communities, and many were unable to move because they owned their homes, they felt that they were too old to make a new start in another community, or they were unaware of job opportunities elsewhere.

Our survey reveals some of the imperfections in the operation of the labor market which are not obvious to those who base their conclusions upon highly aggregated statistical data. If there is to be a further displacement of manufacturing workers in this country, however, these problems cannot be ignored.

APPENDIX TABLES

TABLE 1 .- Workers included in survey by

		Inter- views		fall urns	To	tal
	Number	Percent of total in each case	Number	Percent of total in each case	Number	Percent of grand
Lowell Fall River Lawrence Nontextile areas Providence New Bedford	205 302 360 291 103 163	88. 4 88. 3 81. 1 82. 2 78. 0 85. 8	38 40 84 63 29 27	15. 6 11. 7 18. 9 17. 8 22. 0 14. 2	342 444 354 132	14.3 20.1 26.0 20.8 7.7 11.1
Total	1, 424		281		1,705	100.0

TABLE 2 .- Subsequent experience of former mill workers

	M	ale	Fer	nale	Total		
Employment experience	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Presently employed: 1 job since layoff	301	38. 2	214	23. 3	515	30. 2	
se veral jobs since lay-	153	19.4	110	12.0	263	15. 4	
Unemployed now, had job at 1 time	101	12, 8	113	12.3	214	12. 6	
Unemployed since lay- off Unemployed, and with-	166	21. 1	345	37. 6	511	30. 0	
drawn from labor	66	8. 4	136	14.8	202	11.8	
Total	787	100. 0	918	100.0	1, 705	100.0	

TABLE 3 .- Age and sex distribution of sample workers by employment status

EMPLOYED

	M	ale	Female		Total	
Age group	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
24 and under	20 117 114 115 80 5 3	25. 1 25. 3 17. 6	74 104 100 34	32.1 30.9	31 191 218 215 114 6	
Total	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0

8	2.4	4	9.7	12	1.3
29	8.7	89	15, 0	118	12.7
53	15, 9	91	15, 3	144	15, 5
	18, 6	185	31.1	247	26, 6
	34. 5	181	30. 5	296	31.9
	19.8	38	6, 4	104	11. 2
		6	1.0	6	. 6
333	100.0	594	110.0	927	100.0
	29 53 62 115 66	29 8.7 53 15.9 62 18.6 115 34.5 66 19.8	29 8.7 89 53 15.9 91 62 18.6 185 115 34.5 181 66 19.8 38 6	29 8.7 89 15.0 53 15.9 91 15.3 62 18.6 185 31.1 115 34.5 181 30.5 66 19.8 38 6.4 	29 8.7 89 15.0 118 53 15.9 91 15.3 144 62 18.6 185 31.1 247 115 34.5 181 30.5 296 66 19.8 38 6.4 104

TABLE 4 .- Duration of unemployment

	M	ale	Fer	nale	tal	
Number of weeks	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
0 to 5	233	51.3	73		306	
6 to 10	54				100	
16 to 20	16	3.5	18	5.6	34	4,4
21 to 25	26		34		- 60	
28 to 30	27				57	
No answer	32	7.0	79 24	7.4	111 57	7.3
Total	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0

Table 5.—Distribution of employed workers by industry

	M	fale	Fe	male	To	tal
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Manufacturing:						
Ordnance	3				3	0.4
Food	12					
Textiles	167		110			35. 6
Apparel	4	.9	43	13.3	47	6.0
Rubber and prod-	12	2.6	8	2.5	20	2.6
UctsChemicals	11				16	
Paper, etc	13					
Fabricated metals.	12		2			
Nonelectrical ma-	1.0		100	.0	1.4	1.0
chinery	16	3.5	mes		16	2.1
Primary metals	1				1	
Electrical machinery	24		30	9, 3	54	
Leather and shoe	16					5. 4
Printing and publish-	1773	5500	No.	-		
ing	8	1.8	3		- 11	1.4
Furnishing and fixtures.	8	1.8	1	.3	9	1.2
Transportation equip-	1000	5.63	1 3	333		200
ment	11	24			12	1.5
Instruments (watches).	1		1		2 11	. 3
Jewelry	5	1.1				
Toys	2	.4	2	. 6	4	
Lumber	-1	.2	2555		1	.1
Photographic equip-	1					
ment	1	.2	4	1. 2	1 5	
Nonmanufacturing:	1	. 2	. 3	1. 2	0	. 6
Construction	21	4.6			21	2.7
Service	65	14.3		16, 4	118	15. 2
Government.	6	1.3		1	6	
Armed Forces	3	. 7			3	
Retail trade	19		13	4.0	32	
Warehousing	2	, 4			2	
Miscellaneous	9	2.0	1	. 3	10	1.3
Unknown	-		î	.3	1	.1
70-1-1	-	100000000000000000000000000000000000000			Total Control	-
Total	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0

TABLE 6 .- Comparison of earnings on old and

	M	ale	Fer	nale	To	tal
Earnings of employed workers	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
No change in earnings Higher earnings on new job:	69	15. 2	22	6. 8	91	11.7
\$1 to \$5 per week \$6 to \$10 \$11 to \$15	37 29 22	8.1 6.4 4.8	8	1.9 2.5 1.2	43 37 26	4.8
\$16 to \$20 \$21 or more Higher but amount	18 18	4.0	1	.3	18 19	23
unknown	14	3, 1	7	2.2	21	2.7
Higher earnings, total	138	30. 4	26	8.0	164	21. 1

TABLE 6.—Comparison of earnings on old and TABLE 9.—Willingness to move from the area 1 new jobs-Continued

States In	M	Male		nale Total		tal
Earnings of employed workers	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Lower earnings on new			P			
job: \$1 to \$5	51	11.9	32	9.9	86	11.1
\$6 to \$10	59	13.0	40		99	12.7
\$11 to \$15 \$16 to \$20	40	8.8 6.8			93 75	12.0 9.6
\$21 or more	21		63		84	10.8
Lower but amount unknown	28	6. 2	33	10.2	61	7.8
Lower earnings,	1	2000	2015	1000	1000	200
Unknown	233	51.3	265		498	64. 0 3. 2
Total	454	100.0	324	100. 0	778	100.0

TABLE 7 .- Skill required on new job 1

	M	ale	Fer	male	tal	
Amount of skill	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
More	111 140 110 40		59 115 89 31			
Total	401	100.0	294	100.0	2 695	100. 0

Answer to question: "Do you feel your present job requires more, less, or the same amount of skill as your job at the mill?"

Table 8 .- Job evaluation of employed workers

	A	fale	Fe	male	T	otal
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Attitude toward present job: New job better. New job worse. About the same. No answer.	163 199 82 19	41. 9 18. 1	176 65	54. 3 20. 1	366	47.0 18.9
Total	454	100.0	324	100.0	778	100.0
Preference for textile employment: 1 Yes No. No answer	106 88 21		45	60. 3 30. 8 8. 9	133	36.8
Total	215	100.0	146			
Sill looking for a better job? Yes	237 185 32	52. 2 40. 7 7. 0	167 135 22	51. 5 41. 7	320	51. 9 41. 1 6. 9
Total	454	100.0	324	100. 0	778	100.0

Answer to question (asked of workers in nontextile Jobs): "Would you prefer a job in a textile mill to your present employment?

	Male		Fe	male To		otal	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	
Yes No No answer	197 258 79		119 417 87	66. 9	675		
Total	534	100.0	623	100.0	1, 157	100.0	

Answer to question: "Would you leave the area if you knew of a job elsewhere?"

Payment of Traveling Costs to Visit Prisoners of War

SPEECH OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, today I am introducing a bill to authorize payment of the travel costs incurred by relatives of the men who are prisoners of the Chinese Communists, if it really works out that the Communists are serious and that visits will be permitted. To my surprise, this proposal has been misunderstood and even the subject of some controversy. A brief clarifying statement seems to be in order.

In the first place, it would be entirely inappropriate for any of us here in Congress to urge these unfortunate men and women to decide one way or the other, whether they go or stay. That was not my intention.

In the second place, it would be highly inappropriate for us to interfere with whatever negotiations or policy determinations the executive branch may ultimately undertake. I had no thought of forcing the hand of the President or his advisers

But, Mr. Speaker, this small matter of defraying the expense, if and when such travel is undertaken, does fall squarely within our province as the appropriating authority for our Government. I feltand I still feel with all my heart—that we should hasten to remove any question of expense from the other and broader considerations that confront us.

One of these men, unjustly imprisoned in a hostile foregin land as a result of strategy and policy that he had no hand in formulating, would simply be unable to understand even a suggestion that his Government might deprive him of an opportunity-if it turns out to be that—to receive a visit from his family

This question was not asked in Lowell.

¹ This question was not asked in Lawrence.

Note.—This question was not asked of the employed workers in Lowell; it was not asked of any workers in Lawrence. The "no answer" category includes those who had retired, and members of the Armed Forces. The question was not answered by many of the mail respondents.

and loved ones. We must not forget we are dealing with individual human beings, loyal and devoted citizens whose service to our country has put them in a terrible position.

I cannot conceive of trifling with their feelings and the possibility, remote though it may be, of improving their situation before we win their ultimate release. That alone would be enough to merit swift action in their behalf.

But beyond there is something more important. This is an obvious propaganda device, cleverly pitched at us by Chou En Lai. The world is watching our reaction. And if the United States is to turn the offer down, let it be done in the considered terms of great policy and not in any sense through niggling quibbles over details.

It is my hope that we will take this offer calmly in our stride, demonstrating that we are absolutely sure of ourselves and sure of our ground all the way through. If, as is conceivable, the Chinese Reds are really indulging a cruel and heartless bit of trickery at the ex-Dense of the feelings of these unfortunate Deople, let the consequences rest squarely on their heads—and not on ours because we held back in apprehension. Least of all, can we afford further talk, such as has been reported in the press, that the wives and mothers who are suddenly faced with this surprising suggestion must turn it aside bacuse they have not funds to make the trip. What could be more damning and a more entirely Wrong picture of our good, rich, and Warmhearted Nation?

U. N. Seen Helpless

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting herewith an article by Constantine Brown, published in the Washington Evening Star Friday, January 21. In this article Mr. Brown very frankly discusses the complete failure of the United Nations to deal successfully with Communist China's lawless acts, and the failure of that organization to deal successfully with any of the other major problems which it has undertaken to solve.

The article follows:

U. N. SEEN HELPLESS—EISENHOWER SEEN BACKING DOWN AFTER FIRM STAND ON REDS

(By Constantine Brown)

President Eisenhower's suggestion at his televised news conference that the United Nations take a hand in the war between Communist and Nationalist China has found only a few supporters in Congress.

Congressional leaders have no desire to ignore the U. N. It may be that at some distant date, after the lawless nations such as the U. S. S. R. and Communist China have changed their form of dictatorship, the U.N. can become influential in world affairs. But so long as Moscow and Peiping continue on

a rampage, taking advantage of the unbelievable timidity of the free world, it is hard to imagine that the U. N. will be able to do anything constructive in the latest bloodletting. Its intervention to liberate the Americans jailed by Peiping shows the U. N.'s impotence.

On November 26 last year the country was stunned by the announcement that 11 Americans in uniform held by the Chinese Communists in violation of the Korean armistice had been sentenced to long jail terms. There was an uproar with demands that measures be taken to liberate the men at once. The administration had means to force the Reds to do so by threatening a blockade of the China coast.

According to expert advice given the National Security Council a blockade could have wrecked the Pelping government. Only a very limited amount of commercial and military supplies reach China by the Trans-Siberian Railroad. The Red Chinese must have open sea lanes to live. A few weeks of blockade would have forced her to shout "uncle" and get back on the track of respect for signed agreements.

Mr. Eisenhower stated that such a drastic measure as a blockade was an act of war. It is true. But we are still at war with Communist China over the Korean affair. Until the armistice has been changed into a peace treaty, the state of war between the participants in the Korean war continues to exist.

Instead of acting with determination to which we are entitled by all international regulations, the administration preferred to place the matter in the weak hands of the U. N. And now 8 weeks after the Reds told us that they had placed our men in stinking Chinese jails we are still where we were at the beginning.

Dag Hammarskjold has returned from Peiping empty handed insofar as the Americans are concerned. He announced proudly that he had begun negotiations. But he has never revealed publicly—for very good reasons—what the Chinese demanded as ransom for our boys. The good reasons are, according to what has leaked out, that the American people would not accept the Chinese Communist price.

President Roosevelt proclaimed America as the arsenal for democracy when the Nazis started their war for world domination in 1939. Since the beginning of the cold war America has not only remained the arsenal but also the world's fire hydrant. The hose has been placed, however, in the hands of her many allies, most with a similar ideological outlook but with entirely different economic and political interests.

The fact that the executive branch would welcome placing the China war in the hands of the U. N.—which so far has been utterly unsuccessful in solving any major problems—has caused concern not only among our Chinese allies in Formosa but also in congressional quarters in Washington. A collective military intervention would have to be approved by the U. N. Security Council in which the Russians have a veto. They were absent when the council decided to intervene in Korea in 1950. Nobody has been able to explain logically the reason why the Soviet representative stayed away. But we can be sure that as soon as a resolution for U. N. intervention in the China war is put forward, the 67th Soviet veto will be forth-

Regardless of how longingly and wishfully our policymakers may be looking toward the U. N., the consensus of the realists in the Government is that the battle for Formosa which began this week is our own.

The Pelping dictatorship, directly supported by the U. S. S. R. and favored by the U. N. members which have recognized it, is determined to do away with the remnant of the legitimate Government of China now

holding out on Formosa. Until Chiang Kaishek and his army have been destroyed, the Chinese Communists are not sure of their domination of the mainland.

Our own security in the Pacific depends on the support we are giving to the Nationalist forces. The short-range policy is to prevent the conquest of Formosa. The longrange policy is to help the Nationalists return to the mainland.

The hesitant policies of the administration in the last few days have caused serious concern that the intimate advisers of the Chief Executive may be urging him to reconsider the only strong stand this country has taken toward Red aggression recently.

How Many More?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLARK W. THOMPSON

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the editorial which follows reflects the deep concern which many of my constituents feel in regard to the plight of the small farmers. A delegation from the neighborhood where this editorial was first published will be in Washington during the next 3 days to tell the story of their distress to the Committee on Agriculture and to Government officials.

It should be remembered as we approach the overall economic problems of our country that the depression of the late twenties was prefaced by a very high stock market, great industrial prosperity, and at the same time acute distress in agriculture.

The editorial follows:

[From the Hallettsville (Tex.) Tribune of January 7, 1955]

HOW MANY MORE?

Our small farmers are victims of policies which are one-sided and unwise because unjust, to say the least. There is also no doubt as to their effect.

The high tariff is forcing our farmers to plant less and less cotton, while other countries produce more and more, as the result of our tariff policy. Mexico just had a record crop, also not without the help of our own capital.

The parity is paid in the price with a full knowledge that it will act as a serious handicap to cur cotton in the world market.

Our allotment policy cut those at the bottom the same as those at the top—contrary to our income tax policy. If this tax would be levied the same way, it would make it impossible for the small people to make a living—just as this allotment policy does to the small farmers.

Under this policy, the cotton acreage is taken from our old cotton counties and given to the new ones. While our small farmers must plant less, the large producers can plant more in the new cotton counties.

plant more in the new cotton counties.

The cotton allotment is in acreage, the same for those producing two bales or more per acre as for the others averaging a half bale or less.

Can anything else be expected than the farm families by the thousands being driven into the cities?

For instance, this congressional district lost some 8,000 farm families—about 25 per-

cent-as did the State and the rest of the South.

Certainly never before were so many family farmers wiped out as since 1940—with all it means to the country. There is already a talk of a farm depression spreading also into the cities.

Senator OLIN JOHNSTON sees the farm depression already on-yet almost utterly ignored, much less understood.

Senator Joseph McCarthy believes the answer is in a higher farm income-of little help to small farmers unless they can produce and sell more cotton.

From independent farmers are being made people dependent only on jobs.

Instead of helping more people to settle on the farms, we are losing them wholesale.

And instead of dividing the large estates into small farms to make more independent people, we are wiping out the small ones and making bigger farms the same as the Com-munists do. The same results, only a dif-ferent method. Nothing else can be ex-pected—but are those policies inevitable?

Must our small farmers be sacrificed to our

tariff policy?

Must our parity be used as a price handicap?

And must those at the bottom be cut the same as those at the top?

And should not the allotment be in lint

instead of acreage, in justice to all?

Also, must the cotton acreage be taken from the old and given to the new counties? And must we force our farmers to plant less while we encourage other countries to produce more cotton?

That the mechanized farming is responsible for this trend, is only a sinister fallacy—which has nothing to do at all with the above

So much has happened to our farmers, yet so little is known, much less understood.

How much more must happen?

How many more farmers must be sacrificed?

How much more must our very foundation be weakened by those blind and stupid policies?

Only Congress now in session can give this answer.

Oppose Tariff Reductions on Textile-Advocate Increases in Duties on Velveteens

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article from the Boston Sunday Herald Annual Textile Review. January 23, 1955, by William F. Sullivan, president, Northern Textile Association.

This is not only a very interesting article, but one that is most truthful and forceful. Imports of Japanese textiles will cripple further a domestic industry that is already struggling for existence in the world market:

FOREIGN IMPORT RATE MAY SPELL TEXTILE DOOM

(By William F. Sullivan, president, Northern Textile Association)

New England textile people oppose tariff reductions on textile goods and advocate increases in the duties on velveteens. The rate at which recent imports of certain types cotton goods have been entering the United States indicates that it may be necessary to recommend an increase in the duties on these fabrics, as well as on velveteens.

JAPANESE PRODUCERS

Importations of velveteens under present rates are such that the Japanese producers have captured the entire American market for low-grade plain-back velveteens and are underselling American producers of back velveteens by at least 25 percent.

It is certain that any reduction on present tariffs on other textile goods would result in an invasion of the American market by Japanese or other imported cotton textiles.

The competitive interrelationship among various fabrics and fibers coupled with the complexity of the textile industry means that imports which take the domestic market away from any one fabric harm the entire industry.

The reasons for this are:

1. The textile industry which employs over one million persons is an important part of our national economy and an essential part of our New England economy. Destruction of this industry would have a chain reaction throughout our economy, and would seriously damage our national and regional economic structure.

HEAVY EMPLOYMENT

2. The textile industry is composed of thousands of highly competitive small businesses with heavy employment concentrations in certain regional and local areas. This latter characteristic magnifies the severity of losses to this industry.

3. The textile industry has been in a depressed condition for well over a year, and is particularly susceptible to competition from low-wage foreign countries. Present imports at prices lower than American man-ufacturing costs tend to keep the domestic market depressed and prevent a recovery by this industry.

4. Textile workers displaced by foreign or domestic competition either remain unemployed or are forced to take lower jobs. Experience has proven that the so-called "growth" industries do not absorb such workers. A study of 1,705 displaced New England textile workers, recently completed by the Bureau of Business and Economic Research of Northeastern University. shows that less than one-half of the workers were reemployed, and of this number, twothirds were earning less pay. The study concluded that "workers displaced * * * are not being absorbed in large numbers by the industries which have been expanding in this

FOREIGN COMPETITION

5. Competition from foreign countries, particularly Japan, is based on the extremely low wages paid in those countries. and other forms of compensation are the most important factor in measuring the cost of producing fine combed cotton goods. It is estimated that labor constitutes 43 percent of the cost and raw material represents 40 percent of total cost. With only slight variations from country to country in the cost of raw material, the tremendous wage differential between the American industry and foreign countries is of special significance. Average wages of \$1.41 per hour in the northern cotton and synthetic-textile industry exceed Japanese wages of 11.9 cents per hour by over 1,000 percent. Even though there may be superior productivity in American mills, it is not sufficient to offset the enormous wage differentials.

COOPERATIVE COSTS

According to experienced textile engineers, the costs in northern United States mills exceeds Japanese costs on 6 specific cotton fabrics by 52 to 69.5 percent. If the Japanese mills had the same productivity which exists in American mills, the decrease in Japanese costs would be very slight, ranging from nine-tenths to 1.95 per yard, indicating that the current advantage of American mills in higher productivity is of but meager importance in relation to the very low wages paid by the Japanese industry. 6. The significance of the vast wage dif-

ferential between our American cotton textile industry and that of Japan and other textile exporting countries is emphasized by the fact that our own industry shifted in response to wage differentials of much smaller amounts. The major portion of the industry has shifted from New England to the Southeast, because the wage and compensation level in New England varies from 20 to 30 percent higher than that of the South-This compares with differentials between the United States and foreign countries of from 200 to 1,200 percent. of Japanese or other foreign textiles into this country would bring about an even more rapid and intensive liquidation of the American cotton textile industry than that which has occurred in New England.

7. The attempt to aid Japan's domestic economy by aiding her to expand textile exports to the United States at the expense of the domestic producers is an unwise method. This approach to the problem of helping Japan's economy would succeed in destroying the American textile industry. The problem of combating communism in Japan by strengthening her economy is one which must be shared by all American industry and all the American people. Destruction of the American textile industry would be a severe blow to our economy which might trigger further unemployment in related and

dependent industries.

The Meaning of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, for Ukrainians one of the most compelling and cohesive forces of unity is the desire for national independence. This desire is a force that brings together all Ukrainians into a common understanding and endows them with a common ideal. Achievement of this ideal is indeed fundamental for any people; for to be free from foreign domination, to establish a way of life in accordance with one's own unique political, economic, cultural, and religious concepts, and to be independent and self-reliant are basic human impulses.

Thirty-seven years ago the Ukrainians had realized, after centuries of subjection to foreign powers, their long-sought aim of national independence. Disintegration of the Russian Empire and later the Austro-Hungarian Empire made it possible, for at least a short time, to gather the formerly subject peoples of the western and eastern Ukraine into one homogeneous national republic. The Ukrainian dream had at last come

But the Ukraine was caught in the struggle between the Red Russians and White Russians for control over the former Russian Empire. Both forces were inimical to the national interest of

Ukrainians; for an objective of each was to reassert Russian domination, whether Red or White, over the Ukrainian people.

A country exhausted after years of war and German occupation, the Ukraine could not resist successfully the over-Whelming Russian forces from the north and south and defend the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic. And thus, before Bolshevik might, which had defeated the White Russian armies. the forces of Ukrainian liberation were compelled to recoil, until at last the Eastern Ukraine was again conquered by Russia. Large sections of the western Ukraine thereafter fell under Polish, Rumanian, and Czechoslovak control; but at the close of the recent World War, even those areas were united with the Soviet Ukraine and brought within the Soviet Empire.

On this January 22, the anniversary of Ukrainian independence, it is a fitting tribute to Ukrainians everywhere that this historic occasion be acclaimed. To the Ukrainian people beyond their native land, may their age-long dream again come true: That the yoke of the foreign tyrant will one day be thrown off, and that the Ukraine will again be free.

The Bureaucrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Kane (Pa.) Republican of January 14, 1955:

THE BUREAUCRATS

Once a Government bureau or commission is established by law to handle a specific problem, it too often begins to expand its activities until the original purpose for which it was created may be lost sight of.

The Interstate Commerce Commision Act Was passed in the 1880's to prevent monopolistic practices by railroads, to see that charges were reasonable and just and to correct and prevent discriminatory rates. Thus did the ICC come into being.

Any railroad monopoly that may have existed 75 years ago has long since been done away with by new forms of competition on waterways, highways, and in the air. All are regulated to a greater or lesser degree by government. The railroads, however, which are the backbone of our transportation system, are handicapped by redtape and regulation which was designed to meet conditions when railroads had no competition.

Now public regulartory bodies seem to give more thought to protecting carriers from Competing with each other than they do to allowing them leeway to offer the public services and rates on a competitive basis.

Thus have we seen a government regulatory agency expand its functions until today It has virtually assumed the management of the Nation's transportation systems without facing the burden of financial responsibility for their success.

If our regulatory bodies would confine themselves to giving equal treatment to all carriers, instead of trying to manage the

details of their operations, the public would be assured of the best at the lowest rates. Regulation of business does not and should not be construed to mean administration and management of business.

Military Construction in Bexar County, Tex.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PAUL J. KILDAY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. KILDAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article from the San Antonio Light of January 16, 1955:

MILITARY BUILDING SPREE

San Antonio military installations enter the year 1955 in the middle of their greatest building boom in history involving permanent construction.

Work already is well underway or soon to be started on projects totaling some \$43 million with an additional \$9 million planned for later in the year.

Heading this gigantic permanent improve-ment program is Kelly AFB with 5 projects amounting to close to \$30 million.

Lackland AFB adds \$6,500,000 to the total and the highly classified ordnance depot and storage area west of that base another 86.800.000.

Still in the planning stage but tentatively set for later in the year are the \$8 million School of Aviation Medicine at Brooks AFB and \$1,130,000 nurses quarters at Brooke Army Medical Center.

Topping the Kelly building program is the 2,000 by 300-foot aircraft maintenance hanger and adjoining shops 1,650 by 250 feet. Steel framework for the huge \$12,500,000 structure, being built by Farnsworth & Chambers, contractors, is now up but the estimated completion date is February 1956.

Another project barely shaded by the hangar construction is scheduled to get started next month at Kelly. Bids will be opened February 9 on the 2-mile-long heavy duty runway for which \$12,193,000 has been authorized.

This runway is to be actually 11,550 feet long and 300 feet wide and is to accommodate aircraft up to 400,000 pounds gross weight. The estimated completion date is June 30, 1956.

Another big structure being built at Kelly is a 1,200 by 400-foot supply warehouse, work on which will continue throughout the year, The H. B. Zachry Co. is building the ware-house under a \$2,196,977 contract.

Farnsworth & Chambers also are building a 400 by 400-foot special warehouse, shop, and office at Kelly. The cost is \$1,-396,000 and the completion date June 1955.

Also nearing completion at Kelly is the last of 16-engine test cells, built under a \$1,330,000 contract by Harwell & Harwell.

With the exception of the maintenance hangar at Kelly, all new construction at local installations is being supervised by the San Antonio suboffice of the Galveston district engineer's office. The Air Force is supervising the hanger construction.

Last summer the Galveston district englneer's office announced award of a contract for \$6,810,796.38 to C. L. Browning, Jr., or construction of the classified ordnance depot. The work was to be completed early in 1955.

At Lackland a 9-story Air Force hospital is being built by Farnsworth & Chambers under a \$6,498,107.63 contract.

The architectural firm of Page & Sons, Austin, has been working on the plans for the new home of the School of Aviation Medicine at Brooks. Construction contracts are tentatively scheduled to be let in the fall.

A first authorization of \$8 million has been made for that project, originally announced as a \$30-million program.

This means that San Antonio is expanding its position as the major Air Force center of the United States, and is maintaining its position as a major Army center.

Fifty-two million dollars in military construction in Bexar County in 1955.

Forty-three million dollars already under construction or under contract.

Nine million dollars in contracts will

be awarded in 1955. The aircraft-maintenance hangar

nearing completion at Kelly Air Force Base is actually the rebuilding of the obsolete shops at Kelly. With the completion of the new runway, Kelly will be the most modern aircraft-maintenance center in the world, in addition to being the largest such installation. It now furnishes steady employment for about 20,000 civilian employees. With modern buildings, runways, and equipment, its permanence and future are assured.

National Shut-In's Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, it is indeed a pleasure for me to invite the attention of the House to a highly commendable organization known as the Shut-In's Day Association.

The objective of the association, which everyone must readily recognize as being most benevolent and humanitarian, is to encourage remembrance of the sick and disabled shut-in whether the individual be a civilian or war veteran. The general therapeutic value of the activities of this association to the less fortunate members of our society who must be confined indoors for long or permanent periods of time is widely acknowledged. The welfare of all mankind will be significantly advanced. It is a well-known fact that there are some long-continuing illnesses which can be at least partially alleviated by the bringing of encouragement and cheer and through the proper display of kindness and affection on the part of those who are entirely well. That the organization's manifold activities are intended to be universally appealing and effective is apparent since it has consciously striven to be nonsectarian, nonpolitical, nonracial, and nonprofit-mak-

I consider it a distinct privilege to be able to encourage the national observation of Shut-In's Day by introducing a bill to have Congress designate the first Sunday in June of each year as Shut-In's Day and to authorize and request the President of the United States to issue annually a proclamation calling for appropriate recognition and celebration of the day.

A developing interest on both a national and international scale is being demonstrated with reference to the desirability of having a day of remembrance set aside for the many unfortunate people who are forced by illness and disability to remain in their homes, hospitals, or sanitaria. An increasing number of the shut-ins are war veterans who, because of their sacrifices for all of us, are particularly deserving of the attention and consideration of those who are in good health. Many of the hospitalized veterans remain cheerfully patient, awaiting the day of recovery or improvement, even though they realize inward-ly that they may never enjoy the open sunshine again. Their chief contentment must be derived only from the thoughtfulness of those who visit them and send them books, magazines, flowers. and other tokens of warm and kind friendship.

Precisely when such an excellent program as the present one originated, or by whom it was first conceived, is not known, but the determination of the date is not essential to the continued success of the program. It has been estab-lished, however, that an annual day of remembrance for those unfortunate souls who must be confined to their homes, hospitals, and other institutions was in the mind of man perhaps centuries ago. English and Canadian soldiers stationed in India many years ago brought back reports concerning one of the Indian religious sects whose members visited soldiers confined in hospitals or their homes on a certain day of each year. The sick or wounded were presented with gifts such as flowers and food delicacies.

In the early thirties in the United States and Canada many shut-ins exchanged cards or letters of greeting observing Shut-In's Day. The honor and credit for making Shut-In's Day an organized observance belongs to Ernest Barker, a young Canadian shut-in, who with the help of a few friends founded the Shut-In's Day Association, International, in 1942. Since that time a great deal of desirable, well-warranted publicity has been accorded the idea of an annual Shut-In's Day. Ministers, governors, mayors, representatives of the press, radio, television, and civic clubs, and the general public have all made impressive contributions to furthering the project. Twenty of our State governors issued proclamations in recognition of Shut-In's Day in 1953.

Surely so noble a movement—already so widely supported—deserves the fullest national recognition. In terms of cost—whether we consider costs in time, energy, or money—adequate observance of the day entails very little by way of sacrifice on the part of society. But no sacrifice is too great if through it we may bring to the permanently afflicted—the shut-ins—some measure of comfort by the demonstration of the friendly concern of their more fortunate fellow citizens.

Fair Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON, HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, Mr. J. Mahlon Buck, president of Smith, Kline & French, Inc., wholesale druggists in Philadelphia, recently made a speech at the company's annual sales meeting on private brands and fair trade, and under the authorization granted me I am asking it be reprinted in the Record.

PRIVATE BRANDS AND FAIR TRADE

In preparing for this meeting, and before deciding what I would say today, I read over the papers presented at our meeting here at Seaview just 10 years ago. I wish that time would permit us to review all of the events and experiences leading up to our decision to discontinue our own private brand line in 1944, but we believe that the time can be more profitably spent in studying the results attained during the intervening period.

It was interesting to note in going over these reports that every statement contained therein applies with equal force today; and that the need for a crusade on behalf of national brands throughout the country is even more urgent in 1955 than it was in 1945. As Mr. Van Arsdale will show you, there is abundant evidence to prove that in the area covered by this company, the private brand has practically disappeared from the shelves of the great majority of leading independent drug stores. It is regrettable that similar progress has not been made in other sections of the country, where the retailer's display space, as well as his stockrooms, still bulge with so-called long-profit off-brands or agency lines which have neither consumer demand nor acceptance comparable with the nationally advertised leaders.

In our opinion, a large share of the responsibility for this unfortunate condition rests upon the editors, publishers and writers of the drug trade publications, the officers of the National, State, and county pharmaceutical associations, and those who, like our guests today, represent our vast publicity network, including the newspapers, magazines, radio and television. It is still the grassroots support, if you please, of that vast multitude of small and medium-sized independent retail druggists which determines and will continue to determine the number of dollars which advertisers will have available to spend in the national media, and the few dollars spent by the agency line or private brand advertisers is a drop in the bucket compared with the potential loss of revenue to your companies if the national brands manufacturers of proprietary drugs and toiletries are compelled to

cut back on their appropriations.

Whenever drugmen gather together today, the subject of grocery distribution of health and beauty items soon emerges as the chief topic of conversation. Well-documented statistics, confirmed by the producers themselves, indicate that as much as 40 percent of the sales of some products which were previously sold almost entirely through drugstores is now moving through the grocery channels. There are many reasons for this, but to our mind the primary reason is seldom considered. We refer to the druggists' blind devotion to agency lines and/or substitutes for national brands.

stitutes for national brands.

Ask yourself this question: "Why did the grocery chains meet with immediate suc-

cess a few years ago when they first installed their so-called drug departments?" do you remember the average drug store 10 years ago? Everything for sale was behind glass in wall or floor cases, except the items displayed on the counter. And what items were featured in those displays? In a great many cases, the proprietor's agency line, or substitutes for national brands, or his own tonic, cough sirup, or what have you. didn't feature the brands that people wanted to buy because they didn't show him enough profit on each sale, and, when he did, he re-fused to price-mark them because, as a professional men, he didn't want his drugstore to look like a grocery store. He insisted on doing business the way he liked it, with no thought for the consumer's preference. All the grocer had to do was to offer what the customer wanted (no agency lines or substitutes) with the price clearly marked on the shelf. And the price was the same, only the druggist wouldn't let the consumer know

Now suppose all the druggists had instead featured national brands, with prices clearly marked, in open displays. Undoubtedly the grocer would have tried a drug section just the same, but if it hadn't clicked with big volume right at the start, he would have discontinued it, or relegated it to an unimportant location, or at least would not have expanded it to the extent that he has.

We're glad to say that druggists by the thousands have been installing open displays and promoting national brands to combat this new competition. This is commendable, for it is never too late to recognize the consumer's preferences.

But now comes the \$64 question: Will the grocer go over to private brands after this "drug" department is firmly established, as he has done on hundreds of food products? My guess is that he likes it very much this way, with fair trade, a 1½-percent rent, no high-priced registered pharmacists, and self-service. But he is inherently a hard trader, and the threat of promoting substitutes will find many willing manufacturers who will be scared into paying for display position. This is only the beginning.

In conclusion, I want to say a few words about fair trade. Those of us who were in the drug business prior to the passage of the Miller-Tydings Enabling Act in 1938 remember only too well the chaotic conditions prevailing throughout the industry at all levels. I fail to understand why even the most rugged individualist in business would oppose a system which, if properly enforced, would insure orderly distribution, with equal opportunity for all, in favor of a return to continuous jungle warfare in the market place, unless he personally had never been subjected to it. Even those in the advertising agency and newspaper fields who were greatly concerned initially, lest the elimination of price wars might reduce advertising revenues, have enjoyed steady growth under fair trade.

The great majority of us in this industry believe in fair trade, but have been conditioned by advance reports coming out of Washington for an attack on this law by the Attorney General's office early next year, which may have the effect of setting off fireworks in many States where fair trade has become a political football.

Naturally, the public doesn't like fair trade, because it doesn't understand it. To the consumer, it means fixed prices at high levels—nothing more or less. It seems to me that unless we can convince him that fair trade actually protects his interests by keeping prices down, we are in for a tough fight and a possible defeat.

For a long time I have been waiting for some tangible evidence which would again confirm the findings of the NARD survey of

several years ago; as well as the results of the exhaustive study undertaken by the drug chains at about the same time. You will chains at about the same time. remember that the former conclusively proved that fair trade actually saved the consumer about 1 percent by leveling prices in small towns and big cities nationally, While the latter developed the indisputable evidence that under fair trade, the retail prices of drugstore products rose only a few percent during our inflationary period, while the retail prices of all other classes of goods were rising from 25 percent in many cate-gories to as much as 100 percent in a few

The big test came in February 1953. You Will remember that in that month, President Eisenhower ordered the removal of all price controls. To our chagrin as wholesalers, very few prices were advanced either at wholesale or retail. Now we were to see just what decontrol of prices would mean to our friends in the grocery field, where fair trade had been scornfully spurned as a device to gouge the consumer.

With so many items involved, it was obviously impossible to estimate the average increases which were put into effect almost immediately in the grocery field. But there is always one source of information which accurately reflects the net operating profits of our larger retail corporations—the earnings per share as revealed to the SEC through their financial statements.

I submit to you now a comparison between the earnings per share in 1951 through the latest available fiscal period in 1954, of the 5 leading drug chains operating very largely under fair trade, versus the 5 leading grocery chains operating very largely without fair trade. These firms were not handpicked. They represent the largest companies listed on the New York Stock Exchange in their respective fields.

5 drug chains 1 earnings

	Per share						
	1951	1952	1953 1	1954 *			
Cunningham Walgreen United-Whelan Resall-Liggett Peoples	\$4.41 2.83 .42 .55 3.45	\$4.02 2.44 .26 .56 3.34	\$3.99 2.26 .30 .90 3.35	\$3, 72 1, 84 , 18 , 72 2, 28			
Total	11.66	10.62	10.80	8. 74			

| Source: Standard & Poor.
| Prices decontrolled February 1953.
| Estimated.

Note.-1954 versus 1951, earnings down 25 percent.

5 grocery chains 1 parnings

	Per share				
	1951	1952	1953 2	1954 2	
American Stores A. & P. Kroger. Penn Fruit Safeway	\$3, 88 12, 16 3, 45 1, 65 2, 26	\$3, 91 13, 14 3, 30 1, 91 2, 00	\$5. 46 13. 70 3. 40 2. 40 4. 07	\$5, 50 14, 15 4, 26 2, 42 3, 74	
Total	23. 40	24, 26	29.03	30.07	

- ¹ Source: Hemphill Noyes & Co.
 ² Prices decontrolled February 1953.
 ³ Estimated.
 (Food Fair reports 28 weeks to Nov. 13, \$1.26 versus \$0.80 last year.)

Note.-1954 versus 1951, earnings up 26 percent.

I think you will agree that what may presently appear to be fair trade's Achilles' heel, namely, the argument that it falls to protect the consumer through its elimination of free and open competition, may indeed become its strongest defense against attack, when and if these facts are made known to the public.

Gallup Poll Opinion on First-Class Postage Increase

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, EDWARD H. REES

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under consent approved by the House, I am including herewith a statement entitled "Gallup Poll Opinion on First-Class Postage Increase.'

Postmaster General Arthur Summerfield has called attention to a report by George Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, indicating the views of the people contacted in respect to increases in first-class mail rates

The statement follows:

For the first time in the 6 years since an increase in postage rates was first advocated to cut down the operating deficit of the United States Post Office Department, majority opinion today favors raising the rate on first-class mail from 3 to 4 cents.

By an even greater margin, the public would approve increasing the airmail rate

from 6 to 7 cents.

These facts come to light in the latest coast-to-coast survey by the American Institute of Public Opinion in which a repres sentative cross section of the Nation's voters was asked:

"To help put the United States Post Office Department on a paying basis, would you favor or oppose increasing the rate of first-class mail from 3 cents to 4 cents?"

The vote nationwide and by men and women:

	National	Men	Women
Favor Oppose No opinion	Percent 51 45 4	Percent 55 42 3	Percent 46 49 5

An increase in postal rates was first advocated in 1949 to help erase the mounting post-office deficit which since World War II has exceeded \$4 billion.

At that time an institute survey found 59 percent opposed, 33 percent in favor, while 8 percent expressed no opinion on increasing first-class postage.

The 1949 survey did find a majority would approve raising the rate on the penny postcard to 2 cents. That increase was approved by Congress in 1952.

Each voter in today's survey also was asked:

"Would you favor or oppose raising the rate on airmail from 6 cents to 7 cents?"

The vote:

	National	Men	Women
FavorOpposeNo opinion	Percent 54 40 6	Percent 50 35 6	Percent 48 45 7

Six years ago, the vote was 51 percent in favor, 40 percent opposed, and 9 percent no opinion.

Today's survey finds that the greatest op-position to boosting first-class postal rates would come from the Nation's farmers, from southern voters and from residents of small towns and rural areas.

Rank-and-file Democrats are more opposed than are GOP voters.

In the fiscal year 1954, the Post Office had a deficit of more than \$399 million.

Last August, the President vetoed a general pay rise for the postal service's 500,000 employees, partly on the ground that the bill passed by Congress contained no provision for improving postal revenues.

Tribute to a Hometown Citizen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, every city and town has a few people with splendid minds. Because they revere truth and integrity they avoid the vanity of personal publicity. Not until they have passed away, do their fellow citizens become aware of their fine qualities and the self-effacing service they gave in helping

Upon the smaller circle of friends and associates they leave an indelible impression. Contact with a fine mind that is a stimulating adventure. It brings knowledge, reason, and, above all, understand-

We had such a man in Lawrence, Mass., by the name of Charles D. Mahoney.

He was a brilliant product of Yale's Sheffield School of Engineering and Harvard Law School.

His talents were many and his heart was generous.

Some of this excellence rubbed off on those who were privileged to know him, and, in turn, will be passed on to others. He was a man of whom one could genuinely say, "I am better than I might have been, because he shared his mind with me."

Imitation is the greatest tribute of all. Slowly, but inevitably, it increases the range of human progress.

In the meantime, permit me to bring to you the hometown appreciation of Attorney Charles D. Mahoney, as it was published in the Lawrence Sunday Sun of October 31, 1954.

The article follows:

SUNDAY SUN, PRESIDENT HAD OUTSTANDING CAREER

The bell tolled last Thursday in the Chuch of St. Laurence O'Tools—his home parish—for Charles D. Mahoney, 53, lawyer, engineer, journalist and sportsman, who, in too short a lifespan, had contributed so much to his community, had given so unstintingly of his skills, time and effort over the years to hundreds of persons who had had the good fortune to move within his broad sphere of activity.

His work was done unobtrusively, for he was of a nature which shunned ostentation and possesed an inherent characteristic which motivated him to circumvent as many as possible of the avenues which had been

opened to him to bathe in the glare and glamor of the plaudits of the multitude.

He did his work quietly. He did it with precise efficiency. He did it in such a manner that those in his intimate association could not help but marvel at the vast volume

of labor he could accomplish, without flourish but invariably almost with mathematical precision.

But, try as he might to "hide his light under a bushel," there was no way in which he could prevent the radiation of his spirit and his energy among his fellowmen, and it was contagious to a degree which found those within his aura unconsciously reaping benefit from his professional acumen and his rich experience and academic background.

Exemplary of the esteem in which he was held by his colleagues in the legal profession was the fact that Judge John J. Darcy suspended the session of Lawrence District Court in his honor on Wednesday after a most impressive eulogy was presented in the courtroom by Attorney Harold M. Siskind, president of the Lawrence Bar Association.

The passing of Charles D. Mahoney brought a sense of personal loss not only to the members of his immediate family, but to scores of others whom he had befriended as he walked his quiet way through life. His classmates at Phillips Andover Academy, at Yale's Sheffield School of Engineering, where he was designated the most brilliant student in his class and from which he received his degree in that scientific field, at Harvard Law School, where he received his degree which led him into the footsteps of his illustrious father, the late Attorney John P. S. Mahoney—those who knew him in his youth—mourned that he had gone away.

And even more acutely was his departure a source of grieving to those who associated with him in his postacademic years; and this embraces men and women in every walk of life, and all of whom he treated with the great and the little, each an equal respect which was a part of his makeup, an unswerving acknowledgment of the dignity of the human spirit, an unbending adherence to the principles of his faith and his Nation which dignate that all men are greated equal.

to the principles of his faith and his Nation which dictate that all men are created equal. His magnificent victory for the city of Lawrence in a power-rates case some years ago in which he, alone, pitted his skills against some of the greatest legal and engineering minds in the country, wrote a deathless page into the history of the city and established him as being beyond question one of the greatest minds in his field in his time. What he did would have furnished conversation pieces for a lifetime for persons less modest in their self-appraisal. But, Charles D. Mahoney never talked about it. His accomplishment was on the record. So far as he was concerned, that was sufficient unto the day.

In more recent years, he turned his thoughts and efforts in large measure, while carrying on his law practice, to his first love, the publication of a newspaper, the Lawrence Sunday Sun, which his father years ago had operated. And, once again, he was following in the footsteps of a great publisher and a great lawyer.

While a newspaper can be a weapon of great potentiality, Charles D. Mahoney, in his role of president-treasurer-managing editor, chose to employ it in a benign sense. He operated from his position with an attitude of fair play for all, deviating from that course only when a given situation might warrant a blow in the cause of righteousness. Those about him in the newspaper field had the deepest respect for his sound judgment and for his equitable treatment for all the many hundreds of persons who are in close personal contact with a hometown newspaper. And his first thought in mind was ever for the dissemination of truth among the thousands of readers of the Sunday Sunpresenting the facts, and leaving to them the formulation of opinions therefrom.

His funeral was, in a way, the story of his life. It was a story which could be read in the faces of those who came to mourn: pride in that they had once walked his way; sadness in that their ways were severed.

The funeral was held from the John Breen Memorial Funeral Home with a high Mass of requiem in St. Laurence's Church at 9 o'clock. Very Rev. John A. Daley, O. S. A., pastor, was the celebrant. The choir chanted Subvenite as the body was borne into the church, Mrs. Thomas J. Murphy sang Pie Jesu at the offertory.

The Deficit in Jobs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I wish to include an editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch:

THE DEFICIT IN JOBS

Is the national economy sitting on a time bomb?

We ask the question in all seriousness because the trend of employment statistics continues to be disturbing.

We ask it in spite of the resolute cheerfulness of Secretary of Labor Mitchell and Secretary of Commerce Weeks. In the latest of their monthly reports, the two Cabinet members say that, although total employment fell by more than a million jobs in December, the decline was largely seasonal, due to less activity in farming, construction, and the like.

In summer the administration is cheerful about the rise in outdoor jobs and plays down any decline in factory employment. In winter it hails the rise in factory jobs and dismisses the loss of outdoor jobs as largely seasonal.

But is this really the wise way to approach the problem? Is it not better to face all the facts all the time, winter and summer? Is it not better to face facts now than to have them hit us like a blockbuster later on?

The overriding fact which Messrs. Mitchell and Weeks consistently overlook is that, in spite of some encouraging gains, employment is not rising enough to match the growth of the Nation.

Total employment in December, they report, was 60,688,000 jobs. What they do not tell us is that this is the lowest December total since 1950.

Is December, then, a bad month to look at because of seasonal decline in outdoor jobs? Well, let us look at the month of highest total employment, usually August. In 1954 the peak employment was 62,276,000. That was the lowest peak month of any year since 1949.

It is all very well to say that 62 million jobs are a lot of jobs. They are. But they are not enough for a growing country and an expanding economy.

Over the last 20 years the working popu-

Over the last 20 years the working population has grown by more than 11 million, an average of 560,000 a year. Applying that rate of growth for the past 4 years, December employment should have been 62,564,000 instead of 60,688,000, and peak 1954 employment should have been 64,623,000 instead of 62,276,000.

Employment cannot, of course, follow a nest and regular pattern at all times. Ups and downs are inevitable, especially during adjustment to a peacetime economy. But the Korean war has been over for 18 months now. It is time to recognize that we have a deficit of 2,000,000 or 2,500,000 jobs which needs to be promptly overcome.

An Annual Address to Congress by the Chief Justice of the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, the distinguished journalist, Mr. Arthur Krock, of the New York Times, has analyzed some of the arguments pro and con relating to the proposal that the Chief Justice of the United States be invited to deliver an annual address to Congress on the state of the judicial branch of government and related matters.

His characteristically fair and able approach to this problem, I hope, will help to put the issues in proper perspective and serve to dissipate some of the discussion which has beclouded the merits of the controversy.

IN THE NATION—THE PLAN TO PUT THE CHIEF JUSTICE BEFORE CONGRESS

(By Arthur Krock)

Washington, January 13.—It was inevitable that objections would arise to the proposal by Representative Kenneth B. Keating that the Chief Justice of the United States shall address annually a joint session of Congress on "the state of the judiciary." It was also desirable that these protests should be strong because of two implications of the proposal that quickly suggest themselves.

The first, as some Members of Congress pointed out, is that regular physical contact between the head of the Federal judiciary and the legislative arm of the Government, with the former asking legislation from the latter as an entity, tends to remove the barrier which the Constitution carefully erected between these two branches. The second point made is that the proposal would create a fixed association between the head of the Federal judiciary and the political body of the Government and expose the Chief Justice to the suspicion he might take advantage of the opportunity thus offered to make himself President.

Neither objection was applied to the present Chief Justice, they envisage a possible future in which another Salmon Portland Chase would take with him onto the high bench an insatiable ambition to become the Chief Executive. Earl Warren has left the political arena so recently that he is still the victim of would-be President-makers, callous toward the great constitutional principle, who now and then nominate him for the Republican nomination in 1956 if General Eisenhower shall decline to run again. There is every reason to believe these suggestions are deeply repugnant to the Chief Justice, and that he meant it when he said he was through with politics forever. this will not necessarily be the case with a successor.

The Constitution prescribes the President as the only head of another department who shall regularly inform Congress as a whole on the state of the Union and make recommendations concerning it. The Constitution also makes the President a participant in the legislative process by giving him the veto power. But everything in the charter holds the judiciary aloof from the two other coordinate branches.

ADVOCATES AND THEIR ARGUMENTS

The Keating plan carries out an idea originally advanced by William P. Rogers, Dep-

uty Attorney General of the United States. It is supported by some of the highest-minded men on the Federal bench—among them Chief Judges Harold M. Stephens and John Biggs, Jr., to whom none can attribute an easy attitude toward relaxing the principles of the Constitution or deny their understanding of these. They find the Federal courts in what they describe as a desperate plight by the neglect of Congress, with a growing backlog of unfinished litigation (78,531 of 171,512 cases left pending July 1, 1954) and greatly undermanned. They are convinced by their own experience with congressional committees that the situation calls for a desperate remedy. So they have Concluded that only the personal interven-tion of the Chief Justice in the dramatic setting of a joint session can rouse Congress from its indifference.

They and other judicial supporters of the Keating plan offer, among others, these re-buttals to the objections:

Congress has provided by law for a Judicial Conference of the United States, presided over by the Chief Justice, which shall recommend the creation of new judgeships and other increases in personnel. The law requires that conference estimates of costs shall be included without revision in the President's budget as submitted to Congress. Representatives of the conference often appear personally before committees in behalf of this budget. There could be no conceivable objection if the Chief Justice at times were to be one such representative. then, is the difference in principle between his personal appearance before a committee, as a suppliant for legislation and money, and his personal appearance before the entire Congress from which the committees derive their function?

The current system has been marked by fatal delays before Congress gets around to approving recommended increases in the courts. And Congress is disposed disastrously to cut the conference budget. Moreover, these conference spokesmen "are not able to make their representations * * * even to the full Committees on the Judiciary and Appropriations of the House and Senate.

* * They appear only before the subcommittees." And, even if they could appear before the full committees, the record shows that this would not be sufficiently effective; hence the needs of the judiciary should be made known to the whole Congress.

'Delay in the disposition of civil cases in the United States courts," wrote Chief Judge Stephens in a memorandum supporting the Keating resolution, "has become such that in the urban centers * * * there is in effect a denial of justice to litigants. [This] impairs the confidence of litigants and the public in the judiciary branch."

The congressional delays and cuts coexist with overconservatism in the conference toward new recommendations. Only by the Chief Justice in a joint session can Congress and the people be alerted to what many think

a national disaster.

Income Tax on Dividends Coming From Foreign Investments

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, yesterday my good friend, the gentleman from West Virginia [Mr. Balley], in the course of some very interesting remarks on the pending extension of the reciprocal trade agreements authority, made a statement which I believe needs clarification

He stated, and I quote:

Only in the last session of the 83d Congress, we approved a tax bill which reduced the income tax on dividends coming from foreign investments. By that act alone, you set up a 14 percentage point advantage American capital to go abroad and establish factories to exploit cheap labor abroad in order to make these products to be brought to America under our trade treaty to take the jobs away from your American workers.

Mr. Speaker, there was a provision in the tax bill as it passed the House similar to that which the gentleman referred. However, it was not in the bill as finally enacted and is, therefore, not a part of our present tax law. I might also point out that the House provision denied the 14-point tax reduction where more than 25 percent of the gross income from the foreign branch or subsidiary would be derived from the manufacture of goods intended for sale or use in the United States.

The President's Message-Formosa and the Pescadores

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD B. WIGGLESWORTH

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Arthur Krock, appearing in this morning's New York Times, entitled "The Purpose of the Message and Its

THE PURPOSE OF THE MESSAGE AND ITS FORM

WASHINGTON, January 24 .- The President had two principal reasons for asking Congress, but not in person, for authority he already has as Commander in Chief to defend Formosa and the Pescadores. Since the notice it gives to Communist China is designed to act as a deterrent to the proclaimed intention of Peiping to take the area by force, the President wanted the notice to have the full official and public support of the branch of Government which finances military undertakings and has the sole constitutional power to declare war. Since peace was the design of the message, the President sought to restrain the contrary impression, which the Peiping Government is trying to stimulate, by not delivering it in person.

When Presidents in this country have gone to the Capitol in times of military threat to the security of the United States it has been in the atmosphere of impending or actual war, and war itself has quickly followed. Woodrow Wilson knew of the German For-eign Minister's offer to Mexico to join Germany in war against the United States, in consideration of help to regain Texas and other Southwestern States, when, February 26, 1917, he asked Congress for approval of his plan to arm American merchant ships, And Germany had already declared total submarine hostilities. On April 2, 1917, and December 8, 194,1 Presidents Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt respectively went in person to the Capitol to ask Congress for formal declarations of war.

This historical association was deliberately avoided by President Eisenhower today. It was good statesmanship to do so, and it was good strategy in the interest of maintaining his request as a deterrent, and not as a stimulus, of war, or as an implication of belief that war is inevitable. In the highest sense of the word, it was good politics, too. Politics has been well defined as the art of government, and for the President to seek a common front of the executive and Congress in the circumstances, and a common front of the two major political parties also, were excellent practices of the art of government.

PERSONAL AND POLITICAL PLEDGE

From the standpoint of political integrity the President's resort to Congress was also of national benefit. He was carrying out a pledge he has often made publicly as well as his own concept. But in addition he was redeeming an implied pledge in the plat-form on which he was nominated.

It was:

"We charge that they [the Truman administration] have plunged us into war with Korea without the consent of our citizens through their authorized representatives in Congress and have carried on that war without will to victory."

In view of the President's decision that the governmental province and responsibilities of Congress entitled it to know in advance what he proposed to do around Formosa, and his request for it to become his partner where the Constitution authorized him to act alone, a comment attributed to Speaker RAYBURN seems strange. According to the United Press, the presiding officer of the popular legislative body, himself second in the presidential line of succession, re-marked that General Eisenhower had the unilateral power to do what he proposed, "but he wanted it done this way, so it will be done this way." The reasonable expectation was that the Speaker of the House of Representatives would have applauded this presidential recognition of Congress, quite aside from the obvious and important fact that by his action the President sought to present to the world a unified Government of the United States in so grave a business.

The contrast to President Truman's procedure with respect to the Communist invasion of South Korea implied, of course, a criticism of this procedure that was not relished politically by Democratic leaders who, if perchance they shared this criticism, anyhow did not voice it and defended what Truman did. Senator Taft contended that the President usurped his powers and breached section 6 of the bill to implement the United Nations Charter by ordering Armed Forces to Korea without consulting Congress or asking for its sanction. Other Republicans attacked him for not even asking for the approval of Congress immediately after the fact, or ever. And now a Republican President has gone to Congress for its approval before the fact, though by common consent he did not require it.

Some Democrats have been saying privately that what the administration really wanted was for the Democratic-controlled Congress to volunteer advance approval of what the President as Commander in Chief might deem it necessary to do to protect Formosa and the Pescadores. They read this purpose into visits made to committees by administration officials before it became known that the President would initiate the matter by sending a formal request. They suspect that these officials hoped to join the Democratic Party more firmly to eventualities in the Formosa Strait through the sponsorship of an advance resolution of approval by committees under Democratic control.

But either this lacks substantial proof or the proof is not procurable. At any rate, the President initiated the move, after his agents tested the political ground and found it firm in both parties.

Address by Democratic National Committeeman Carmine G. De Sapio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit herewith the address of the Honorable Carmine G. De Sapio on the occasion of the victory dinner of the New York State Democratic Committee on Friday, January 14, 1955.

Mr. De Sapio is the Democratic national committeeman, and the secretary of state of the State of New York. He is one of our outstanding Democratic leaders; and as the national elections of 1956 approach, he will be heard from more and more often.

His remarks follow:

Good evening, my friends and fellow Democrats, this is a happy occasion, this victory celebration, an historic event which largely was made possible by your loyal support. You have earned the gratitude of your party and the gratification of knowing that have helped elect what will undoubtedly be a very great State administration. For myself, I congratulate you and I thank you. I pledge to you my continued efforts to serve you, our party, and the people as best I can for as long as I may.

You have every right to take pride, this evening, in the results of your political activities. But just as you may well be proud, so too must we all be aware of the profound responsibility with which we as a party have been entrusted. The people look to us to support our Governor and his administration so that we may bring to realization the Democratic Party platform and the Democratic tradition of a sound government possessed of purpose, of vision, and of action

In order that we may achieve that for which we strive, and that we may keep our bargain with the 15 million people of our State, it is imperative that each of us do all that we can to secure the support of the people for our program. It is vital, too, that we attract to our administration the best minds that we can find so that more men and women of the type our Governor has thus far appointed can make their genius and their talents available for public service.

Soon you will meet many of the members of Governor Harriman's administration—people who represent the highest dedication to public service and the finest qualifications and backgrounds for the positions which they hold.

But as the Governor-and Mayor Wagnercan tell you, it isn't easy, these days, to enlist sufficient of the great wealth of intel-lect, of experience, and of leadership with which we as a State are endowed. It isn't easy because in recent years too many outstanding people who, at great personal and financial sacrifice went into Government service, frequently found themselves the victims of brutal vilification.

In the shallow interests of political expediency on the one hand, and stimulating readership circulation on the other, decent people have been maligned and outraged; insultingly and degradingly characterized as "politicians."

It is axiomatic, my friends, that the people will get only the kind of government and the kind of public officials they want. So long as a placid public permits the fear of unwarranted attacks to discourage leading citizens from making their abilities available for the benefit of all, so long will it be difficult to find men and women of sufficient courage and armor to perform necessary jobs. And if we continue to allow politicians and public servants to be held up to ridicule, we will continue to deny ourselves the manpower and brainpower which good government requires and demands.

We who are in politics—we politicians—have no cause for apology. To the contrary, we directly make possible our system of government, and we work in the causes of civics and citizenship.

Every man and woman in this great banquet hall tonight is a politician. Whether you be labor leaders, teachers, industrialists, bankers, farmers, workers, housewives, or students, the fact of your interest in politics, and your support of a political party, makes you a politician. And I submit that that is an honorable designation and one which evidences acceptance of your responsibility as American citizens, and your recognition of the truth that politics is everybody's business.

It is at once naive and shortsighted to try to separate politics from government, and government from any part of human life. Let us be proud to be known as politicians, and let us be even more proud of those people who devote themselves to public serv-It is not easy to hold high office, Certainly it is incumbent upon all of us to lighten the task of those who accept the challenge and to heighten the dignity and the prestige of their work.

It is for us, also, to see to it that politics and government are practiced on the same standard of conscience and morality which we apply to our homes and families-in the spirit of faith and goodwill, and in keeping with the teachings of the golden ruleing unto others as you would have them do unto you.

Again may I extend to you my personal thanks as well as the thanks of our party for all that you have done. With men and women such as you in our ranks, we cannot help but achieve ever greater success for our philosophy, for our program, and, most of all, for the people whom we are mandated to represent and whose welfare we are pledged to protect.

Thank you very much.

The Port: United States Stepchild

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Philadelphia Evening Bulletin of January 19, 1955:

THE PORT: UNITED STATES STEPCHILD

The port of Philadelphia is cast in the role of underprivileged stepchild in the new Federal budget.

What the port asked was a good start on the \$91 million needed to cut a 40-foot channel up-river to Trenton. What it got was a grudging, tentative \$6 million tied in with demand for "adequate cost sharing."

The President no doubt following the advice of his budget aids is thus demanding that the United States Steel Co. or some other individual or group of local interests pay at least two-thirds of the channel cost.

Why the Federal Government should take this attitude is not at all easy to understand.

Is there a desire for general economy in harbor work? It doesn't seem that way: the total amount for the Nation is increased \$66 million in the President's message. And to rub a little salt into Greater Philadelphia's wound, there's \$21 million for the St. Lawrence Seaway. Many regard that as the greatest threat to the Port of Philadelphia since DeWitt Clinton's Big Ditch.

Is it a new way of doing business, with private corporations asked to buy in on the public domain of navigable waterways? Perhaps. But why start with Greater Phila-delphia? Why does the budget call for the United States to pay the way from Puget Sound to the Florida Keys, excepting along the Delaware?

It is pertinent that the \$91 million, sizable as it is, is less than the Federal customs take from the port for 2 years. There are figures that show that every dollar spent by the United States on the Delaware in 50 years has yielded more than \$14 in customs. Where is the economy in halting that kind of return on an Investment?

Congress often makes up its own mind on the President's budget recommendations.

The citizens of greater Philadelphia—with

the growth and prosperity of the whole area involved-have reason to hope that the region's Congressmen can forcibly upset this damaging budget recommendation.

The Administration Discovers Culture 2 Years Late

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, President Eisenhower is trying to get Congress interested in the fine arts. This is a field, he thinks, where Russia is outdistancing the United States, and he proposes that something be done about it. As a beginning, he proposes that Congress set up a Federal Advisory Commission on the Fine Arts.

This story is told in the January 28, 1955, issue of U.S. News & World Report. The story fails to mention the bills sponsored by 10 Members of the House and 6 Senators in the 83d Congress on which hearings were held by the House Education and Labor Committee.

In the majority report on those bills the Republican members of the House Education and Labor Subcommittee said:

In view of our analysis of the proposed legislation, and our study of this hearing record, we recommend that none of the bills referred to in this report be passed.

It may be that, as in the case of other legislation developed by Democratic Members of the Congress which was at first rejected by the Republican Members and then presented later as administration proposals without any reference being made to those who had labored hard in its development, it largely depends upon who is presenting the legislation. For the record then, the gentleman from New York, EMANUEL CELLER; the gentleman from Montana, Lee Metcalf; the gentleman from Louisiana, James H. Morrison; the gentleman from Pennsylvania, George M. Rhodes; and the gentleman from Minnesota, Roy W. Wier, have joined with me in introducing bills "creating a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an Inaugural Hall of Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center."

A second bill "to establish a program of grants to States for the development of fine arts programs and projects, and for other purposes," has been introduced by the gentleman from New York, EMANUEL CELLER; the gentleman from Montana, Lee Metcalf; and myself.

These bills have been endorsed in principle by many national organizations and by outstanding leaders in our country in all walks of life—see hearing record and the report on the fine arts bills considered by the 83d Congress.

The total cost to each 1 of the 53 million taxpayers of our country for the program which these bills would establish would be, on the average, just about 11 cents per year. It may be noted, for purposes of comparison, that Americans spent \$5,310 milion for tobacco in 1953. This is an average expenditure per taxpayer of \$100.07. They also spent \$8,865 million for alcoholic beverages that same year, for an average expenditure of \$167.05 per taxpayer.

In view of these facts, it seems reasonable to assume it unlikely that the legislation which was rejected by the Republicans in the 83d Congress, and which has been introduced again this year with some minor revisions, would contribute to the impoverishment of the richest nation in the world, as feared by the Republican majority of the House Education and Labor Subcommittee in the 83d Congress.

A third measure in the cultural field which I have introduced in the 84th Congress would create a Federal Commission to study the copyright laws and make recommendations for their revision—see Congressional Record of January 20, 1955, pages A256-A258, and A262-A263. A fourth measure would establish a program of financial aid to students in higher education in order to help us cope with the Russians in this cold-war period—see Congressional Record of January 13, 1955, pages A131-A132.

The article from U. S. News & World Report follows:

IKE LIKES THE ARTS, SO UNITED STATES MAY EXPORT CULTURE

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The arts, all of a sudden, are getting official attention. White House is concerned, thinks United States needs to show the world its finer side, as Russia does. Many in Congress agree. Idea is to promote music, painting, sculpture, dramatics, the dance, other artistic pursuits. For now, the President asks only a study. Out of that could come a system of subsidies.)

President Eisenhower is trying to get Congress interested in the arts.

This is a field, he thinks, where Russla is getting ahead of the United States, and he wants to do something about it.

As a start, he proposes that Congress set up a Federal Advisory Commission on the Fine Arts. Its chief job will be to size up the art situation and recommend a program.

The President has not yet laid down a plan for subsidies or other heavy spending. That might develop later.

Reports from United States officials overseas have stirred the President, as well as many Congressmen. The Russians are sending singers, dancers, musicians, actors, and art exhibitions to places all over Europe and Latin America. The Soviet Government foots the bill.

The Russian artists are reported to be making a deep impression. And American prestige, the reports add, suffers in proportion. The Russians picture Americans as gum-chewing barbarians. They spread the idea that the United States might excel in science and industry, but it has no art worth showing.

PROBLEM FOR EISENHOWER

The truth is that the United States does very little to show foreign countries its artistic work. The President has been pondering this, close associates recall, since he was president of Columbia University. He is a painter himself, and that other noted amateur, Sir Winston Churchill, has talked to him about it as well.

Nelson Rockefeller, a new special assistant at the White House, is credited with getting the President actually to launch an art program. Mr. Elsenhower is reported also to have been impressed recently by an eloquent radio talk on the subject by the actress, Lillian Gish.

The President made a small start on an overseas art project last summer. At that time, he got Congress to appropriate about \$2.5 million to be spent by the United States Information Agency on cultural programs. With that fund, USIA subsidized some of the overseas performances of Porgy and Bess, which has been a smash hit in places that hardly ever saw an American production be-

UNITED STATES AS ART PATRON

Porgy and Bess played to full houses everywhere, but lost money in such countries as Yugoslavia, where the average admission price was 35 cents. USIA is underwriting the show's appearances in such places as Israel, Egypt, Greece, Spain, and North Africa.

José Limon and his modern American dance group made a tour of Latin America, with expenses underwritten by USIA. Icelanders heard Isaac Stern, American violinist, with similar help from the USIA funds.

American paintings are seldom seen outside the United States. Only 8 or 10 exhibitions have been sent abroad by USIA since 1953. Between 1947 and 1953, no traveling shows went over. That was because some Congressmen in 1947 denounced exhibitions then on tour. Too much abstract art, they said, and too many "reds" and "pinks" among the artists whose works were displayed.

WHAT'S WANTED FOR THE ARTS

The President is seeking to install a top-flight commission of leaders in the art world, which will help him make a start on a more ambitious Government art program. The only task he has announced for it, specifically, is arranging for Government awards of merit. In his state of the Union message he proposed that awards go to Americans "who make great contributions to the advancement of our civilization." Apparently, scientists, engineers, and others will be honored, along with artists.

Here are some ideas a commission will be expected to consider:

Subsidies for art schools, orchestras, operas, theaters, art galleries—all such subsidies to be administered by the States.

Scholarships for artists, writers, and liberal-arts students.

An art center in Washington, to be a show place for the Nation and visible evidence to foreign visitors of America's interest in the arts. It would comprise an opera house or theater, a presidential inaugural auditorium, an art gallery and studios for the study and teaching of art.

Projects of this type are being discussed widely in art circles. Bills to put them into effect have been introduced in Congress. If Congress does not approve the President's proposal for a commission, it still can grab the ball from Mr. Elsenhower and start some of these projects on its own.

Art lovers for a century and a half have tried without success to have a high-level fine-arts agency created in the Government. Bills to create some kind of fine-arts unit within the Government have been introduced in nearly every session of Congress since 1877. The existing Commission of Fine Arts merely advises the Government on the acquisition of art works for Federal parks and buildings.

FINE-ARTS PRICE TAG

No big spending has yet been suggested. The subsidy proposal before Congress would involve about \$5 million—called "leverage money," to start private funds flowing. A scholarship program, however—now being drawn up within the United States Office of Education—could cost from \$20 to \$25 million a year.

No public works-of-art project, such as the New Deal ran in the 1930's, is talked of. Artists themselves oppose any such venture at this time. Some art organizations oppose even subsidies, fearing Government domination.

Art activities in the United States receive almost no Federal aid and little help from cities or States. Artists in most foreign countries depend heavily on subsidies.

Berlin spends \$1 million a year, and Milan, Italy, spends \$3 million, mostly on opera. The Italian Government spends \$3 million. Great Britain spends \$1.4 million a year. Denmark spends \$800,000 for the Royal Theater in Copenhagen, with its dramatic school. France, Germany, the Netherlands, and many Latin American countries provide sizable subsidies.

Subsidies, nevertheless, are to be only one of the problems of the new commission, if it is created. Its primary job will be to tell the President what can be done to capture the imagination of the people of the older, art-loving nations of the world.

My Recent Visit to North Africa—Status of Jews in Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, during my recent trip to North Africa, I conferred with French Government officials, native chieftans, leaders of Jewish communities, Moorish Berbers, Moorish Jews, with Europeans and American military, naval, and Air Force personnel. I give, herewith, my impressions of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunisia, with particular reference to the conditions of the Jews in those countries.

French Morocco has a population of 8,500,000. Of this number, roughly 214,000 are Jews. There are two divisions of Moroccan Jews: The Berbers, who live in the southern part of Morocco in the neighborhood of the Atlas Mountains, have been there for centuries—even before the Jews were banished from Spain. It is thought that they are the descendants of the Israelites driven out of Palestine by Joshua. The others are the Sephardic Jews—descendants of those who fled from Torquemada, who live in northern French Morocco.

The Berber Jews are nomadic and live chiefly in Saharan mountain villages. They are conspicuous by their black cloaks, black skull caps and round black hats. They hold steadfastly to the customs and faith of their ancestors.

In addition to these Jews, there are some tribal Jews—a fanatical sect who live deep in the Sahara Desert and in the Atlas Mountains. They are warlike and are a fierce looking people, and are known as the fighting warrior Jews of Morocco. They are said to be able to trek for hours and hours across the Atlas Mountain ranges with their children strapped across the backs of their women.

There are also some albino Jews residing in the mountain fastnesses along the coast. They are blind and have yellowish hair, pinkish eyes, and a reddish complexion.

The Sephardic Jews, to a great extent, live in the mellahs or ghettos. A mellah is found in every Moroccan city-Casablanca, Rabat, Marakeesh. In the mellah thousands of Jews have lived and suffered, persecuted for centuries. In the old days they never ventured forth. To remain within the mellah was their best protection from the onslaughts of the Moors. The Jews have suffered and still suffer injury, misery, and humiliation. They are not even second-class citizens in Morocco. The very word "mellah" means salt. The Moor Caid in the old days were wont to decapitate the infidel or unfaithful or non-Moor and place the head upon a pike to be exhibited in the public square. The head, however, was first salted and pickled in vinegar. This was done by the Jewish butcher, and the word "mellah"-salt-was finally applied not only to the place or abode of the Jewish butcher but to the ghetto where the Jews lived as well.

The only protection for the Jews of Morocco is the French Government. If the French should now leave and independence is achieved, the life of no Jewish person would be worth a sou.

The independence party is called the Istiqlal Party. It is supported by the Moors of the north, but opposed by the Moorish Berbers of the south. The Berber Moors are controlled by an old feudal chieftain called El Gloui. El Gloui and the Berbers are opposed to independence and support the French. The French deposed the former Sultan Sidi Mohammed Ben Yussuf, who was a huge landowner and opposed French reforms. It was essential for the French to get rid of him. The French set up a new Sultan, Sidi Mulai Ben Araffa.

This change of Sultans infuriated the Istiqlal Party, but was acceptable to El Gloui. The latter is friendly to the Jews, hates the Arab League, and is an admirer of the strides made by Israel. Incidentally, the private secretary is a Jew, Albert Berdugo.

The Jews take no part in the independence movement. They dare not. Silently, however, they are generally with the French. This is a natural point of view, since their survival and the safety of their families depend upon the French. However, they know they are sitting on a keg of dynamite. Recently some 6,000 have been screened by the Jewish agency for emigration to Israel. Most of the Jews in the mellah wish to go to Israel. The rich and middle-class Jews outside the mellah have not made up their minds. They do not want to lose their possessions in Morocco, yet they realize the danger that lurks around the corner.

I wish to emphasize that there is no disposition on the part of the Jewish agency, or any agency representing Israel, to encourage emigration from Morocco. There are enough voluntary applications for entrance to Israel to overtax the abilities of the Israeli representatives already. In other words, there is no need for encouragement.

Statements made that a "panic migration" has been stimulated are contrary to fact. There is no pressure from any source save the pressure of inner fear that possesses most Moroccan Jews. They realize that their safety lies with the French and that if the French go and independence descends upon Morocco with Istiqlal in power, then their doom is sealed. Then the pogrom at Petit Jean would become the genocide of Morocco. Almost 30,000 will be taken into Israel during the coming year. That is not "panic migration." More are clamoring to go if conditions do not become better. Israel may in the future be compelled to siphon off more than 30,000 a year. The numbers that covet entry into Israel will depend upon the degree of banditry of the Istiglal and the terrorists

I honestly believe that Jews would be content to remain if they were given a fair degree of equality with their Moorish neighbors, were assured of their personal security, and that of their dear ones. But one would be insane to deny the menace to all Jewry if an uninhibited nationalist Morocco and a frenzied Moslem Brotherhood would control.

Presently the great roadblock to Moroccan Jewry's road to human dignity is the question of nationality. Citizenship in Morocco cannot be acquired. A Jew is merely the feudal subject of the Sultan. The Sultan and his Caids are the ruling cult. There is no political equality, no social integration. The Jew is a Moroccan but with no rights of a Moroccan. Such condition of servitude was bearable so long as Jewry lived within the small confines of the Mellah. But enlightenment could not be kept from the Jews even in the dark dismal mellah. Their aspirations have been raised. Their alien status has become obnoxious and intolerable.

Now superimposed upon their misery is the danger of extermination. No wonder they really and truly pray: "Next year in Jerusalem."

There are many wealthy and cultivated Jews in Morocco. They have a long tradition of cultivation reaching back into medieval Spain, but the great mass of Jews in Morocco live in mellahs. There in squalor, despair, degradation they live more like animals. Their position is beyond description. This is especially so in the Casablanca mellah.

Organizations like the Joint Distribution Committee, the World Jewish Congress, the ORT, The Jewish National Fund, and so forth, are doing heroic work amongst the Jews. The French Government does its best with its limited resources. The French are increasing their subventions to help ameliorate the condition of the Jews. They have set up some housing to relieve mellah congestion. The government granted to the Alliance Israelite considerable sums for schools. But vast sums of money are needed to deal with the perplexing problems of housing, education, cultural development, and political emancipation. The entire Jewish world must give these questions most anxious consideration. I particularly stress the good work of the Alliance Israelite which brings education into the remotest and darkest parts of the Jewish dispersion in Morocco. I have seen some of the magnificent schools built by this worthy organization.

The Istiqlal Party is encouraged by the Spanish radio beamed into Morocco from Tetuan, capital of Spanish Morocco-encouraged also by Nasser's radio in Egypt and by the Communist radio in Budapest, Hungary. The opposition to the French make strange bedfellows out of the Communists, Egypt, and Spain. The Istiqlal Party draws some of its funds by way of extortion. Letters are frequently received by Jewish merchants demanding sums of money to be deposited in a given place at a given time. If the demands are not complied with, their places of business or residence is threatened with fire, or they are threatened with kidnaping. The defenseless smaller Jewish merchant complies with the demand of extortion. The rich Jew, who knows how to protect himself refuses to comply. A few months ago, eight Jews were killed in cold blood in Petit-Jean, a village not far from Casablanca. Their bodies were soaked in oil and burned in public. They were victims of the riotous Istiglal.

As recently as January 6, a bomb was thrown into a Jewish shoeshop in Casablanca. Fifteen persons were wounded by the blast and the anti-French terrorists, the Istiqlal Party, are believed responsible for this barbarous deed. It is just such acts of violence that drive Jews to Israel.

The United States has expressed neutrality in the feud between the French and the Moroccans. United States has 5 bases, necessary for the defense of the free world, spread over Morocco—4 airbases and 1 naval base. We cannot long remain neutral for the good and sufficient reason that if the French

leave, it would take 5 to 6 divisions of our troops to defend those bases. If the French remain these bases can be held with a battalion. Our important stake in Morocco requires at least an expression of opinion favorable to the French. Assuredly if the Istiqlal outrages are stepped up our State Department has the duty of protesting. Usually persecution is not confined into any tight compartment. Persecution of Jews becomes persecution of Europeans and other minorities. It would eventually embrace all foreigners including Americans.

If the French leave, the new Moroccan Government would say, "What right have you Americans to hold these bases?" The answer could be: "We made a 99-year treaty with the French." The Moroccans would retort: "You made no treaty with us. We recognize no treaty with the French. Get out."

Moroccan Jews, understandably, take no outward sides in the political controversy raging between Istiqlal and the French. They do at times differ among themselves as to the degree of severity and repression, or even the wisdom thereof, that some local French officers take against the nationalists. Many think that extreme force begets more violence and hastens the coming of a revolution. Some prefer a gradual liberal approach of the French leading to eventual independence.

But if Jews in Morocco deliberately are fearful of taking sides, Jews outside of Morocco cannot bury their heads in the sand. They can take sides. I must take sides with fellow Jews and against the persecution of the Istiqlal.

The Istiqlal, it should be noted, has an extremely active office in Washington, D. C., and its principal protagonist there, I am told, is a man who was born a Polish Jew, became a British Protestant, and is now a Catholic American.

The French, having been taught a costly lesson in Indochina, are no longer guilty of colonialism in Morocco. At long last they are now keenly interested in raising the standard of living of the natives and are putting into Morocco far more treasure than they are taking out.

It is my firm conviction that the Moroccans are not yet ready for independence. Considering their centuriesold illiteracy, their religious fanaticism, and feudalism it will take time to educate and alert them to the ways of independence. Freedom does not always mean democracy. Their freedom would not bring democracy. They do not know the meaning, yes, of the word. I am not going into the reasons for their despair and illiteracy. True democracy would mean protection for minorities, including the Jews, European inhabitants from France, Spain, Italy, and other inhabitants. But an independent Morocco at this time would not mean true democracy. These minorities would be unsafe if independence were to be given to the Moroccans at the present time. Giving independence to Morocco would be like giving an automobile to a child. The child would not understand the mechanism of the automobile. Even with a bock of rules the child would not understand how to apply them. So Moroccans would not now understand the constitution that might be given them, nor its application to government. Morocco must wait for independence.

The French are as sensitive as eels to criticism. They resent criticism. Such an attitude is damaging and unrealistic. They are not free of blame. They waited too long before bringing genuine aid. Associate Justice William O. Douglas recently wrote an article which appeared in Look magazine. Therein he laid heavy strictures upon France vis-a-vis Morocco. He charges that "the French have fastened a milking machine on Morocco for their benefit." Yet in another breath he says:

The French have done good things in Morocco since they made it a protectorate in 1912. They have built fine communication systems—highway, railway, telephone, and telegraph. There are good French hotels and resturants everywhere, and in the larger towns, there are good French shops also. The French opened mines, built factories, cleared ground for large farming enterprises, and established new industries. They introduced public-health measures, eradicated malaria, and supplied the towns with pure water. They undertook a tree-conservation program that has produced good results; and they have done much to plant forests.

The judge, whom I consider my dear friend and for whom I have great respect, I believe has been misinformed and is enthusiastically misguided when he plumps for immediate Moroccan independence and disparages the French His emphasis is strictly one sided.

With a large but politically unschooled population badly divided within itself, Moroccans will be reaping a whirlwind of trouble with independence now. Meanwhile the French have the bear by the tail. I do not blame them for hesitating before pulling out now

I quote from the New York Herald Tribune's editorial of October 19, 1954:

Thus, after acknowledging a very few of the achievements of the French protectorate since its establishment in 1912, the author [Justice Douglas] cites housing as an example of how these achievements have largely benefited a French milking machine. He is silent about French-financed modern housing projects for Moroccans like those in Casablanca and Rabat, and neglects the French effort to get Moroccans into schools above the level of the traditional Koranic institutions, making the extraordinary statement that "education is reserved for the French." He totally ignores the vast diversities and divided allegiances of Arab, Berber, and Jew, making it sound as though nearly every Moroccan wanted the French to leave tomorrow.

Justice Douglas also attributes to the ex-Sultan a degree of interest in western parliamentary institutions that would astonish Ben Youssef's strongest partisans. In fact, last year's move to depose him, however wise or unwise it may have been, was made in large part because he had blocked Frenchsponsored reforms that would have paved the way for many of the changes Justice Douglas urges.

Americans rightfully and traditionally support self-determination and freedom. But self-determination must be tinctured with commonsense. Immediate freedom for Morocco would mean not only anarchy but intense hostility toward the United States. Can we afford chaos and intense enmity in an area

which contains five of our important long-range bomber bases? I doubt it. We must be on the side of the French.

The French have been in Algeria for over 100 years. Algeria is a part of metropolitan France and is represented in the French National Assembly and its inhabitants are citizens of France. whereas Tunisia and Morocco are monarchies under French protection. Under the Cremieux decree of 1870, Jews have been citizens of France, and this includes the Algerian Jews. The protection of Jews in Algeria parallels the period during which France has been in possession. The French have had a protectorate over Morocco only since 1912, but they have been in Algeria since the early part of the 19th century, and in Tunisia since 1880. The longer the French have been in control the greater has been the security of the Jew. Many Jews occupy positions of public influence and authority. Numbers of them have been elected to the French National Assembly. The Jewish population numbers about 140,-000 out of a total population of about 8 million.

The position of the Jews is strongest in Algeria and weakest in Morocco. There is little or no evidence of any independence movement in Algeria. There was a flare-up of Fellaghas or outlaws, who operate in the southern part of Algeria in the province of Constantine, as well as in the western part of Tunisia. They seek independence for Tunisia and Algeria. As far as Algeria is concerned, the movement is quite negative.

Most of the Jews live in Algiers and are happy and contented. A small number have gone to Israel. The Jews in Algeria have great faith in the French.

Tunisia presents a different picture at present. There are about 110,000 Jews in Tunisia-most of them in Tunis—out of a total population of about 31/2 million. The backbone of the independence movement in Tunisia is the Neodestour Party. The Bey of Tunisia, the nominal head of the protectorate under the French, is friendly to the Jews. Some Jews are members of the Neodestour Party. At the present time, the Neodestour Party is conducted honestly and decently. Publicly, the Jews are for it, but privately they express fear that at some future date, this party might become infiltrated with Moors who are oriented toward the Moslem Brotherhood and the Fellaghas. That is why many Jews in Tunisia would, if they could, go to Israel. Privately, they are much concerned with the promise made by Premier Mendes-France that independence will be given to Tunisla with the qualification that the French will control the common defense and conduct the foreign affairs of Tunisia. With the departure of the French soldiers and police, the Jews of Tunisia might eventually be in danger.

One prominent Jew may become a member of the Tunisian Cabinet.

It is my belief that Tunisia is ready for independence by virtue of its present state of literacy and democracy which exists there today.

In conclusion, the position of the Jews in Tunisia at present is salutary. The future is in doubt. No obstacle is placed against any Jew desiring to emigrate to Israel. Both the French and Tunisians desire them to remain to help build up the new economy. There is indeed very good hope that the problem of Tunisian independence will be solved by the wisdom and diplomacy of Mendes-France and the patience and prudence of the Tunisian leaders, including the Bey of Tunisia. I say this despite the efforts of the Arab League, which incessantly radios vicious propaganda from Cairo and drafts and arms insurgents from across the long and unguarded frontier from Libva.

Neither in Tunisia nor in Algeria does any representative of the Israeli Government encourage emigration to Israel.

The future will witness the emigration of many thousands of North African Jews to Israel, if such huge emigration will be possible. There is the question, of course, of the absorptive capacity of Israel. Can Israel take many more thousands of the swiftly breeding Jews of that area—that is without creating more arable land-particularly in the sanded wastes of the Negev?

LIBYA

It is interesting to note that it was the Israel vote in the United Nations which decided the independence of Libya. After independence, the Jews in Libya were persecuted. There are only about 2,500 Jews left there out of a Jewish population of 30,000. The Fellaghas, who back the operations against France in western Tunisia and southern Algeria, received their training in camps situated in Libya, and the Libyan Government gave them arms and uniforms.

Libya has permitted great discomfort if not persecution of its Jews. This despite Israel's vote for her independence. What poetic justice.

Government for the People

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE S. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LONG. Mr. Speaker, there comes a time in the history of every democracy when the people seem to fall asleep at the switch and allow the big corporate interests to take over control of their government. It has happened in national government many times before: it has happened in state government; and I am sure unless we keep our eyes on the signs of the times that it will happen again. I am thankful to Almighty God that such periods of apathy and indifference on the part of the masses of our citizens are not usually long-lived. The common people soon reassert themselves and show their good horsesense and throw the rascals out. This is not only true of national government but, Mr. Speaker, we have seen

the same process work out in state governments.

In the year 1924 my brother, Huey P. Long-who, may I say with pardonable pride, was a man of great intellectual force and the champion of the masses of people-first appeared on the political scene as a candidate for railroad commissioner. Next, he sought the governorship of our State. He was fought tooth and nail, hammer and tongs, at every turn in the road by the big corporate interests and their lawyers and newspapers. These selfish interests had ruled Louisiana for some years prior to Huey's interest in politics.

On election day a heavy, cold rain fell all over Louisiana and the rural vote could not get out. Although he pulled a tremendous vote, he fell short of election. Again in 1928 he sought the governorship. He was elected. After his election, in spite of the persistent opposition of the specially privileged classes and their major metropolitan newspapers, he inaugurated and carried out a program for the people of Louisiana heretofore unheard of in any State.

He took his people out of the mud and built our first good roads-6,000 miles of concrete roads; abolished all toll roads and bridges and made every road and bridge free to all of the people.

Now, my friends, we are again faced with the proposition of having toll roads in my State. I say that a man should be governor of the people; he should state without any hesitancy that he is opposed to toll roads and toll bridges in Louisiana. We would certainly be playing into the hands of the large corporations and selfish interests should we turn our highway system over to toll roads and toll bridges.

Further, Huey Long gave our people free hospitals and free ambulance service in all parts of the State. He gave us homestead exemptions, provided free schoolbooks for all the schoolchildren. He did so many fine and constructive things for the masses of Louisiana's people that it would take a great deal of time and many reams of paper to set them all out before you. The philos-ophy of government instituted and carried on by my late brother has been in the main preserved since his untimely death in 1935.

But, Mr. Speaker, in the year 1952 a so-called reformed government caught our people napping and we find at the helm of our State government today a handful of selfish people dominated and controlled by the giant corporations and their newspapers. They have, as they invariably do in State as well as in national affairs, sought to control and restrict the gains made by and for our people.

Fortunately for us all, the tide at home has turned and is presently surging toward the type of government which has accomplished so much for our people, both State and national.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I think a lesson should be learned from the ebbing and flowing of these tides of public sentiment and the resultant change from one philosophy of government to another. Just as these gigantic corporate interests and their mouthpieces and henchmen during their brief moments of control of our government have sought to chip off the gains and advantages made by the friends and champions of the masses of people, we who believe in and fight for the kind of government which brings about these gains and advantages should implement, strengthen, and add to them during the times when we are in the pilothouse of the ship of state.

Louisiana's next governor will be elected in January 1956, 1 year from now. It is not known at this time just who the candidates for governor will be. Several good men have already been mentioned as potential candidates; I, myself, have been urged by many fine men and women in our State to become a candidate. I feel highly honored at the compliment.

Mr. Speaker, whoever it is that makes the race as the Democratic Party's candidate for President of the United States or as the people's candidate for Governor of Louisiana, he should far in advance of either election state publicly, as plainly as words may be written or spoken, just where he stands on every important question. He should declare what he intends to do to protect and expand the gains made in the past for the plain, average people of his State or of the United States.

I cannot speak for the next President of the United States, but I can and will say what I think should be assured the people of my State, in this respect, by any candidate for governor who hopes to be elected in 1956. May I suggest the following platform for a candidate for governor? It would be short and simple:

Include first a solemn pledge to the people that every gain and advantage made for them by our friends over the years, such as homestead exemptions, free school books, good roads and bridges, old-age pensions, hospitals, and ambulance service, will be preserved and protected to the utmost.

Increase the old-age pensions to \$80 per month and this without raising taxes one cent.

Increase the homestead exemption from two to five thousand dollars so as to bring it back within the true spirit of the exemption and cover the presentday muchly increased cost of living. At the present, \$2,000 means very little to any taxpayer.

Provide a college education free of charge to every boy and girl who desires to have such an education. The amount of education that a boy or girl receives should not be limited by his family's pocketbook, but by his ability to absorb and profit by further training.

Push the completion of the Louisiana River bridge at New Orleans, but kick out the rascals who have designed to make it a toll bridge and make it by law a free bridge like every other bridge in our State.

Strict enforcement of Louisiana's game laws but eliminate the persecution of our fishermen and hunters who suffer a standard \$25 fine for very minor violations under the present administration.

Eliminate altogether the annual State hunting and fishing licenses heretofore required of our people. The revenues derived from the State from this source are negligible and can be replaced by

funds from other sources.

Mr. Speaker, there are many, many things that remain to be done nationally and within our States in the interest of the plain, average men and women of our land. Their lot should be made easier and happier. Just as an example of the kind of thinking and planning which should be done by those who feel as I do, permit me to cite one instance of planning to help those who wish to obtain homes.

Black River Swamp contains thousands of acres of good, rich, fertile soil. Some of this land belongs to our State. A levee built through that land would make it ideal for farming. It is my thought that a project of this nature should and could be worked out using State-owned machinery. Bulldozers could go into this swamp and the Kisatchie National Forest and clean off the underbrush. Then the State could finish off lots of about 40 acres, building houses on them and selling to those who want a home in the country. Give them tax exemptions for 5 years and for a period of 5 years no payment would be due the State.

We have a law in Louisiana at present which exempts some corporations from taxation for as much as 10 years. Exemptions for some of these corporations run into hundreds of millions of dollars. I am not opposed to encouraging business in this manner, but I also believe the little man should be encouraged to build and develop farms and homes, too. The timber from the land could be sawed up for use in construction of homes. An investment for this purpose would not have to be a large one. The Federal Government, I am sure, could be encouraged to come in and help such a program. They, too, are interested in creating homes for our citi-

A question often put to me is, What are they going to do with all the land in the Kisatchie National Forest? Will it remain a place where 'possums and 'coons and other animals live or will human beings be permitted to live on it? The answer is obvious. The plan I am offering would permit many parents to rear their children in the country in a wholesome atmosphere, where they can grow their own vegetables and own their own milk cow. In short, where a living is much cheaper, much easier than it is now. Much of this land is near enough to the city of Alexandria and other towns that the people could live on it and work in town. I do not mean to destroy the forest. It is my thought that by cutting roads into it and permitting people to live on the part of the land that is suitable for homes and cultivation, fires would be prevented and more timber could be grown on this land so made available. Also, to an extent, the Government would be taken out of the timber business and it would be returned to Drivate industry.

I would like to add one more example before I close. It is in reference to the good-roads program. For more than 35 years I have been going about this country making speeches advocating a superhighway system—a 4-lane highway system-to be constructed from the North to the South, from the East to the West. I am happy to say that the President of the United States is planning such a program now. Let us join in with the Government and get some good roads for all the States of our Nation. As you know, the Government is planning to spend billions of dollars on roads. Large sums will be given to the States on some kind of a matching basis. Heretofore, we in Louisiana have been content with a 20year bond issue. It is my thought to construct roads that will last for 100 years or more. The bonds would be divided up to run up to 100 years, so that the first man who drives on the road will pay the same as the last man who rides on it. The idea is to extend the present road program, and instead of building 100 miles of road with the money, stretch it out 5 times and build 500 miles of road. Instead of covering 20 years it would cover 100 years. Of course, 100 years from now people will need roads as badly as we do now. This is a real pay-as-you-go program. The man who drives over the road pays for it at that time, and the last man pays just as much as does the first man. The only reason that such a program is not in use now is that the selfish financial interests prefer the principle now used in order to make big money. However, I have been told by some good financiers that such a program will work.

We all know it requires money for any government to operate, and those necessary funds are derived principally from taxation. We cannot escape the fact that we must have taxes for our government to operate, but those taxes should be based on sound and just principles and work as an investment for the taxpayer. Anyone who aspires to the governorship should give assurance that our tax structure will be under constant and careful scrutiny and that a continuous effort will be made to keep taxes as low as consistent with the program of benefits and cost of operation.

Now, Mr. Speaker, let me repeat, the friends of democratic government in its highest and finest sense should, during the time they are in office, do such things as these I have been discussing. should secure and expand locally the maximum blessings and benefits which the plain, average, everyday people of America have gained under the most enlightened and democratic administrations. I know of no better time in which to do so than the present, on both local and national levels of government. The tide ebbs and flows. Today it is in the direction of advancement and benefit for the masses. Let us take advantage of it. We, the plain average people of all America, should resolve that we will not doze or fall asleep again where our Government affairs are concerned. We should resolve and see to it that America will always be a land where there shall be no beggars or slaves; a land where our aged, our helpless, and our blind will not be cast aside or neglected but will always receive our sympathy and care; a land

where the dignity of labor and the integrity of capital shall both receive recognition and respect at the hands of those who govern; a land of equal opportunity and justice; an America where a proud and happy and prosperous care-free people shall live; a land where every man is king but no man wears the crown.

Address by Hon. James A. Farley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address by Hon. James A. Farley, chairman of the board, the Coca-Cola Export Corp., board of associates dinner, Villanova University development foundation, Villanova, Pa., December 2, 1954:

As I stand before you this evening, I cannot help but go back in memory to May 19, 1942. On that memorable day, in this great hall and almost in this exact spot, I had the honor of being adopted as a son of Villanova, an honor which I shall always cherish.

I am proud of my association with Villanova because it has brought me close to the Fathers of the Order of St. Augustine. I am doubly honored in being able to renew this association in this particular year which marks the 16th centennial of the birth of their founder-St. Augustine of Hippo. The learned Friars of this Order for centuries in scholarly fashion have exercised a profound influence in developing Christian philosophy and theology and have contributed notably to scientific progress as well. St. Augustine himself is considered as one of the greatest thinkers of all time. And through the centuries the pens of profound students and the tongues of gifted orators have contributed a great share to the progress of our modern Christian civilization.

I am proud of this association because it makes me a fellow alumnus of men who are renowned for scholarship, proficient in business, outstanding in statesmanship, and loyal citizens of this great Nation.

I am proud too of this association be-

I am proud too of this association because from time to time it affords me the opportunity of dedicating myself to a participation in the training of the young men of today. They are tomorrow's leaders and it is important to all of us that they be equipped

with a true sense of values. Some months ago Father McGuire approached me and explained your program for the current and future development of this great university. It is a tremendous program. Yet it cannot be otherwise. It is designed for tremendous needs and in tremendous times. Father McGuire spoke too of the loyal group of corporation executives. professional and businessmen—I believe there are more than 60 now—who have voluntarily banded themselves together to assist this worthy cause. He asked me if I would serve as general fund chairman for the year 1954-55. When I thought of the present plight of the modern world, considered the sacrificial life of those who teach at Villanova, appraised the value of the contributed time and money of the board of associates of the development foundation, I could not say no. Voluntarily and with pleasure I serve your cause. I trust that tonight then my effort may serve to encourage

the good fathers and lay teachers of Villanova in their most important but unsung labors; to inspire the young men who are being trained to safeguard and defend our way of life; to foster and strengthen the allegiance of my fellow members of the Villanova board of associates.

Why should business rally to Villanova's support? You have heard Father McGuire indicate what Villanova needs in the next two decades if the university is to render more effective service to the community at large. Buildings, endowment for research, funds for better salaries, and financial assistance for worthy students—all of these are necessary and worthy goals. They constitute the physical needs of the university and certainly must be attained. To this end we, the board of associates, pledge ourselves.

Tonight, however, as an American businessman talking to his associates in business about support of an institution of higher learning whose contribution to the community is more spiritual than material, I would like to stress some of our spiritual hazards as a Nation and some of our needed spiritual weapons. What I mean to say is that we businessmen have a responsibility for supporting Villanova and institutions like her for their contribution to the spiritual defenses of the United States and the whole of western civilization.

We are a young nation, as the world goes. We are a great nation. We have come to be great because of the spiritual heritage that is ours. Our Constitution and Bill of Rights were drafted by men who had a firm belief in God, and a proper understanding of the dignity of man. They understood man's right and his freedom to be inalienable because he was precisely a creature of God, and so endowed, not by any human authority but by the creative power of God himself. Even Karl Max recognized this fundamental principle, although he would never admit it, when he wrote:

never admit it, when he wrote:
"Democracy is based on the sovereign worth
of the individual, which in turn is based on
the dream of Christianity that man has an
immortal soul."

At the end of the 18th century our first President spoke of religion and morality as indispensable supports of political prosperity. At the end of the 19th century our highest court declared that: "The reasons presented affirm and reaffirm that this is a religious nation." What is true of our political prosperity and our Nation is true as well of our western culture in general.

From time to time during our lifetime as a nation we have been called upon to defend our homes, our rights, and our freedomeven to the extent of war. We have never yet been the aggressor. We have always been in the role of defender. Our many successes on far-flung battlefronts have resulted from a combination of firm national unity, great military daring, the superb use of weapons, and incredible industrial skill. In the main, these represent an overwhelming material force.

Today, however, we are embroiled in what people call a cold war. The longer we are in it the more we realize that material power alone is futile in our quest for final victory. The reason, I believe, is quite apparent. Our enemy in this war is not necessarily and exclusively Russia or Russians; not the Iron Curtain satellites. Our enemy is a system that is not merely political. It is a philosophy of life which concerns itself with the whole of man—his nature, his origin, and even his final destiny. It is a system of thought which is the direct antithesis of the Judaeo-Christian concept which underlies the whole of western civilization. While our material forces are potent, our spiritual weapons must be sharpened and our spiritual armor strengthened if we are to make any strides in the direction of ultimate victory.

The architects of communism labored ardently in the development of the spiritual phases of their false philosophy. Lenin, who still remains the driving force behind Communist activity in the world today, long before the revolution wrote:

"Religion is one of the forms of spiritual oppression, which everywhere weigh upon the masses of the people crushed by continuous toil for others. * * It is the oplate of the people, a sort of spiritual liquor, meant to make the slaves of capitalism drown their humanity and their desires for a decent existence."

Addressing a group of young Communists on another occasion he said:

"In our opinion morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of class war. Everything is moral which is necessary for the annihilation of the old exploiting social order."

On the same subject he wrote that "a Communist must be prepared to make every sacrifice and, if necessary, resort to all sorts of schemes and strategems, employ illegitimate methods, conceal the truth, in order to get into the trade unions, stay there and conduct the necessary work within."

These are but some of the concepts con-

These are but some of the concepts contained in the evil force with which we are at war. "Lenin is our teacher," said Joseph Stalin to none other than Harold Stassen, on April 9, 1947, "and we Soviet people are Lenin's disciples." Unfortunately, all the disciples of Lenin are not confined within the borders of the Soviet Union. They are all over the world. Their beliefs cannot be destroyed with all the material weapons, atomic and otherwise, at our disposal.

C. L. Sulzberger, in a recent article published in the New York Times, discussed varying opinions on the subject of the peaceful coexistence of western democracy and Soviet communism. He wrote that "it would be better to consider the present contest as 'competitive coexistence.' This is a dynamic condition in which idealogical economic and political systems seek to dominate each other by means short of war."

But Mr. Sulzberger struck the nail squarely on the head when he further stated:

"Now for the first time the foundation of our civilization is being menaced. A threat has developed to the moral, spiritual, and ethical values that have cemented our society for centuries. The challenge to the truth of these beliefs is perhaps even more impor-tant than the physical challenge of the Soviet bloc. The main problem to the United States in this era of competitive coexistence is to clarify the ideals of its heritage, both to itself and a confused world. Since the beginning of the cold war, however, we have girded ourselves with more success physically than spiritually. Our armed strength has gained perceptibly more than our moral vigor."

The American businessman then has a vital stake and a grave responsibility in helping to strengthen the spiritual weapons which are his by heritage. And this not particularly because he is a businessman, but more because he is an American. Religion and education must receive considerably more of his attention if he is to fulfill well this responsibility.

And this brings us to the reason why we are here this evening. Our public schools and tax-supported colleges and universities are a vital part of American democracy. They must and do receive the support of every citizen. Yet because of their nature they are not in a position to concentrate on the religious and moral aspects of the education of youth. In the field of higher education this responsibility must be shouldered by the privately controlled, independent church related colleges and universities. The histories of the great majority of these parallel the history of the Nation. They have fought a great fight for survival in the

face of adversity and have served our American society to great adantage. Their chief source of support has been private philanthropy, but in our day and age help from this source has rapidly diminished, if it is not altogether extinct. Today they turn to private business for help.

Villanova University has been a part of the American scene since 1842. It is now in its 113th year of educating young men. The purpose of the Augustinian Fathers in founding Villanova University "was to offer to young men an opportunity of receiving a thorough, liberal education—an education that develops all the facilities of soul as well as of body and finds its expression in a clear-thinking, right-acting Christian gentleman."

For more than a century this university has contributed to our national life great leaders, expert scientists and technicians, as well as dignified professional and businessmen.

She has given bishops to the church as well as lesser clergy. Government has been enriched by her graduates. Education in general and the youth of our land have especially benefited by the able administrators and countless teachers who have been trained in her halls. Doctors, dentists, and lawyers have gone forth to serve humanity in the spirit of the great Christian tradition. Engineering and science have felt the steady, patient drive in research and production of the engineer and scientist.

Here in these classrooms and laboratories, in the library and research rooms, even on the athletic fields, are sharpened and perfected the great tools of our spiritual armor. Here on this campus are minds developed and character formed according to the tenets of our great Christian culture. Here are men trained in the basic principles which underlie the whole structure of our American democracy—a firm belief in God, a sound understanding of the dignity of man, a true appreciation of human rights and human freedom. And last but not least, here are men trained in the knowledge of their duties to their God, their country, and their fellowmen.

You members of this newly formed board of associates have espoused a noble cause in an hour when your country needs most such support. Your participation in strengthening the spiritual defenses of our society is one of the most noble ventures you have ever engaged in. Your association with Villanova will give you a deeper understanding of her motto—Veritas, unitas, caritas—truth, unity, love. Without these three we cannot hope to survive. With them no early power can ever conquer us.

Americanism Activities of Kings County
(N. Y.) Jewish War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, this country can be proud of the services rendered by the people of the Jewish faith since the time of the Revolutionary War. The Jewish people have actively participated, with glory and distinction, in all the wars in which our great country was engaged.

In 1896, men of the Jewish faith organized the Jewish War Veterans of the United States. During the many years of its existence, this organization has

been concerned with a twofold purpose: protection of the war veteran and his rights under the law, and a program of Americanism.

The Kings County—Brooklyn—Jew-ish War Veterans deserve recognition for the outstanding work which they have accomplished in both of these fields, with particular emphasis on their Americanism program. It is readily understandable that men, who have offered their lives in the service of their country during wartime, should logically be concerned with the welfare of our Nation in peacetime. It was in the fulfillment of this program that the Kings County Council of Jewish War Veterans instituted a program several years ago to help awaken the people of this country to the menace of communism.

By way of constructive action, a boycott was instituted at the time to inform the community of the goods produced by Russia and its satellites. Posters were printed and distributed in all stores listing these countries and the goods which originated from there. All large department stores were contacted and advised of this program. Cooperation was obtained from them and a campaign of public relations was undertaken to advise the public not to purchase goods made behind the Iron Curtain.

Side by side with the menace of communism exists also the menace of fascism, and there, too, the Jewish War Veterans of Brooklyn have been diligent and alert. Since the fall of nazism in Germany, the Jewish veterans' organization of Kings County has been alert to any incidents which might arise in our country in an effort to prevent a resurgence of these un-American activities.

While in past years there have been isolated instances of such activities, it was not until 1950 that a concentrated effort appeared on the New York scene. A group of individuals formed an organization called the National Renaissance Party. At that time, Ted Brooks, the JWV Kings County commander, appointed Jerry Cohen to head a committee to investigate and assemble facts about the National Renaissance Party. The committee included several officers of the veterans' organization: Emanuel Greenberg, Benjamin H. Chasin, Lester Sacks, Marshall G. Kaplan, and the executive director of veterans' group, Henry R. Shields.

Under the leadership of Jerry Cohen, secretary to Municipal Court Justice Harold J. McLaughlin, of Brooklyn, the committee was assigned specific duties in Yorkville, a section of the borough of Manhattan, where the followers of this party were concentrated.

The National Renaissance Party was headed by a young fanatic, James H. Madole, who with 20 or 30 followers began to sing the praises of Hitler in vituperation against the Jewish people at a series of street-corner meetings on 88th Street in Yorkville. These men appeared wearing the uniform similar to the Nazi bund, with brassards on which was a lightning-bolt insignia replacing the swastika. Their program and propaganda was practically a wordfor-word "steal" from the Nazi dicta-

tors. For example, their program advocated the establishment of a Fascist corporate economy, the preservation of the white Aryan race by gradual deportation of Puerto Ricans, Negroes, and Jews, and the denial of citizenship, and professional and political posts to Jewish people.

In addition to Madole, John M. Lundoff, Kurt Mertig, Hans Schmidt, James R. White, and Keith H. Tompson, Jr., continued to disseminate this type of vicious propaganda at street-corner meetings and to extoll the virtues of Hitler through publications.

It was disturbing to find that in a city like New York, comprised of over 8 million people of heterogeneous groups, who had been living side by side in harmony and peace and in understanding and respect for each other's religious beliefs and feelings, people should now be subjected to an indoctrination of the principles of nazism. This was an insult to every decent American. It was also a challenge.

The Kings County Council Jewish War Veterans was among the first to accept this challenge. Here was an organization which recognized this menace. For it was only a short time ago, in 1933, when Hitler came into power in Germany, that the Jewish War Veterans of Kings County had helped to awaken our great country and had initiated an economic boycott against Germany. Now, more than 20 years later, we find the same evil seeking to gain a foothold in America. It had to be stopped in time, and the Kings County Jewish War Veterans accepted the challenge.

Night after night the members of the JWV committee spent in Yorkville in an effort to obtain the necessary information to prove that the leaders and the followers of the National Renaissance Party were un-American and against our way of democratic life. They visited stores, meeting halls and places of public assembly, where little groups had gathered to discuss this new party. They attended their secret meetings, knowing all the time that if they were discovered they were subjecting themselves to either a beating or perhaps their very lives would be endangered.

When information was received that the National Renaissance Party had a definite schedule of outdoor meetings, the Kings County Jewish War Veterans, in order to counteract the venom and hate which was disseminated at these meetings, obtained permission to hold Americanism rallies on the opposite street corner at the same time. Jewish War Veterans rallies were orderly and well conducted; their purpose was not only to tell the true story of the American people, but to enlighten the people of Yorkville about the threat represented by the National Renaissance Party if it is permitted to grow and gain a foothold in America.

At one time, it was necessary to call upon the Jewish War Veterans from Brooklyn and from the entire city of New York to come to Yorkville to counteract a very large rally that the National Renaissance Party had planned. In addition, the leadership of the American

Legion and the Catholic War Veterans were notified of this activity and they, too, joined with the Jewish War Veterans.

The press of New York was solicited for its help. Radio Commentator Barry Gray is to be commended for the efforts which he exerted through the media at his disposal, informing the public of what was taking place under their noses. Feature stories and articles were also published in the New York press.

It is interesting to note that the very same people whom James Madole hoped to influence by appealing to their "nationalism" were the ones who repudiated him, heckled him, and told him, in no uncertain terms, that they want no part of him and his followers.

The Kings County Jewish War Veterans, after obtaining all the facts and publications distributed by this group, forwarded them to the Federal Bureau of Investigation in Washington. The FBI was requested to undertake an official investigation and, after the facts had been substantiated, to place the National Renaissance Party on the Attorney General's subversive list.

All of this has borne fruit. On December 14, 1954, the Attorney General of the United States, Herbert Brownell, Jr., issued a formal call for the opening of grand-jury proceedings against the National Renaissance Party. The House Committee on Un-American Activities, likewise, is to be commended for its efforts in exposing James H. Madole, the man who has labeled members of the House committee as "cowards" and has brazenly demanded that President Dwight D. Eisenhower be investigated.

Mr. Speaker, I believe the American people owe a debt of gratitude to the Kings County Jewish War Veterans for their activities in the field of Americanism. Under the leadership of Kings County commander of the Jewish War Veterans, Milton I. Weintraub, and his Americanism committee headed by Eli Goldstein, I am certain they will continue to be alert of any group which proposes to change our way of life, be they to the far left as communism and to the far right as nazism.

The President's Economic Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, President Elsenhower voiced great optimism in his economic message last week. He spoke of the current recovery from the mild-business recession. His message contained fine words.

What the President said about recovery may be somewhat of a surprise to many people in the 19th Congressional District of Pennsylvania. This may be particularly true of industrial workers in York County. More than 2,800 fewer

people were working in York County in December 1954, than were working at the same time a year earlier, according to a report entitled "York Labor Market Letter," a monthly review prepared and published by the York office of the bureau of employment security of the Pennsylvania State employment service.

This report shows that both initial and continued claims for unemployment benefits have been rising steadily in York since mid-October. While estimates of total unemployment were not available for December, current employment was 2,850 below the year ago level. The data compiled covered only manufacturing employment. Of 12 industries involved, 8 of them showed declines in employment.

Of great significance, the report shows that each of the men and women employed during December was working a shorter workweek, and earning less money.

Many of us were disappointed in the President's message, which failed to carry out the intent of the Full Employment Act of 1946, which is the law which requires an economic report to the Congress. This law provides that the President's economic report contain recommendations to maintain full employment. Despite the nice words and phrases, the message made no recommendations designed to promote full employment.

Mr. Speaker, I owe it to those citizens of the 19th Congressional District who want to work but for whom no work is available, to urge the Congress to take up the slack in the President's program and enact measures which will create the climate for full employment. I firmly believe each of us owes it to the people we represent, as well as to the welfare of the Nation, to take action which will promote and maintain full employment.

Despite the failure of the President and his administration leaders to recognize the necessity for full employment, the Congress has a mandate from the people, expressed last November, to take up the slack.

Flood-Control Action Needed in Butler
Area

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FRANK M. CLARK

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. CLARK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to point out the critical need for Federal action to relieve the serious flood situation in my district.

If ever there was a practical demonstration of the truth of the adage that to be pennywise can sometimes be pound foolish, it is the recurring flood damage in and near the city of Butler, Pa., in my congressional district.

Year after year in the city of Butler alone, damage from floodwaters of the

Connoquenessing Creek runs from \$100,-000 to \$2 million. In the flood this past fall, damage in Butler was estimated at more than \$1,500,000. Many families were made destitute and homes were rendered uninhabitable, all because of an unconscionable delay in putting into operation the machinery already available to the Federal Government to correct the cause of the floods.

The entire cost of cutting a ditch or channel less than 2,000 feet long to get at the cause of the trouble would be less than \$150,000. A section of the existing flood-control law permits the Corps of Engineers to allot not in excess of \$150,-000 to any single locality to correct a situation such as this, with the provision that local cooperation be forthcoming.

The council of Butler has taken the initiative in providing this required cooperation. It has demonstrated a sincere desire to cooperate in furnishing the relief these people need, and which they need now. The victims of these annual floods are neither all Democrats nor all Republicans. They are good, loyal American citizens who have every right to expect the protection which available law was intended to give them. I trust the Corps of Engineers will lose no more time in providing that protection.

Court Blow at Commies Recalls Brown's Warning on Red Teachers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the Brooklyn Eagle of Monday, January 3, 1955, concerning the extraordinary service and accomplishments of my good friend of many years, Hon. Peter Campbell Brown during his tenure of service as chairman of the Subversive Activities Control Board. The people of Brooklyn have every reason to feel proud of their fellow townsman who now is commissioner, department of investigation, city of New York:

COURT BLOW AT COMMIES RECALLS BROWN'S WARNING ON RED TEACHERS

Following up our recent editorial welcoming the decision of the United States court of appeals upholding the constitutionality of the Internal Security Act and also approving the order of the Subversive Activities Control Board requiring the Communist Party to register with the Department of Justice, we would like to emphasize the great importance of the work of that Board.

It is of special interest in Brooklyn that the man who was its chairman during the period of its significant work was a wellknown and highly regarded young Brooklyn man, Peter Campbell Brown, who is now serving by appointment of Mayor Wagner as commissioner of investigation.

After a thoroughgoing inquiry lasting over a year, a panel of the Control Board on which Mr. Brown himself served established the status of the Communist Party as "a puppet of the Soviet Union." Few Americans had harbored any doubts as to that relationship but the facts brought out by the Board gave indisputable authenticity to that belief.

A mass of evidence was produced that supported its judgment that the party is nurtured by the Soviet Union and strives incessantly to make the United States a Soviet America. The party has been directed, dominated, controlled, and, to some extent, financed by Russia, acting through the Communist International.

The thoroughness of the job done by Mr. Brown and his colleague on the board in developing the basis of its ruling that the Communist Party must register under the McCarran Act doubtless was a vital factor in bringing about the 2-to-1 decision of the United States court of appeals.

In our opinion that decision was a great victory for Mr. Brown and his colleagues and we extend our congratulations to our fellow townsman. It was Mr. Brown, more than any other one man, who assembled in a painstaking and scholarly manner the evidence that the Communist Party here is an international conspiracy.

These facts should be kept in mind in the

These facts should be kept in mind in the board of education when it makes decisions about the continuance on the job in our schools of teachers who have renounced communism but who refuse to name other teachers who may still be Communists and still teaching in the schools.

In an address to the Brooklyn Bar Association when he was on the control board, Mr. Brown put his finger on this situation when he said:

"Would it not be folly for freemen • • • to ignore the experience of those in country after country who declare that international communism, its adherents, and its innocent dupes are dedicated to the infiltration of government, of labor unions, of the schools, the press, the movies, and the radio?" We must face up to the dangers of exposing our children to teachers who are clever Red propagandists.

New Front in the Cold War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following article which appeared in the December 13, 1954, edition of Time magazine:

NEW FRONT IN THE COLD WAR—THE UNITED STATES SEARCHES FOR A WORLD ECONOMIC POLICY

The United States is preparing to open a new front in the cold war, an economic front. On Presidential instructions, former budget director Joseph M. Dodge hastened back to Washington from his Detroit bank to undertake a sweeping review of the entire field of cold war economic strategy. Secretary of State Dulles is pressing for a huge expansion of United States investments abroad; Foreign Operations Director Harold Stassen, whose department is slated to go out of business next summer, has proposed an ambitious scheme which is already being called a Marshall plan for Asia.

The air is full of plans, but they have yet to undergo a purification by budget. Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey, a hard man with a dollar and a weighty man in the Cabinet, is against any large-scale foreign spending; banker Dodge thinks Harold Stassen's plans are dangerously dreamy. The foreign-aid enthusiasts think Humphrey and Dodge are dangerously unimaginative. But despite individual differences, the Cabinet is unanimous in its belief that the character of the cold war is changing, and that the United States urgently needs to reshape its foreign policy. The objective is to shift the emphasis of United States world strategy away from military containment (which leaves the initiative with the Communists). closer to economic liberation, with the emphasis on advance.

Pax atomica: Currently, United States policy suffers from what one State Department man calls a heavy military bias. Too many United States officials have fallen into the habit of measuring progress (or security) exclusively by the number of nuclear explosions, the number of divisions mobilized. The result is that the United States is stuck with a warlike vocabulary (e. g., massive retaliation), while the Communists, who continue to aggress, have stolen the words of

Peace (e.g., coexistence).

President Eisenhower is convinced that there is no longer any alternative to peace. The British believe that the world is entering a period of pax atomica, based on a recognition by both sides of a nuclear stand-The new phrase spreading in both London and Washington is competitive coexistence.

In the next 10 years, warned the State Department last week, the main cold-war battleground may well be economic. "The leaders of the Soviet Union," said one of its experts, "are apparently proceeding on the theory that economics is the Achilles heel of the West." To meet this challenge, which in a period of cold peace might prove more dangerous than all the fleets and armies of Moscow and Peking, the United States needs to prove that democracy and capitalism have more to offer-in terms of freedom, justice, and plenty-than the Communists ever can. What is needed is no less than a new world

economic policy.

The challenge is immense: it conjures up a vision of United States capital and skill flowing out to far-off lands to dam great rivers, dig new mines, so that millions who know only hunger may share in the freedom and plenty that Americans take for granted. But the businessmen in the Eisenhower Cabinet are not interested in a return to ex-Pensive giveaway programs. Their WEP is based on spreading abroad the practices and philosophy that have made the United States the wealthiest, most progressive Nation in history. Foreign investment is to the advantage of other nations who lack the cap-Ital to develop their resources; it is also to the advantage of the United States.

Four million dependents: With but 6 percent of the population, the United States Produces and consumes almost 50 percent of the world's annual output of goods and services. Yet if Americans tried to make do without foreign trade, their standard of living would dwindle overnight. There would be no coffee, tea, or bananas in the United States shops; sugar and pineapples would be priced sky high. Telephones (which need 48 different materials from 18 foreign countries), automobiles (300 items from 56 foreign countries) and shoe polish (8 items. from abroad) would be scarce and more ex-pensive. Said Harold Stassen last year: The United States depends on the outside World for 100 percent of its tin, mica, asbestos, and chrome, for 99 percent of its nickel, 95 percent of its manganese, 93 percent of its cobalt, 67 percent of its wool, 65 percent of its bauxite, 55 percent of its lead, 42 percent of its copper."

Still more does United States prosperity depend on export markets. Four million Americans work directly for overseas customers. In 1952 United States foreign sales of earth-grading machinery were equal to 30 percent of production; tractors, 23 percent; textile machinery, 22 percent; type-writers, 19 percent; trucks and buses, 16 percent; refrigerators, 13 percent; cotton tex-tiles, 9 percent. United States farmers ex-ported the produce of 40 million acres of land-between one-quarter and one-half of all their cotton, tobacco, corn, and wheat, About 30 percent of all United States farm marketings are dependent on foreign buyers, and in 1951 farm-export income, divided evenly among United States farmers, equaled \$1,100 per farm.

Off the United States dole: Every year, still more Americans become dependent on foreign trade. United States productive capacity is outrunning United States domestic demand-and the result is that thousands of businessmen are seeking bigger outlets abroad. But if overseas customers are to buy more United States goods, providing more jobs for United States workers, they must obtain the dollars with which to pay for them. In the years after World War II, United States foreign-aid programs helped provide these dollars-35 billion of them, not counting military spending. But the era of donation diplomacy is past. "The world must soon stand on its own feet," says Clarence B. Randall, chairman of the United States Commission on Foreign Economic Policy. "It must come off the American dole, as it wants to do, and earn its own way, as it is determined to do.

To help the rest of the world stand on its own feet, against poverty and communism, is the principal objective of a world economic policy. Such a policy requires two si-multaneous economic offensives: 1, a vigorous expansion of free world trade; 2, a drive to raise living standards in the underveloped lands of Asia, Latin America, and Africa.

EXPANDING WORLD TRADE

Since 1939, world trade has been out of joint. Buffeted by war and cold war, it limps along a narrow defile between the face of the Iron Curtain and the perils of the dollar gap. This year there has been marked improve-Europe is back on its feet (Time, November 29), and 11 of its trading nations, accounting for three-quarters of its imports from North America, are quietly dismantling their restrictions on free trade. In some cases (e. g., Benelux) controls have been removed on almost 90 percent of all dollar imports. The vast sterling area, which accounts for 40 percent of all world trade, is slowly and cautiously approaching the day when the pound (and with it, most other currencies) will be declared freely convertible into dollars.

What happens next rests squarely with the United States. "As the strongest economic power," said the influential Committee for Economic Development last month, direction which our tariff policy takes will * * * determine whether the free world moves ahead to widening markets and expanding production."

Cheese and scarves: Many United States tariff policies are still geared to the outdated habits of a nation trying to get on its economic feet. Others are contradictory, and even self-defeating. Examples:

United States Marshall plan experts helped the Danes expand their blue-cheese industry, so that Denmark could earn the dollars it needed to buy United States goods. But when the Danes started selling their cheese, the United States imposed a quota to keep all but a sliver of foreign blue cheese out.

The United States lays great stress on the 1921 Antidumping Act, which protects domestic markets from the unfair competition of foreign products sold below cost. Yet un-

der the burden of its surpluses,1 the United States is peddling abroad \$1.4 billion worth of food, some of it in 6 million Christmas parcels to be distributed free by United States troops, much more at cut-rate prices that undermine its allies' markets.

Complaints about these, and countless other anomalies, pour into Washington each week. Last month 33 out of the 34 members of GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) censured the United States for restricting dairy imports by quota. don Economist wrote: "The United States is seeking two worlds-one where it can sell its surpluses freely, and another where no other country can sell farm products freely to it." Said a Japanese businessman: "The Americans tell us not to trade with the Communists, then they turn around and raise their duties on silk scarves. It doesn't make sense.

Foreign businessmen consider these the biggest United States obstacles to expanding world trade:

The United States tariff wall. Yearly, the United States imports about \$11 billion worth of goods; of these, half enter duty free, and two-fifths pay duties of less than 30 percent. Yet cheap sunglasses pay 335.7 percent ad valorem, pocketknives with folding blades 89.5 percent, concentrated lemon juice 85 percent.

The Buy American Act, which prohibits the United States Government from buying foreign products unless the equivalent United States product costs at least 25 percent higher. Cost to the United States taxpaver in unnecessary Federal expenditures: \$100 million per year. Already, in individual cases, the Eisenhower administration is seeking ways to get around this depression measure,

United States customs procedure. goods take longer to pass through customs than it took Columbus to discover America," said a 1953 United States Government report. There are 20 different chargeable rates on fine animal hair, half a dozen for leather gloves, depending on whether the seam is sewn by hand or by machine. Charges often vary as much as 25 percent between New York and New Orleans, and at the end of 1953 there were some 750,000 unsettled customs entries-the equivalent of a full year's work-pending on inspectors' desks.

Advice to Congress: To remedy the worst of these abuses, the Randall Commission proposed a cautious middle-of-the-road program (Time, Feb. 1). It advised Congress to-

Extend the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act for at least 3 years.

Empower the President to cut all tariff rates by 5 percent each year over a period of 3 years.

Authorize the President to slash existing tariffs to not more than 50 percent ad valorem at his discretion.

Simplify tariff classifications and customs procedures.

Change the Buy American Act to permit foreign companies to bid on United States Government contracts without discrimina-

The timidity of the Randall Commission's recommendations was rooted in the notion that a bolder program could not get past high-tariff Republicans in Congress. President Eisenhower did not back the Randall proposals with his full prestige, and protectionists in Congress killed the program anyway. But Ike has decided to try again in January, and he should have more luck, since low-tariff Democrats will occupy the

As of September 30, the United States was holding history's greatest hoard of unsold food and fibers: \$6.4 billion worth, including 377 million pounds of butter, 550 million pounds of cottonseed oil, 743 million bushels of wheat, 2 million pounds of tobacco.

key committee chairmanships in both House and Senate.

RAISING LIVING STANDARDS

What Europe needs is trade; what Asia, Latin America, and Africa need is capital and know-how. Perhaps I billion people in these continents are experiencing what economists call a revolution of expectations. A fairly simple Western notion—that poverty, disease, and illiteracy are not inevitable—is spreading like fiery crosses among folk who for centuries have remained apathetic to advance. Having emancipated themselves from colonialism, millions of human beings are consumed by an aching need to pull themselves up from economic servitude. They look to industrialization as a magic panacea.

This blind and touching belief, and the rising expectations that impel it, have been seized upon by the Communists as a powerful lever of influence. From Moscow and Peking, communism is held out as a short cut to material progress. Recently John Foster Dulles warned Americans that the Communists' "cruel system * * * does have a certain fascination for the peoples of underdeveloped countries who feel that their own economies are standing still." The danger is that those who compulsively hunger for economic advance will opt for the Communist alternative, if democracy's methods are too slow.

Partnership for growth: To meet this need and challenge, the Eisenhower Administration is considering an imaginative proposal originally offered to the Government by MIT's Center for International Studies. Backed by a powerful segment of the State Department and by FOA's Harold Stassen, it calls on the United States to launch and lead a free world "Partnership for Economic Growth."

To start it going, the United States would earmark between \$2 and \$3 billion a year (about one-fifteenth of its arms budget) for the next 5 years, to provide an investment fund for underdeveloped nations. and other industrial nations would be asked to supply additional billions; private investors, most of them American, would be encouraged to add to the kitty. Loans from this giant fund would be made available to the have-not nations without military or political strings, but each borrower would be expected to concentrate on those industries for which climate and resources best fitted it: there would be no "partnership" money to set up uncompetitive prestige industries, which might require high tariff protection.
Favorable battleground: Partnership pro-

Favorable battleground: Partnership protagonists in Washington expect to avoid the big error of the Marshall plan—that of handing over United States aid on a government-to-government basis. As soon as the pumps are primed, partnership loans to governments would be quickly tapered off, and the building of dams and factories left to private capital, operating for profit. The partnership would also provide United States and European technicians, to teach Indians, Bolivians, Egyptians, how modern industry is run. United States experts believe that atomic-energy reactors might be used efficaciously to provide some of the power for industries in fuel-scarce areas.

State Department planners have accepted as a target MIT's cautious estimate that, once started, world partnership for growth would make possible an overall I percent annual increase in income per capita for the underdeveloped nations of the world. Considering the poverty and vast size of the populations involved, this is no mean target. But it is easily within the giant capabilities of the United States.

Together with the President's program for expanding world trade, some such world-investment program is indispensable to (1) the security, and (2) the future prosperity of the United States. For if the West loses the struggle for 1 billion in-betweens, on 3

continents, the balance of world power may go in favor of communism.

There will be resistance to a world economic policy—at home and abroad. But economics, a field in which Americans excel, is a battleground which the United States might gladly choose to fight on.

Junior Chamber of Commerce Organized 35 Years Ago This Month

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, I have recently received numerous communications from the junior chamber of commerce national head-quarters about the working activities of this group of your businessmen of America. The letters I have received reflect the activities of an aggressive, alert, vigilant organization which is furnishing young leadership to a rapidly growing industrial nation.

Thirty-five years ago, this month, the junior chamber of commerce was organized. It was intended that this body of the newly organized association be composed of young men interested in business, government, and civic affairs who would have an opportunity to prepare themselves for leadership in business and community activities. The original organizational efforts were started in 1915 but were interrupted for 4 years by the intense national effort during World War I. Members of this group were from 21 to 36 years of age and as the depression of 1929 lowered a shadow casting its gloom over the entire business economy of the United States, this organization of youth matured quickly and cast its efforts in the direction of relieving some of the suffering and hardship, and financial distress so keenly felt throughout the country during that unhappy period of our economic growth.

In my home town of Shreveport, La., the junior chamber of commerce is most active. In other cities and towns throughout Louisiana, 25 junior chamber of commerce chapters carry on the traditions of their organization implanted in its charter 35 years ago. As a matter of fact, the State of Louisiana boasts of over 2,500 junior chamber of commerce members. These junior chambers, composed of young, aggressive men, furnish leadership to business and industry in our State, rapidly coming into full industrial manhood.

The junior chamber of commerce creed is well set forth by a belief—

That faith in God gives meaning and purpose to human life:

That the brotherhood of man transcends the sovereignty of nations;

That economic justice can best be won by free men through free enterprise;

That government should be of laws rather than of men;

That earth's great treasure lies in human personality;

And that service to humanity is the best work of life.

Those of us who are vitally interested in the future of America want to see organizations dedicated to worthy civic enterprise and proper human activity prosper and develop. With this in mind, I express the hope that this organization may continue to be active, aggressive, and alert in our civic and community affairs for many years to come.

Safety of Our Nation Comes First

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JOHN W. BYRNES

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BYRNES of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, almost daily some critic of the administration challenges our security program. They do so not on the ground that we are not removing untrustworthy personnel, but rather on the ground that some people have been suspended who may not necessarily be a risk. If we are to err, Mr. Speaker, I for one hope we err in favor of the security of our country.

If there is any suspicion concerning the trutworthiness of an employee of our Government, he should be suspended until that suspicion is removed. The safety of our Nation must always come first.

In this connection I call attention to an editorial recently appearing in the Green Bay Press-Gazette of Green Bay, Wis.:

SECURITY IN THE HOUSE

When a woman walked into the House of Representatives and quietly asked Speaker RAYBURN if she might make a speech, the House was thrown into a mental turmoil resulting in "goose pimples" for some Members. Members recalled vividly the shooting from the gallery last March 1 by Puerto Rican Nationalists which wounded five Congressmen. One of the Puerto Ricans was a woman.

Immediately the woman was hustled out, and there was a strong demand for a tightening of the security rules in the House. Plainclothes detectives will be stationed in the spectators' gallery, and the doormen who allowed this woman to pass will get a dressing down.

It is not difficult to see the parallel between this example of House security and many cases of national security. When a responsible department executive or an investigating Senator finds a suspicious person in a sensitive Government position we have a situation far more dangerous than a strange woman in the House of Representatives. It is enough for "goose pimples" and probably more. President Eisenhower in referring to a recent case said "It would scare me."

Certainly it is proper to act immediately to get rid of the danger. The need for security is as clear in matters of national danger as in the House danger. But when public officials remove what they fear is a security risk, they are often subjected to abuse and ridicule. Those public officials and publicists who talk most about freedom of thought are among the first to try to frighten public officials into risking the safety of the Nation rather than face the brutal attacks that are so often the lot of men who try to protect the Nation as the law and duty require.

Extension of Educational Benefits for Members of the Armed Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH A. ROBERTS

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. ROBERTS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record or include the following statement which I presented to the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs today in support of H. R. 587, to permit persons now in the armed services or who will be in service on January 31 of this year to continue to accrue rights of educational benefits despite the termination of the war emergency on that date. My statement follows:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I wish to express my appreciation for this opportunity to submit the following statement to you in behalf of H. R. 587, a bill "to provide that persons serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955, may continue to accrue educational benefits under the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952."

The 82d Congress enacted Public Law 550, "to provide vocational readjustment and to restore lost educational opportunities to certain persons who served in the Armed Forces on or after June 27, 1950, and prior to such date as shall be fixed by the President or the Congress. . . " The President on January 1, issued a proclamation establishing January 31, 1955, as the termination of the Korean emergency period. In accordance with Public Law 550, the termination of the emergency period will also end the accrual of educational benefits. The enactment of H. R. 587 would assure those individuals in service on or before January 31, 1955, the privilege of continuing to accrue educational benefits until their discharge and would eliminate any possibility of an injustice, with respect to this act, occurring to any individual serving in the Armed Forces prior to the issuance of the President's proclamation.

I am happy to say I supported the enactment of Public Law 550 in the 82d Congress, and I wish to support the enactment of H. R. 587 in an effort to avoid any misunderstanding or misinterpretation of the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act.

Mr. Chairman, at this time I would also like to commend the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, which I feel has done such excellent Work in both honoring and protecting the Veterans of America. The original GI bill of rights was indeed a bill of remarkable vision, a supreme concept, and, in my opinion, extremely rewarding to both the individual and the entire Nation. It was a generous act upon the part of the taxpayers who so Wholeheartedly supported this program, as One sign of their token of esteem for the sacrifice the young men of America made in service to their country during World War II. There was similar public demand and approval that an educational rights bill be enacted for those men serving in the Korean War. It is a credit to this committee that its members carefully studied the operation and history of the original GI bill of rights and in drafting Public Law 550, drew up legislation which eliminated any of the abuses that had developed under the original bill. In this way the committee protected the veteran, retained his educational benefits for him, and at the same time protected the taxpayers.

The GI bill of rights legislation has helped and is helping the veteran help himself. It is one way in which our Government can help a young man regain through education the time and normal advancement he has lost while on military duty. It helps the in-dividual veteran obtain a higher standard of living which, in turn, increases the level of the Nation's prosperity. It is, indeed, of greater benefit to both the veteran and the country to give the veteran a better life through advancing his education than to reward him with a small bonus, quickly spent. The young men of the United States have shown their fine heritage in the sacrifices they have so willingly made for their country, and they deserve to be respected, honored, and rewarded in a like manner. all the citizens, taxpayers, and Congress have tried to do in supporting educational benefits legislation.

In my opinion, H. R. 587 is a perfecting amendment to Public Law 550, 82d Congress, which would facilitate the implementation of this law and would assure any deserving veteran the educational rights which Congress intended that he have. I hope H. R. 587 will be enacted without delay.

The Reciprocal Trade Casualties Act of 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I have today introduced a bill which, if enacted, would be entitled "The Reciprocal Trade Casualties Act of 1955." It is designed to cushion the shock that will be felt if this Congress decides, as I hope it will, to renew and expand our reciprocal trade agreements program.

This country, I believe, needs expanding world trade. Our export industries can survive in the long run only if we let other countries earn the dollars with which to buy our exports. At the same time, lowered tariffs help the American consumer.

But if imports to this country are to increase, and thus give these benefits to the country generally, someone is going to get hurt in the process. Beyond a certain point, imports can be increased only at the expense of domestic industry. If you are in such an industry, it is small comfort to be told, as your company goes bankrupt or you lose your job, that everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds.

Now, our trade-agreements legislation has had for some years the escape-clause provision, whereby if sufficient injury is shown, the President is authorized to raise tariffs. Possibly because this escape clause could negate the entire trade program, it is no secret that the President has been very loathe to invoke it. If he does not invoke it, domestic producers suffer. If he does invoke it, where is your trade liberalization then?

The gentleman from New Jersey [Mr. WILLIAMS] and the gentleman from Pennsylvania [Mr. EBERHARTER] recently

introduced bills which would provide assistance to individuals, communities, and industries jeopardized by the lowering of trade barriers. I believe that these bills are entitled to the sympathetic consideration of this House. The bill I have introduced, the Reciprocal Trade Casualties Act of 1955, is designed to serve the same purpose as these bills and to supplement them. Like them, it tries to answer the question: How can we lower trade barriers and yet mitigate the hardship that such action causes by helping producers to adjust to a higher level of world trade?

The bill, in brief, provides that any domestic producer found by the Tariff Commission to be in danger by foreign imports, may receive a certificate entitling it to a percentage advantage—up to 25 percent-in its bids for Government contracts. The idea is to provide an oxygen tent so that a company may keep busy and solvent while it finds new products which can sustain it in the long pull. The certificate would be good only for a limited period, while the company energetically sought to develop new products which could withstand competition. With the Government purchasing many billion dollars a year worth of materials, a percentage advantage of this type could be of real significance in tiding a hardpressed producer over a transition period.

Certainly, we cannot sit idly by and see economic distress and misery caused by our trade policies. An individual plant and its workers cannot just be wished out of existence. Into such a plant, ownership has put its savings and management and skill. Tied to it are hundreds of workers, by reason of seniority, pension plans, or simply by a very understandable wish not to be uprooted from their home, their church, their community.

This bill attempts to keep such a business organization in being. If the company does succeed in making a better mousetrap, we will all be better off for it.

But, as an addition to the cost of certain procurement contracts, the proposal will cost money. So, I suppose, does our practice of giving veterans a percentage advantage in their civil-service examinations. We consider veterans worthy of such protection since they are casualties of our national policy of resisting aggression. Should we not equally recognize as deserving of a percentage break certain industries which are casualties of a trade policy designed to produce a peaceful world? In doing so, we take the costs of a liberalized trade policy off the shoulders of a few isolated industries. and instead spread that cost over the entire Nation, as it should be.

The administrative machinery utilized by the bill is the Tariff Commission, which has already considerable experience in making determinations whether a given industry is being hurt by foreign

imports.

The bill is applicable to all producers, and particularly to a number of industries now in tariff jeopardy, which are well equipped to bid on Government contracts. These include such diverse industries as bicycles, cutlery, optical instruments, watches, and motorcycles.

As a specific example, take the motorcycle industry, of which the Harley-Davidson Co., of Milwaukee, is now the sole American producer. Because our tariff on motorcycles has been bound at 10 percent under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, Harley-Davidson has been severely affected by foreign competition, largely from Great Britain. Employment at Harley-Davidson has declined from close to 3,000 in 1949 to less than 900 today. It has lost more than half its domestic market to foreign competition. It is currently operating, I am informed, very close to the red.

If Harley-Davidson is considered a protectionist company, this is so despite itself. Harley-Davidson longs for liberalized trade and the day when once again it can sell its motorcycles throughout the world market, instead of being kept out by the rigid quota system enforced in the sterling bloc and elsewhere today. It sees the point that foreign countries must earn dollars. I believe it would accept with Christian resignation the loss of part of its domestic motorcycle market to foreign competition if it could somehow see a hope of survival on the horizon. The company is engaged in an imaginative and resourceful search for new products which costs it many thousands of dollars monthly. It hopes that in a year or 2 or 3 it will light upon such a product, and then be able to diversify its line so that it can keep its head above water and keep jobs for its workers. Meanwhile, it is bidding, and bidding hard, on a great variety of Government contracts. It has run into the same experience as many another medium-sized company-it finds that General Motors or Chrysler can underbid it by a few dollars on an important contract.

Let us put the Reciprocal Trade Casualities Act on the books. Let us give Harley-Davidson, and companies similarly situated, the opportunity to prove before the Tariff Commission what is perfectly obvious: That it is suffering, and suffering badly, from foreign competition. Let it be armed, then, with a certificate entitling it to a percentage break on its Government work. Let this added business keep its working capital and working force intact over the next few years. And, hopefully, let the company then fashion a better mousetrap which will set the free world beating a path to its door.

If we can do that, we can move closer to our goal of trade without tears.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of the Proclamation of Independence of the Ukrainian People

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, last Saturday was the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of indepedence of the Ukrainian people. We in the United States, together with all the free peoples throughout the world, are aware of the great courage displayed by the brave Ukrainians in their opposition to Communist oppression and have great admiration for their consistent zeal in their efforts to attain liberty and free-

We have an obligation to continue to aid them in every way we can in regaining the liberty and permanent peace among freedom-loving nations which they so justly deserve.

The Simplified Tax Form

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following editorial by Elinor V. Cogswell, which appeared in the Palo Alto Times, Palo Alto, Calif., on Tuesday, January 18, I believe that the editorial points out better than most the difficulties faced by American taxpayers in trying to fulfill their obligations to the United States Treasury.

EVC AT BAT-THE SIMPLIFIED TAX FORM (By Elinor V. Cogswell)

Through circumstances beyond my control it became necessary for me to file an amended estimate of my 1954 income. I got around to it in the final few days before the January 17 deadline.

In this I was not exceptional, as I learned when I went down to the internal revenue office in the basement of the post office to get an estimated income blank to amend. Lots of people but no blanks. I could probably pick one up from a bank or some place, I was

There weren't any around the Times or in the central office of Peninsula Newspapers, I telephoned the bank that guards my pennies to be sure there are enough there to cover my checks. Sorry, no blanks.

By that time it was Thursday before the deadline. In some desperation I telephoned the internal-revenue office in San Francisco. The switchboard operator, after learning what I wanted, connected me with voice

No. 1. Voice No. 1, after learning what I wanted said she was not the person for me to talk to and asked the operator to connect me with another extension. Voice No. 2 answered and went through the same routine. Voice No. 3 repeated the formula.

Down in the supply room, voice No. 4 answered a ring on local 6843. He had the blanks, all right, but said he was busy. said he didn't have time to send out blanks now. He implied I should have thought of such matters sooner.

I explained piteously that it seemed to me that if the Government said I had to fill out one of these blanks or go to jail, the Government ought to give me a chance at a blank.

Somewhat grumpily he took my name and address. He didn't think the blank would reach me in time, anyhow.

Neither did I. So I betook myself to the postoffice basement again Friday morning and joined one of several lines fanning out from the harried collectors. I wanted to find out what to do if the blank didn't show up.

My line reached well down the hall. After I'd been standing there for 15 minutes or so. the man at the head of the line finished and came out. "What time is it?" he asked. It was 25 minutes to 11. "I got here at 9:15," he said.

About that time I was rescued by an acquaintance. He came in to collect some other blanks from the table in the hall. I told him my troubles and he said he had some estimated income blanks in his office, or could find me some across the hall.

He did. But that did not end my troubles. Being painfully literal in matters fiscal, financial, fiduciary, and involving collectors of internal revenue, I felt that I should figure out every detail of my income. This included a small annuity that I had taken out on one of those days when you feel that you're about worn out and had better prepare for being tossed into the discard pile.

If you've read the new tax form, you know that the matter of figuring out how much you owe on annuities has been simplified. You just divide something or other by your life expectancy, using an actuarial table which the blank indicates is available.

Not from the office of the Director of Internal Revenue, however. Not from the banks. Not from the PNI office. Not from anybody else I could think of to ask.

The man that sold me the insurance said that if the Government had such a table it was locked in the vaults of the Library of Congress. He said that using his company's tables, the 15-page document his own company had put out on this tax gimmick, and 3 other services, he could figure it out pretty close for me. It took him only 1 afternoon and 2 calls to tax experts.

If this is simplification, I vote for complexity.

Just after I rushed my return to the post office, the blank came from the grumpy man at local 6843.

Now, I am told, the Government's table of life expectancy is out.

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, Prof. Lev E. Dobriansky, president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., has requested Members of Congress to make a brief statement in the RECORD for distribution abroad and behind the Iron Curtain. The occasion is the observance of the proclamation of Ukrainian Independence on January 22, 1918.

The Nation of Ukrainia, numbering 40 million people, has been under the yoke of tyrants for centuries. The latest plunderers of Ukraine independence and culture are the cruel Soviet imperialists. who have committed mass murders, manufactured famines, and destroyed churches as the highlights of their reign of terror.

In my home district of New Haven. Conn., the Ukrainian flag of blue and gold flew at city hall alongside the American flag last week in memory of the Ukrainian proclamation of independence. I take great pride in pointing out that New Haven is the first city in the United States to recognize Ukrainian Independence Day. It is my hope that many other towns and cities will follow this example of tribute to a nation which cherishes freedom above all else and will never cease to fight for it.

The Meaning of "Face" in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the present international crisis in the Far East, we often hear a great deal about the importance of "saving face" in the Asian countries or "the power of face" in that area of the world. I think that if more Americans understood the meaning of face to the Asian peoples, particularly if it was better understood by our policymakers, diplomats, and most important of all, by Congress, we could avoid much of the present tension in the world.

One of the most interesting descriptions of the meaning of "face" in Asia is contained in an article published in the New York Times Magazine, last Sunday, January 23, 1955. I am very happy to insert it into the Record and urge all my colleagues to read it. They will find it thought-provoking and Worthwhile as they read their daily newspapers and try to understand the oriental mind and way of thinking.

Mr. Speaker, the article, which is written by Peggy Durdin, who has lived in the Far East for many years, is as follows:

> "Face" Is a Basic Issue in Asia (By Peggy Durdin)

SINGAPORE.—About 20 years ago a Chinese family—man, wife, and 3 children—were living on a little island in the Yangtze River, not far from the city of Chinkiang. The woman became sick. Nothing seemed to help her; not the ministrations of the local herb doctor nor offerings in the village temple. Finally, her husband made up his mind to take her to the hospital of the "foreign devils" in Chinkiang. This was a momentous decision; he had to sell some of their meager household goods to finance the sampan trip down the river, and, after all, no one on the island really knew whether it was good or bad magic that the big-nosed "foreign devils" practiced.

As the husband and some of the other villagers were carrying the invalid down to the river bank, they passed a neighbor woman famous for her shrewish tongue and an eye for other people's business. She shouted some cutting remark about the project. Tense with worry, the husband answered back. A verbal brawl developed in front of the crowd that could always gather in 20 seconds anywhere in China. Finally, harassed beyond his control, the husband slapped his shrewish neighbor before everyone. Her curses followed him down to the water.

At Chinklang the foreign doctor diagnosed cancer in its final stages. With some drugs

to ease the woman's pain, they hurriedly started back to the island, so that she could be at home when she joined her ancestors. When the husband and his dying wife reached their little hut they found the neighbor's body dangling in their doorway. She had committed suicide because she had lost so much face by being slapped in public. (At the same time, she had terribly revenged herself on the man who had taken face from her; unwritten Chinese law ruled that you had to support, for the rest of your life, the dependents of anyone killing himself on your property.)

This is not an unusual instance of the power of face in the country where it was highly developed and widely practiced before the Communists came to power and launched their drives against the old cultural patterns and traditions. But face was never the monopoly of China. If Americans had more appreciation of the part face plays and has played in the relations of nations and individuals, our dealings with the rest of the world—and particularly with Asia—would be smoother and more mutually profitable.

Face, in the classic Chinese sense, was status in the eyes of others. It was not what you were, but how you were regarded; or, more accurately, how you felt you were regarded. Wealth and position might contribute to face but could never guarantee it. It was not solid and irrevocable, like caste in India, but evanescent and variable. By your own acts, you could gain or lose face from one moment to the next. Others could give it to you or take it from you.

Although a Chinese peasant wife might kill herself because her mother-in-law made her lose face too often, a poor farmer might go irremediably into debt to gain face by an elaborate family wedding or funeral, in general, face was a luxury only the upper classes of China could really afford. It was at once one of the flowerings of an extremely ceremonial and civilized society and a real impediment to progress, efficiency, and rule by law.

If a Chinese captain couldn't win a naval battle against Europeans, he could at least gain face by firing off big guns from a safe The Chinese would never recall General MacArthur as President Truman did: they would send out-of-favor generals on expensive tours abroad to save their faces or would execute them. About a hundred years ago Cantonese officials gained themselves and their country great face by treating western traders and diplomats as rudely possible (thereby helping to bring about the opium war and the forcible opening of the Chinese Empire to the West). In later times some antiforeign Chinese used to take pleasure in making Europeans lose face by techniques so delicate and subtle that only other Chinese were aware of them.

A Chinese official always gained face by treating his inferiors arrogantly-if he got away with it. If he did not-if, for instance, the customs officials he bullied still doggedly insisted on opening his trunks and looking through them-then he lost great face. Achieving something by influence instead of legal methods-procuring the re-lease of a man in fall, by dropping a word in the right quarter-gained one face. My father worked for years in China to persuade teachers that they must sometimes flunk students, in spite of the demands of face, and to persuade boys that losing a game on the playing field involved far less loss of face than walking off the court when defeat seemed probable.

One almost invariably lost face in China—as in many other parts of Asia even today—by acknowledgment of error or of ignorance. Not long ago a qualified Chinese physician joined the staff of an American tuberculosis sanatorium to learn new techniques of treating the disease. The institution's doctors and nurses reluctantly came to the con-

clusion that he was trying to kill patients. The fact was—as one of the China-born patients discovered with a little sieuthing—that he simply couldn't bring himself to incur the loss of face involved in admitting that he didn't know enough English to understand the written and oral instructions he was given.

Modern Chinese rightly believed face had reached such proportions that it impeded progress and must go. The Chinese Communists are working hard to root it completely out of Chinese thinking. Regard for face and the basic Communist practices of public criticism and self-criticism are absolutely incompatible. A year or so ago, when the Communists were concentrating on the reindoctrination of Chinese professors, they explained tirelessly that the intellectuals must think of making long, public and often abject denunciations of past ideas and careers not as humiliating loss of face but as highly creditable behavior.

This doesn't mean that all Chinese Communists, expert psychologists that they are, have not utilized face in dealing with their own and other people. One might say that, whereas in old China anyone could give or take away face, now it is done only by the party and the bureaucracy. Good Marxists would shudder at the phraseology, but probably the most important thing the Communists have given the laborers and peasants in China is face—social status, a sense of being someone, of mattering. This the Kuomintang failed to do on the mainland.

Conversely, one of the aims of the Communists' brutal "public accounts" trials of landlords was to make the whole class lose face permanently and irrevocably. Before evicting the thousands of foreign missionaries in China—easily achieved in several months without fanfare if the Reds had so wished it—Peiping went through a couple of years of elaborate, carefully planned routines (humiliating public arrests, trials, and so on) to make the Europeans lose face before the common people. The Communists give labor heroes tremendous face today through such tactics as publicity and trips to Europe. Peaceful coexistence is high-level Russo-Chinese strategy, but a typically Chinese tactic of putting it across is to give to key Asian statesmen such as Nehru and U Nu as much face in Peiping as possible.

One reason Americans tend to underestimate Peiping's strength and appeal among Chinese citizens at home and overseas is that they forget that most of China's contact with the West until Mao came to power was a continuous loss of face for the Asians,

A great country that had never doubted for 2,000 years that it was the center and pivot of the civilized world—the Middle Kingdom—had to accept from western barbarians during the last century not only crushing military defeats but humiliating treaties limiting China's sovereignty on her own territory. China's adoption of so many elements of western culture, however beneficial, involved perhaps even more bitter and profound loss of face; acceptance of European methods was a tacit admission that Chinese techniques and patterns of thought were invalid and inferior.

It is not surprising, then, that face so often dictated the policies and behavior of the Chiang Kai-shek government, and was so valued by it. Churchill and Roosevelt gave China great face by treating it as the fourth great power during the last war, which it certainly was not; Washington took face away from Chiang by publishing the critical white paper half a decade later. Defeated on the China mainland and exiled to the island of Formosa, the Nationalist Government today is probably more sensitive about its face than at any other time in its history.

Face is far less important to the Chinese Communists. More realistic factors, including the demands of world Communist strategy, determine Peiping's policies toward Formosa, the United States, Korea, Indochina, the overseas Chinese, or the 11 Ameri-The Communists value fact, not can flyers. facade. But they do seem to feel a special resentment and bitterness toward the United States for denying them the face that recognition of China and entry into the United Nations would bring.

Unquestionably the Communists have given China great face in Asia. The Korean war added to her face (even anti-Communist Chinese felt a surge of pride and triumph that their country could stand off the West on the battlefield). The Geneva conference gave Peiping face at home and abroad, as has Nehru consistently in his public statements and general attitude toward the Chinese Communists.

"As far as Nehru is concerned, the chief objective of the Afro-Asian Conference to be held this spring is to give Communist China face," said one Asian recently. "But what will this policy gain in the end for India?"

To think of face, however, chiefly as a quaint Chinese idiosyncrasy—like footbinding—is erroneous. Asked to define face in the modern world, one of my Chinese ac-quaintances said promptly "Face is selling a piece of jewelry so you can give a lavish dinner party. It's going into debt to dress more elegantly than your friends, the way the elegantly than your friends, the way the Chinese do in Hong Kong." "Well," said an American, "that definition

makes face a solid American institution. It's going into debt to lunch at chic New York restaurants, or to belong to the right country club. We often call it 'keeping up with the

"Oh, face cuts across national boundaries," said the Chinese. "It's just a human failing. Everyone-and every nation-wants to feel honored and respected."

If we define face as status, and wanting face as wanting public recognition or acceptance of our status, it is almost as integral a part of western thinking as of Asian. face France feels she lost in the last war has made her as unreasonable and sensitive to slights on the international scene as a Chinese woman relegated to the background by a second wife who is younger and prettier. Fear of losing face by giving up a foothold in the Far East has been one of the chief sources of French stupidities in Indochina over the last 8 years.

Policymakers in Washington, American diplomats, foreign-aid technicians, and, above all, Congressmen, would better serve their own country's interests if they would try to understand the problems of face in Asia, a part of the world where we are not winning friends and influencing people on a scale to cause unrestrained jubilation. lonial rule was deeply face-losing for Asian countries and their leaders. For example, how humiliating and productive of neurosis it was for Indians, with their pride of caste and their great cultural heritage, to be impotent under British rule-and, what was worse, under the Britisher's quiet and unshakable assumption of superiority. As a matter of fact, what Asians most resented in colonial rule was not the material exploitation. It was the spiritual humiliation-the loss of face.

Few men-and those few are seldom practical politicians-can feel for years that they and their fellow countrymen are looked down upon and then suddenly, on the day of independence, emerge emotionally unscathed and unwarped. Loss of face under colonial rule has left scars among many Asian intellectuals: a narrow nationalism that is backward-looking and negative; an automatic and irrational suspicion of any move of any western country that has real

power; a compulsion to be important on the international scene; an Asianism which attributes special virtue to being yellow, brown, or black; an assumption that the West owes the East something as a kind of historical penance (this applies chiefly to the United States, which was least colonial); a tremendous sensitivity to the slightest hint of criticism (this often makes the work of a conscientious journalist excruciatingly painful); and a violent reaction against might be interpreted as pressure. Although, of course, it cannot be determined by these factors, American foreign policy risks failure if it does not take them into consideration.

Asian sensitivities from the colonial past are often compounded by sensitivities caused by the difficult present. As one European long in Indonesia put it, "Many Indonesians feel unhappy and thwarted and disillusioned today, and even a little ashamed, because they know things are not going too well in their country. But how much worse they feel just because they know white men are standing on the sidelines, looking on and commenting and criticizing."

Our relations with much of south and southeast Asia might be more fruitful today if we had followed the lead of the British at the end of the last war in giving a very appreciable degree of face to Nehru and India. We do not add to Asian nations' face by calling them "backward" and "underdevelor by giving them the quite false impression that we consider them trivial appendages to Europe or simply expendable pawns in our world strategy against Russia.

Receiving money and advice has seldom added to anyone's face; Americans need to use a good deal more tact in the thankless and delicate operation of giving. Largely because of the activities of the so-called "China lobby group" and McCarthyites, most American diplomats who really know Asian cultures and Asian psychologies are not operating in the area. A special requirement for United States official personnel coming to this part of the world should be an intelligent appreciation of Asian values and a pertalent for giving Asians a sense status generously acknowledged, a feeling of being appreciated and respected.

Let me add that Asians often seem to forget today that they owe the same courteous regard for the face of the United States. Of course, we gain or lose face in Asia by our own acts first of all: Nothing in the decade lost us so much face in the Far East as McCarthyism and probably nothing won us so much as the Supreme Court decision on segregation in the schools. Headline-hunting American politicians who forget that their remarks are seized upon in Delhi, Tokyo, Djakarta, and Saigon often show a positive genius for making their own country lose face in Asia.

But Asians, too, can give us face or take it away from us; nowadays, except in a few countries like the Philippines, they most frequently seem to do the latter. They expect to be treated with sympathetic understanding and appreciation; they are more than willing to view China charitably; but it is always open season for taking pot shots at Washington and at Americans.

They assure you that complete, 99-percent waterproof, governmentally organized thought control in China is just a temporary pimple, a passing blemish—but McCarthyism in the United States is a deep-seated, organic disease, unclean like leprosy. It was not the justified, but the constant and irrational criticism which made so many conscientious well-meaning Britishers in India bitter and warped before the last war-and today it is in danger of doing the same thing to Americans.

It is time that Asians reminded themselves that Americans are as proud of their country and of their way of life as Indians or Indonesians are. If somewhat less resentful of criticism, they are none-the-less becoming more sensitive to the unceasing attack on their country, much of it based on emotional prejudice and ignorance.

The giving of face at the right time in the right manner can greatly facilitate the complex and problem-ridden intercourse of nations. Americans should frequently remind themselves of this. So should Asians.

Revere Memorial Hospital

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following address which I delivered at the eighth annual banquet of Revere Memorial Hospital:

There was a time when we used to think of a hospital as some sort of an elaborate garage for human beings, where they went for overhaul and repairs.

It never occurred to us that we might ever need such care and treatment.

And so the burden of supporting our hospitals was unfairly placed upon the shoulders of a few.

However, a great and necessary change in the attitude of the American people has taken place within the last 20 years.

The depression of the 1930's turned out to be a shock treatment in disguise.

We were folted out of our indifference to economic problems.

In the quest for material security we also became aware of the need for taking better care of our health.

We came to understand that these were matters of group concern and that the responsibility for solving these problems must be shared.

Churches, schools, and hospitals are basic to the life of any community. They are entitled to the widest possible measure of support from all who live in the community.

Churches are exempt from taxation. Schools are maintained from public revenues or private funds. So are the many types of hospitals. Although Government aids in various ways, it is the people by their own voluntary efforts who maintain these institutions—in the spirit of the Good Samaritan.

We in Massachusetts take great pride in the fact that Metropolitan Boston has developed into one of the world's great medical centers. This could not have happened without public confidence and cooperation.

Six years after the establishment of the first English colony in America, Samuel Puchas noted in 1613 that: "Beyond James Towne * * * they were building a hospital with fourscore lodgings, and beds already sent." A little over a century later in 1718, the public records of Boston show that the selectmen were impowered "to lease out a piece of land * * * for the erecting of a hospital or resthouse there for the reception and entertainment of sick persons coming from beyond the sea, and in order to prevent the spreading of infection."

We are not quite so blunt today in our language. Even though an occasional patient, nurse, or doctor may seem to be somewhat of a pest to others, human nature being what it is, we regard hospitals as temples that are truly devoted to the healing arts.

The use of the word "hospital" in this

country, early combined the Latin "host"

and "hostel" with the Grecian concept of a community institution. Larger than the more general meaning in England, where the terms "private hospital" and "nursing home" were usually limited to specialized institutions.

Among the most influential founders of American medicine and medical care were two Massachusetts brothers, Joseph and John Warren, who were largely responsible both for the development of our first military hospital in 1775, and for the medical school at Harvard. Joseph Warren, who had pioneered in medical studies, was killed dur-ing the battle of Bunker Hill, but his younger brother, John, carried forward his work by arranging for shelters for the wounded at Cambridge. The Army hospital, located in a Boston pasture, served as well to house John Warren's lectures on the cadaver; sessions which were conducted behind locked doors. But this early course in anatomy could not remain hidden and, after having been carried on sub rosa, it moved to Harvard College and formed the beginning for the medical school, with John Warren as the first professor of anatomy and surgery. His son, John Collins Warren, who succeeded to his chair, set the stage for modern surgery by founding the Massachusetts General Hospital (1811) where in 1846, he gave anesthesia its first public demonstration.

Today, hospitals in America rank among the 12 largest American industries, repre-senting an investment of billions of dollars, employing more than half a million people, and operating at a cost of more than a billion

dollars a year.

Within the past 10 years the demand for hospital care has increased over half again.

Just look at the record of births in your own city and you will find that most new arrivals now come via the hospital route

rather than the home.

Workmen's compensation laws, and the rapid expansion of group-insurance plans, with their tens of millions of members, have both extended the range of hospital care, and have made it simpler for the institutions to obtain prompt payment of bills. The facts that people are living longer, and that diseases of old age are increasing, have further added to the need for more facilities.

Each year we are providing more hospital beds, but the demand continues to outrun

the supply.

The day is fast approaching when all Americans will not only be born in hospitals but will have occasion to revisit them as patients several times during the rest of their lives.

It is generally agreed that the average community needs 4½ general beds for every

1,000 inhabitants.

This is not just a simple matter of buying a bed from a supply house. There is the building to pay for and maintain, there is costly equipment to purchase, and there are many skilled people to serve the patient who Will occupy that bed.

The United States Public Health Service estimates that the national average cost of a hospital bed is more than \$16,000.

Staffing a hospital is a big proposition. It is generally considered that a commuhity should have 1 general medical practitioner for every 1,200 persons. A mythical town of 70,000 should have at least 58 GP's. It needs specialists, too; 1 surgeon for every 50 beds in the hospital; 1 eye-ear-nose-and-throat man for every 100 beds, plus other

As for nonmedical personnel, the PHS rec-Ommends from 140 to 170 employees for every 100 patients. That breaks down to 80 to 105 nurses, 30 X-ray, laboratory, and dietetics people, and about 35 clerks and housekeepers.

So you can see that each bed requires a

lot of money to service.

If one thing is certain, it is the fact that your community hospital will not be able

to pay its own way completely. Revenue from patients, most sources agree, will only finance 85 to 90 percent of operating costs.

That is why hospitals need your help to keep going.

Nonpatients must carry part of the load. There are almost as many ways of financing a hospital as there are hospitals. Raising funds through public subscription requires the time and generous effort on the part of many people as you know from your own ex-A combination of private funds and public grants might be the better an-

Even hospital buildings have a life expectancy of about 50 years and they, too, need oxygen and transfusions, in the form of money, to keep them up to date and functioning.

Not to mention the income of the staff. which must keep step with the rising standard and cost of living, if these dedicated workers are to be truly appreciated.

Many States are assisting communities ith their hospital programs. Some match with their hospital programs. local contributions dollar for dollar. Others make smaller but still sizable grants.

The nationwide need for new hospitals and public health centers was recognized by the Congress in 1946 when the original Hospital Survey and Construction passed. The major purpose of this legislation is to assist the States to provide adequate hospital, clinic, and similar services to all their people.

This is accomplished in two phases; namely, the survey and planning phase, and the construction phase of financial assistance to the States in building hospital and related

facilities.

For the construction phase of the program, the Congress has, thus far, appropriated over \$682 million. Of this sum, over \$625 million, matched by \$1¼ billion in State and local funds, have been allotted to 2,300 projects approved for Federal aid.

The American Hospital Association, in its June 1954 Administrators Guide Issue, reports that there are 5,212 short-term general hospitals in the United States, providing

546,000 general hospital beds.

In the New England States alone there are 242 voluntary, nonprofit institutions with 31,000 beds; 17 proprietary, with 523 beds; 31 governmental, with 5,661 beds.

It is apparent that, in our part of the country, the backbone of the system is comprised of the voluntary, nonprofit hospital

The summary data on the program in Massachusetts indicates that 64 projects have been approved and are receiving Federal assistance. Of particular interest is the fact that of these projects approved under the program, 52 of these, or 81.2 percent of the total projects were in the voluntary, nonprofit ownership group.

I shall not go into the financial figures of your fund-raising campaign, because I know that mathematics is a dry subject that has some of the effects of anesthesia.

Now if we only had some figures like Marilyn Monroe-or some of your own attractive nurses-to dramatize the problems of our hospitals, I am sure that everybody would take a lively interest in those problems.

As it is, you the workers, and you the donors, have done a fine job in rallying to the support of the Revere Memorial Hospital.

Concerning the future, I think we must have a big and continuing public relations program in order to make everybody hospital conscious.

For the health of the individual and the well-being of the community it is necessary that hospitals should be free from financial worries.

A popular song a few years ago bemoaned the fact that "money is the root of all evil." I believe that the author of those lyrics did

not refuse to accept some of the money that came his way as a result of his efforts.

Hard-pressed hospital administrators and trustees know how indispensable money is-to buy and maintain facilities, improve on equipment, and pay for the services of those who attend to the sick.

Without you, the benefactors, a commu-nity hospital might not survive.

Even though you do not wear a nurse's uniform, or apply a doctor's stethoscope, or take a blood count in the laboratory, you make all these services available to your fellowmen.

In behalf of the Revere Memorial Hospital—even though, as a Congressmen, I wouldn't be of much use on its staff—permit me to thank you for your neighborly spirit and your generosity.

Kind hearts and gentle people are the unsung heroes on the road of life.

And you, the contributors to your community's hospital, are angels of mercy.

Mr. Cain Speaks Up

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker. under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include an editorial from the New York Times of January 25, 1955, entitled "Mr. Cain Speaks Up":

MR. CAIN SPEAKS UP

There can no longer be any doubt that the Federal security program is one of the major domestic headaches of this administration. It will probably remain so, as it should, until there is some substantial and meaningful reform of the present situation.

One of the most effective criticisms of this situation has recently come from a highly qualified but unexpected quarter. Harry P. Cain, former Republican Senator from Washington, has for the better part of 2 years been a member of the Subversive Activities Control Board. This agency was established by the Internal Security Act of 1950 to pass on the Attorney General's designation of organizations coming under the sanctions of that law; and it has held its hearings with a notable degree of moderation, propriety, and respect for processes. When Mr. Cain served in the Senate from 1947 to 1953 he was generally considered to be a member of the far-right wing; and this fact only adds to the piquancy of his remarks.

As a Republican who has been deeply and officially involved in the workings security process Mr. Cain deserves attention in stating that "we have constructed an apparatus which can destroy us if we don't watch out. I know but few." he says, "who think the administration of the system has been adequate to the reasonable requirements of freedom. . . . I hope that Republican leaders will begin to acknowledge the criticisms more rapidly and move more swiftly in correcting mistakes in judgment or procedure when they occur. * * * Some changes in both attitudes and procedures must be agreed to or the system will never

Unlike many critics, Mr. Cain has some concrete proposals for improvement of the program. They include: More meticulous care in the selection of security officers—a most important point too frequently over-looked; greater experience and independence on the part of hearing boards; separation of personnel from security functions within the Federal service; individual consideration of the importance of security in any particular job; revision of the almost impossible present criteria of security; more care in the use of the term "security risk."

A security program is essential, but there is nothing sacred about the present one, and its defenders owe it to the American public to do a good deal more than bury their heads in the sand and hope the storm will

soon pass over.

We Must Go Slow in Reducing Tariffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, since announcement was made of the policy to be pursued in the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act, and the power to be given to the President to cut tariffs, there has come into my office many letters protesting against the adoption of such. These letters point out the disastrous effect that ill-advised action would have on their particular industry. All of which impresses me with the fact that it is a matter that should have the utmost consideration, and that no action should be taken that would create the possibility of damage to any industry, or tend to destroy or curtail employment among the workers of this country with its consequent distress to them and their families.

As an indication of the concern that has been created because of the proposed changes, I am including as part of my remarks the following letter received by me. It reads as follows:

DRIVER-HARRIS CO.,
Harrison, N. J., January 20, 1955.
Hon. Charles A. Wolverron,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

My DEAR CONGRESSMAN WOLVERTON: We have been reading about H. R. 1, the bill which is presently under discussion in the House and ultimately will be in the hands of the Senate, having to do with tariff. We have read of the proposals to further reduce tariff on imports on a gradual 5 per-

cent yearly basis.

We are strongly against this drastic proposal of across-the-board tariff reductions. Circumstances vary in different industries and our industry is a case in point. Ours is very specialized alloy business wherein our alloys are sold by the pound and not on a tonnage basis as is the case with steel. follows, therefore, that in such a specialized field the skill required to produce these critical alloys must be very high with attendant high costs and labor rates. At the present time, the tariff on our products is 121/2 percent in one category and 121/2 percent plus a further 5 percent in another category. are now beginning to feel the bite of foreign competition as importers can purchase these highly specialized alloys abroad, import them into this country, pay the above-mentioned duty thereon and undersell us by 25 percent. It is already happening. With our high cost problem, which is fixed and cannot be backed away from, this is a very serious one indeed.

The major factor in all of this, however, is that our industry is one of the most important ones in the country from the standpoint of national defense. When World II started, as was the case at the beginning of World War I, our company was one of the first in northern New Jersey whose output was commandeered by the Government and all output for civilian supply was immediately stopped. This prevailed throughout all of these periods and without question would occur again if such an emergency arose. Bearing this in mind, it is improvident to permit the demoralization of such an important factor in the defense structure of this country by reducing tariffs on like imported products to the vanishing point, which would be the case if the present program should be put into effect. We might add that the tariff on our products has already been reduced the full allowable 50 percent.

If you feel that it would be of any avail to address the Ways and Means Committee on this subject, we will consider doing so.

We, therefore, strongly urge that you consider this tariff matter from the standpoint of survival of this industry in the United States and its critical preservation for the good of the country as a whole in case of a national emergency.

Cordially yours,

STANLEY M. TRACY, Executive Vice-President.

Commemoration of Second Anniversary of Inauguration of President Eisenhower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, the second anniversary of the inauguration of President Eisenhower was commemorated by a reception at the Capitol Hill Club on January 20, 1955. On that occasion the members and their guests listened to a few remarks from that great Republican, the Honorable Joseph W. Martin, Jr., and a letter was received and read from the President of the United States. This letter is an inspiration to all Americans, and I hope it will be read thoughtfully by many of our citizens.

Mr. MARTIN's remarks and the President's letter follow:

Fellow Republicans, I guess it is safe to say that here, as I look around; and I am happy to come and join in this anniversary celebration. It is a good thing to have a club like this where we can gather occasionally and become better acquainted. We belong to a great party. We belong to a party that not only the destinies of America, but the world are largely dependent upon to guide them safely. We are happy to have this organization where we can meet and organize to carry on that great work.

We are 2 years old, and knowing Jrm Auchincloss as I do, the energy and zeal and the time he puts into this club, I know that before a few years pass, this will be a club that we will all be genuinely proud of. And we want to have it, too, as part of our plans for 1956. We had a little setback last year, but it is only a slight setback. Next year will be another year.

We can win in 1956. I know that. I have been all over the country and sounded out the sentiment. Last fall I spoke in 23 States. There is no discouragement to be found for Republicans when they visit the other States of this Union. The people are all active and loyal. None are discouraged. What they are looking for is for us here in Washington to make a record so they can go out and win this victory in 1956. This is a must. We can do it by meetings like this, as we come here and talk over our plans with each other, and we arrange what we believe is going to be a great victory in 1956.

The program of this administration, in my judgment, will be a sound and forward-looking one. It will appeal to the large majority of our people if we can bring our message to the country. I am happy to join in this celebration, because I know this club can be helpful to the party. This meeting stimulates the interest which must be aroused

to win the great victory in 1956.

THE WHITE HOUSE,
Washington, January 18, 1955.
Hon. James C. Auchingtoss,
House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

DEAR JIM: Because it would be a great pleasure for both of us, Mrs. Eisenhower and I are disappointed that we cannot be at the Capitol Hill Club on January 20 for the inaugural anniversary. For me, personally, the occasion would be an opportunity to discuss with my fellow members some thoughts that I feel are of interest to us all. But—at the risk of mixing a message of regret with a dissertation—I venture, in this note, to suggest a few of them.

This administration is committed to a

This administration is committed to a program of progressive moderation, liberal in its human concerns, conservative in its economic proposals, constructively dynamic and optimistic in its appraisal of the future. This program, I firmly believe, merits the endorsement and support of thinking, confident, forward-looking Americans.

For our country and the world, we seek establishment of international relationships characterized by order and justice, in which reason and truth are respected, under which men can live as neighbors at peace. Within the United Nations and in all our pacts for mutual security, our treaties of alliance, our proposals for trade, that purpose inspires our foreign policy.

For our national economy, we seek a dependable stability in our present assets, a vigorous expansion in our future growth. These can be best achieved, we believe, by giving the private citizen the greatest possible opportunity—consistent with the rights of others—to contribute to the development of the economy and to share in its abundance.

For individual Americans, we seek increase in their opportunity to enjoy good health, good schools, good homes; we seek a lessening in their fear of personal disaster and in the impact of hardships beyond their control. In this endeavor, we reject Federal domination over State and community, for we seek to strengthen—not to weaken—the historic self-reliance of our people.

The principles and purposes, sketchily outlined here, must be, in my judgment, the standard of the Republican Party through the coming months. Committed to them, we can and must work together to advance the legislative program now before the 84th Congress, for this program is their legislative expression.

Thereby we shall serve our party and the Republic. We shall draw to our ranks men and women of action and wisdom who, in prayerful thought and dedicated effort, strive for an America worthy of their forebear's dream and fit for their children's living. Together—all of us—we shall achieve it.

Sincerely.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

Torch of Freedom Burns in the Ukraine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HORACE SEELY-BROWN, JR.

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. SEELY-BROWN. Mr. Speaker, there is no better occasion than the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence from the Russian Empire of the Czar and from the Soviet Government which followed it, to remind the people of the United States that the torch of freedom burns brightly behind the Iron Curtain, and nowhere more brightly than in the breasts of some 40 million Ukrainians who are defacto a part of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics.

In my district of eastern Connecticut, We have thousands of American citizens Who have ties of blood and culture with their homeland in the Ukraine. They are loved and respected by their neighbors. They take seriously their responsibilities and privileges as American citizens, while retaining, in their churches and patriotic and fraternal societies, observance of their traditional customs, such as the one just recently observed, as it is every year, of the Ukrainian Christmas on January 7, based upon the Julian calendar. Not only in Colchester, Where at St. Mary's Ukrainian Catholic Church elaborate preparations for this festival were made and carried out, but also in Norwich, Hebron, Salem, and Lebanon, all towns in my district, where other hundreds of families dwell, where there was similar observance, the people combined with the prayers at their Christmas services prayers to speed the day when the aspirations for real and lasting freedom in the homeland will be fulfilled.

In the Ukraine, although conquered by Soviet imperialism and brigaded in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, like so many other peoples who were free once and who prepare for the day when they can be again, the people may be frustrated, but they are not despairing.

The people of the Ukraine know, from the experience of hundreds of years, that there can be no such thing as peaceful coexistence with a tyrant. As one of the first victims of Soviet imperialism, Ukraine has been particularly subjected to the murder, corruption, and pillaging of the invader, and endures as a captive state only with determination to find and to provide the opportunity to break the shackles.

It is significant that Soviet Russia recognizes the Ukraine as a nation, by asking for and obtaining the admittance to the United Nations, when it was formed, of the Ukraine Soviet Republic as a member of the United Nations. The day must come when the Ukraine will be a totally independent nation in its own right, and not a vest-pocket member to swell the voting strength of the Soviet bloc.

The anniversary of the proclamation of Ukraine independence by the people

of that nation in 1918 should be, at this time, an inspiration to the American people as we continue to strive forward to extend the boundaries of the free world. We shall give, as people dedicated to preserving and restoring human freedom everywhere, every possible assistance and encouragement to the efforts which are being made, and will continue to be made, by the people now behind the Iron Curtain, to attain that freedom.

The Committee on Ways and Means

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Ways and Means, on which I have the honor to serve, has recently begun public hearings on the administration's foreign trade program. These hearings are expected to last a minimum of 3 weeks and then, of course, extensive consideration in executive session will be required.

In certain quarters, criticism is being leveled at the committee for its failure to undertake this important task during the last Congress. The following editorial from the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Monday, January 17, 1955, is a case in point:

IN LESS THAN A WEEK

How to get down to business in Congress promptly has been demonstrated by the House Ways and Means Committee under the chairmanship of Democratic Representative Jere Cooper, of Tennessee.

Chairman Cooper has already started public hearings on President Eisenhower's foreign trade program. Not only that, he has called as the first witness no less an official than Secretary of State Dulles. This would suggest that instead of a long-drawn-out procedure with a lot of time-consuming minor witnesses first, the committee will be ready to take action on proposed reciprocal trade legislation early in the session on the basis of top-level testimony.

President Eisenhower sent his foreign trade message to Congress only a week ago, and it is even less than a week since the Senate and House completed organization of their committees. Yet hearings are already started on perhaps the one most important part of Mr. Eisenhower's program—the part designed to loosen the bonds that restrict world trade.

Contrast this with the way things went on the Ways and Means Committee in the last two sessions when the committee had a Republican majority and high-ranking Republican Representative DANIEL A. REED, of New York, for its chairman.

On this vital issue at least, the White House ought to say a prayer of thanksgiving that it "lost" the election last November.

Mr. Speaker, the Committee on Ways and Means has a reputation for hard work which is recognized by every Member of this House. Its record of legislative accomplishment in the last Congress is unsurpassed. It may well be without parallel in our entire history. If the committee was, in fact, dilatory in taking up the trade question, then it

deserves criticism. On the other hand, if the committee was not dilatory, and I shall demonstrate that it was not, then this charge must be labeled as irresponsible, political, and unworthy of a great newspaper.

On April 7, 1953, during the 1st session of the 83d Congress, the President requested a 1-year extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act. At the same time he referred to the need for a thorough reexamination of our whole foreign economic policy. Accordingly, on May 1, 1953, the President transmitted a message recommending creation of a commission to make this review. These two Presidential recommendations were carried out promptly. On June 9, 1953, the Committee on Ways and Means favorably reported the bill to provide for a 1-year's extension of the trade agreements authority and to establish the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy. It was provided therein that the report of the Commission was to be submitted within 60 days after the commencement of the second session in 1954. Obviously, it was not intended that the Congress take up the question until after the report had been transmitted.

Let us look for a moment at some of the work the Committee on Ways and Means did during that 1st session of the 83d Congress, when we are informed that it was wasting time. It reported some 34 bills of which 18 became law during that session. In addition to the trade agreements bill described above, it provided for extension of the excess-profits tax on corporations; it provided the Technical Changes Act of 1953, containing a number of technical changes in the tax law; it provided the Customs Simplification Act of 1953, the first major overhaul of customs legislation in many years; the Employment Security Administrative Act which became law in 1954: it provided a judicial retirement system for the tax court, a long-needed reform; it provided for the extension of the renegotiation Act; and many other lesser items of legislation. Perhaps most important, the committee began public hearings June 16, 1953, on general revenue revision. In the course of these hearings, the committee heard testimony from over 500 witnesses. It conducted hearings on 25 days and 10 nights. The full committee remained in session for 2 weeks after adjournment to complete the hearings. These exhaustive hearings made it possbile for the committee to start writing a new tax law in executive session immediately upon convening of the second session. No further public hearings were necessary.

Let us turn now to the 2d session of the 83d Congress and see how the Ways and Means Committee wasted its time. Presumably, it was during that second session that critics of the committee believe it should have considered the trade problem. In this connection, let us not forget that the President's message containing his recommendations on foreign economic policy, based upon the economic report of the Commission, was not transmitted to the Congress until March 30, 1954.

On January 13, 1954, the committee immediately began work in executive session on a complete overhaul of our tax laws, a work which culminated in the Internal Revenue Code of 1954. These executive sessions usually occupied both mornings and afternoons. This was our schedule of executive sessions on the tax bill: January 13, 14, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, February 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, March 2, 3, 4, and 5. If this schedule appears fairly full, do not forget that the staff upon which the committee must depend for technical assistance, had to do its preparatory work in between the executive sessions, usually late into every night and through every weekend.

On March 10, the committee reported the Excise Tax Reduction Act of 1954, carrying out the President's recommendation for extension of certain excises and providing the first significant reduction in excise taxes for many years. The bill was debated and passed by the House the same day. On March 17 and 18, the House debated and passed the mammoth tax revision bill. On March 19 and 30, the excise bill was before the House-Senate conference committee.

Following work on tax revision which the President had called the "cornerstone" of his program, the Ways and Means Committee turned to social-security legislation. Public hearings on the President's social-security recommendations, which had been submitted early in the session, began April 1. The schedule of hearings was as follows: April 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, and 15. The Easter recess began April 15 and lasted until April 26. Following the recess, executive sessions on social security began May 10 and continued on May 11, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 25, and 28. The bill was debated in the House and passed June 1.

Next the committee took up the unemployment-compensation legislation recommended by the President. Public hearings were held June 8, 9, 10, and 11; executive sessions on July 14 and 15. The bill was not considered by the House until July 8.

On June 10, the committee had reported the bill for a 1-year extension of the trade-agreements authority.

On June 22, 24, 25, and 28, public hearings were had on customs simplification, an important part of the President's foreign economic policy recommendations. Executive sessions on this legislation were held on June 25, 29, and July 1. The bill passed the House July 26.

On July 7, the committee conducted executive sessions on a variety of less important legislative items and on the 8th began the extremely important House-Senate conference on H. R. 8300, the new Internal Revenue Code of 1954. This conference covered the period July 8, 9, 12, 13, 14, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 26, and 27.

The House-Senate conference on the vital social-security legislation began August 16 and lasted, without interruption, until August 20.

Mr. Speaker, that is the record of the Ways and Means Committee last session. Our box score for the Congress was 52 bills reported and 41 enacted into law.

During the second session alone, our record was astonishing. The tax-revision bill which, as I have mentioned, the President called the cornerstone of his program was the first major overhaul of the tax system in over 75 years. It has been estimated that some 500,000 man-hours went into its preparation. The social-security bill extended coverage for the first time to about 10 million workers and their families, thus achieving practically universal coverage, a goal sought for many years. The unemployment-insurance bill extended unemployment-compensation protection to millions of workers to whom this coverage had not previously been available. This was the first significant extension of the system since its inception.

It should also be pointed out that on 15 different days during the session the House considered bills reported by the Ways and Means Committee. This is exclusive of debates on conference reports.

Now, Mr. Speaker, when it is apparent that even under Democratic leadership it will take the Ways and Means Committee about 5 weeks to finish its current deliberations on the trade bill, I cannot but wonder how we could have done the job properly last session and have done so sufficiently in advance to permit a similar period of consideration in the Senate. As I pointed out above, it was not until August 20, the very day of adjournment, that work on the socialsecurity bill was completed. In fact, I doubt if ever a committee of this Congress has applied itself so diligently, so tirelessly, and so successfully as did the Ways and Means Committee last session,

When our committee reported the trade-agreements extension bill last June 10, Chairman Reed publicly declared:

This 1-year extension will serve to maintain continuity of our present trade relationships, while, at the same time, permitting the Congress to have thorough public hearings early next year on the recommendations of the Commission on Foreign Economic Policy.

That is no more and no less than is being done now.

Mr. Speaker, I do not mind criticism when it is honest and when it is fair. When it is neither, I resent it. I do not believe that even the most partisan Member of this House would charge the Ways and Means Committee with having wasted time last session. However, perhaps I am wrong to expect equal fairness and objectivity from the "independent" newspaper whose editorial I have quoted above.

Search for a Missing Child

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my re-

marks in the RECORD, I include the following communication from M. F. Stark, of Waltham, Mass.:

DEAR MRS. ROGERS: It may be of interest for you to learn that an Army helicopter from the Bedford base discovered a child's body frozen in the ice on the Charles River here in Waltham. The child strayed from Sawyer Road rear Waltham pumping station; was 3 years old. A search of some 1,000 volunteers about half the night, and the letting out of several plants for the help to join in early, without success. About 10 a. m. Wednesday the river in spots was dynamited. A helicopter soared overhead round and round. At noon it returned to the airport in Bedford. When it came back it was here only a short time before the observer saw the green playsuit, and the recovery of the body was immediate. The tot was buried Friday. Only daughter and child of a family by the name of Hession. Beautiful little tike. I am sure you will be pleased to know one of your "boys," yes, two, observer and pilot, recovered the youngster, although too late to have doctors return her to her parents with life in her body.

M. F. STARK.

WALTHAM, MASS.

Anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS B. CURTIS

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the observance of the anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence, I am at this time inserting in the Record a letter I wrote to the president of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Inc., Mr. Lev E. Dobriansky:

Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., January 24, 1955. Mr. Lev E. Dobriansky,

President, Ukranian Congress Committee of America, Inc., Georgetown University, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. DOBRIANSKY: Thank you for your letter of January 18, 1955, suggesting that I put some comments into the Congres-SIONAL RECORD in observance of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence which occurred January 22, 1918. I shall be happy to do so. I think you have struck a basic note when you point out that all this talk of coexistence leaves many wondering whether the plight of the enslaved people behind the Iron Curtain is to be forgotten. I am satisfied their plight has not been forgotten by the people of our great country. but I am afraid that sometimes it is neces sary to remind the leaders of our people that there still exists in the breasts of our people the burning fire that produced the original immigrations to this country, the Declara-tion of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the stirring speeches of Patrick Henry and other great patriots. This warmth in the breasts of the American people goes out to all the enslaved people of the world wherever they may be. Though we may not immediately share this warmth with our brothers, it is important that they realize the fire is there and that the time will soon come when tyranny has run its course and they shall again enjoy freedom.

I for one can never talk in terms of peace as long as injustice exists. In fact, true peace

only comes through attaining freedom and justice. May our countrymen never forget the heritage which is theirs and always keep in mind the necessity for assisting at all times any peoples or persons struggling for the freedom and justice which was given to us through the blood of our forebearers. Sincerely,

THOMAS B. CURTIS.

The President's Budget Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, this body has heard the President's message on the proposed budget. No one has ever Successfully challenged the fact that he has the defense and welfare of our Nation foremost in his mind and as the Buidepost of his report to Congress. The thoughtful preparation of this recommendation that so closely affects our economy and our lives gives me hope that we are advancing rapidly toward a sound financial future for our Nation. I, for one, appreciate the tremendous amount of time, effort, and consideration that has gone into the preparation of this voluminous document. I would like at this time to include in the RECORD editorials from the Tampa Times of Tuesday January 18 and the St. Petersburg Independent of January 20, 1955, Which, I believe, express sincere reactions and considered opinions of two of our great papers of the First District of Florida and the Deep South.

The editorials follow:

[From the Tampa Times of January 18, 1955]
PRESIDENT'S BUDGET MESSAGE IS REASONABLE
PRESENTATION

The outstanding fact in President Eisenhower's budget message to Congress is that he is fully aware of the necessity to keep national security the first order of business.

His 62.4 billion budget, which is a marked drop from the \$73.9 billion expenditures of the last year of the Truman administration, is designed to devote \$2 out of every \$3 to defense. That is, the President has proposed expenditures for major national security programs in the 1955-56 fiscal year of approximately \$40.5 billion, about 65 percent of the total budget.

These recommendations won't necessarily please the military or the internationalists, but certainly it shows an earnest effort on the part of the President to be as realistic as possible. It cannot be said that his recommendations are niggardly, yet the budget proposals will not satisfy the profligate who continue to want to fling American dollars in every direction.

Already certain of the more violently partisan Democrats are jeering over the fact that the President admits the year will end with another deficit, perhaps as much as \$2.4

billion.

This would be comical if it were not so ironic, coming as it does from confirmed and hardened New Dealers, some of whom were consistently helping during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations to create enormous annual deficits which for 20 years never varied except when the Republican 80th Congress did balance the budget, to the grief of these same big spenders.

It is plain now that if the present proposed budget is to be balanced it must be done by Congress, and that possibility is extremely dubious now that the liberal Rooseveltians and Trumanites are proposing to run the Democratic caucus again.

One of the inconsistencies of congressional thinking is the fact that while there is always a lot of talk about holding down on appropriations, when it comes to the last moments compromises invariably lead to increases.

Of course, many of these increases are legitimate enough. They are something like the Tampa Harbor improvements which in many local areas are urgently needed, but in the face of grandiose schemes for Federal expenditures that are well intended, but not imperatively necessary, the result is always to destroy and thwart the good planning of the economy-minded Members.

Statesmanship too often gives way to back-

scratching politics.

An example of the kind of thing that unbalances budgets is the President's proposal for large increases, sometimes as much as 25 percent to individuals, in the pay of Armed Forces personnel. It may be true that lacking the patriotic motives of current wars involving the country, volunteers are not storming the recruiting centers. And no-body denies that men and women who risk their lives are entitled to recognition on paydays but there it is. The proposed increases would add many millions to the annual budget, contributing to the anticipated deficit.

It is perfectly obvious therefore we cannot continue to increase budget items and have a balanced budget at the end of the fiscal year unless tax revenues keep pace. And there always arises the dilemma which politicians hate to face.

No doubt there will be much pulling and hauling and endless talk before the budget is finalized. Yet, the fact remains that Mr. Eisenhower and his department heads have tried to produce a budget that has no phony spots intended to deceive the public and does no deceptive dodging of the facts.

Considering the enormous problems of world unrest and peril of war created by the Communists, it may be said in all fairness that the presentation is not a bad job.

[From the St. Petersburg Independent of January 20, 1955]

BRINGING THE MESSAGE HOME

The President's annual budget message, though it proposed the expenditure of \$62,408,000,000, received remarkably little attention from the public at large. In our observation the average citizen just glanced at the big headlines, noted that the recommendation was a trifle lower than last time, sniffed a bit that we still are in the red, shrugged over allowance of two-thirds of the whole shot for defense—and called it a day.

This typical attitude of taxpayers, all but number by years of astronomical figures, is probably excusable. Uncle Sam's business has become so huge and so infinitely ramified no one person can grasp even a small part of it. The message was so long and detailed that even the House did not listen it through and the reading clerk omitted whole passages. It was so long, indeed, that, if any local newspaper had run it in full, the reader would have found half the usual news left out. And he probably wouldn't have read the message anyway.

All these factors contribute to the budget message being regarded as something remote and of no personal concern. Yet it forms the basis on which the House will originate appropriations that determine the extent of Federal activities affecting every person within our borders and millions outside.

To bring the matter home it is only necessary to run down in your mind the Federal functions that are carried on right on your

own ground. Not only are they many, but some have a large impact, economically as well as in terms of service, on the community.

Servicing the St. Petersburg area through its post offices last year was a \$2,494,065 business. In salaries alone, 520 year-round employees received the lion's share—\$2,362,357.

The Coast Guard Installation, with a replacement value of \$10,736,485, had a payroll last year of \$628,000. As personnel is due to go from 112 to 133, it should this year hit \$750.000.

But the most amazing figure, an estimate by the local office of the Social Security Administration, is a present level of social-security payments to residents of Pinellas County of \$1,332,113 a month. The figure has been climbing and will jump still further with liberalization.

To these could be added, were there space, expenditures made in the business of the Veterans' Administration at Bay Pines and the Don Ce-Sar, recruiting stations, the FBI, the draft board—including payments to more than 1,300 listed on its rolls as in service, the Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Office of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and several others.

The Federal Government is right in our midst and the budget message, read or unread, was nothing remote.

Threat to American Salmon-Canning Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JACK WESTLAND

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. WESTLAND. Mr. Speaker, the American salmon-canning industry is one of the most important industries in the Pacific Northwest. It is because this industry, which is so vital to the wellbeing of the Pacific Northwest and the Nation, is being threatened by continued heavy imports of Japanese and Canadian salmon that, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a telegram sent to the Honorable Jere Cooper, chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee, copy of which I also received, concerning the proposed extension of the Trade Agreements Act:

SEATTLE, WASH., January 20, 1955.

Hon. JERE COOPER,

Chairman, Ways and Means Committee, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.:

The American salmon-canning industry, through its three trade associations, namely the Association of Pacific Fisheries, Inc., Alaska Salmon Industry, Inc., and the Northwest Salmon Canners Association, repre-senting together over 95 percent of the American production, wishes to file with your committee its desire that the present Trade Agreements Act be extended without change and in every case of a proposed reduction in tariff, the affected industry should first be given adequate notice and a hearing before the Tariff Commission. Our industry consists of about 165 salmon canneries operating in the States of Oregon, Washington, and the Territory of Alaska, employing approximately 40,00 persons, mostly of the skilled labor type. Investment in these canneries and their floating equipment is estimated at approximately \$140 million. Under the

present Trade Agreements Act in 1951 our Government reduced the tariff on canned salmon from 25 to 15 percent ad valorem, the 25-percent rate having been in effect since 1920. Following this tariff reduction, during the years 1952 and 1953, 9.500,000 and over 12 million pounds of canned salmon, respectively, mostly from Canada, were import-Japanese salmon fishing expeditions in the North Pacific south of our Aleutian Islands, produced 150 million pounds of salmon last year as against some 38 million pounds of salmon produced last year in our important Bristol Bay area north of Alaska Peninsula. The production of salmon by the Japanese expeditions in the north Pacific area is increasing tremend-ously each year. They are now planning to double last year's production during 1955. Canada also has a large annual production of canned salmon. The present American tariff of 15 percent permits the importa-tion of canned salmon at a profit from both the rapidly increasing Japanese supply and the Canadian supply, as cost of production in these countries is considerably less than American production costs. For the reasons given above, this industry strongly disapproves of any legislation which would permit any further reduction in the tariff on our product. Such action would be highly detrimental not only to the operators of the canneries, but also to the cannery workers, fishermen, vessel owners, and communities in Oregon, Washington, and Alaska, which are largely or in some cases almost entirely dependent upon the catching and canning of salmon for a livelihood.

ASSOCIATION OF PACIFIC FISHERIES, INC. ALASKA SALMON INDUSTRY, INC. NORTHWEST SALMON CANNERS ASSOCIATION.

Is Justice Breaking Down in the United States?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the following article to the attention of our colleagues. It appeared in the December 24, 1954, edition of U. S. News & World Report:

Is JUSTICE BREAKING DOWN IN UNITED STATES? SHORTAGE OF JUDGES AND OF MONEY JAMS

A gradual breakdown is taking place in the administration of justice in this country. Federal courts are undermanned. Yet they are jammed with the biggest backlog of cases in history.

Financial starvation is the root of the trouble. All of the Federal courts in the land—their judges, clerks, marshals, bailiffs. parole officers-are being forced to operate on a budget of \$27 million. That's scarcely enough for a good-sized Government bureau.

The Bureau of Indian Affairs is given three times as much money as the courts; the Civil Service gets nearly twice as much. Weather Bureau gets about the same sum. The White House in Washington alone requires a budget of more than \$2 million just to support the President. And, in further contrast, American taxpayers in 6 years have contributed more than a billion dollars in machinery for the industry of Europe. Yet, last year, more than a million dollars was trimmed from the proposal for a judicial budget of \$29 million.

To the judges, who have to administer justice in the United States, the situation is becoming alarming. One high-ranking member of a Federal appeals court fears that the court system may be "on its way to breaking down completely."

DILEMMA

The judges also are baffled about how to call the attention of Congress to their plight. They are a separate arm of Government. They have no lobby that can go to Congress to demand sufficient funds.* They have no to demand sufficient funds. pressure groups, such as farm organizations or labor unions, to plead their case before appropriations committees. They are above ordinary party politics. But they must depend absolutely on Congress for the money they need to operate.

Deputy Attorney General William P. Rogers urges that the Chief Justice of the United States appear before Congress each year to present the court's problems. "The judiciary needs a voice possessing strength and prestige to speak effectively," he has said. "That voice is, in my opinion, the voice of the Chief Justice of the United States." This would be expected to have the same kind of effect and to attract as much public attention as the annual state of the Union messages of the President.

Meanwhile, for lack of funds, the judges are operating under severe handicaps. In some courts the judges have to administer oaths to witnesses because the bailiffs are busy elsewhere. In others judges are forced to interrupt trials to show inexperienced clerks how to mark exhibits.

In many a court a case is set for trial and the plaintiff arrives, ready to begin; but the trial must be put off because papers have not been served on the defendant. United States marshal is supposed to serve the papers in Federal districts, but Congress since 1941 has cut the number of marshals by 10 percent. Now United States marshals often have to serve papers at night, after the courts are closed, because it is the only time they have.

Insufficient funds sometimes force judges to do without the services of law clerks and secretaries. One judge on a circuit court of appeals pays the salary of a substitute secretary out of his own pocket when his regular secretary takes sick leave. He isn't allowed to spend Federal funds for a substitute. When a court employee resigns and goes on terminal leave, he cannot be replaced until the leave is used up. The judge gets along without his services in the interim.

NATION LOSES

Complaints of the judges, however, are not directed at the inconvenience to themselves, but to the harm that these handicaps are doing to the administration of justice in the

It takes as long as 4 years in some Federal courts from the time a suit is filed until a decision is reached. It takes 3 years or longer just to get to trial. A delay of 2 years is found nearly everywhere. And if there is an appeal, another year is consumed. results in frequent miscarriages of justice as witnesses disappear or as criminals take as witnesses disappear or as criminals take advantage of delays to squirm out of their troubles. It inevitably leads to slow justice, and attorneys generally agree that "justice delayed is justice denied."

Take, as an example, a man hit by an auto who sues the driver in Federal court. He may have to wait 4 years before his case is called. Meanwhile, witnesses may die or their memories grow dim. They often move away or cannot be located when the case is

During all this time, hospital bills must be paid, sometimes when income is cut off because of inability to work. Often the person being sued is in just as bad a position. The mere existence of an unsettled suit against him may impair his credit or otherwise interfere with his business and personal

A specific example of delay is shown by 2 disastrous train wrecks on the Long Island Railroad in New York, in which 111 persons were killed and hundreds more injured. These wrecks occurred in 1950. The Federal district court in Brooklyn was flooded with damage suits. Only recently was the last case decided, and some are still bogged down in appeals courts.

This is not an unusual incident. In the southern district of New York it takes an average of 45 months from the time a case is filed until judge or jury reaches a verdict. In the eastern district the lapse is more than 3 years; in Washington, D. C., and Philadel-

phia, the delay is 2 years.
Clogged court calendars and insufficient staffs lead sometimes to miscarriages of justice in criminal cases. In one instance, a maniac was set free by mistake. In another court, Federal attorneys normally are assigned 35 or 40 cases at a time, but close cooperation with the judge proves to be im-

possible.

Thus, sometimes as many as 5 cases may be called for trial on 1 day. While the attorney is busy in one court, another of his cases may be called before another judge. Then an assistant must take over and he may have no more than 10 minutes to prepare his case. The United States attorney in this district notes that "our conviction rate is high, but this isn't good law enforcement."

PAROLE WORK SUFFERS

Lack of funds also is eating into effective probation and parole work. This year requests for funds for parole supervision were trimmed 35 percent by Congress. As a result, the judge and the parole board fre-quently cannot arrange for proper supervision and are faced with the choice of sending convicted people to jail or releasing them

When it comes to probation, funds are so tight that most probation officers are occupied with investigating the background of offenders before they are sentenced, rather than looking out for their wards. Seldom does an officer have more than an hour a month to devote to a convicted person who is released on probation.

Judges argue that this kind of financial starvation makes it impossible for either the offender or the public to get fair treatment.

The courts are further deprived of adequate equipment. Law libraries, one of the basic tools of the judiciary, are held to bare minimums. Because of budget cuts, the courts this year were instructed to cancel subscriptions to 99 separate types of law books. Even such a basic necessity as telephone service cannot always be provided for new judges. One judge, sitting temporarily in Washington, has to use a phone supplied by the Department of Justice.

Even if there were enough money for more court attendants and equipment, there would not be enough judges. During the year ended last June 30, United States dis-trict courts disposed of 93,161 cases, but left pending an additional 78,531. Over the past 3 years, civil cases piled on judges' desks increased 23 percent, and the backlog

grows larger every year.

If all of the 251 Federal district judges did nothing but work on the cases before them, they would require 10 months to clear their dockets. In the meantime, another backlog would be building up as a result of the new cases being filed. Similar delays are the rule rather than the exception in higher courts. A year sometimes is required before a circuit court of appeals can dispose of a case.

PRIMARY TROUBLE

The basic flaw in the administration of United States justice, as the judges see it, Is that Congress has failed to let the courts keep pace with the growth of the country. Fifty years ago, when the United States population was 76 million, there were 101 district-court judges, with an average load of 236 cases each. Today, with more than double the population, there are 251 district judges, with a caseload of 403 each.

In other words, the number of cases has quadrupled, but the number of judges has little more than doubled. If the number of judges had kept up with the rise in cases, there would be 404 district judges today instead of 251. There also would be 87 judges on the circuit courts instead of 68.

From time to time Congress has authorized increases in the number of judges, but seldom often enough. In 1953, appointment of 30 new district judges was authorized, but Congress appropriated enough money to pay only 15 of them.

Pay scales, too, are being held down. New York State pays its top judge more than the \$25,500 paid to the Chief Justice of the United States. Pennsylvania pays as much as the United States. In six States, trial-court judges receive more than Federal district court judges, their counterparts on the Federal bench.

Under such conditions, the President admittedly has a hard time finding qualified men to serve on Federal courts when vacancies occur. Recently, when a vacancy occured in one Midwestern State, three leading attorneys were recommended for the judgeship. All declined. They were making more in private practice than they would have received on the bench. The result was that the appointment went to a lawyer whose income from private practice was not much above the \$15,000 annual salary of a district-court judge.

The chief problem of the Federal courts, however, is lack of manpower stemming from lack of funds. The whole Federal judiciary employs just 4,000 people—from Supreme Court Justices to courthouse messengers. That contrasts with the 1,500 persons employed in the White House alone.

Federal jurists hold the opinion that the people of the United States cannot get the fair treatment they deserve if the courts are to continue on a financial starvation diet. That's why they want the Chief Justice to make their problem known.

Postal Rates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RALPH W. GWINN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, the President's request in his message to Congress last week for an increase in the salaries of postal workers provides the Congress with a splendid opportunity to thoroughly review the whole operation of the Postal Department.

Such an audit is urgently required in view of the deficit of over \$4 billion that the Department has accumulated since World War II. The interest on this deficit presently amounts to over \$100 million annually.

President Eisenhower is to be commended for requesting an increase in postal rates to be coupled with the increase in salaries. Without such an increase in rates, the raise in pay would add an additional one-half billion dollars

to the large deficit already accumulated.

I have always opposed Federal deficits, particularly when they occur in agencies conducting proprietary functions of the Government. The Postal Department is a business run by the Federal Government, and as such should pay its own way. That is commonsense and sound economics. The alternative is to subsidize the Department out of general revenues, thereby increasing the already heavy tax burden of the American people.

I support the President's recommendation for the establishment of an independent commission to handle the long-range postage-rate problem. The operation of such a commission will greatly facilitate future equitable adjustment of salaries and rates and enable the Congress to legislate intelligently and effectively. I regret that no such board is now in existence, as expert, unprejudiced opinion at this time would eliminate to a large degree, the necessity for the debate that will surely come on this question.

As I have indicated I support the President's recommendations generally. I disagree, however, as to the desirability of increasing the rates of first-class mail. It traditionally has paid its own way, because of its size and weight, and for the same reason constitutes the lightest burden in the letterman's pouch. It is also true that an increase on this type of mail most directly affects the ordinary citizen. Even a penny increase can become burdensome to the small wage earner when the occasion arises to send out invitations, announcements, and the like. It is my conviction that a rate increase on first-class mail would penalize the ordinary citzen and amount to a subsidy of the other classes of mail. The classes of mail that cause the deficit should pay the deficit.

I completely endorse rate increases on second- and third-class mail. Secondclass mail pays only 22 percent of its allocated cost and in 1954 expenses on this type of mail exceeded revenues by \$232 million. Present rates are only 3 percent higher than in 1932, the increases authorized since 1951 having only restored the decreases made in 1934. It is absurd to compel the general taxpayer to subsidize the distribution of magazines, newspapers, periodicals, and similar publications. The distribution costs should be borne by the publisher just as he must pay for his printing, paper, and labor. It is a cost of the business, not a cost of the Government.

All of us are familiar with the advertising circulars and similar printed matter that daily jam our mailboxes. A great deal of this material constitutes a nuisance. Not only do these circulars add greatly to the weight of the letter carrier's pouch, but they also compel him to stop at every mailbox on his route which is ordinarily not necessary. The expense of this type of mail, which is third class, exceeded revenues by \$147 million in 1954, which is adding insult to injury.

I agree with the President that increases in pay of postal workers is necessary and long overdue. Obviously rates should also be increased to meet the expenses of the business. The postal workers should support the rate increases on the mail that is most burdensome to the Department, that is, secondand third-class mail. On the principle. the postal workers as citizens and voters, should support and work for rate increases, for neither the Nation nor the Department can continue to operate on a deficit basis. The mounting Federal debt and the crushing tax burden leaves no alternative to a pay-as-you-go method of operation. For the postal employees to recommend any other policy would be selfish and shortsighted. I am sure that they are neither.

Hon. Frances P. Bolton, of Ohio, Proposes Commission on Nursing Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, I am today introducing a joint resolution providing for a Commission on Nursing Services.

For many years my colleagues in the House have known of my deep interest in the overall health needs of the Nation in general, and for nursing services in particular. Since World War II, the public has been told intermittently that there are not sufficient nurses of all kinds to meet the needs of the sick. It is my firm belief that if the public can be fully informed on the problem and significant developments in the nursing profession, the public will be stimulated to action on all levels and will accept with more understanding the increasing costs of nursing care and nursing education.

So today I have asked for this time in order to inform my colleagues why I believe a Commission plan is an imperative step that needs to be taken in order to find a feasible and effective way to solve the problem of adequate care for our sick.

THE PROBLEM

For some time the Nation has been faced with a very real difficulty in securing adequate care of the sick. All across the country there is a shortage of nurses, and this in spite of the fact that there are more nurses on duty today than ever before in our history. Also there are more young women taking nurse training. If we are to believe the studies that have been made—and I can assure you these are authoritative-some 55,000 nurses should be graduated each year to keep up with the ever-increasing demand for trained personnel. Our nursing schools are graduating only about 30,000.

Many things contribute to our present situation, not the least of which is the fact that the public which is now enjoying the highest standard of living in its history is demanding improved nursing services. This same public however,

is beginning to recognize the need of making the economic status of the nurse more nearly commensurate with her skills and added responsibilities.

We here in the Congress have added to the problem by providing for more hospitals, rehabilitation facilities, clinics, and nursing homes without doing anything to help staff these health facilities. We all recognize that this construction is necessary, but some way must be found to staff them adequately lest they stand empty as all too many hospital wards already do for lack of nurses. Surely the time has come when we must face up to the problem,

WHAT IS BEING DONE

There is nothing new about all this, for Government at all levels as well as many private institutions, has been grappling with the subject for years.

A recent study showed that the Federal Government this fiscal year is spending some \$2 billion annually for its health, medical and related activities, which range from construction of multimillion dollar hospitals to maintenance of clinics. The programs are spread among more than a score of departments and independent agencies. But it is being done without a basic plan to meet the overall needs of the American people.

There have been many segmental studies of health service problems, but none have taken an inclusive national view of the situation. There have been many unilateral studies by separate professional groups in the health field, but none by all the professions, with the public cooperating for the benefit of the patient. It has become apparent that a broader approach is needed.

BOLTON SURVEY, 83D CONGRESS

For several years I have conducted an extensive personal survey of the situation. Nearly 4,000 nurses, doctors, laymen, State governors, Federal and State health authorities, and Members of Congress replied to my letters on this subject. As I told this House last year:

There is overwhelming accord that there is indeed a nursing shortage. Many opinions are given as to the different causes: financial, psychological, social. The difficulties attendant on securing sufficient new recruits to take nurse training are particularly emphasized, as are low pay, and long and irregular hours. Competition from other fields and within the nursing field itself are emphasized.

Over and above the specific replies there was voiced a deep sense of the need for a large-scale program of informative education to bring about a dramatic realization of the common problem presented by this short supply of trained nursing personnel to all segments of the nursing profession, to all sectors of the health-care field. Today, as the survey dramatically brings out, there are misunderstandings, misconceptions, antagonisms, and areas of disagreement between the various groups involved which must be lessened in the mutual interest of all dedicated to serving the Nation's health,

On such a basis of research and educational information there can be constructed, it seems to me, a sound structure which will ultimately meet not only the needs and desires of the profession, but, even more importantly, the requirements of the everincreasing population in America as a whole.

WHY A NEW EMPHASIS NEEDED

Up to now efforts to deal with nursing service shortages have been mainly from the standpoint of increasing the number of nurses. The results have been neither effective nor adequate. Perhaps we have been trying to deal with the nursing shortage as an isolated problem, whereas in reality it is intertwined with and inseparable from the changing needs of a modern society. The tremendous advances in the medical sciences have created whole new fields of health workers and have given many new functions to the established health professions. Today, the professional nurse has much more complex a role to play than she had only a few years ago. Many different categories of nurses has developed with many overlapping functions within those categories. We must become aware of the many implications of these changes.

It has become apparent that we should be dealing with the nurse shortage in its true perspective within the entire health field for the benefit of society, that is, the patient. As an example of a few of the areas needing study:

It has become more and more evident that we should be making more effective use of the skills of the limited professional personnel we now have. We should be able to identify the scope of their duties and see that they are adequately prepared to exercise them.

The more exhaustively one studies the whole problem of the needs of patient care, the more one realizes that there is insufficient authoritative knowledge of what the component parts of a nursing staff should be in a general hospital. For example, how many professional nurses, how many practical nurses, how many auxiliary or volunteer workers could best serve in the various departments of hospitals and of public health associations?

A bringing together of such knowledge as already exists would unquestionably lead to intelligent reorganization of staffs which would improve and safeguard the quality of care given the patient. We need to know something about what the effect upon hospital nursing staffs is of the present trend towards home care of the patient.

Studies have indicated that the time of the professional nurse—time that could better be spent for the more important needs of the patient—is all too frequently used for routine record-keeping, housekeeping, errands for patients, floral arrangements, and so forth. Authoritative knowledge of the value in time and better patient care of methods to relieve the nurse of these would most certainly lead to a wider use by hospitals and nursing homes.

There are many questions that need to be answered, not the least among them: What is the actual economic situation of those who care for the sick? What should be the working hours and the working conditions? Are there no regulations to keep a nurse from lifting more pounds than labor unions permit men to lift? Important matters of this kind.

All such studies and many others should be evaluated and made available to the health field at large so that the patient can receive full benefits of the specialized skills of hospital personnel.

We should know more adequately the areas that could be supplied by less skilled, less highly trained personnel who would, of course, serve under supervision of the professional nurse.

It is quite possible that some part at least of what appears to be a nurse shortage may be due to a failure to adjust educational patterns to the various functional needs of the profession. This, of course, would influence the effectiveness of the use of the professionally trained nurse.

The Commission will be able to evaluate the varying educational and training requirements needed for bedside care, for teaching, for supervisory and administrative positions, for public and community health work.

THE COMMISSION

The proposed legislation seeks to provide a source of authoritative fact and expert opinion about nursing care for the entire field of health service.

It sets up a Commission to be composed of 12 members—4 appointed by the President, 4 by the President of the Senate, and 4 by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. Half of each group would be chosen from private life, and include representatives of the nursing and medical professions.

The Commission to be created by this bill is predicated upon comparable bodies which have done successful work, such as the Commission on Reorganization of Government, the Commission on International Trade, and others. The public interest generated through citizens committees studying these problems have brought—indeed, are still bringing—increased understanding of these subjects.

Mr. Speaker, I would like to call particular attention to section 1 (b) of the joint resolution, which states:

Nothing in this joint resolution shall be construed as authorizing or intending any interference with the programs of study and improvement of patient care which are being carried forward by the professional nurses' organizations, or by public or private endeavor, but rather this joint resolution shall be construed as an effort to augment such programs through the marshaling of resources for a multidisciplinary approach to the problem.

TYPES OF INFORMATION TO BE GATHERED

Up to now research and writing in the field of nursing have been dependent upon the limited resources of foundations, institutions, professional organizations, or individuals. They have had neither the facilities nor the authority of the National Government behind them, nor have they been able to rally a broad field of specialists representing all of the various groups that impinge on nursing. The Commission's membership will be so organized as to include experts, both men and women, from all the varied services, including representatives from the lay public. Working together as a top-level Commission, these people will:

Evaluate what the changing health needs of the public are.

Appraise the resources in money, manpower, and skills necessary to deal with these health needs.

Study the kind of nurse education and training necessary to meet these needs.

Study the relationship between the economic status of nurses, the professional skills required, and the existing personnel shortage.

Analyze the various techniques and arts of nursing including all successful new methods or devices, and indicate where they may best be applied.

Encourage additions to the body of knowledge of nursing as a discipline and thus permit more of the practice of nursing to be based on scientific principles.

In conclusion, Mr. Speaker, if the Commission is to serve its purpose, it must not only find the facts, but it should weigh and interpret them. It should draw conclusions and make, first interim reports, and then broad recommendations to the American people.* One of the direct results of such reports would be to inform the public of the problems and possible solutions—suggesting concerted public action.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I insert herewith this joint resolution that the Members may inform themselves at first hand:

House Joint Resolution -

Joint resolution for the establishment of a Commission on Nursing Services

Whereas it is generally recognized that the demand for nurses is increasing faster than the supply; and

Whereas efforts to deal with the resulting shortage solely by increasing the numbers of hurses have not been successful in meeting

the demand; and
Whereas it has become apparent that a
solution of the problem must be based upon
a broader approach which will take into
account all of the factors relating to the
more effective utilization of nursing skills
in the province of nursing and health care;
and

Whereas the relationship between the economic status of nursing, the professional skills required, and the existing personnel shortage needs study; and

Whereas there are many segmental and unilateral studies of health service problems, but none which takes an overall multidisciplinary view of the situation; and

Whereas existing reports, studies, and knowledge could be best coordinated and utilized through the organization of a central task force dealing with the overall health needs of the Nation in general and the need for services of nurses in particular: Therefore be it

Resolved, etc .-

DECLARATION OF POLICY

Section 1. (a) It is hereby declared to be the policy of the Congress to promote the health of the American people by aiding the hursing profession in its efforts to achieve greater efficiency and improved nursing services. It is the purpose of this joint resolution to implement that policy by providing for the establishment of a Commission that will gather by scientific methods authoritative data relating to the services rendered by all types of nursing personnel (including professional and practical nurses, nursing aids, and nursing administrators, supervisors, and teachers) and shall make such recommendations with respect thereto as it deems advisable in the interest of improving patient care,

(b) Nothing in this joint resolution shall be construed as authorizing or intending any interference with the programs of study and improvement of patient care which are being carried forward by the professional nurses' organizations, or by public or private endeavor, but rather this joint resolution shall be construed as an effort to augment such programs through the marshaling of resources for a multidisciplinary approach to the problem.

ESTABLISHMENT OF COMMISSION ON NURSING SERVICES

SEC. 2. (a) To carry out the purpose of this joint resolution there is hereby established a Commission on Nursing Services (hereinafter referred to as the Commission).

(b) Service of an individual as a member of the Commission or employment of an individual by the Commission as an attorney or expert in any business or professional field, on a part-time or full-time basis, with or without compensation, shall not be considered as service or employment bringing such individual within the provisions of section 281, 283, 284, 434, or 1914 of title 18 of the United States Code, or section 190 of the Revised Statutes (5 U. S. C. 99).

MEMBERSHIP OF THE COMMISSION

- SEC. 3. (a) Number and appointment: The Commission shall be composed of 12 members as follows:
- Four appointed by the President of the United States, 2 from the executive branch of the Government and 2 from private life;
- (2) Four appointed by the President of the Senate, 2 from the Senate and 2 from private life; and
- (3) Four appointed by the Speaker of the House of Representatives, 2 from the House of Representatives and 2 from private life.
- (b) Included among the six members of the Commission appointed from private life, there shall be representatives of the nursing and medical professions.
- (c) Vacancies: Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

ORGANIZATION OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 4. The Commission shall elect a Chairman and a Vice Chairman from among its members.

QUORUM

SEC. 5. Seven members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 6. (a) Members of Congress: Members of Congress who are members of the Commission shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for their services as Members of Congress; but they shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of the duties vested in the Commission.

- (b) Members from the executive branch: The members of the Commission who are in the executive branch of the Government shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for their services in the executive branch; but they shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of the duties vested in the Commission.
- (c) Members from private life: The members from private life shall each receive \$50 per diem when engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Commission, plus reimbursement for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of such duties.

STAFF OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 7. (a) The Commission shall have power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable, without regard to the provisions of the civilservice laws and the Classification Act of 1949, as amended. (b) The Commission may procure, without regard to the civil-service laws and the classification laws, temporary and intermittent services to the same extent as is authorized for the departments by section 15 of the act of August 2, 1946 (60 Stat. 810), but at rates not to exceed \$50 per diem for individuals.

EXPENSES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 8. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, so much as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 9. (a) The Commission shall gather by scientific methods authoritative data relating to nursing services of all types, including services performed by professional and practical nurses and nursing sides. In the gathering of such data and the making of such recommendations, the Commission shall give particular attention to the need for considering ways and means to—

(1) clarify further the province of nursing personnel (including professional and practical nurses and nursing aides) with particular reference to the impact upon nursing of the changing functions of the related health professions and the changing health needs and resources of the Nation:

(2) add systematically to the body of knowledge of nursing as a discipline and thus permit more of the practice of nursing to be based on scientific principles;

(3) improve and extend our resources for the education and training of nursing personnel of each type for their appropriate functions; and

(4) encourage more effective organization of nursing personnel and more effective utilization of their skills.
(b) Report: The Commission shall submit

(b) Report: The Commission shall submit to the Congress interim reports at such time or times as the Commission deems necessary and shall submit to the Congress its final report not later than 2 years from the date of the enactment of this joint resolution, at which time the Commission shall cease to exist.

POWERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 10. (a) Hearings and sessions: The Commission or, on the authorization of the Commission, any subcommittee, or member thereof, may, for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this joint resolution, hold such hearings and sit and act at such times and places as the Commission or such subcommittee or member may deemd advisable.

(b) Obtaining official data: The Commission is authorized to secure directly from any executive department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, independent establishment, or instrumentality information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics for the purpose of this joint resolution; and each such department, bureau, agency, board, commission, office, establishment, or instrumentality is authorized to furnish such information, suggestions, estimates, and statistics directly to the Commission, upon request made by the Chairman or Vice Chairman.

Reduction in Army Manpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in view of the acute situation in the Far East, and with its worldwide implications, it seems to me imperative that President Eisenhower should reconsider at once the drastic reduction that he has ordered in the manpower of our Army. At a time when evidence of strength is necessary, weakness in this respect is shown.

The continued reduction in our Army is inconsistent with the strength we must have and show in the face of the Chinese Red aggression in Formosa and elsewhere, and also the insult to our country by the imprisonment of our airmen.

The Democrats in Congress were right in 1953 in opposing the Eisenhower reduction in our Air Force. We are on firm ground now in expressing our deep concern in the sharp reduction in our

Armed Forces.

There is no question but what our country is taking a calculated risk in this new and sudden policy. Passage of the resolution should be implemented by evidences of strength. The reduction of our Army is weakness at a time when we need strength.

The only thing the Communists respect is what they fear, and that is military strength and power greater than

they possess.

The President should permit military men in active service to express their opinions on this reduction without fear of punishment.

Extension of Benefits for Members of the Armed Forces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM C. CRAMER

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. CRAMER. Mr. Speaker, I submit a statement presented by me to the House Committee on Veterans Affairs relative to the extension of educational benefits for members of the Armed Forces beyond the end of the Korean emergency period, which reflects the opinions expressed by many of the veteran organizations and citizens of the First District of Florida as well as my own personal convictions in this matter:

JANUARY 21, 1955. To: House Committee on Veterans' Affairs.

convening January 24, 1955.

Subject: Request to the committee to extend educational benefits for members of the Armed Forces beyond end of Korean

emergency period, January 31, 1955. Under the Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952 many of those who have served in the Armed Forces of the United States in defense of our Nation and our way of life have, as veterans seeking rehabilita-tion, received in the form of educational benefits encouragement and some slight compensation for the years that have been taken by military service from the regular pursuits ordinarily required in early life of a good citizen of our country in preparation for home and family. These men who have served have been young men. These men who have been called to the defense of our Nation were taken at a time when great strides would otherwise have been made in their education and growth. It is not fitting that these same benefits for educational

opportunity should not accrue to those who are now in service and will be so on the day declared, January 31, 1955, as the end

of the Korean emergency period.

I therefore urge that the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs take favorable action on H. R. 587, a bill to provide that persons serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955. may continue to accrue educational benefits under the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, and for other purposes.

It would be most unfair to discriminate against these men who are now in armed service, having depended, when enlisting, on these and other existing benefits, and with whom at the time of induction the Government of the United States made a moral contract to provide these benefits. To abrogate this contract would place these men at a great disadvantage in our society especially as compared to their predecessors in service and, without these benefits of educational assistance, the morale and rehabilitation ability of a great segment of our citizenry would suffer.

The obligation we have to these men is beyond question and not one that would place an unjust burden upon our Nation. The wise and considered program that has promoted the welfare of our citizens, has contributed to our high standard of living and has, through its basic program of fair education and opportunity to replace the years of loss to our citizens while in service, brought prosperity and the great concept of equal opportunity for all to greater fruition in this land. The educational benefits heretofore provided have shown by the test of time to have been of gerat advantage to our servicemen-no greater investment can be made than in the education of these youths who have answered the call of their country and, unflinching, stepped forward to face its enemies. Those serving today should not be denied.

I respectfully urge that House Resolution 587 of the 84th Congress be passed by your committee and I shall, upon such passage, support this bill upon the floor of the House.

> WILLIAM C. CRAMER. Member of Congress, First District of Florida.

The Republic of Ireland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN E. FOGARTY

OF RHODE ISLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. FOGARTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following resolution adopted by the Illinois Federation of Labor:

RESOLUTION 17

Whereas the House of Representatives, 65th Congress, 3d session, duly passed a resolution declaring that the people of Ireland should have the right to determine the form of government under which they desired to live; and

Whereas in the intervening years the people of Ireland have so determined but the effect of their determination has been denied them, and they have in fact been deprived of the right to the form of government under which they desire to live; and

Whereas 26 of the 32 counties of Ireland have been successful in obtaining international recognition for the Republic of Ireland, separate and apart from any domination by the British Empire, England, or any

of her possessions; and Whereas the constitution of the basic laws of the Republic of Ireland is modeled upon our own American Constitution; and

Whereas our Nation has fought against partition at all times, and the present Korean and Chinese partitions show clearly that our Nation stands opposed to such oppression of the people's rights; and

Whereas hundreds of Irish trade unionists have given their lives that Ireland be free, members of the printing trades, building trades, transport workers, teachers, rail-waymen, and others, have given the supreme sacrifice to end partition, and free Ireland from British domination: Therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention of the Illinois Federation of Labor, assembled at Peoria, Ill., October 11, 1954, go on record embracing the sense that the Republic of Ireland should embrace the entire territory of Ireland, unless the clear majority of all the people of Ireland in a free plebiscite, determine and declare to the contrary; and be it further

Resolved, That a son of Ireland, and a member of the bricklayers' union of Rhode Island, Congressman FOGARTY, has introduced a resolution to the Congress, embracing the sense of this resolution, that the convention send copies of this resolution to our State Department; to Senators Douglas and Dirksen; to the Minister of External Affairs, Irish Government House, Dublin, Ireland; to Mr. Conroy, general president, Irish Transport and General Workers' Union, Dublin, Ireland; and Congressman Fogarty, Washington, D. C.

The Command Management School

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, we have heard a great deal recently about our new military look which has been designed to give the taxpayer more defense for the dollar. Members of this body will be glad to know, I am sure, that our Army is leaving no stone unturned in its efforts to improve the efficiency of its operations and to increase the effectiveness of its combat elements.

Last week, at the invitation of my good friend, Col. John Roosma, deputy post commander, Fort Jay, N. Y., I visited a most unique and progressive establishment in the Army at nearby Fort Belvoir, Va. The Army calls it the command management school. What I saw was a gigantic step forward in the improvement of military management.

As we all know so well, two-thirds of our mammoth budget is spent for national defense. It is our duty to see that these funds are spent wisely and well. I am convinced that this school will do more to accomplish this end than anything I have yet seen, and I think I might say that I am not without some military experience.

We know that the military has installed, in recent years, many new tools and systems in the management of their installations all over the world. Most of these have been borrowed from our industrial enterprises, which are justly World famous for their managerial efficiency. The Army has recognized, however, that a tool in any system is no better than the executives who administer it. In the command management school the Army has accordingly set out to educate its key officers, largely the installation commanders, in how to use these tools and how to apply them to the business of managing an installation.

The Harvard Business School's advanced management program has been well known for years in the industrial world for its ability to train mature, experienced, business executives and to improve their management skills. The Army's command management school has been amazingly successful in adopting the methods applied by this and similar institutions and in converting these methods to their own use in the training of post commanders and principal staff officers.

Under the direction of the Army Comptroller, Lt. Gen. G. B. Decker, and his chief management assistant, Maj. Gen. L. R. Dewey, the school assembles 50 senior Army installation commanders, staff officers, and key civilian employees, each 4 weeks and puts them through an intensive, round-the-clock course in the efficient management of men, money, and materials. A hand-picked and well-trained faculty of senior Army officers is headed by Col. Frank Kowalski, of Meriden, Conn., the school's commandant. He is ably assisted by a civilian management engineer, Mr. Gilbert C. Jacobus, of my own State of New Jersey. The permanent teaching staff is liberally supplemented by outstanding speakers in the management field from industry. from Government, and from the educational world as well as from the military.

I cannot emphasize too strongly that these men, the generals and colonels who command the Army's installations, are the individuals who, in the final analysis, manage the Nation's resources which have been entrusted to them by Congress for our defense. Having seen these officers attacking the Army's management problems at the command management school, I know that each one will do his job in a far better and more efficient manner as a result of this training.

The school is indeed a new approach to military education. All of our armed services have been justly praised by every professional educator who has examined their systems of schools, but these, until now, have been limited to the purely military fields of tactics, strategy, and logistics. The Army has now recognized the need for the schooling of its senior officers in the field of nontactical commands, of the management of resources: Men, money, and materials.

This school for managers is more than just a classroom. It is in effect, a meeting-place, where the officers participating live; they eat, sleep, and breathe management on a 24-hour basis. Needless to say, the assembly of 50 officers, each with 20 or so years of service, represents a vast quantity of experience; experience that can be utilized by colleagues and is shared among all. The commandant told me that this is really

the secret of the success of the school. The discussion of down-to-earth, concrete problems and the exchange of ideas on how best to solve them, not only in the classroom, but anywhere and everywhere, goes on literally around the clock. Throughout these discussions the school constantly emphasizes the need for accomplishing assigned missions effectively with fewer dollars. The payoff here is dollars saved. One of the students, a brigadier general who commands a large military post here in the East, told me that he dreams management nearly every night. I might add that he, like all of the other students, is delighted with the course and feels that he really is learning how to improve his post. This is the real proof of the pudding, and I am convinced that the school will stand the test of time.

In my enthusiasm for the school I do not want to give the Members of this body the impression that the Army has become so management minded that it has forgotten the primary reason for its existence. So I hasten to assure you that the school, the faculty, and the officers who attend the course are all keenly aware that the Army exists to accomplish the mission assigned to it, to protect the security of our people around the world. On the other hand, every dollar saved, every wasteful practice eliminated, means just that much more effort can be channeled to increase the combat effectiveness of our Army. This is the purpose of command management, and this is the purpose of the school that I

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that every Member of this body would be impressed, as I was impressed, with this example of progress and forward thinking by our Army. I strongly recommend that as many as possible visit Fort Belvoir and see the school in operation for themselves. On every battlefield since the days of Valley Forge, our Army has shown its ability to win wars; it is now showing its efficiency in helping to win the peace which, God willing, we can and will attain.

New York State Legislative Program of the Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., of New York, for 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. ROONEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. ROONEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following program of the Affiliated Young Democrats, Inc., of New York State, adopted at a meeting held on Tuesday evening, December 14, 1954, at their headquarters, the Hotel Piccadilly, 227 West 45th Street, New York City.

Harold R. Moskovit, State president of the Affiliated Young Democrats of New

York State, presided at this legislative meeting.

The program follows:

The election of Governor Harriman and the return of a Democratic administration to Albany marks the opening of a significant new chapter in the history of the people of the State of New York. For 12 years Deweyism, as represented by the Republican Governor and the Republican legislature, have whittled away at the great advances made under the leadership of Alfred B. Smith, Robert F. Wagner, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Herbert H. Lehman, and have sought to stifle democratic action.

In the person of Averell Harriman, the Democratic Party has presented to our State a Governor who will assuredly give our State a Governor who will assuredly give our State courageous leadership toward the enactment of a program meeting the needs of our people, and which will meet the acid test of being good for all of the people of this State. We are confident that the combination of aggressive and vigorous leadership of the Democratic minorities in the senate and the assembly, and a Democratic Governor with the tenacity and courage to go to the people when roadblocks are thrown in his way by recalcitrant Republican leadership in the legislature will permit the enactment of the program which we now proudly recommend.

1. State housing and building commission: Enactment of a law creating a State Housing and building commission, by combining the joint legislative committee on housing and multiple dwellings with the State building code commission, thereby eliminating duplication, reducing cost of promulgation, simplifying interpretation and clarifying enforcement of the housing and building construction laws.

2. Primary elections: As Democrats, we are irrevocably committed to the proposition that government belongs to the people, and that people should have the fullest possible participation in the selection of those who fill high public office. We again advocate that the candidates of the major political parties for offices filled by statewide election—such as governor, United States Senator, lieutenant governor, attorney general, and comptroller—be selected in statewide primaries.

3. Unemployment: The economic health of our State is a matter of prime importance, Numerous areas in the State today are, and have been for some time, suffering from unemployment. We urge the swift use of emergency measures to restore employment in the communities which have suffered. We urge that the State department of commerce, under vigorous Democratic leadership, seek to attract new industries to our State, and particularly to those areas which have suffered from unemployment.

4. Dairy industry: A major concern of our State is the economic health of our great dairy industry. We urge the adoption of measures, fair to processors, distributors, and consumers to insure the continued stability of that industry.

5. Rent control: Year by year, the past administration has succeeded in eroding the rent-control laws, and in exacting from tenants of both residential and commercial buildings excessive rent increases. We urge that the legislature enact measures to recontrol and rollback rentals which have been so increased. Also, that the rent-control law be strengthened and be extended to garages and other presently decontrolled space, to prevent further unjustified increases in rents, and to restore services in apartment and tenement houses which have been curtailed or suspended.

6. Housing: Nine years after the end of World War II, housing throughout the State continues to be inadequate. We urge an extension of the programs for low-income and

middle-income housing, and a greatly expanded program of slum clearance.

7. Discrimination: The activities of the State commission against discrimination require a more vigorous administration, and the powers and jurisdiction of the commission must be expanded. The commission should be permitted to investigate all violations of the law, and its jurisdiction should be extended to discrimination in housing. Its appropriations should be increased to permit it to operate effectively.

8. Labor: We advocate immediate repeal of merit rating in the unemployment insurance fund, a practice which discriminates against small businesses and seasonal industries through unfair rebates to large corporations. We also favor amendment of the unemployment insurance law to make its benefits available to firms employing one or more workers, to extend its benefits to wives and dependent children, and to reduce the minimum period of employment required to qualify for its benefits to 15 weeks. We also advocate an expansion of the benefits under the workmen's compensation law by increasing the maximum weekly benefits to \$36, and by extending the duration of its benefits to 26 weeks.

9. Communism: We abhor communism in all its manifestations, and we urge that all steps be taken by the legislature necessary to root it out and expel it from our State We are opposed to the employment of Communists in our National, State, or local gov-The danger to our democratic ernments. way of life does not come only from abroad. There are some misguided citizens and resident allens who call themselves Americans who have lent themselves and their energies to foreign doctrine and to foreign aggressors who seek to stamp out democracy in our country. We cannot afford to have an American Gottwald or an American Quisling, and we must take all steps that Constitution permits to make sure that we do not have one. At the same time, we must apply traditional American methods in ferreting out and removing such persons. It is clear to us that the members, both open and concealed, of the American Communist Party are, in fact, the willing agents of a foreign government committed to interfere with and disrupt our domestic affairs. must deal with them as such.

10. Civil service: The outgoing Republican administration has made many raids on Civil Service, and has taken out of the protection of the civil-service laws many positions. We urge the immediate extension of the civil-service laws to repair the incursions of the Republican political raids. We also urge a re-examination of the State salary system to insure that civil-service salaries will keep pace with the cost of living, and to improve the working conditions of

State employees.

11. Presidential primaries: New Yorkers, under the present repressive laws, have not been permitted to participate in the selec-tion of candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States as their fellow citizens in many other States have. We urge the amendment of the election law to permit the members of the major political parties to indicate their preferences for President and Vice President, and to elect delegates committed to such candidates. In order to achieve an equitable reflection of the vote in this State for President and Vice President, we also urge the enactment legislation permitting the allocation of the State's vote in the Electoral College between the different candidates for President and Vice President in direct proportion to their respective shares of the popular vote.

12. Family court: The administration and enforcement of our laws relating to the family are scattered throughout the courts of the State in a meaningless and wasteful patchwork. Divorce, separation, and annul-

ment are in the supreme court; adoption proceedings are in the surrogate's court; paternity cases are in the court of special sessions; support cases and children's court problems are in domestic relations courts; other matters going to the core of family life are in various of the criminal courts. proper consideration for the problems of the family, and a better utilization of community resources, require that all of these matters relating to the family be placed within jurisdiction of a family court, to be established within the supreme court, and having adequate resuorces of an investigating, counselling, and psychological character to permit such family court to cope with the family problems that have intensified under the stress of modern living, and to strengthen the family as the solid foundation of our way of life.

13. Temporary commission on the courts: The present temporary commission on the courts should be continued and its recommendations given careful consideration, so that our court structure may be made more effective.

14. The judicial council: The judicial council, established during the administration of Governor Lehman, has been the agency through which the judges of our court of appeals and appellate divisions, and the organized bar of the State, have made tremendous contributions to the development of the practice and procedure in our courts. Inexplicably, and despite the public need for the continued functioning of the judicial council, the past Republican administration has withheld the appropriations of the judicial council and, in fact, ordered fit destruction. The appropriations of the judicial council should be restored, and it should once again be made an effective agency in the development of the law of our State.

15. State university: The State university has been handicapped by the refusal of Governor Dewey to make permanent appointments to its board of trustees. A permanent board of trustees should be quickly installed, and an inquiry should be made into its progress and accomplishments since its establishment in 1948. Also to consider the desirability of establishing the university on a campus of its own, with its own schools of medicine and dentistry.

of medicine and dentistry.

16. Education: A comprehensive school-construction program, financed by a State bond issue, should be developed so as to relieve the present overcrowding in our schools and to modernize the school system. Local communities should be given greater freedom to make greater improvements in the development of their educational systems. Additional State aid is required, and should be given, to meet the fiscal requirements of an overburdened school system.

17. State aid to municipalities: We advocate a careful review of the fiscal relationships between the State and local communities. We urge that the present principles, under which State aid is used as a political weapon to discriminate between communities, and under which many communities are deprived of their fair and equitable share of the revenues allocated by the State to local communities, be speedily replaced. We also urge that the spirit of home rule be reflected determining the taxing powers of local communities, and that the policy of requiring the imposition of nuisance taxes by municipalities be replaced by a sound and honest approach to the problems of municipal finance

18. Motorists: We support the following proposals:

(a) Enactment of a compulsory automobile insurance law.

(b) Exclusive allocation of funds collected in gasoline taxes and motor-vehicle licenses to the development of the highway system of the State. (c) Extension of the gasoline tax to industrial users of gasoline to the same extent that it is now imposed upon motorists.

(d) Requirement of annual safety inspections of motor vehicles by State agencies, and annual examinations of motor-vehicle operators.

(e) An investigation of the State Thruway Authority, its expenditures and contracts.

19. Bingo: We strongly favor a referendum to determine whether bingo, off-track betting, and lotteries shall be permitted in the State on a local option basis.

20. Eighteen-year-old vote: We again urge,

20. Eighteen-year-old vote: We again urge, as its original sponsor, extension of the right

to vote to 18-year-olds.

21. Public health: We advocate encouragement of prepayment plans for meeting the cost of medical care by giving aid to sound voluntary plans now in existence and stimulating the development of new plans; development of centers for the rehabilitation of the physically handicapped; a program of State aid for the training of medical and nursing personnel to meet the present critical shortage of physicians, nurses, and technicans; establishment of State programs for the care of the chronically ill; expansion of the State's facilities for the mentally ill to correct the overcrowding and present inadequate facilities in our mental hospitals.

22. Securities dealers: We believe that persons engaged in the investment of other persons' money should demonstrate their qualifications for such responsibility by examination, and to this end we advocate the establishment of a licensing system for securities

dealers and investment advisers.

23. Life-insurance companies: We urge revision of the insurance law to provide for a more democratic selection of the officers and directors of insurance companies, and to eliminate nepotism in insurance companies. We also advocate enactment of legislation to prevent officials of the State insurance department from exploiting their regulatory authority in such a manner as to assure themselves of positions with regulated companies, prohibiting any official or employee of the department from having any business connection or employment with an insurance company or firm during his tenure, or for 3 years thereafter.

24. Liquor authority: We urge a complete and thorough investigation of the administrative procedures and enforcement operations of the State liquor authority.

25. Conduct of political campaigns: The recent abuses occuring in the political campaign just concluded demand that a commission be established to adopt a code of ethics for the conduct of political campaigns.

26. Juvenile delinquency: The recent appointment by Governor Harriman of Lieutenant-Governor De Luca to coordinate on a statewide basis the drive upon juvenile delinquency has publicly emphasized the major importance of this problem. Our greatest asset is our youth, and we must spare nothing to protect our young people and to combat juvenile delinquency. The State's facilities for delinquent boys and girls must be expanded, and additional funds must be made available for the probation bureaus of our criminal courts which have been so successful in coping with the problem under the limited appropriations hitherto available to them. We also urge an intensification of the drive upon those who, through their traffic in narcotics and pornography, have a primary responsibility for juvenile delinquency.

27. Permanent personal registration: We favor a mandatory statewide system of per-

manent personal registration.

28. Public utility regulation: In 12 years of Republican administration the Public Service Commission, once the defender of the interests of the consumer, has become primarily devoted to the interests of the major public utility companies. We urge that the commission be rehabilitated, and that a com-

prehensive examination and revision of the rate structures allowed by it to public

utilities be made.

29. Public power: We strongly advocate, in connection with the development of St. Lawrence and Niagara power, safeguards in the marketing of such power, with preferences to municipalities and public utility districts over the public utility companies.

over the public utility companies.

30. Civilian defense: We recommend that the Civilian Defense of New York State be placed under the jurisdiction of the Federal Government, with the cost to be borne by the Federal Government, and that the program be coordinated through the government of New York State. It is further recommended that this policy be adopted nationwide.

31. Minimum wage laws: We favor the enactment of a statewide minimum wage of \$1.25 an hour.

32. Legislative sessions: We urge that a printed record be published and made available to the public of the full proceedings of both houses of the legislature, so that the people may be fully informed of what goes on in Albany.

Liberty Versus License

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following radio broadcast I delivered over WMEX, Boston, Mass., Saturday, October 16, 1954, 7:30 to 7:45 p. m.:

There is enough trouble and excitement in the world today, without overstimulating our young people via comic strips that have ceased to be funny.

By and large, this industry has much to

By and large, this industry has much to its credit. A minority who pander to the passions of the young are bringing about a public demand to clean house.

Liberty is no excuse for license.

It means freedom with self-control, the obligation to maintain decent standards, and the responsibility of setting the right example for impressionable youngsters.

Both the United States Senate and the United States House of Representatives have thoroughly investigated this problem. While they have clearly and repeatedly emphasized that they are not interested in Government censorship, they are trying to bring about an improvement through self-regulation.

There are three comics published which do not feature crime and horror to one that does, but it is that one-quarter of the output that does the damage.

No less an authority than J. Edgar Hoover, Director, FBI, has warned of the tremendous impact that undesirable literature has on the Juvenile mind. He has said in part that "Crime books, comics, and other stories packed with criminal activity and presented in such a way as to glorify crime and the criminal may be dangerous, particularly in the hands of an unstable child.

"A comic book which is replete with the lurid and the macabre; which places the criminal in a unique position by making him a hero; which makes lawlessness attractive; which ridicules decency and honesty; which leaves the impression that graft and corruption are necessary evils in American life; which depicts the life of a criminal as exciting and glamorous may influence the susceptible boy or girl who already possesses definite antisocial tendencies.

"While comic books which are unrealistic in that they tend to produce fantastic pictures of violence, brutality, and torture may have no effect on the emotionally well-balanced boy or girl, nevertheless they may serve as the springboard for the unstable child to commit criminal acts.

"On the other hand, those comic books which are restrained in presentation, which conform to carefully prescribed standards of good taste and authenticity, and which teach a true lesson that crime does not pay, have a real educational value."

So says FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover.

A witness before the House committee asked this question: "Shall we permit a few greedy publishers to exercise control of a harmful nature over the children of the Nation? The comic-book and picture-strip technique is a highly popular one. The enormous volume of trade—some 50 million sold each month—stresses its popularity. Shall this fertile field of instruction, citizenship, and conduct be allowed to spread in cancer fashion throughout the land with lurid, bloody, sadistic, and immoral attitudes? Or shall it be controlled into channels for the betterment as well as the enjoyment of children?

It is a well-known fact that youngsters are imitative. That is part of the learning process. The schools bring to their attention the product of the best minds of all time. Unfortunately this is offset by other reading, seeing, or hearing in the child's experience outside of school.

Children identify themselves with the characters—good and bad—that they find in the comic strips. They put themselves into the position of the hero, the heroine, or the villain. Since most children have a hard time with reading in their earlier years, picture representation clears the way for them to understand what is going on. The classroom is at a disadvantage with the comic book in this respect. Without going into details I can think offhand of several cases where youngsters injured or killed themselves reenacting violent scenes that have been portrayed for them through visual means of communication.

The committee found that only a small percentage of the so-called comic books dealt with comedy or mirthful subjects. The great majority are about crime, violence, horror, romance, supermen, mystery, adventure, and westerns. They do not teach children to think straight. They glorify crime, make a mockery of democratic living and respect for They make lawlessness atlaw and order. tractive and ridicule decency and honesty. They show children how to make weapons and how to inflict injuries with those weapons. One comic actually printed charts of the human body indicating the exact positions of the points and areas most vulnerable to physical assault, and told just how to attack those points and areas most effec-

The field of comics is one which perhaps more children and a certain type of adults find reading entertainment and relaxation than in any other. Their astonishing circulation far surpasses that of all books, magazines, and periodicals combined, and is exceeded only by that of dally newspapers.

Several years ago the Kefauver Crime Investigating Committee reported that crime comics are believed to have a corrosive effect on the mind of the child, and that they encourage delinquency.

The New York Joint Legislative Committee To Study the Publication of Comics conducted an exhaustive study and produced a comprehensive report on the comic-book situation in 1951. The committee's recommendations have greater pertinence today as the problem is approaching a showdown—nationwide.

Here, condensed, are some of the finding of that committee:

1. The entire comic-book industry is remiss in its failure to institute effective measures to police and restrain the undesirable minority of stubborn, willful, irresponsible publishers of comics whose brazen disregard for anything but their profits is responsible for the bad reputation of the publishers of all comics.

2. Comics are a most effective medium for the dissemination of ideas, and when such a medium is used to disseminate bad ideas which may leave deep impressions on the keen minds of children, the unrestricted publication and distribution of comics becomes a matter of grave public concern.

3. Comics which depict crime, brutality, horror, and which produce race hatred, impair the ethical development of children, and those which describe how to make weapons and how to inflict injuries with these weapons, and how to commit crimes, have a wide circulation among children.

4. The New York State Joint Legislative Committee states flatly as follows: Crime comics are a contributing factor leading to juvenile delinquency.

5. Instead of reforming, publishers of bad crime comics have banded together, employed resourceful legal and public relations counsel, and so-called educators and experts, in a deliberate effort to continue such harmful practices, and to fight any and every effort to arrest or control such practices.

6. The reading of crime comics stimulates sadistic attitudes, and interferes with the normal development of sexual habits in children, and produces abnormal sexual tendencies in adolescents.

The mutations that have been brought about in the name of "comics" by profit-minded publishers are well illustrated by books classified in the trade under the strange designation "war horror comics."

The entire output of one such promoter was officially banned from distribution among United States Navy personnel because some of the contents were deemed contrary to the best interests of our country. It was charged that their objectionable features might be the work of a genuine pacifist organization, but that they were much more likely the subversive efforts of Communists.

Of late, the Association of Comics Magazine Publishers is trying to clean its own bouse

But not all comic-book publishers are members of the association.

The constantly increasing volume of nationwide protest is reflected in many ways, among which is the amount of unsold salacious material returned by dealers to the distributors, in some instances running as high as 40 percent which is believed due, at least in part, to local protests; by communications received from an ever-increasing number of groups from various parts of the United States urging Congress to clean up the newsstands; by protests against the distribution of obscene literature of all kinds; by the activities of religious groups of all denominations; by greater diligence on the part of the police as a result of aroused public opinion; and by the increased activity of all prosecuting agencies, both Federal and State.

Complaints have been received from men in our Armed Forces protesting against the infiltration of pornographic and otherwise objectionable literature there, but lack of time, facilities, and funds, have prevented the investigating committee of the United States House of Representatives from inquiring fully into that situation.

Purveyors of pornographic books, pictures, and the like, frequently attempt to justify their activities by citing the constitutional guaranty of freedom of speech and of the press; but being granted and guaranteed freedom by no means includes license. It is the attempted transformation of liberty

into license for profit which is arousing the indignant public.

Publishers of comic books must learn that

freedom implies responsibility.

And that innocent children also have the right to be protected from the characterdestroying, glorification of crime and sex.

Reserves Our Nation's Bulwark

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, BENJAMIN F. JAMES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. JAMES. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following address by Maj. Gen. Edward E. MacMorland, United States Army, retired, and now president of Pennsylvania Military College, Chester, Pa., which is in my district, Tuesday, January 25, 1955, at Bethlehem, Pa., before members and guests of the Honorary First Defenders:

RESERVES OUR NATION'S BULWARK

I have been informed that the members of your organization have long been leagued together to promote proper protection for our national interests, and that some of you have been participating in this laudable endeavor over a period of many decades. Although none of you look particularly old to me, I can share with you after long Army service your continuing zeal for defending our country from enemies within and with-

We have been assured that never before has America had more of both types of enemies. We continue to read in our daily papers that Soviet Russia is laboring night and day to build up her armed might, and already is stronger in some military aspects than any other nation on earth, including our own. We need no crystal gazer to certify that Russia is not developing her military power just to protect her own borders. If Russia is not our country's enemy, she at least is an enemy of the principles and ideals of our Nation and an increasing menace to other countries for which we must retain friendly solicitude.

There can be little doubt that Russia definitely is an enemy without, and so is Communist China which draws its dubious in-

spiration from Moscow. We also know that our country has enemies within, and all of us who are loyal patriots and concerned for the welfare of our Nation should be as alert against such inner subversive influences as against the

possibility of outside aggression.

In the broad view, of course, it is deplorable—even tragic—that so much of our Nation's resources should have to be devoted to our national defense. We are a peaceful We have never started a war against any other country. The only wars in which have fought have been instigated by other nations-wars in which we have been compelled to participate in protecting our own welfare, our people, and our principles of common decency.

It is hoped that history will keep recorded

certain other facts. One is that we terminated those wars as soon as possible, meeting peacemaking negotiators more than half way. Still another is that instead of oppressing our conquered foes, traditional with victors since time began, we have hastened to rehabilitate them, to set up for them democratic governments of full autonomy for complete national independence, and have given or loaned them money.

These actions and attitudes have established a historical precedent, and they should be significant in a world still marred by aggression for domination in many quarters.

A new budget for our national ependitures and revenues was recently submitted by our President to Congress. That budget allocates about 65 cents out of every dollar of national income to our country's defense, directly or indirectly. This means that only about 35 cents of each dollar which we citizens pay into our Federal Treasury through open and hidden taxes-on our incomes, our telephone calls, the trips we make, the dress ornaments we give our wives on their birthdays, the little luxuries like tobacco which relieve the tension of our existence-can go toward development of housing, schools, dams, rivers and harbors, national parks for our recreation, and the thousands of other constructive activities of our Federal Government for the common welfare. This also means that Federal research in better agriculture and other sciences for man's economic and personal improvement gets only one-third of our national potential in funds and concern.

We learn that half of our Nation's maximum research and development functions, governmental and private, now are devoted to atomic energy and aerodynamics for na-tional defense. We also know that if war tional defense. should break out tomorrow, our Nation's entire industrial and business life—our trans-portation, communications, household purchases, and daily personal activities-would become subordinated once more to military necessities. Within our lifetime we gladly have made sacrifices of money, time, conveniences, and service in two world wars and a Korean conflict not of our own origin, yet even today our country still feels adverse effects of World War I, which ended more than 36 years ago. Men and women among you, born since 1918, likewise have been hampered in their vocational careers and perspectives by World War II, whose shooting stopped a decade ago. Our young men similarly have been delayed in their life plannings by the months of frustrated fighting in Korea which we have not even officially designated by the term "war."

It should be particularly noted that in those military episodes as well as in our Revolutionary War, our War of 1812, and our Spanish-American War, we could not depend for defense on large standing armies, because we had none. It is our American credo that we must convince the rest of the world by example that we are not militaristic, and have no sinister designs on other lands and no ideologies to force on other populations which might warrant a large military force suitable for aggression. Our forefathers hastily assembled a small Continental Army in the colonial days, but its members were largely civilians without intensive military training. Their leader was George Washington, who was not a professional soldier but a land surveyor, a country squire. Although he was created a general, and later as President was Commander in Chief of all the colonial men of arms, he did not have the military training now given to an ordinary buck sergeant. The men who served with Washington against the career soldiers of King George III and the soldiers for hire fighting with the redcoats were farmers, tradesmen, students, storekeepers, doctors, manual craftsmen. They were the type of citizen reserves who must remain the bulk of our defense forces for all time.

Even in today's civilized era, we have the grievous necessity of remaining reasonably able to defend ourselves against aggression without keeping a large segment of our population under arms at great expense to our taxpayers, and with minimum interference to the educational and vocational expectations of our young people. We must do this without parading millions of uniformed men before our friends and foes in challenging display. Peaceful though we are, we must remain ready to meet any emergency with a minimum of basic preparation, certainly not taking the open lead in an armaments race which we disparage elsewhere. Our President recently made this policy clear by setting maximum strength of our Armed Forces on active duty.

Thus we have a paradoxical problem of remaining strong in defense without ostenta-tiously violating our assertions for world comity. The answer to that problem lies in a proper reserve system, the same idea which gave us victory in the Revolutionary War and succeeding conflicts, our mass defense strength vested in trained civilians.

I have just returned from Washington, where I secured details of a comprehensive plan now being submitted by the President and the Department of Defense to Congress. No doubt it will be warmly debated by the extremists-those who clamor for a monster military force to deter any attack on us and those who contend that as innocent people we need no defense at all.

This new plan for modified universal military training and creating a large Reserve force is a compromise, and I think a wise one. The plan would consider our standing service elements as a nucleus around which to assemble basically trained civilian reservists in any emergency. I can give you here some of its features which may not have been fully covered in press dispatches.

It is called the National Reserve Plan in Defense of Freedom. The official Pentagon outline, which I shall here quote directly. says the plan would-

Provide a fair and equitable method of recall to active service;

"Allow young men to choose their preferred branch of service, and allow them to elect methods by which military service could be performed:

"Allow them to start fulfilling military service obligations at an early age, before assuming the responsibilities of family and

"Provide all the material benefits of Reserve training to men with military service obligations;

"Fulfill the manpower needs of industry

and the community;
"Retain for free Americans their tradition of voluntary service as citizen Reserves."

Under the plan, induction of men for military service would be continued, with all mentally and physically qualified men subject to call on reaching the age of 181/2. All men entering any of the armed services, whether through induction, enlistment, or appointment, would assume a military obligation extending for at least 8 years, to build a permanent Reserve strength of 5 million

However, all young men of the country would have four choices, and I cite them briefly here.

Under choice 1, men who enlist in any of the armed services for 3, 4, or 6 years would remain in the Reserves after their enlistment expires for a combined total of 8 years of active and Reserve service.

Under choice 2, men who enlist in the Navy or Marine Corps Reserves before they are 19 are subject to call for 2 years of active duty within 2 years of such Reserve enlistment, and after such active duty they remain in the Reserves for the balance of an 8-year period, dating from their enlistment.

Under choice 3, young men may wait for induction into the Army and on their call date begin an 8-year service obligation covering active duty and subsequent membership in the Ready Reserves.

Under choice 4, a limited number of men between 17 and 19 may enlist in the Army. Marine Corps, or Coast Guard for 6 months of active duty, then remain in the Ready Reserves for 91/2 years, thus with a 10-year

service obligation.

The whole 8-year-minimum service plan presumes there always will be men voluntarily joining and remaining in the armed services as a career. In requiring prolonged Reserves membership in addition to active duty for all qualified young men, the plan calls for regular, continuous training pro-grams for all such reservists, in their home towns or nearby, and not merely keeping their names on rolls somewhere. Yet it permits young men to return as soon as practicable to their classrooms, their vocational pursuits and their normal civilian life following active duty, but remaining under systematic military refresher training for a full 8-year total, or 10 years under choice 4.

Men who enlist in any of the Armed Forces for 3 or 4 years would remain in what is called the Ready Reserve for 4 or 2 years, respectively, following their active duty, then would be listed in another category called the Standby Reserve. Men enlisting for 6 years would be in the Standby Reserve for

2 years thereafter.

As for the National Guard, it would retain both State and Federal status, and its members would be considered in the Ready Reserve—that is, ready for instant call to active duty in any emergency-and with the National Guard considered in the first line

of defense.

The ready reservists would be paid for attending sessions of the intensified, steppedup and compulsory Reserve training pro-They would qualify for promotions and retirement pay, they would have 2 weeks of concentrated summer training duty, and the training whenever possible would be geared to the vocational activities of the reservists. This should help young men in their current jobs. It also should help make their vocational talents of maximum bene-At to the country, if they are ever recalled to

active duty.

In brief, the ready reservists would be men
In brief, the ready reservists would be men Who have had limited active duty, but are obligated for Reserve membership and Reserve training for the balance of their 8year periods of responsibility. The standby reservists would be men who have spent sufficient time on active military duty, or have completed stated periods of Reserve training, thus being exempt from further train-

The ready reservists could be recalled if either the President or Congress declares an emergency. The standby reservists would be subject to recall only in an emergency

declared by Congress.

It certainly is not the fault of the Reerves of the various armed services that they have been neglected and the paper program instituted for them by Congress in 1951 has been marked by confusion. sands of veterans of active duty have voluntarily entered the Reserves, without waiting for this new compulsory program, these reservists pleading for training schedules and for encouragement and assistance in their patriotic desire to keep their military knowledge useful to their country. Our country should be proud of these voluntary and eager reservists.

Their spirit which Washington now belatedly is endeavoring to utilize systematically is precisely the same attitude of the colonial farmers and tradesmen who without uniforms drilled with muskets and squirrel rifles and probably broomsticks to defend their homes against the British, and presently fired shots at Concord which are still echoing around the world wherever people cherish freedom.

Let all of us who abhor war, who oppose militarism for its own sake, and who are wary of any trappings of dictatorship, remind ourselves that we Americans have no Fuehrer, or Generalissimo, or politician who

is building up an armed force for his personal aggrandizement or to turn our country into an aggressor. Let us also realize that our Armed Forces are the servants and protectors of our people, not our masters. Our uniformed services are controlled by our citizens, not the reverse. Hence, we shall never have an army manipulated by one official or faction, or concentrating on promulgating any socio-economic creed.

Above all, we must recognize that citizenship involves obligations along with its privileges. If we are to remain free citizens, we must fulfill certain requirements which cannot be met merely by paying taxes. have community participation responsibilities, and these extend to State and National The very same principles which compel the truly good citizen to take part in organized hometown functions for the general welfare instead of remaining aloof in casual apathy and critical isolation surely make it imperative for him to help safeguard his benefits by services and not just by writing tax checks as his national duty.

It is fitting and right for the Defense Department to keep referring to "military service obligations," and, of course, there is nothing new even to Americans about compulsory military service. It is natural to our concept of patriotic duty, not only in wartime but in a time of peace, when we are seeking to avoid further costly wars. Most other countries have such compulsory service more strict and extended than now contemplated for us. Our selective-service program all along has been operated with a minimum of handicaps to education and careers, and the 8-year plan will continue this policy. Even so, 2 years of active mili-tary duty in a youth's late teens can truly be beneficial to him as well as to his country.

Some educator colleagues protest any intrusion of military service in academic schedules. Yet, as president of a military college as well as a career Army officer, I can attest that military training itself is highly educative, and that military discipline engenders a splendid degree in the still formative years of young men of the self-discipline which is a major fruit of all education. Military schooling and military procedures develop orderliness of living, obedience to laws, respect for authority, consecration to duty, also industry, honor, responsibility, and many other attributes of character which surely are of as much enduring benefit to a maturing youth as rushing through academic studies or earning money in his first job. Military training, at a school or in the service, assists young men in adjustment to their fellows; it promotes social responsibility and abrades away rough edges of personality. The military training given thus far to our young citizens has not made them militaristic, but has provided them with principles and idealisms and codes of conduct which can well carry over into any civilian post.

I should remind, too, that under the ROTC program college men may continue their academic studies while getting beneficial military training on the campus. Assuredly, the 8-year plan of obligation now contemplated should give our young men a keener perception of their national heritage and should solidify their patriotism. It should be of tremendous inspirational and educa-tional benefit to thousands of young men coming of military age each year at a time when their sentiments and character are still plastic.

The main benefits of this new nationaldefense plan thus are obvious. We would have advantages of a strong defense force for our own security and as a deterrent for any aggressor with minimum money cost or manpower waste. In the event of war, a strong defense force could be assembled without the distressing delays which followed the Kaiser's invasion of Belgium and the Japanese sneak attack on Pearl Harbor.

Furthermore, the recalled Reserves would require no long basic training, and could be put quickly into combat able to fight effectively and also competent to protect themselves.

It surely must be conceded after all our disillusioning experience that however much we Americans may seek peace we must remain reasonably prepared for war, and that the moral leadership and global influence our country claims will be hollow until we can speak with authority instead of timorous pleading. There can be no coexistence by a voracious bear and a lamb however satuated with gentle virtues. In the world family of nations, ours must stand up vigorously for our rights and our concepts of integrity. as well as those of smaller vacillating nations which emulate America as a model. We, as individuals and as a nation, must ever able to protect ourselves adequately without ever using our strength as a bully, and until our realistic world becomes more idealistic we have to endure what just now we cannot

Our citizens differ on the extent to which we should intrude in tensions across both oceans, but I like to believe they are united on readiness to meet with force any affront to our national interests. So long as earnest people band together to promote peace through strong security, the task of circumventing any misguided total disarmament pacifists should not be difficult, especially when every gale that sweeps across either ocean brings to us the clangor of plowshares and pruning hooks being beaten into swords and spears.

Foundation Grants Oueried

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RALPH W. GWINN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, a letter by Mr. Rudd to the New York Times brings out some interesting points in connection with the possible use of foundations for propaganda purposes at the taxpayers' expense. That is to say, the costs of national defense and the costs of Federal, State, and local government which the foundations do not help pay, must be paid by other taxpayers. So that it is quite proper to look upon the activity of every tax-exempt foundation as something which the taxpayers themselves support, at least indirectly, by paying the tax burdens from which foundations are exempt. Mr. Rudd states in his letter:

FOUNDATION GRANTS QUERIED-FINANCING OF STUDIES ADVOCATING COLLECTIVIST IDEAS CHARGED

To the EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The large foundations are indignant over the majority report of the House Committee To Investigate Tax Exempt Foundations, which found that some "have actively supported attacks upon our social and governmental system and financed the promotion of socialism and collectivist ideas." Let us consider a single record, but a very important one, in the field of public education.

Two of the most clearly established principles of our American form of government are: Specific limitation on Federal powers and protection of the right to own property. Socialists oppose these principles and do their utmost to destroy their force and effect in our laws. They advocate a regimented society having an economy based on the four economic elements Marx introduced to give socialism mass appeal, and ultimately to destroy the capitalistic system. When foundations give lavishly of their funds to organizations aiding such Marxist doctrines there can be only one conclusion.

As long ago as 1926 the American Historical Association sponsored a 6-year study of the Commission on Social Studies, comprising many leading educators. The commission became active in 1929 and continued through 1933, issuing 16 volumes of studies and reports. The final volume, Conclusions and Recommendations, stated: "The age of individualism and laissez-faire in economy and government is closing and a new age of collectivism is emerging" (p. 16). The report then gave a complete plan with directives and objectives for using public education to meet the requirements of the emerging integrated order (p. 35).

LASKI'S VIEWS ON PROGRAM

It was perfectly clear that their new social order was to be a regimented, highly centralized form of government based on doctrines directly opposed to our American concepts of government. No informed person could describe it other than as socialistic. In fact, the late Harold Laski, noted British Marxist, declared: "* * stripped of its carefully neutral phrases, the report is an educational program for a Socialist America * * *. [It] could be implemented in a society only where socialism was the accepted way of life; for it is a direct criticism of the ideals that have shaped capitalist America."

And yet this program was financed by the Carnegle Corp. with five or more annual grants totaling \$340,000. One of the official purposes for which the House committee was created was to determine if these vast sums were being used in accordance with the purpose for which they were established. Does anyone think that Andrew Carnegie, rugged individualist that he was, intended his wealth to be used to establish a collectivist form of society, socialistic or otherwise?

This particular grant had tremendous influence in intellectual circles; for it was in effect the master plan of the liberal educators to use our schools and colleges to change the climate of opinion of our people so that they would accept the socialistic form of society. It became, in effect, the pattern on which was built much of the new education now showing so many disastrous results.

PEA AIDED

Furthermore, the Progressive Education Association, which led this movement and constantly propagandized for it over the past two decades, received \$4,257,800 (1932-43) from the three Carnegie foundations, the Rockefeller Foundation, the General Education Board, and the Ford Foundation.

This is only one of many instances on which the report of this committee has been based. The right of any person or group to advocate socialism within our laws in unquestioned; and the legality of such activities is conceded. But is it in the public interest? Is it within the purpose for which these foundations were established, particularly since these are quasi-public funds? These are the questions Representative Resce has sought to have answered in this investigation by bringing the facts before the Nation. Trustees of all foundations could well ponder these issues, because the use of billions of dollars in their care will exercise a tremendous influence on the future of this Republic.

AUGUSTIN G. RUDD, Chairman, Guardians of American Education. NEW YORK, December 22, 1954.

Who Profits From Free Enterprise?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RALPH W. GWINN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, the following speech by Mr. Fairless, chairman of the United States Steel Corp., is a splendid pronouncement from one of our leading businessmen. He shows that all of us, especially labor, profit by the free-enterprise system. He does another thing which leading businessmen-even leading businessmen failed to do 5 years ago. He acknowledges the fact that we are already deep into socialism. It is not creeping; it is not welfare statism. It has elements of communism in it. But in any event, the American variety of what is being done in the world is plain unadulterated socialism. And it does not pay off in America any more than it does in the rest of the world. There is an element of hope in the acknowledgment by our leaders of the evils that we are possessed of, for certainly we cannot be cured until we admit we have got the disease. Mr. Fairless states the case in most restrained language as follows:

WHO PROFITS FROM FREE ENTERPRISE?

(By Benjamin F. Fairless, chairman of the Board of the United States Steel Corp., in a talk before the Manufacturers' Association of Connecticut, at Yale University, New Haven, Conn., September 21, 1954)

All of us, I know, are alarmed by the rapid progress which communism is making all over the earth. We have seen it swallow up much of Asia in recent years. We have noted its growing influence over some of our most important European allies in the past few months. And we recognize that unless this trend can be reversed, it will be only a matter of time until the Communist countries outnumber all the free nations of the world.

The one encouraging aspect of the situation, probably, is the fact that the American people are fully awake to this danger, and alert to the threat that it poses.

But in our desire to save the world—and ourselves—from the Communist menace, it seems to me that we are dropping our guard against another political force which is equally dangerous to human liberty, and which has been vastly more successful than communism in its creeping conquest of nation after nation.

And that political force, of course, is socialism.

FREE NATIONS OUTNUMBERED

I wonder how many of us have ever stopped to think that the truly free nations of this world—the only nations where men still enjoy freedom in the form and degree that we know it—are already outnumbered, at least 20 to 1, by the countries which have embraced the deadly philosophy of socialism in one form or another.

We are encouraged by the knowledge that some of these countries, like England and Australia, have begun to move back in our direction; but the fact remains that outside of 2 or 3 nations here in the Western Hemisphere, it would be difficult indeed to find any place on this globe where the philosophy of free, private, competitive enterprise is still dominant.

The fight against socialism can only be won—or lost—right here at home. It is a never-ending fight against forces which are often entrenched within the Government itself, and which seek greedily to enlarge their own powers by constantly whittling away the individual rights of our citizens. So in that struggle, we can seldom depend upon Government for leadership. It is a job that we must always stand ready to do for ourselves.

When we see that there are individuals and groups, both in and out of public office, who seek to persuade the voters of this Nation to adopt a governmental course which would undermine the economic freedoms of our fellow men—then it is not only our right as citizens, but our inescapable duty as Americans, to speak out clearly, and to warn our people of the dangers that confront them.

Handicapped as we are, we have been saddled with the grave responsibility of leadership; and the time has come, I think, when we ought to take a critical look at our situation and ask ourselves frankly: "How are we doing?" So let me put it to you this way.

For nearly a quarter of a century now, we have attempted—almost singlehanded—to lead the forces of resistance against a rising tide of socialism in this country; and during most of those years, we suffered one disheartening defeat after another.

And then, 2 years ago, the American people rose up in their might and struck a great blow for freedom.

Many of us felt, no doubt, that the war had been won—that the victory was complete, and that America had renounced—once and for all—the dangerous philosophy of those who have tried to make this country a nation of big government and little people. But if so, we were sadly mistaken.

Political experts report that the opponents of free enterprise seem to be gaining ground, And when I use the word "opponents," I do not want to be misunderstood. I am not speaking in partisan terms. I am speaking of those members of both major political parties who would lead our Nation ever further down the road to state socialism—the men who seek always to expand the powers of central government, to increase the Federal deficit, to enlarge the subsidy program, and to impose crippling burdens upon every form of individual enterprise. Wittingly or unwittingly, these men are the spearhead of the Socialist attack in America.

BYSINESSMEN MUST SHOULDER PART OF BLAME I am very much afraid that we business-

I am very much afraid that we businessmen must shoulder a part of the blame. I'm afraid we have tried, too long, to go it alone.

Whether we like it or not, we cannot deny, I think, that we have accepted the heavy responsibility of leadership in this great struggle—not because we wanted it, heaven knows; and not because our fellow citizens have voluntarily chosen us as the defenders of their liberties; but simply because our opponents have cleverly thrust it upon us.

And there, I believe, is the great weakness of our position today.

For 20 years, American business has been the one and only target of the Socialist attack in this country—and so—as business men—we have been forced to fight back in self-defense for the protection and preservation of the enterprises which we manage.

We may tell ourselves that we have nobly defended the economic and political freedoms of every man and woman in this Nation—and that, indeed, is perfectly true—but to millions of our fellowmen it appears that we have been trying chiefly to save our own skins. So they seem to think that this is a private fight between government and business, and that they can afford to remain on the sidelines—as interested spectators—waiting for the best man to win.

Over the years they have developed a deep suspicion that free enterprise—however much it may profit them—is a devise de-signed primarily for the benefit of businessmen; that it is our own personal baby, and that we have a vastly greater stake in its

survival than they do.

That this ridiculous notion should persist in the minds of large numbers of our people is pretty discouraging to some of us who have tried for many weary years to bring about a broader public understanding of the facts; and yet it does persist in spite of all that we have said and done. For in no other way, I think, can we explain the steadfast support and encouragement which our opponents, Socialists in both parties, receive, in every election, from the national leadership of labor and from many other organized groups in almost every segment of our economy.

WHO REAPS GREATEST REWARD?

So. I suggest that we examine this question quite frankly. Who does reap the greatest reward from our system of free, competitive enterprise? Is it the owners and managers of business and industry? Is it the workers, the farmers, the consumers, the taxpayers? Who is it?

The best way to answer that question, perhaps, is to turn it around and ask ourselves which of these groups would suffer most if we were to establish, here in this country, a kind of benevolent, Socialist government like the one, for example, which held power in England for 6 years following the close of World War II. What did that government do? What really did happen in England? Let's take a quick look at the record.

It was only 9 years ago that the British Socialist government came into power, and the election which swept it into office was probably the greatest political victory that organized labor has ever won in any democratic nation. It was the realization of a dream which has been cherished, I suppose, by labor leaders all over the world. controlled every branch of the British Government, lock, stock, and barrel; and they set out at once to create in England the kind of Utopia they had always wanted.

SOCIALISM-BRITISH STYLE

They launched the most ambitiousthe most expensive-program of cradle-tothe-grave security that had ever been attempted. To pay for it, they taxed away the private sources of investment capital; When the key industries of the country could no longer get the funds necessary to modernize their plants and to run them efficiently, the Government had a perfect excuse to step in and nationalize them.

It did so eagerly-starting with the sick industries like coal mining and the railroads, and gradually developing such an appetite public ownership that it took over the utilities, highway and water transportation, aviation, communications, the Bank of England, and even the iron and steel industry Which was not only operating efficiently, but which was also paying a much higher wage than were most other British enterprises.

Now how did the former private owners and managers of these industries make out under the nationalization program? They Were hurt, without doubt, but how badly?

Well, so far as the owners were concerned, their properties were not confiscated. That wouldn't have been cricket; and no true Englishman would have stood for it. So the Government bought the owners out; and, in exchange for their stock-which paid dividends only when there were profits-it gave them government securities which paid interest annually, whether there were any profits or not. And since some of these in-dustries had been in the red for a long time and since practically none of them have ever made a profit since the Government took them over-the owners soon found themselves in a happy and somewhat remarkable position wherein they were being subsidized by a Labor government at the expense of the taxpayers. You might even call it a kind of "guaranteed annual dividend."

As for the former managers of these industries, many of them kept right on in the same old jobs; and if their income shrank in the process, so too, at least, did their headaches. They did not have to worry about profits and prices and competition. had to do was obey the orders that were issued from London, and let the Government

do the worrying.
So they no longer found themselves in the pitiful situation of the businessman who developed ulcers, but still wasn't a success.

SMALL SHOPKEEPER SUFFERS

When it came, however, to the small shopkeeper who was permitted to retain his own business, it was quite a different story. He had headaches aplenty; for he operated un-der a rigid system of price controls and rationing. The Government could—and rationing. The Government could—and did—cut the price of his merchandise without any advance warning whatever. And thus it happened one morning that he awoke and read in the papers that the price of an important part of the stock on his shelves had been lowered 5 percent in the night.

There was no way, of course, that the Government could also lower the price he had already paid for this merchandise; so he had to stand the full loss himself. And when several hundred thousand of these luckless retailers raised their voices in complaint, a Government spokesman suggested that they might compensate for this by making savings in their staff and services. In other words, they could lay off some clerks, and keep their customers waiting.

That was to be expected, perhaps, because after all, these fellows were only businessmen; so let us look for a brighter side the picture and count, if we can, the blessings which the unions enjoyed under this Labor regime. They had achieved their highest ambition. They were their own highest ambition. They were their own bosses. They controlled the biggest and the richest enterprises in the land, and they could divide up the profits as they pleased.

But there weren't any profits to divide. LABOR GOVERNMENT'S DILEMMA

As union leaders, the Government officials would have liked, presumably, to grant every wage demand of their membership; and, as the owners and managers of this newly acquired industrial monopoly, to jack up their prices accordingly.

But as statesmen, responsible for the wel-

fare of the entire nation, they also had to see that British exports remained competitive with the goods which were being offered in the markets of the world by the efficient producers of other nations. So in spite of their natural inclinations, they had to hold prices down; which meant that they had to hold down the costs of production; which meant that they had to hold wages down too.

In this dilemma, they did the best they could. They went back to their unions to explain the great national emergencies which they faced and to beg the boys to hold off with their wage demands. What it amounted to really was a wage freeze. plastered every available signboard with slogan after slogan urging British labor to work men would call it the speedup. harder and produce more. Over here, our

THREAT OF FORCE

I don't know what they called it over there; but I do know that they refused, emphatically, to buy it. Unrest grew in the rank and Absenteeism began to cripple the production of coal. There were slowdowns on the railroads; and strikes on the docks which endangered the national food supply. thing had to be done, and the art of gentle persuasion had failed. So the Government resorted to the threat of force, just as every socialist government has always done in the end.

To cope with the coal situation, it froze the miners in their jobs, thus depriving them of their freedom of choice and their freedom of opportunity.

To meet the situation on the docks, it invoked the provisions of the Emergency Powers Act—a labor control law far more drastic than any that has ever been knownor thought of-in the United States. the defiant strikers refused to be intimidated, and the government never used the powers which it had invoked.

Instead, it took 15,000 drafted troops, many of whom came from union families, and sent them down to the docks to load and unload the ships until the strikers finally gave up. And so it was that labor's own leaders were forced to act as strikebreakers.

But they had to carry on, and, as opposition to the wage freeze continued to grow, they revived another wartime law which gave them still more drastic powers over both labor and business. And among those powers was the compulsory direction of workers into such jobs as the government might designate.

Nor did the farmers of England escape these threats to their freedom. A law passed 2 years after the labor government took office, gave it the right to dispossess from his farm any owner who did not manage his land to the complete satisfaction of the Ministry of Agriculture. And it used to be said that an Englishman's home was his castle.

Now I do not know of any case in which either of these sweeping powers was actually used; but there is no doubt in my mind that the enactment and revival of these laws must have taught the British workingman a great and fundamental truth; that economic liberty and political liberty are merely two sides of the selfsame coin, and any time you give one to the government, it also takes the

But that, of course, is only one of the disillusioning lessons that came to the British worker when his unions took over the Government; for he was also a taxpayer and a consumer-even as you and I.

HIGH PRICE OF WELFARE STATE

As a taxpayer, he learned to his sorrow the ruinous price of the all-out welfare state. He learned it, because he paid it. His leaders, it is true, had soaked the rich while they lasted, but that was only a drop in the budget, as you might say. And they couldn't soak big business, because they had already taken it over, under Government ownership, where it paid no taxes at all. So there was no one left to soak but him.

In the lower brackets his earnings were taxed at a standard rate of 45 cents on the dollar; and in the surtax brackets the rate went up to a peak of 97½ percent. And this was only the income tax. On top of that he still had to pay a sales tax-incredible as that may seem in a labor leader's utopia. Nor was it any puny little loose-change sales tax, either. It ranged from 33 percent to 100 percent of the selling price of each article it covered.

LESS AND LESS OF MORE AND MORE

But in a way this really didn't matter so much, because there wasn't a great deal that a taxpayer could have bought with his money, even if he'd been allowed to keep it, for England, under socialism, was not exactly a consumer's paradise. It was a barren land of shortages and a wilderness of controls.

Its finest quality products were largely reserved for export. The American tourist could buy them readily in the London stores, but the British worker could not buy them at all. He could only admire them in the shop windows, where they were clearly marked, "For export only."

On the other hand the Governmentstruggling with its so-called dollar crisishad to cut British imports to the bone; and it is on these imports, of course, that the British worker has always depended for many of his basic necessities of life. So most of the things he really needed were severely rationed; and a lot of the things he certainly wanted were denied him completely under the export controls.

Such things as a new home, or a car, or any of the usual household appliances and gadgets which are so commonplace to labor over here, were hopelessly beyond his reach. And if he ever did manage to buy an automobile, he wasn't permitted to drive it more than 90 miles a month.

So what was the use? He had little incen-

So what was the use? He had little incentive to work more, to produce more, or to earn more; and the most artful of his union leaders could not persuade him to do so. Even the prospect of overtime pay had no appeal, since most of it would go for taxes anyway, and what could he buy with the rest?

The luxury of leisure was far more attractive than time-and-a-half for an extra day's work; and it was the only luxury left to him; for under the welfare state he had learned another significant lesson, that no matter how little he worked, he would always be able to exist, but no matter how hard he worked, he would never really be able to live.

This indifferent attitude, of course, only added to the woes of the Labor government, and to the general shortage of goods and services. Production lagged in the newly nationalized industries, prices were hiked substantially, quality declined steadily, and the losses were charged up to the taxpayers. Consumers, collecting their meager rations of coal, grumbled loudly about its rapidly mounting cost, and complained, in fact, that some of it wouldn't even burn—but coal, like so many other things they needed, was now a government monopoly, and, with no competing source of supply, there was nothing they could do about it.

So the British worker found himself shut in behind an iron curtain of controls and regulations. He filled out endless forms—in duplicate; he lined up for his daily rations, and he bought whatever it was that the Government—in its wisdom—permitted him to have. But three great necessities of life which it never permitted him to have were opportunity, incentive, and hope.

A DREAM BECOMES A NIGHTMARE

Yet this was his government—run by his unions, primarily for his benefit. It was the fulfillment of his own dreams; and it had been built in strict accordance with his own plans. But, in the cold light of reality, his beautiful dreams had become a crazy nightmare of austerity and government monopoly, in which he was the principal victim.

And, if he sought to escape from this nightmare—if he decided to chuck it all and seek greener fields of opportunity across the seas—he found that here again the iron curtain of controls had greatly curtailed the freedoms which he had once enjoyed. He, himself, was at liberty to go if he pleased, but only at great personal sacrifice and hardship; because the government had limited severely the amount of money which he could take out of the country, and he would have to start all over again, from scratch.

Here we have a brief and sketchy account of what happened in England under the Labor government. Within the framework of their Socialist philosophy, the leaders of that government tried loyally and sincerely, I believe, to solve the many critical problems which confronted them, and to create a better life for their fellow workers. The fault did not lie with their intentions. It lay with their philosophy. And after 6 years of crisis and controls, they were voted out of power.

By whom?

Well, the deciding votes were cast, of course, by the only people in England who

had enough political strength to do it—by the selfsame people who had put the Labor government in office in the first place—by the British workers, and their fellow consumers and taxpayers; in short, by the economic groups which had suffered most painfully in their very blue, Socialist heaven.

So we come back once more to the question we asked ourselves in the beginning: "Who does profit most from our system of free enterprise?" Is it the stockholder who gets the dividend money? Is it the worker who gets many, many times that sum, and enjoys the highest living scale in the world? Is it the consumer who reaps the blessings of competition and surrounds himself with every conceivable comfort and convenience of this modern age? Or is it, perhaps, the suffering taxpayer, whose annual burdens have been lightened by more than \$7 billion since some of our Socialist-minded opponents lost public office in Washington 2 years ago?

The answer, I think, is crystal clear. Free enterprise is the only system on this earth which richly profits all the people; for it is also the only system on this earth which truly belongs to all the people. It is not the private possession of American business, nor of any other economic group—and it never can be. It is the property—and the responsibility—of every man and woman in this Nation.

And so, if we can ever bring to our fellow consumers, our fellow taxpayers, and our fellow workers in the ranks of labor a real understanding of what the preservation of this system means to them and to their children, we shall never again be called upon to go it alone in leading this fight to preserve individual liberty.

serve Individual liberty.

They will be miles ahead of us. And they will not deal softly, I suspect, with these free-spending, fast-talking opponents of ours who are so ready to put freedom on trial at every national election, and so anxious to lead America down a Socialist road that must end, inevitably, behind the Iron Curtain.

Mr. Speaker, the only fault I can find with Mr. Fairless' speech is that he falls into the common error of assuming that sometime at some election or other the people will rise up, throw out our own welfare state or socialism, and restore constitutional government. Or that the Congress will do so. Or possibly the President. I submit that there is no evidence in history to show that once socialism has been substituted even partially for freedom, that the people or the Congress or the President can or will throw it out and restore the Constitution. Obviously one election would not suffice, assuming the issues could be determined at elections. We would have the issues of socialism every 2 years at a minimum to be decided. If we should restore the Constitution at one election, socialism might be substituted at the next, and so on without end.

The fundamental concept of a constitutional or contractual relationship between the Government and the people defining the Government's functions and powers to tax is to avoid submitting the issues to elections. The reason is obvious. Socialist issues cannot be submitted to a vote. It is impossible to frame the issues so that an intelligent vote can be taken on a national basis. For that reason, our forefathers in the beginning proceeded to hold conventions attended by delegates from the States to pronounce the constitutional principles

by which we should be governed. When the principles were announced they were so obviously right that they were affirmed by the courts and assented to by the people.

And so, Mr. Speaker, I submit that if we are ever to restore constitutional government and reject socialism, we must proceed through the States by means of a convention, as provided by the Constitution itself, to reassert and redefine and reestablish the functions of government, and then fix the amount of taxes which the States are willing the Government should spend to carry out those functions.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

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Messrs. Teague of Texas (chairman), Dorn Messrs. Teague of Texas (chairman), Dorn of South Carolina, Mrs. Kee, Messrs. Long, Byrne of Pennsylvania, Matthews, Edmondson, Boykin, Aspinali, O'Brien of New York, Shuford, Christopher, Diggs, Sisk, —, Mrs. Rogers of Massachusetts, Messrs. Kearney, Ayres, Adair, Fino, Weaver, Avery. Thomson of Wyoming, Siler, and

Teague of California.

Committee on Ways and Means

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UNITED STATES COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA CIRCUIT (United States Court House, 3d and Constitution Ave.)

Office Residence telephone Chief Judge telephone Harold M. Stephens, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3-5700 Adams 4-6420

Circuit Judges

Henry White Edgerton, Washington 1, D. C Sterling 3-5700 Emerson 3-6017 Wilbur K. Miller, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3-5700 terling 3–5700 E. Barrett Prettyman, Washington 1, D. C. Oliver 2–3263 Sterling 3-5700

David L. Bazelon, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3-5700 Emerson 2-0 Charles Fahy, Washington 1, D. C. Emerson 2-0544

Sterling 3-5700 Emerson o Sc. George T. Washington, Washington 1, D. C. Adams 2-6327 John A. Danaher, Washington 1, D. C. Sterling 3-5700 District 7-4704

Walter M. Bastlan, Washington 1, D. C.

Sterling 3-5700

COURT OF CUSTOMS AND PATENT APPEALS

(Internal Revenue Building. Phone National 8-4696)

Chief Judge-Finis J. Garrett, of Tennessee,

nief Judge - Ying ... 3550 Springland Lane. 1dge - Ambrose O'Connell, of New York, 1dge - Ambrose O'Alexandria, Va. Hunting Towers, Alexandria, Va.
Judge—Noble J. Johnson, of Indiana, 4318

Warren St.

Warren St.

Warren St.

Judge—Eugene Worley, of Texas, 4745 32d St.

North, Arlington, Va.

Judge—William P. Cole, Jr., of Maryland, 100
West University Parkway, Baltimore, Md.

Judge—Joseph R. Jackson (retired), of New
York, Westchester Apts.

THE UNITED STATES COURT OF CLAIMS (Pennsylvania Ave. and 17th St. Phone. District 7-0642)

Chief Judge-Marvin Jones, of Texas, 1500 Massachusetts Ave.

-Benjamin H. Littleton, of Tennessee,

4607 Connecticut Ave.
Judge—Samuel E. Whitaker, of Tennessee,

4921 Quebec St.
Judge—J. Warren Madden, of Pennsylvania,
300 East Broad St., Falls Church, Va.
Judge—Don. N. Laramore, of Washington,
4912 Brookway Road, Sumner, Md.

EMERGENCY COURT OF APPEALS Washington 1, D. C.

Washington 1, D. C.
Chief Judge—Albert B. Maris, Philadelphia
7, Pa. (United States Circuit Judge for the
Third Circuit.)
Judge—Calvert Magruder, Boston 9, Mass.
(Chief Judge, United States Court of Appeals for the First Circuit.)
Judge—Thomas F. McAllister, Grand Rapids,
Mich. (United States Circuit Judge for
the Sixth Circuit.)
Judge—Walter C. Lindley, Danville, Ill.
(United States Circuit Judge for the
Seventh Circuit.)
Judge—Bolitha J. Laws, Washington, D. C.
(Chief Judge, United States District Court
for the District of Columbia.)

UNITED STATES DISTRICT JUDGES District of Columbia (Washington 1, D. C.) Chief Judge Bolitha J. Laws Judges

F. Dickinson Letts Edward M. Curran Edward A. Tamm Charles F. McLaughlin James W. Morris David A. Pine Matthew F. McGuire Burnita S. Matthews Henry A. Schweinhaut James R. Kirkland Alexander Holtzoff Luther W. Youngdahl Joseph C. McGarraghy Richmond B. Keech

UNITED STATES COURT OF MILITARY APPEALS

(United States Court of Military Appeals Building, 5th and E Sts. NW.) Phone, Liberty 5-6700

Chief Judge	Robert E. Quinn
Judge	George W. Latimer
Judge	Paul W. Brosman
Commissioner	Richard L. Tedrow
Clerk	Alfred C. Proulx

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

REPRESENTATIVES WITH	Chiperfield, Robert B., Ill1713 House
RESIDENCES IN WASHINGTON	Building
Office Address: House Office Building,	Christopher, George H.,
Washington, D. C.	Mo. Chudoff, Earl, Pa
[Streets northwest unless otherwise stated]	Church, Marguerite Stitt, The Shor
Speaker, Sam Rayburn	Ill.
Abernathy Thos G. Mice. 6272 20th St.	Clark, Frank M., Pa The Jeffer Clevenger, Cliff, Ohio The Jeffer
Abernethy, Thos. G., Miss_6278 29th St. Adair, E. Ross, Ind3971 Langley Ct.,	Cole, W. Sterling, N. Y 1610 44th
Apt. 596-B	Colmer, William M., Miss Cooley, Harold D., N. CThe Dorch
Addonizio, Hugh J., N. J	Cooley, Harold D., N. C The Dorch
Albert, Carl, Okla Alexander, Hugh Q., N. C	Cooper, Jere, TennThe Wash
Alger, Bruce, Tex	Corbett, Robert J., Pa
Allen, John J., Jr., Calif	Coudert, F. R., Jr., N. Y
Allen, Leo E., IllUniversity Club Andersen, H. Carl, Minn4545 Conn. Ave.	Cramer, William C., Fla
Andersen, H. Carl, Minn 4545 Conn. Ave.	Cretella, Albert W., Conn Crumpacker, Shepard J.,
Andrews, George W., Ala3108 Cathedral	Jr., Ind.
Ave.	Cunningham, Paul, Iowa
Anfuso, Victor L., N. Y Arends, Leslie C., Ill4815 Dexter St.	Curtis, Laurence, Mass3314 O St.
Ashley, Thomas L., Ohio	Curtis, Thomas B., Mo
Ashmore, Robert T., S. C	Dague, Paul B., Pa
Aspinall, Wayne N., Colo 5309 2d St.	Davidson, Irwin D., N. Y Davis, Clifford, Tenn4611 Butt
Auchincloss, James C., N. J. 113 S. Lee St.,	worth Pl.
Alexandria, Va.	Davis, Glenn R., Wis2550 South
Ayres, William H., Ohio *	Arlington
Bailey, Cleveland M., W. Va.	Davis, James C., Ga Dawson, William A., Utah
Baker, Howard H., Tenn	Dawson, William L., Ill
Baldwin, John F., Jr., Calif.	Deane, Charles B., N. C
Barden, Graham A., N. C2737 Devonshire	Delaney, James J., N. Y Dempsey, John J., N. Mex2500 Q St.
Barrett, William A., Pa	Denton, Winfield K., Ind.
Bass, Perkins, N. H	Derounian, Steven B., N. Y.
Bass, Ross, Tenn	Devereux, James P. S., Md.
Bates, William H., Mass	Dies, Martin, Tex Diggs, Charles C., Jr., Mich_
Baumhart, A. D., Jr., Ohio_ Beamer, John V., Ind110 Maryland	Dingell, John D., Mich
Ave. NE.	Dixon, Henry Aldous, Utah_
Becker, Frank J., N. Y 1727 Mass. Ave.	Dodd, Thomas J., Conn
Belcher, Page, Okla Bell, John J., Tex	Dollinger, Isidore, N. Y Dolliver, James I., Iowa3752 Jocel
Bennett, Charles E., Fla1530 38th St. SE.	Dondero, George A., Mich_The Conti
Bennett, John B., Mich 7304 Bradley Blvd.	Donohue, Harold D., Mass.
Bethesda Md	Donovan, James G., N. Y.
Bentley, Alvin M., Mich	Dorn, Francis E., N. Y Dorn, W. J. Bryan, S. C
Berry, E. Y., S. Dak2720 Terrace Road SE.	Dowdy, John, Tex
Betts, Jackson E., Ohio	Doyle, Clyde, Calif3877 30th
Blatnik, John A., Minn	Durham, Carl T., N. CThe Lee H
Blitch, Iris Faircloth, Ga Boggs, Hale, La	
Boland, Edward P., Mass	Eberharter, Herman P., Pa_3101 4th S Arlington
Bolling, Richard, Mo	Edmondson, Ed, Okla
Bolton, Frances P., Ohio2301 Wyo. Ave.	Elliott, Carl, Ala
Bolton, Oliver P., Ohio Bonner, Herbert C., N. C. The Dorchester Bosch, Albert H., N. Y.	Ellsworth, Harris, Oreg 4301 Mass
Bosch, Albert H., N. Y	Engle, Clair, Calif3840 Lored Arlington
	Evins, Joe L., Tenn5044 Kling
Bowler, James B., Ill	Fallon, George H., Md
Doyle, Charles A., Itt	Fascell, Dante B., Fla
Bray, William G., Ind	Feighan, Michael A., Ohio_
Brooks, Jack B., Tex.	Fenton; Ivor D., Pa3725 Maco
Brooks, Overton, La413 46th St. Brown, Clarence J., Ohio_Alban Towers	Fernandez, A. M., N. Mex_200 C St. S Fine, Sidney A., N. Y
Brown, Paul, GaBoston House	Fino, Paul A., N. Y
Brownson, Charles B., Ind.	Fino, Paul A., N. YCalvert-W Fisher, O. C., TexCalvert-W Fjare, Orvin B., Mont
Broyhill, Joel T., Va Buchanan, Vera, Pa	Fjare, Orvin B., Mont Flood, Daniel J., Pa
Buckley, Charles A., N. Y	Flynt, John J., Jr., Ga
Budge, Hamer H., Idaho	Fogarty, John E., R. I3627 Ches
Burdick, Usher L., N. Dak	St.
Burleson, Omar, Tex2737 Devonshire Pl.	Forand, Aime J., R. I4108 Dress Kensingto
Burnside, M. G., W. Va	Ford, Gerald R., Jr., Mich1521 Mou
Bush, Alvin R., Pa	Pl., Alexai
Byrd, Robert C., W. Va	Waynester F T Ca
Byrne, James A., Pa Byrnes, John W., Wis1215 25th St. So.,	Forrester, E. L., Ga
Arlington, Va.	Frazier, Jas. B., Jr., Tenn_Fairfax H
Canfield, Gordon, N. J	Frelinghuysen, Peter, Jr., 3014 N St.
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Cannon, Clarence, Mo Carlyle, F. Ertel, N. CThe Washington	Friedel, Samuel N., Md
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Cannon, Clarence, Mo Carlyle, F. Ertel, N. CThe Washington Carnahan, A. S. J., Mo Carrigg, Joseph L., Pa	Fulton, James G., Pa Gamble, Ralph A., N. Y
Cannon, Clarence, Mo The Washington Carnahan, A. S. J., Mo Carrigg, Joseph L., Pa Cederberg, Elford A., Mich_	Fulton, James G., Pa Gamble, Ralph A., N. Y Garnatz, Edward A., Md Garv. J. Vaughan. Va
Cannon, Clarence, Mo The Washington Carnahan, A. S. J., Mo Carrigg, Joseph L., Pa Cederberg, Elford A., Mich. Celler, Emanuel, N. Y The Mayflower Chase, Jackson B., Nebr	Fulton, James G., Pa Gamble, Ralph A., N. Y Garmatz, Edward A., Md Gary, J. Vaughan, Va Gathings, E. C., Ark6377 31st.
Cannon, Clarence, Mo The Washington Carnahan, A. S. J., Mo Carrigg, Joseph L., Pa Cederberg, Elford A., Mich. Celler, Emanuel, N. Y The Mayflower Chase, Jackson B., Nebr Chatham, Thurmond, N. C.	Fulton, James G., Pa Gamble, Ralph A., N. Y Garmatz, Edward A., Md Gary, J. Vaughan, Va Gathings, E. C., Ark6377 31st. Gavin, Leon H., Pa
Cannon, Clarence, Mo Carlyle, F. Ertel, N. CThe Washington Carnahan, A. S. J., Mo Carrigg, Joseph L., Pa Cederberg, Elford A., Mich_ Celler, Emanuel, N. YThe Mayflower Chase, Jackson B., Nebr Chatham, Thurmond, N. C_ Chelf, Frank, Ky	Fulton, James G., Pa Gamble, Ralph A., N. Y Garmatz, Edward A., Md Gary, J. Vaughan, Va Gathings, E. C., Ark6377 31st Gavin, Leon H., Pa Gentry, Brady, Tex
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	Grant, George M., Ala4801 Conn. Ave. Gray, Kenneth J., Ill Green, Edith, Oreg
oreham	Green, William J., Jr., Pa.— Gregory, Noble J., Ky.——2401 Calvert St. Griffiths, Martha W., Mich. Gross, H. R., Iowa.———
ferson th St.	Gubser, Charles S., Calif
rchester	Gwinn, Ralph W., N. Y Hagen, Harlan, Calif
shington	Hale, Robert, Maine2722 N St. Haley, James A., Fla Halleck, Charles A., Ind4926 Upton St.
	Hand, T. Millet, N. J Harden, Cecil M., Ind
	Hardy, Porter, Jr., Va Harris, Oren, Ark1627 Myrtle St. Harrison, Burr P., Va4519 So. 34th St.,
St.	Arlington, Va. Harrison, Robert D., Nebr Harvey, Ralph, Ind110 Maryland
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tter- 1. 1th Joyce,	Hayworth, Don, Mich Hébert, F. Edward, La104 Cockrell St.,
on, Va.	Alexandria, Va. Henderson, John E., Ohio Herlong, A. S., Jr., Fla
	Heselton, John W., Mass
	Hess, William E., Ohio Hiestand, Eggar W., Calif
3t.	Hill, William S., Colo110 Maryland Ave. NE.
	Hillings, Patrick J., Calif Hinshaw, Carl, Calif
	Hoeven, Charles B., Iowa2108 Suitland Terrace SE.
	Hoffman, Clare E., MichMethodist Bldg. Hoffman, Richard W., Ill
	Holifield, Chet, Calif
elyn St.	Holmes, Hal, Wash Holt, Joe, Calif
ntinental	Holtzman, Lester, N. Y Hope, Clifford R., Kans3541 Brandywine
	St. Horan, Walt, Wash
	Hosmer, Craig, Calif
h St. N.,	Huddleston, George, Jr., Ala.
on, Va. House	Hull, W. R., Jr., Mo Hyde, DeWitt S., Md
st. N.,	Ikard, Frank, Tex
on, Va.	Jackson, Donald L., Calif James, Benjamin F., Pa200 C St. SE.
ss. Ave.	Jarman, John, Okla Jenkins, Thomas A., OhioThe Mayflower
on, Va.	Jennings, W. Pat, Va Jensen, Ben F., IowaThe Washing-
ingle St.	Johansen, August E., Mich_
	Johnson, Leroy, Calif630 North Caro- lina Ave. SE.
comb St.	Johnson, Lester R., Wis215 Constitution Ave. NE.
	Jones, Charles Raper, N. C. Jones, Paul C., Mo3613 Greenway
-Woodley	Pl., Alexandria, Va.
	Jones, Robert E., Jr., Ala Jones, Woodrow W., N. C Judd, Walter H., Minn3083 Ordway St.
esapeake	
esden St.,	Karsten, Frank M., Mo Kean, Robert W., N. J2435 Kalorama
gton, Md. ount Eagle	Kearney, B. W. (Pat), N. Y
andria,	Kearns, Carroll D., PaSheraton-Park Keating, Kenneth B., N. Y_1249 31st St. Kee, Elizabeth, W. Va
St.	Kelley, Augustine B., Pa
Hotel St.	Kelly, Edna F., N. Y.——————————————————————————————————
	Kilday, Paul J., Tex
	King, Cecil R., Calif
	King, Karl C., Pa Kirwan, Michael J., Ohio
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	Knox, Victor A., Mich
dman St.	Knutson, Coya, Minn Krueger, Otto, N. DakThe Coronet

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Lane, Thomas J., Mass Lanham, Henderson, Ga	Poage, W. R., Tex2309 Sk Pl. SE.
MUKIOTO Richard E. Md	Poff, Richard H., Va
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Cong. George S., La	Priest, J. Percy, Tenn The Be
wre, Harold O., S. Dak1605 Sherwood	Prouty, Winston L., Vt
Road, Silver	Quigley, James M., Pa
Spring, Md.	Rabaut, Louis C., Mich
McCarthy, Eugene J., Minn_419 Raymond St., Chevy Chase, Md.	Radwan, Edmund P., N. Y.
McConnell, Samuel K., Jr.,	Rains, Albert, Ala
Pa.	Rayburn, Sam, Tex
McCormack, John W., Mass_The Washington	Reece, B. Carroll, Tenn
McCulloch, Wm. M., OhioWestchester Apts. McDonough, G. L., Calif	Reed, Chauncey W., 1112009 Gl Rd., Sil
McDowell, Harris B., Jr.,	Md.
Del.	Reed, Daniel A., N. Y The Wo
McGregor, J. Harry, Ohio_The Westchester McIntire, Clifford G.,	Rees, Edward H., Kans1801 16 Reuss, Henry S., Wis
Maine	Rhodes, George M., Pa1809 Fr
McMillan, John L., S. C 1201 S. Barton St.,	St. NE.
McVer William F III Arlington, Va.	Rhodes, John J., Ariz
McVey, William E., III3130 Wisconsin Ave.	Richards, James P., S. C Riehlman, R. Walter, N. Y. 3210 W
Macdonald, Torbert H.,	Riley, John J., S. C.
AI ass.	Rivers, L. Mendel, S. C
Machrowicz, Thaddeus M., 812 Park Ave.,	Roberts, Kenneth A., Ala_4545 Co Robeson, Edward J., Jr., Va_
Mich. Falls Church, Va.	Robsion, John M., Jr., Ky_1500 De
Mack, Peter F., Jr., III Mack, Russell V., Wash	Rodino, Peter W., Jr., N. J.
Madden, Ray J. Ind3250 T St. SE.	Rogers, Byron G., Colo
Magnuson, Don, Wash	Rogers, Edith Nourse, Mass_The Sh Rogers, Paul G., Fla
Mahon, George H., TexAlban Towers Mailliard, William S., Calif_	Rogers, Walter, Tex
Marshall, Fred, Minn	Rooney, John J., N. Y
Martin, Jos. W., Jr., Mass. The Hav-Adams	Roosevelt, James, Calif Rutherford, J. T., Tex
Mason, Noah M., IllThe Baronet	Sadlak, Antoni N., Conn
Matthews, D. R. (Billy), Fla.	St. George, Katharine, N.Y.
Meader, George, Mich 3360 Tennyson St.	Saylor, John P., Pa
Merrow, Chester E., N. H	Schenck, Paul F., Ohio3801 Co Apt. 30
Metcalf, Lee, Mont2801 East-West	Scherer, Gordon H., OhioThe Ma
Highway, Chevy	Schwengel, Fred, Iowa
Min Chase, Md.	Scrivner, Errett P., Kans2331 Ca
Miller, Edward T., Md2901 Conn. Ave. Miller, George P., Calif	Ave.
Miller, William E., N. Y 3708 Calvend	Scudder, Hubert B., Calif 4545 Co
Lane, Kensing-	Seely-Brown, Horace, Jr.,
Mills, Wilbur D., Ark2701 Conn. Ave.	Conn. Selden, Armistead I., Jr., 4634-B
Milliam E., Ohio_	Ala. So., Arl
Mollohan, Robert H.,	Sheehan, Timothy P., Ill
W. Va. Morano, Albert P., Conn	Shelley, John F., Calif Sheppard, Harry R., Calif
aurgan, Thomas E. Pa	Short, Dewey, Mo
adorrison, James H., La4420 Dexter St.	Shuford, George A., N. C Sherate
MOSS, John E. Jr. Calif	Sieminski, Alfred D., N. J. Sikes, Robert L. F., Fla
Moulder, Morgan M., Mo Multer, Abraham J., N. Y	Siler, Eugene, Ky
"umma, Walter M., Pa The Coronet	Simpson, Richard M., Pa_4545 Co
James C. III	Simpson, Sid, Ill2100 M
Turray, Tom, Tenn	Sisk, B. F., Calif Smith, Frank E., Miss
Natcher, William H., Ky 5108 Bradley	Smith, Howard W., Va204 W.
Blvd., Bethesda, Md.	Alexan
Nelson Charles P Maine	Smith, Lawrence H., Wis The Do Smith, Wint, Kans
	Spence, Brent, KySherate Springer, William L., IU
Norblad, Walter, Oreg Norrell, W. F., Ark2301 Conn. Ave.	Springer, William L., Ill
O'Brian Tan W. W.	Staggers, Harley O., W. Va., Steed, Tom, Okla
O'Brien, Leo W., N. Y The Hamilton O'Hara Barratt III The Congressional	Sullivan, Leonor K., Mo
O'Hara, Barratt, Ill	Taber, John, N. Y
O'Rara, Joseph P., Minn2813 31st St.	Talle, Henry O., Iowa
O'Konski, Alvin E., Wis O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr.,	Taylor, Dean P., N. Y
Mass.	Teague, Charles M., Calif Teague, Olin E., Tex6015 M
Sinere Pront C To M F	Thomas, Albert, Tex2901 34
and, majora o., iv. I 100 Maryland	Thompson, Clark W., TexSherate
Passman Otto To To	Thompson, Frank, Jr., N. J. Thompson, Ruth, Mich
Patman, Wright, Tex117 Carroll St. SE.	Thompson, T. A., La
Pelly The Transfer III	Alexan
Perking Contract No., Waster-	Thomson, E. Keith, Wyo
Plost Canala Manager	Thornberry, Homer, Tex Tollefson, Thor C., Wash
Philbin, Philip J., Mass Phillips, John Calls	Trimble, James W., Ark
Phillips, John, Calif	Tuck, William M., Va

Pilcher, J. L., GaPillion, John R., N. YPoage, W. R., Tex	2309 Skyland
Poff, Richard H., Va	PI, SE.
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Appendix

The Objections to Federal Assistance for School Construction Are Not Valid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 21, 1955

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a most timely and able address entitled "The Objections to Federal Assistance for School Construction Are Not Valid," delivered by Dr. John K. Norton, head of the department of educational administration, Teachers College, Columbia University, before the Conference of National Organizations for School Construction, on January 11, 1955.

I am advised by the Public Printer that the cost of printing the address will exceed the normal amount, and will come to the sum of \$280. Despite the additional cost, I ask unanimous consent that the address may be printed in the

Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Probably the most frequent objection to Federal aid to public education is that education is a State-local function with which the Federal Government should not be concerned.

The National Association of Manufacturers stated it thus in the recent hearings on Federal aid for school construction:

"Our schools have always been a Statelocal matter; and they should continue to be" (p. 355).

Is this a valid objection? History gives us the answer.

In the ordinance of 1785, 2 years before the Constitution was adopted, the Continental Congress set aside the 16th section of every township in the Northwest Territory for the support of public schools. The same action was soon extended to the Southwest.

The ordinance of 1787 set up a clear policy of Federal aid for education, a policy which was subsequently consistently followed by

the Federal Government.

The Federal aid provided in the early period of our history was no mean amount. The 175 million acres of land set aside for school support has been called "the endow-ment magnificent." It is the greatest grant for the development of education in all his-

One student of this legislation concludes that: "The national land grants were the very foundation of public education in the United States."

It is historical fact that the Federal Government played a substantial role in the establishment of our State school systems and in providing for their support.

This decisive action of the Federal Government in promoting public education was consistent with the viewpoint of the great founders of the Republic.

Washington advocated the establishment of a national university. In his Farewell Address he urged us to-

"Promote, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge."

Jefferson was vitally interested in the development of a system of education and acted upon it in a number of vital ways.

Franklin, Adams, Madison, and many others emphasized the indispensable necessity of popular education as a foundation for a free society.

The viewpoint of the great founders of the Republic and the early acts of Congress to promote education were no flash in the pan. Since 1785 no less than 50 major bills concerning education have been enacted by the Federal Congress.

One of the most searching tests of the statesmanship of a political leader has been his position on education.

In 1832 a great American made this state-ment in a political speech:

"Upon the subject of education * * * I can only say that I view it as the most important subject which we as a people can be engaged in.

"For my part, I desire to see the time when education * * * shall become much more general than at present and should be gratified to have it in my power to contribute something * * * to accelerate that happy

The great man who spoke thus was not merely engaging in campaign oratory, for in 1862, 20 years later, he, Abraham Lincoln, signed a bill providing for the establishment of a college of agricultural and mechanical arts in every State. This action, along with the supplementary acts of 1887 and 1914 providing for the experiment stations and the Extension Service, brought into being a re markable program of collegiate and adult education

Undoubtedly, this program is one of the reasons why a peasant class has never developed in the United States and why Secretary Benson's principal headache is our

amazing agricultural surpluses.

Federal legislation established this program, and Federal aid ever since 1862 has provided for its partial support. Some \$48 million a year is provided by the Federal Government for A. and M. A. colleges and the associated activities, although this sum is now far exceeded by the voluntary appro-priations of the States for this program.

In 1917, another great statesman, Woodrow Wilson, signed a bill providing for the establishment and continuing support of a program of vocational education at the secondary level in all States.

This program permitted the quick training of some 10 million skilled workers during World War II. Without them, our war effort would have been scriously handicapped. Federal funds totalling \$26 million a year still aid the States in paying for vocational education, although State and local appropriations for this purpose far exceed those of the Federal Government.

More than 200 educational activities are now financed by the Federal Government. Their annual cost is \$1,381,000.1 The largest item totalling \$726 million is for the education of veterans under the GI bills. Some \$300 million of the total is for education

Footnotes at end of speech.

in the States of which \$200 million of the total is for the so-called federally affected areas. The appropriations for the State agricultural colleges and their associated activities, for vocational education and for vocational rehabilitation total \$100 million. The school lunch program and other items compose the remainder.

In the light of the foregoing, it is clear that our schools have not always been a State-local matter. They have been a matter of national as well as of State-local concern since the beginning of our history and down to this very moment. Federal interest in education and Federal aid for the promotion of education is a part of the American tradition. Those who oppose Federal aid for school-building construction on the assumption that education is solely a Statelocal matter are disregarding historical fact either from ignorance or intent.

A second objection to Federal aid for school buildings is that the need has been exaggerated and, therefore, does not justify

Federal assistance.

The immediate and impending classroom shortage is a compound of several factors: (1) The curtailment of construction during the depression; (2) the postponement of building during World War II; (3) the nor-mal building replacement needs due to obsolescene; and (4) the necessity for expansion of school plants due to rapidly rising school enrollments.

To take account of all of these factors, so as to correct present housing conditions in the public schools within a 5-year period, would require \$4 billion a year. If we take 8 years to do the job, \$3 billion a year will be necessary. These estimates do not include costs of either sites or equipment only the buildings.

In spite of valiant efforts by the States and localities, there has been a considerable increase in the classroom shortage during the past 2 years. This shortage threatens to become chronic. That it will worsen in the immediate future is certain on the basis of children already born but not yet of school age. The annual enrollment increase will be something over 1 million a year in the immediate future.

It is also likely that conditions under the present basis of support will continue to worsen in the more remote future, unless the stork develops an anemia, which he shows no signs of doing at present.

During the 1920's and 1930's about 2.5 million children were born each year. They are the parents of the children who are causing current increases in school enrollments. In each of the past 7 years more than 3.5 million children have been born. The total was over 4 million for the first time in 1954. When this greatly increased annual crop of babies reaches maturity, we may expect to flood of their children in our schools exceeding that of the present.

There are children now graduating from the eighth grade who have never attended school except on a parttime basis. More than a million and a half children are attending school in barracklike buildings, in rented churches and garages, and in other makeshift quarters. Many are in basement rooms and hallways, and obsolete firetraps which are a threat to their safety. Many out-sized classes are made necessary by lack of classrooms, so that 40 or 50 children have to be hired up in one room.

And yet there are those who blame the schools for not giving more individual attention to children and for not playing a stronger role in the prevention of juvenile delinquency.

Unless drastic measures are taken, far more effective than those now in effect, there are many children now entering the first grade who 8 years from now will have attended school under circumstances even worse than those of the past 8 years.

Next let us consider another type of objection to Federal assistance for school con-

struction.

There are those who recognize the need for more funds for school buildings but who insist that the States can meet the need solely on their own resources. The United States is no more than the 48 States, they say, so why involve the Federal Government.

To these people we should say that there is a vast difference between each of the 48 States acting individually and the Nation

acting as a Nation.

In the first place, fugitive wealth seeking to dodge its just share of the cost of schools and other public enterprises plays one State against another and as a result depresses the practical ability of both to support State services. For example, industries which mi-grate from New York State to Georgia under the bribe of tax-free status put a damper on taxation in New York and escape it in part in Such tax-dodging is not possible Georgia. when the Federal Government is concerned.

Tax experts generally agree that the Federal Government has superior tax-raising capacity. It not only has it, but circum-stances have compelled the substantial use of this ability. No competent statesmen would propose that the enormous bill for military and other types of preparedness could readily be raised by the States. How ridiculous it would be to propose that since the 48 States are merely the same as the United States, that they have the same ability to raise the more than \$40 billion a year which military and other forms of preparedness are costing us annually.

But, say the opponents of adequate school support, the way to meet the need is to eliminate unnecessary Federal expenses and thereby make revenue available to the States

and localities.

This is a disarming argument until one looks at the facts. The facts are that although there has been much fanfare about reducing Federal taxation, the cuts made

are relatively small.

According to the January 7 issue of U.S. News & World Report, the estimated cash income of the Federal Government for fiscal 1955 will be \$68 billions. The estimates for fiscal 1956, whether one takes the bookkeeping budget or the cash budget, are that the Federal Government expects to collect more and not less revenue next year than in the current fiscal year. As the U. S. News & World Report states: "Despite the cuts in the past 2 years, Government will continue to spend half again as much as it was spending before the war started in Korea."

One may regret this fact or not, but there is little prospect that the situation will substantially change in the next few years

Let us not forget that the rank and file of the voters have had little or no cut in their Federal taxes. They still eye local school tax bills against a background of record peacetime payments to Uncle Sam. In this fact we find a major practical obstacle which stands between adequate school support for buildings and for everything else.

If there were any guaranty that Federal tax collections would be reduced from the present \$60 to \$70 billion a year to something like 35 or even 45 billions, there would be some validity to the proposal that we should cut Federal taxes and thus ease the tax problem in the States.

There is no such prospect. The world sit-uation promises little relief from a colossal bill for military and other types of pre-paredness. At home, industries such as the automotive fight Federal aid for education while they embrace a proposed \$100 billion road-building program with a hoop and a hurrah, a substantial part of which is to be paid for by increased Federal aid appropriations.

Further, it is proposed to finance this huge road-building project on a matching basis; that is, for each dollar received from the Federal Government a dollar must be appropriated from State funds. The result is that the States are likely to appropriate the matching funds first, and take care of construction costs second, or not at all.

A careful reading of the President's state of the Union address offers little hope for any substantial cut in Federal tax collections even from the Republicans in the next

few years.

There is another policy of the Federal Government which has placed education at a serious fiscal disadvantage. This is a policy of allocating large sums for traditionally local and private undertakings, while excluding education in the States from any substantial Federal aid.

Generous Federal aid has been provided for relief, for unemployment, for social security, for road building, for agricultureto specify but a few. No equivalent Fedaid is being allocated to the public

schools in the States.

The basic difficulty in this whole situation is that the Federal Government has no rational and consistent policy as to its fiscal relationships to public education in the States. It discriminates against and starves the schools on one hand, and then when conditions become so bad that they can no longer be ignored it rushes into the situation with hasty and ill-advised legislation. Many illustrations might be given. For example, school people have plead for many years for some funds to eliminate illiteracy They have been dein the United States. nied. But now substantial amounts are being expended by the Defense Department to eliminate illiteracy among those in the military services. Instead of preventing illiteracy at the source, the Federal Government seems to prefer to try to cure it in the military services.

Much of the piecemeal, emergency educational legislation of recent decades passed by the Congress has sought to cure ills in public education which have their origin in financial malnutrition. They could have been prevented by the judicious appropriation of reasonable amounts of Federal aid to the public schools.

This lack of any consistent policy or program for Federal aid for education is largely responsible for the fact that only 8 cents of the total tax dollar-State, Federal, and local—is now expended for public schools, as compared with 16 cents just before World War II. We need just about double what we are now spending to put public educa-tion on a sound financial basis. This amount we would have if 16, rather than 8 cents of each tax dollar went for education. Positive action at the Federal level to redress the situation described is long overdue.

There is another factor which makes the Federal Government a very different animal than a summation of the 48 States. The States differ substantially in their ability to finance education. Sole reliance on State fiscal capacity promises in the future, as in the past, to result both in shocking inequalities of financial provision for school buildings and for any other substantial part of the school budget. The failure of the Federal Government to act on the recommendations of dozens of commissions which have recommended Federal assistance to education in the States is responsible for a tragic denial of educational opportunity for millions of children.

We have a variety of proposals for action in the States by those who would deny Federal assistance to education at any price.

We are told that the local property tax should be reformed. This is true. But the fact is that the local property tax today is raising approximately 60 percent of the total public school bill. This tax falls primarily the homeowner of modest income. Would the opponents of Federal aid place a larger share of school expenditures on the shoulders of these taxpayers?

Then we are told that more State aid should be raised for education. This also is true for some States. The fact is, however, for the country as a whole that there has been a very substantial increase both in the amount of State aid for education as well as the proportion coming from this source.

In 1920 14 percent of public school funds came from the States. In 1954 the cor-responding percent was 37 percent.

If the Federal Government had been as responsive to changing economic and educational conditions as the State governments have been, public education in the United States would not be in its present deplorable condition.

We are also told that the States should reorganize their local school districts. This is still true for some States. It is also true that many of the States have made commendable progress in this regard.

The pertinent fact at this point, however, is that no State has reduced expenditures by consolidating school districts. Consolidation has increased educational opportunity. It has not cut school costs.

The plain fact is that in spite of valiant efforts, the States and localities are not meeting school building needs. Conditions have worsened rather than improved in the past 2 years. They threaten to deteriorate further under present conditions, and certainly if the Federal Government continues its discrimination against education.

The time has come to reject these counsels of perfection and to concentrate on the deplorable fact that inadequate provision for school buildings is one of the factors which is today denying millions of children their

educational birthrights.

Let us begin to think of children first. Let us realize the importance, both to national progress and security, of offering a full educational opportunity to every child. We will then quickly brush aside the objections which stand in the way.

There are two other questions one is likely to encounter from those who place money high and children low in their scale of

values.

The first question is: Do you want to increase Federal taxes-shouldn't they be reduced?

We should meet this question head on. Say that we are in favor of public expenditures which are essential to the progress and security of the United States. If these can be assured on a reduced tax bill that will be fine. But if essential services require present or even increased tax collections, it would be folly not to pay for them. In any case, we should insist that the adequate financing of education deserves to rank as high in our priorities as national defense, and higher than highway construction, if the choice must be made.

Another objection which is raised by the opponents of adequate school support is that we are too poor-our economy cannot afford the cost. This objection is perhaps the most unsound of all.

Gross national production exceeds \$355 billion a year; Beardsley Ruml in the recent report of the National Citizens Commission estimates on the basis of reasonable assumptions that: "The gross national produce in 1965 can hardly be less than \$525 billion."

Disposable personal income, which is what individuals have to spend after personal tax payments, is at an alltime high. We have available for expenditure 40 percent more per person than in 1939. Personal savings, approximating \$20 billion a year, far exceed any other period. Expenditures for au-tomobiles, television sets, and the like have reached fabulous amounts. We have an economy in which, for the first time in history, the total bill for recreation is greater than that for food.

It is ridiculous to claim that such an economy cannot afford to spend whatever is necessary to house satisfactorily its schoolchildren.

Objectors to Federal assistance for school buildings always conjure up and expand on the danger of Federal control.

When the people speak through their local and State representatives, everything is all right. But to aid education through their Federal représentatives cannot be but wholly iniquitous—so the argument goes.

We should keep our thinking clear on this

very important issue.

Federal control of education does not result from some mystical and evil forces which creep out of the night to seize control of our schools.

Rather Federal control of education and the avoidance of it depends primarily upon the nature of educational legislation.

If control is included in the torms of an educational act, then control is likely to result. When a series of specifications and requirements are contained in the legislation, when special Federal authorities are created, when Federal agents are given both supervisory authority as well as discretion as to how much money each State or locality is to receive, Federal control of education is foreordained.

We had a number of examples of the control type of legislation under the PWA the WPA and other agencies of the depression period, and one can cite other recent examples.

During the depression we came within an act of establishing a Federal system of secondary education to parallel the high schools in the States. The National Youth Administration was set up as a temporary agency to deal with problems which the high schools could have handled as well or better if they had had Federal aid. This agency attempted to perpetuate itself as a permanent Federal undertaking. Here we have another illustration of an ill-advised effort by the Federal Government to do what the States could have done if they had had requisite Federal aid.

On the other hand, we have shining examples of Federal aid for education which have not resulted in control.

Witness the endowment magnificent in our early history. This Federal land grant not only played a significant role in establishing our unique system of public education, It even today provides a part, although a minor part of school support. Has this Federal aid resulted in Federal control of public schools?

Again, witness the establishment of what has become a program of higher education, research and adult education by the Act of 1862. Do we think of our State land grant colleges as under Federal control? I will venture that the majority of the citizens of the States do not even know that these colleges, or universities as most of them have become, were established by the Federal Government, that Federal assistance helped them to get started, and that annually the Federal Government still appropriates some \$48 million a year for the support of these institutions and their related activities.

In the foregoing instances we have examples of highly significant Federal leadership and Federal aid in two major and continuing educational programs. Control has been avoided because the legislation did not specify in detail how the States were to use the funds in developing the educational undertakings established, and did not set up Federal authorities and officials with general supervisory and discretionary fiscal powers.

As a result, the people in the States took charge and went way beyond original conceptions as to the educational programs to be developed and the amount of support to be provided from State and local funds.

In these examples, we have illustrations of right relations in education between the Federal Government and the States.

This experience justifies a basic conclusion: Federal aid properly allocated to education in the States does not weaken Statelocal initiative, nor result in Federal control. Rather, it strengthens State-local initiative which is the surest safeguard against Federal control. If the National Government ever takes over public education in the United States it will likely be the result of continuing the discrimination against, and the fiscal starvation of the schools, which the Federal Government has been guilty of in recent decades. By such ill-advised practices, the schools can eventually be so weakened that the Federal Government will feel obliged to take over. This need not happen, but it has happened enough in the past, so that the possibility is far from remote.

One of the surest safeguards against Federal control of education is the vigor of local and State interest in their schools. interest has continued throughout our history. And so long as the people retain their faith in education and have the wit to in-sist upon properly drafted Federal legislation, our schools will be safe from centralized

The fear that some supplementary Federal aid for such an essential purpose as school buildings will result in loss of local initiative in this area of expenditure finds little basis in past experience. Local communities have traditionally shown the liveliest of interest in their school buildings, and these structures are a source of special local

Most of the States now have well organized offices in their State departments of education qualified to provide overall leadership and assistance in developing local schoolbuilding programs. This provides an addi-tional means of resistance to possible Federal domination.

Furthermore, the area of school building is one of the least open to the dangers of Federal control. Even if some Federal control were exercised in this area it would not lead to the capture of public education by the central government.

If centralized political control of public education comes in the United States, it will be the result of placing the appointment of teachers on a partisan basis and the dictation of the curriculum from Washington. There appears to be little likelihood that this would be tolerated by the people of the United States on any basis, and least of all as a result of providing a reasonable amount of school-building aid to supplement that of the States and localities.

Our whole history is testimony to the fact that Federal interest in and Federal aid for a fundamental educational undertaking leads not to a slackening of local interest and support for the undertaking, but the opposite. The States and localities not only readily take over the control and administration of an educational activity originated the Federal Government and substantially supported by it in the initiatory stages, but soon appropriate substantially more than the Federal Government for its financing.

In these past experiences, we find the considerations and principles which should govern Federal-State relations in education.

It should be a cooperative relationship. The Federal Government should promote and financially aid educational activities which are of fundamental national concern. Legislation to bring this about should be the type which inhibits centralized, bureaucratic control, but which places the expenditure of the supplementary Federal aid in the hands of the legal educational authorities of the States and localities.

Federal aid for school construction is fully justified in the light of the foregoing considerations. It is a matter of major and general national concern. Every State in the Union has a serious problem in this regard. None of them have been able to deal with it adequately solely on their own resources. This is true even though the so-called federally affected areas have received substantial school-building aid.

The prospects are that the school-building

situation will worsen rather than improve unless Federal aid is forthcoming to supplement State and local appropriations.

The time has come for prompt and substantial action on the part of the Federal Government. The legislation adopted to bring this about should be the best that past experience will permit. It should avoid the temptation of setting up a new bureau or authority in Washington and the appointment of Federal officials. They are not needed

The allocation to the various States from the Federal appropriations for assistance to school construction should be determined in the legislative act according to an objective formula of need. The formula should be one which anyone who can do arithmetic can calculate, and which can be verified by anyone else with similar qualifications.

By these means we could eliminate the school-building shortage in from 5 to 10 years. This would not solve all the problems of education, but it would be a major and desirable step in this direction.

As citizens interested in providing the kind of education needed in the future, we should see that this step is taken in the 84th Con-

For more than a generation I have endured, not without some protest to be sure, the specious arguments which have been made against Federal assistance to education in the States. During this period the position of the United States, both as to its role in world affairs and as to the complexity of its own civilization, has been transformed almost beyond belief. This "big change" as Allen has called it has witnessed no comparable response by our State and local school systems. Today, the public schools are less able to meet the needs of our dynamic society than they were a generation ago.

When President Eisenhower stated that today we face grave educational problems in his recent message, he greatly understated the situation. It is not only the shortage of teachers and school buildings that should give us pause, although these shortages prevent us from providing a fair educational opportunity for all. What is less dramatic, but far more serious, is the fact that the gap between the obvious educational needs of the Nation and the funds needed to meet them is an ever widening one.

By this colossal bit of stupidity we endanger both national progress and national security.

Let us look at some of the consequences of a generation of almost criminal educational neglect.

A recent publication, with the arresting tle "The Uneducated" contains these shocking conclusions:

Footnotes at end of speech.

"The millions in the United States who can neither read nor write * * represent too large a proportion in our society to permit some property (p. 27)

mit complacency" (p. 27).

"The outstanding finding that emerges from this study of the illiterate and poorly educated population is the scale of the problem" (p. 225).

"The magnitude of the problem of the totally uneducated and the poorly educated is a striking phenomenon" (p. 226).

"In the struggle in which the United States and other free nations are currently engaged * * our strength lies in the quality of our human resources. * * We can no longer ignore the wastage of our human resources * * *" (p. 246).

The study which came to these startling

The study which came to these startling conclusions was organized by General Eisenhower when he was president of Columbia University because he had been impressed with the striking evidence of the wastage of manpower revealed during World War II.

This is only one of a series of studies which

This is only one of a series of studies which have emphasized the frightening fact that we are far from fully capitalizing our most basic source of strangth

basic source of strength.

The report of the Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training is the result of the collaboration of four national councils. This careful study grew out of the serious shortages of highly trained personnel revealed by World War II.

After extensively studying the present sit-

After extensively studying the present situation, this Commission comes to this conclusion:

"The United States wastes much of its talent. * * * Society fails to secure the full benefit of many of its brightest youths because they do not secure the education that would enable them to work at the levels for which they are potentially qualified" (p. 269).

Looking toward the correction of this situation, the Commission further concludes:

"The brains of its citizens constitutes a nation's greatest asset. From the minds of men will come * * * all future progress.
* * * the practical problem becomes one of devising the best means of nurturing the talent which exists in the population. A nation which has had the ingenuity to conquer the air, to eradicate age-old diseases, to send radio messages around the world, to achieve a higher standard of living, than has ever been seen elsewhere in the world can surely overcome the barriers of doubt, of unequal opportunity, of financial handicap, and of inadequate motivation and education which interfere with the fullest development of the industrial, educational, intellectual, and moral leadership which our kind of society increasingly requires" (p. 283).

Certainly we will not overcome these barriers if we fail in such a relatively simple matter as that of housing all our children and youth in school buildings which are

reasonably decent and safe.

We will fail in this and in other even more difficult educational matters unless we find practical means of allocating the necessary financial support for education from our abundant economy. We will fail unless the Federal Government accepts its share of responsibility. It can take a wise step in this regard by providing Federal assistance for school construction to supplement State and local funds.

We should not let the sound and fury which rages about this whole question blind us as to the basic issue which is involved. It is not a new issue. It has arisen over and over again throughout our existence as a nation, and even before.

Two forces are in contention. On the one hand, we have those who, because of selfisnness and narrow vision, would make education the privilege of a limited class. They resent and fear the education of all the people. They think of money first and the education of children last or not at all.

On the other hand, there are those who believe that where there is no vision the people perish. They believe in the improvability of mankind through education, and that education should be the right of all. They believe that equality of opportunity is a noble ideal, and that without equal educational opportunity this ideal is but an empty phrase.

Winston Churchill has referred to the period in which we now live as "the terrible 20th century." The term is justified by the events of its first half. What will the second half bring? The future is not foreordained. It will be determined in considerable degree by the wisdom with which the United States uses the resources, human and otherwise, which providence has placed in our hands.

It is not enough in this dangerous world to keep our powder dry. We must also keep our human resources at the highest level of development. The quality, rather than the quantity, of our manpower will determine whether the second half of this century is to be terrible or glorious.

The pertinence of these considerations to the matter under consideration today is too obvious to require further elaboration.

Let us never forget that nothing is so important as providing every future citizen with the fullest educational opportunity that his capacity and diligence will permit him to capitalize. In the past this policy was justified in the name of simple social justice. Now it is demanded as an essential ingredient of national security.

Federal funds for Education. Bulletin, 1954, No. 14, U.S. Office of Education.

² Allen, Frederick Lewis, the Big Change, Harpers, New York, 1952.

² Ginzberg, Eli, and Bray, Douglas, the Uneducated, Columbia University Press, New York, 1953.

America's Resources of Specialized Talent, Harper & Bros., New York, 1954.

Defense of Formosa and Adjacent Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HARLEY M. KILGORE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an able and important statement by the distinguished Senator from Missouri [Mr. Hennings] concerning President Eisenhower's message requesting a congressional resolution on the defense of Formosa and adjacent areas. This statement was issued by the Senator from Missouri on Monday, January 24, 1955, and I should like to call it to the attention of all Members of the Senate.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT BY SENATOR HENNINGS CONCERN-ING PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S MESSAGE RE-QUESTING CONGRESSIONAL RESOLUTION ON DEFENSE OF FORMOSA AND ADJACENT AREAS

I had intended to speak today in the United States Senate concerning the constitutional implications of the President's message on the Far Eastern situation. Since, however, the Senate adjourned earlier than usual and will not meet again until Wednesday, at which time the Committee on Foreign

Relations most probably will present its report on this matter, and since I feel it is essential that certain factors receive public consideration, I am issuing the following statement:

President Eisenhower has requested that the Congress adopt a resolution that in his words would "clearly and publicly establish the authority of the President as Commander in Chief to employ the Armed Forces of the Nation promptly and effectively" to protect our interest in Formosa and its environs if in his judgment it becomes necessary. I believe that the President under the Constitution already has this authority, although others may contend that he does not. In any case, I am certain that if he does not have such authority the Congress cannot constitutionally give it to him except in a declaration of war which, in this case, the President has clearly not requested. On the contrary, he appears to be requesting that Congress delegate to him the authority to conduct military operations at some future time if in his judgment such should be necessary.

I am seriously disturbed by the issues raised by this request. As a lawyer and as a member of the Judiciary Committee, I am most concerned with any matter which touches the keystone of our constitutional distribution of governmental power. And it is in my role, too, as a member of the Judiciary Committee of the Senate, that I am apprehensive on this subject.

The public will recall that less than a year ago the Senate discussed at considerable length a proposed amendment to the Constitution that would have effected a revolutionary alteration in the office of the President, and, in my opinion, would have cut down the President's great historic powers in foreign affairs. I refer, of course, to the so-called Bricker amendment. The public will also recall that the debate was arduous and continued, and, in the end, the proposal falled to receive the required vote in this body. Some Senators fought to sustain and protect the President's historic constitutional powers and authority. Our efforts were ultimately successful.

Today the President in his message asked the Congress of the United States to take an action that seems to raise again the issues we decided in the Bricker debate. He has asked the Congress to approve in advance actions which he may take as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United States; actions, if you please, which he may take at some indeterminate time in the future in the light of events which have not yet occurred; and the nature of which admittedly cannot be predicted at this time.

I am concerned lest this constitute a tacit acceptance by the President of the principle he opposed at the time of the debate on the Bricker amendment.

If the President's intention is to spell out in detail, for all the world to see, the fact that America is united in opposition to Communist aggression, he is to be commended for such intent. But is this not already known to the world? I believe so. But in choosing this manner of acting to demonstrate our unity, is the President not taking a step which may, in the future, react unfavorably for our country?

The action of the President is heavy with fearful possibilities. For what one President chooses to do, another Chief Executive may be required to do. While the situation today is such that the President has the opportunity to consult with Congress, in future years, indeed, in future months, the President may not have such time. And if President Eisenhower feels he must get the approval of Congress in this instance, will not he and his successors be required to obtain such approval in all instances? I do not know, but I am concerned lest this may prove to be the case. We must remember that we

act not merely for today. Our action may well serve as a precedent binding upon fu-

ture generations.

Therefore, while I will support the adoption of a resolution which would give President Eisenhower the moral support he desires, I think the resolution should be adopted in such a manner that the great historical powers of the Presidency will not be in any way limited for future generations. We who have inherited the blessings of our great constitutional system are at least under the obligation to hand down to our political heirs this constitutional office unimpaired in strength.

Why has the President asked Congress to formally support his contemplated action?

I must confess I do not know.

Does the President have the authority to act in this matter in the absence of congressional approval? I believe that he has. And while some will contend that he does not have this authority, I can say with certitude that if he does not have it. Congress cannot give it to him. Under our Constitution, each branch of the Government has certain powers entrusted to it. And just as congress cannot delegate to the President the authority to declare war, so the President cannot delegate to Congress the powers he possesses as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces.

If the President is merely requesting our moral support by means of this proposed resolution, we will gladly give it to him on the basis of our faith in his integrity and purpose and out of respect for his high office. If he wishes us to assume responsibility for any action he may take, I submit that we cannot properly do so because we do not have the information on which such action must be based. We do not have access to the intelligence services of the State Department, the Department of Defense, the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the myriad channels through which information flows to the President. He has all the facts, the Senate virtually none. And since the President has all the facts, the responsibility for action must be his-as it is already his responsibility under the Constitution.

It is, therefore, obvious that if the President desires the Congress to share his heavy responsibility, he must give Congress the necessary information. And if he is not willing, or is not able, for reasons of national security, to give the Congress this information, then can we act intelligently or share his responsibility? I think not. I can speak only for myself as one Senator, and I do so speak. Before the Congress can assume responsibility for a course of action which very well may result in all-out war, I think the Congress has the right, and even the duty, to request all the information on the basis of which action may be contemplated.

I have the highest faith in the President's sincere desire to avoid world conflict. know he will act in the manner which he believes will be most salutary for our country's future. I am willing and I am desirous of putting myself on record as having such faith. But I do not know if I can 80 further. If the President feels that the information which Congress would need in order to share his responsibility cannot be made public, then should the Senate not invite him to address us in executive session? And if this matter is so delicate that he cannot risk the leaks which might conceivably come from such a session, then I do not know if we can do anything more than give him our moral support.

I make thees remarks will the full awareness that they may be misconstrued as either an attack on the President or a suggestion that we abandon an Asian ally. Such is not my intention. I am concerned lest the President's message be misinterpreted as a confession that the most powerful Nation

in the world does not have the ability and the intention of taking immediate and firm action, through the unquestioned constitutional power of the President as Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces, to protect our interests whenever and wherever these are threatened, until such time as the President and the Congress are able to jointly agree on the details of a course of action. must make it clear to the aggressive forces of communism that we are ever ready to hasten to the defense of freedom. I shall support the President of the United States as the Commander in Chief of our Armed Forces in any action, which he, in that capacity takes for the safety and security the United States in the fulfillment of our obligations under any treaty including, of course, the United Nations Charter, and in the protection of the interests of the free world anywhere.

In Commomoration of Ukrainian National Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM A. PURTELL

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. PURTELL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a statement I sent to Mr. John Teluk, chairman of the Ukrainian Independence Day celebration which was held in New Haven, Conn., on January 22, 1955.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IN COMMEMORATION OF UKRAINIAN NATIONAL INDEPENDENCE

I deeply regret that due to a prior commitment I will not be able to join with you and my many other friends of Ukrainian descent in the celebration commemorating the 37th anniversary of Ukrainian independence. Permit me, however, to send this message of greeting on this significant occasion.

It is undoubtedly difficult for Americans to appreciate, much less to comprehend, the frustrations of suppressed nationalism. Free and independent since 1776, Americans have had an unhampered opportunity to fulfill their national aspirations. Not all peoples of the globe have been so blessed; and certainly foremost among those who have not been free from the depredations and tyrannous rule of an imperialistic foe are the Ukrainians.

In past centuries it was imperial Russia of the tsars that stifled and frustrated Ukrainian national aspirations; in our own lifetime it has been the imperialism of Soviet Russia which has done everything imaginable, even committed genocide, to destroy the spirit of Ukrainian individuality and sense of nationhood.

Ukrainians have, however, a long tradition of national consciousness, born in ancient Kiev and nurtured through many centuries. Thirty-seven years ago the hopes and aspirations of decades were realized. National independence was finally accomplished; the Ukrainian National Republic was proclaimed; the Ukrainian people had at long last asserted their inalienable right of self-determination.

However, Ukrainian hopes for the continuation of a form of national independence faded as the strength of the Central Powers receded, and the power of the Bolsheviks increased. Caught in a power struggle between Russia of old, as exemplified by the White Russian forces, and the new Russia, as manifested in the Bolsheviks—both of whom sought to destroy it, the Ukrainian National Republic, which had gathered into its fold most of the Ukrainian people from the areas formerly ruled by the Austro-Hungarian and Russian empires, could not sustain its continued independence. And thus, with the victory of the Russian Bolsheviks, Ukrainian independence was doomed, and the Ukraine fell once again under Russian domination.

From the wreckage of those troubled times something real had emerged, however, which ought not to be forgotten by Ukrainians: They had actually established an independent national republic; and thus, after many centuries of subjection, they had created a concrete tradition of national inde-

pendence.

Celebrations commemorating the establishment of the Ukrainian independent Republic throughout our Nation and abroad, wherever Ukrainians may be, serve the noble purpose of sustaining this tradition. May you kind people of New Haven in your commemoration this evening contribute to this tradition; and may your example serve to kindle in the hearts of all our Ukrainian friends a true spirit of love and high regard for the land of their origin; the Ukraine.

Tribute to Hon. George L. Radcliffe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, on Monday evening, last, a very distinguished former Member of this body, the Honorable George L. Radcliffe, was honored by a prominent group of Maryland citizens, in the city of Baltimore. Upon that occasion our able and learned Governor made some very fitting remarks, which I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as fellows:

Tribute to Hon. George L. Radcliffe (Address by Gov. Theodore R. McKeldin, of Maryland)

It is the American custom to assess the value of a man by four standards of measurement, which I list in what I regard as the ascending order of their importance: First, and least important, what he has; second, what he knows; third, what he does; and fourth, what he is.

Some men are important as measured by one standard, some by another, but it is the distinction of George L. Radcliffe that he is an exceptional man when measured by

al four.

In the first, it is true, he does not rank among the wealthlest men in Maryland, but he has made a career in business that commands respect in all circles; and while he was not the heir to a great fortune, he did inherit the immensely valuable tradition of a Maryland gentleman.

In the second, he carries his learning so modestly that many people overlook it, and are astonished to hear that he is the possessor of three earned degrees, including a doctorate of philosophy won at the Johns Hopkins in 1900, when the requirements for a

Hopkins doctorate were the stiffest in America. He has been a student all his life, and is still learning at an age when most men's intellectual development has long since come to a stand.

In the third, what he has done, I cannot go into detail for the simple reason that even a short account of each of his activities would make this speech intolerably long. In preparing it I made a list of his more important services, giving a single line to each; and that mere catalogue filled three pages of

ordinary letter paper and broke over into the fourth. He has held two high governmental offices, Secretary of State of Maryland under Governor Harrington, and for 12 years a Senator of the United States; but those were mere incidents in a career of public service that began with the principalship of the Cambridge High School and that has

continued, usually without pay, for 55 years. For more than half a century no important project for the general welfare has failed to receive his active support, and he has headed so many that I have lost count. From 1919, when he was chairman of the campaign for the Memorial Dormitory at the Johns Hopkins, to 1952, when I had the pleasure of naming him chairman of the celebration at the opening of the Chesapeake Bay Bridge, George Radcliffe has been chairman of practically everything. I am inclined to list him as the greatest chairman in Maryland history. But I call your attention to one important exception in this list-never in his life has he been chairman of a movement to enrich George Radcliffe at the expense of his fellow-citizens. That is one great reason why his fellow-citizens honor him today.

But the fourth measure of a man, what he is, counts most in the final analysis. As for that measurement of this man, perhaps I can express it best by a personal reference. In 1922 when I began the study of law it was necessary to present the school authorities with two character references, and the names on my certificate were those of Stephen W. Gambrill and George L. Radcliffe; and if you would know what manner of man he is, let me testify that after 33 years I regard that name on my certificate not with less, but with many times more pride than I regarded it then. I do not know how to say more for the character of a man.

It seems to me, though, that the circumstances of his life have given him a distinctive and very gracious role in the history of our times. A native of Dorchester County spending most of his active life in Baltimore, he has been a link between two sections of the State binding us into a unity that has profited both. George Radcliffe brought to Baltimore all that was finest in the culture of the Eastern Shore; and I think he has reflected back to the Shore much of the best in Baltimore.

It is a service all too little appreciated in a highly competitive urban civilization. Industrialism is essential to the general welfare, but we must face the fact that it operates against certain human values. Courtesy and grace do not flourish in an industrial environment unless care is taken to cherish them, and an exemplar of these

values is doubly important where they are in danger of being lost,

It is a matter of common knowledge that the best element on the Eastern Shore has cultivated these values to a degree rarely attainable where the tempo of life is more hurried and competition more ruthless. Nevertheless, if we lose them something irreplaceable and of immense value will have gone out of Maryland. What shall it profit a man to make a luxurious living if, in the process, he has forgotten how to live? There are values that are never entered in the ledgers of the countinghouse and preserving them and reminding the rest of us of them has been one of the great contributions of the Eastern Shore to the history of this State.

George Radoliffe is conspicuous among the shoremen who have brought them to us and this is a contribution that I regard as at least equal in value to anything he did in the Senate, or in the guidance of great business enterprises, or in his leadership of the Maryland Historical Society, although this last was, in fact, part of it.

Is it a question of the preservation of some quaint memorial of a vanished way of life, such as the Shot Tower? Who is better fitted for the task than George Radcliffe? Is it a question of a guide to show the Queen Mother the relies of days when Annapolis was an outpost of the British Empire? Who so competent as George Radcliffe? Is it a humanitarian task like raising funds for the long fight against infantlle paralysis? Could anyone be more devoted year in and year out, than George Radcliffe? Is it any occasion on which it is needful for Maryland to be represented by a gentleman to the manor born? George Radcliffe is obviously the man for the job.

Yet, I have not encountered in Maryland a man who is less of a snob. He has conversed amiably with the Pope, he has enjoyed the friendship of Presidents, and received the attention of monarchs without losing the capacity to understand and enjoy the companionship of the man in the street. We have some among us who have never been of us, who erect invisible walls around themselves and hold the mass of mankind at arm's length. But not this man. He is a learned doctor, he has been a Senator, he is definitely one of the notables of our State; yet to an astonishing number of the people of this city he is neither doctor, nor Senator, nor even Mr. Radcliffe, but simply George.

Well, he has been with us a long time. He is not old. No man is old until the time comes when he is sure that there is nothing around the corner that is worth seeing. That may happen at 21, and then the man is old when he casts his first vote; or it may not have happened at 91, and then he is not old, regardless of his years. It has not happened to George Radcliffe. Without having asked him. I know that he sits here tonight serene in the faith that all sorts of new and delightful things may happen tomorrow or next week and he looks forward to seeing them. His whole life is evidence of his conviction that Maryland, far from being finished, has only just set out on the long road that leads upward to a higher and nobler civilization than she has ever known.

Such men never grow old, and to the end of their days remain the envy of many whose years are fewer but whose hearts are withered while their faces remain smooth. Yet, when a man has passed the psalmist's threescore years and ten what he has to look back on grows more and more important; if they are years full of honors it is good, but it is better when they are years full of service to his fellow men, whether or not those services were requited with worldly tribute.

Our friend can look back on that sort of life, and since that is true it can be argued with great force that whatever his bank balance he should be ranked among the wealthiest men in Maryland. For he has piled up treasure where moth and rust do not corrupt nor thieves break through and steal—in, the affectionate esteem of his fellow citizens who know that he has served them well. So we delight in hailing him tonight as statesman, as philosopher, as businessman, as civic leader, but first of all, and best of all, as a Maryland gentleman of the finest type,

"Not making his high place the lawless perch Of wing'd ambitions, nor a vantage ground For pleasure; but through all this tract of years

Wearing the white flower of a blameless life."

Proposed Promotion of Gen. Douglas MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Recorn an editorial entitled "Honor Due MacArthur," published in the Los Angeles Examiner of January 23, 1955; an editorial entitled "General MacArthur Rates the Honor," published in the Los Angeles Times of January 23, 1955; an article entitled "Why MacArthur Said; 'I Shall Return,' " written by Gen. Carlos P. Romulo and published in the magazine section of the Los Angeles Examiner of January 23, 1955; and an article entitled "MacArthur at 75," written by George Sokolsky and published in the Washington Post and Times-Herald of January 26, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorials and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Los Angeles Examiner of January 23, 1955]

HONOR DUE MACARTHUR

The resolutions introduced into the Senate and House to accord Gen. Douglas MacArthur the rank of General of the Armies of the United States should have the bipartisan support of Congress.

We think they should be acted upon immediately so as to award this honor to a great American, already an almost legendary figure, on the occasions of his 75th birthday this coming Wednesday.

In our thinking there is no reason why General MacArthur should not be proclaimed General of the Armies by then, an honor held only once before in our history, by Gen. John J. Pershing.

For this is not a matter of partisan advantage or legitimate partisan dispute.

This is an honor which we are certain the great majority of Americans overwhelmingly endorse, whatever their political affiliations, as due a brilliant and courageous soldier, a farsighted and judicious statesman, who never swerved from devotion to his country regardless of the humiliation heaped upon him by littler men.

We are glad to see that the movement in Congress to confer the rank of General of the Armies on General MacArthur already has taken on a bipartisan aspect.

The movement began in the House with twin resolutions by Republican minority leader, Representative Martin, of Massachusetts and Representative Hillings, of California, also a Republican. But in the Senate it acquired strong Democratic support as a similar resolution, spearheaded by Republican Senator Welker, of Idaho, was supported by Senators Smathers, of Florida, and Daniel. of Texas.

A denial of this honor could not possibly, of course, impair the luster of General MacArthur's fame, nor his place in the hearts of Americans. He has become a vital symbol of devotion and courage. But such a denial would, we think, cast a reflection on Congress. For surely there can be no reasonable argument against General MacArthur's right to the honor.

So we hope the men and women of Congress will speed it on its way, in time to make Wednesday a truly memorable birthday for a truly great American.

[From the Los Angeles Times of January 23, 1955]

GENERAL MACARTHUR RATES THE HONOR

The bills of House Minority Leader Martin and of Representative Hillings, Republican, of California, authorizing the President to Promote Gen. Douglas MacArthur to the rank of General of the Armies of the United States, should by all means be passed.

This rank has been held only by the late Gen. John J. Pershing, World War I commander. The five-star rank created in World War II is General of the Army, and General

MacArthur already holds this.

Representatives MARTIN and HILLINGS hoped that the bill could be passed in time to give the honor to America's most distinguished living commander on his 75th birthday, which is next Wednesday, January 26. But it is thought there is not enough time. However, the commission could be given retroactively, to date from the anniversary. General MacArthur will be a guest of Los Angeles at the time.

It is unnecessary to retell the story of Douglas MacArthur's great services to the United States; the facts are familiar. He won high honors in World War I as a division commander, served as Chief of Staff for a long period, furnished masterly leadership in the Pacific Ocean phase of World War II, reconstructed Japan, and commanded the United States and other U. N. forces in Korea, only to have victory snatched from him by diplomatic maneuvering. That he suffered shabby treatment at the hands of the Truman administration is known to all the Dublic.

The promotion could hardly add to his military reputation; that is already firmly established. But it would atone in some measure for the unjust humiliation of his summary remeval from the command during the Korean war.

[From the Los Angeles Examiner of January 23, 1955]

WHY MACARTHUR SAID "I SHALL RETURN"

(By Gen. Carlos P. Romulo, special and personal envoy of the President of the Philippines to the United States)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—General Romulo was a member of General MacArthur's staff during World War II. In 1942 he won the Pulitzer Prize for distinguished correspondence. He was President of the Fourth General Assembly of the United Nations, 1949-50.)

Immediately after the fall of the Philippines to the Japanese in World War II, when allied strategy forced him to leave Corregidor for Australia, Gen. Douglas MacArthur delivered his historic pronouncement, "I shall return." In some quarters he was criticized for using the vertical pronoun.

He deliberately personalized his promise because he was addressing himself to the Filipinos, knowing that they would receive his words not as in the plan of a strategist, but as the promise of a friend. For to us Filipinos MacArthur's personal pronoun "I" carried a force that endured throughout the long agony of waiting.

Especially to the guerrillas who had fought under his command, who had felt the magnetism of his person and who were sure of his loyalty, the famous words became the magical stuff upon which the resistance

movement sustained itself.

To have simply said that America would return (after the United States fleet had suddenly left Manila Bay following the tragedy of Pearl Harbor and after America had failed to send relief to Bataan and Corregidor) could not have been as convincing as for MacArthur, himself, to give his word of honor. We knew that his word was his bond and this was the clarion call we needed to galvanize us into action against the enemy.

Later, when victory made MacArthur virtual ruler of all Japan, it was in his power to undermine a throne that had thrived on fanaticism. With his deep understanding of oriental psychology, the Allied Powers' Supreme Commander chose instead the course of honoring the Emperor, thereby winning the gratitude of his subjects. He reduced the Emperor to human dimensions, with the right to preside over the destinies of a people but no longer to be worshiped as a son of heaven. And so, by laying the basis for constitutional democracy, MacArthur, let us hope, has removed the danger of Japanese militarism in my part of the globe.

But new dangers have arisen since then and in one grave human crisis 4 years ago the peerless soldier was again called to duty. That time he had to fight an enemy more relentless and more cunning than any he had met before. As Supreme Commander of the United Nations forces in Korea it was his immediate assignment to stop the Commu-

nist aggressor in his tracks.

This he did, and more—he drove him to the Yalu River. There is little doubt in the minds of most men that the strategist who brought a proud empire to its knees could have executed his Korean mission with courage, skill, and honor.

Upon this 75th anniversary of his birth I bow in reverence to the soldier-statesman whose grasp of human problems might have averted many of the deadlocks that plague us at present, especially in Asia and the For Fost

It is one of the ironies of our time that his Government has not seen fit to use General MacArthur's experience to help solve the problems of the East, but I wish on this occasion to recall that, when he was relieved of his command, one of the first messages he received in Tokyo was from the President of the Philippines extending to him an invitation to live in my country.

Douglas MacArthur is an honorary citizen of the Philippines and we do not forget those who have served us well.

He returned, as he promised to do, and we should like to have him stay with us always.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 26, 1955]
MACARTHUR AT SEVENTY-FIVE

(By George Sokolsky)

The celebration of Gen. Douglas Mac-Arthur's 75th birthday will for many reopen the campaign in Congress to gain for the general the acknowledgment which he deserves by bestowing upon him the title of General of the Armies.

It is not astonishing that General Mac-Arthur's judgment concerning the Korean war should have proved to have been so correct. He has devoted so much of his long life to the Far East and to a study of the various peoples which compose the East Asian complex. Douglas MacArthur, as a soldier, could not understand fighting a war with the intent of losing it. That, in effect, was what he was instructed to do in Korea. He could not win that war as long as Manchuria remained a sanctuary for the Red Chinese who came in, not as volunteers, but as a thoroughly equipped and adequately led army. On this subject, MacArthur himself said, during the fighting:

"Never before has the patience of man been more sorely tried nor high standards of human behavior been more patiently and firmly upheld than during the course of the Korean campaigns. From the initiation of the North Korean aggression against the Republic of Korea until the total defeat of the North Korean armies, support from the Communist Chinese from behind the privileged sanctuary of neutral boundaries was open and notorious and all inclusive * * *.

"The existing situation under which the United Nations command is confronted with a new and fresh and well trained and equipped enemy of vastly superior and ever increasing numbers initiating an entirely new war to cover the North Korean defeat, results largely from the acceptance of military odds without precedent in history—the odds of permitting offensive action without defensive retailation. * * **

Despite his experience and competence, MacArthur found himself practically an outcast while he was engaged in the conduct of war. Frazier Hunt, in the Untold Story of Douglas MacArthur, tells of the gaging of the general.

"On December 6 (1950) 10 days after the disastrous turn of events, the Joint Chiefs of Staff dispatched a cable to MacArthur embodying a general Presidential order allegedly sent to all responsible officials. One paragraph read that 'No speech, press release, or other statement concerning military policy should be released until it has received clearance from the Department of Defense.' * * *

"There was nothing for MacArthur to do but to accept what he knew was a fullfledged gag.

"Meanwhile the Chinese Communist emissaries from Peiping had arrived in New York City and were arrogantly announcing that before they would enter into a discussion over Korea, the United States must be put on trial before the United Nations for its actions in entering the civil war."

It was no new thing for MacArthur to fight on two fronts—to fight an enemy army in the field and at the same time to fight against personal enemies in Washington. He had had to do that throughout World War II. His very presence in Asia was a diversion from the Roosevelt-Hopkins, Truman-Acheson decision that the Far Eastern war should be subordinated to the European war.

But MacArthur was right. No matter what is done by this country or by Great Britain or by the United Nations to minimize Asia as the central continent of this historic period, Asia reasserts herself daily and the Chinese Communists hold universal interest and attention. It has always been General MacArthur's concept that the next era of history is Asia's. Daily it is becoming clear that it cannot be otherwise.

Natural Gas Regulation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I have received from the office of the city attorney of the city of Milwaukee a letter expressing apprehension that bills may be introduced in this session of Congress relating to natural gas reduction, and particularly with reference to exempting certain phases of natural gas from regulation. With the letter there was enclosed a very significant editorial from a recent issue of the Milwaukee Journal, which I ask to have printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PUBLIC BE DAMNED AGAIN

It's not new for the natural gas and oil interests to make highhanded threats. But the report of James R. Durfee, chairman of the Wisconsin Public Service Commission, that they actually served an ultimatum on State officials is a shocking thing.

Writing in the Public Utilities Fortnightly about the Phillips Petroleum Co. case, Dur-

fee says:

"[A] Phillips official warned Wisconsin representatives at the outset of the case before the Federal Power Commission that if they persisted in trying the case, the people of Wisconsin would freeze, that they would never get another cubic foot of natural gas. This ultimatum to the officials of a sovereign State was voiced by an official of a company which obviously felt that Wisconsin was at its mercy so far as natural gas was concerned because the company then held an almost complete monopoly of supply to the State."

Shades of William H. Vanderbilt. The public-be-damned attitude lives on. If Phillips still has in its employ an official with as little public conscience as this, it could wisely get rid of him.

Unfortunately, only a veto by former President Truman of a congressional gift of immunity from regulation and a Supreme Court ruling upholding regulation now hold the gas and oil interests in check. They seem well on the way to winning in Congress again.

And President Eisenhower's attitude on these matters holds little hope for consumers.

Currently the gas and oil interests are spending huge sums of money to try to convince consumers that they will be better off if there is no price regulation on production. It's like saying: Get rid of your police force and we'll be reasonable when we hold you up. Consumers will believe that at their

peril.

Regulate prices and you'll remove incentives for exploration, development, and production, the gas and oil interests say. Gas and oil come from the same wells. What more inventive do they want than the 271/2-percent depletion allowance tax loophole that they have now? That loop-hole has created a huge crop of multimil-lionaires. These men are among the few who find it possible these days to hang onto huge sums of cash after taxes.

No other class of businessman-big or

little-can do it.

The gas and oil interests may win this round in Congress. But their present atti-tude can't persist without arousing the consuming public. The public will never consuming public. The public will allow itself to be "damned" for long. that could mean worse than regulationit could mean Government ownership.

The Dixon-Yates Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an excellent article entitled "The 'Dixie' in Dixon and Yates." written by Thomas L. Stokes. and published in the Washington Evening Star of January 25, 1955. In my mind it states very clearly the issues involved in the Dixon-Yates contract.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

THE "DIXIE" IN DIXON AND YATES-TRAIL OF BIG POWER COMBINE'S "LOCAL" INTEREST LEADS FROM THE DEEP SOUTH TO WALL STREET IN NEW YORK

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

Beginning months ago with his description of TVA as "creeping socialism," President Eisenhower has defended his new power policy affecting that project and others—big and small, North, South, East and West—as a "partnership" in which local government and local private interests would participate to a greater degree.

Unhappily, as it turns out now, that became the defense of the now famous Dixon-Yates contract by which a private utility combination would supply power to TVA at Memphis in exchange for the TVA furnishing power for Atomic Energy Commission installations at Paducah, Ky. This was a installations at Paducah, Ky. This was a strange sort of deal, mixed up procedure instead of the direct way used heretofore of just adding facilities to TVA to provide

needed power.

And as for the Dixon-Yates being a "local interest"—that myth now is exploding publicly right in the administration's face through the detailed report by the Senate Judiciary Monopoly Subcommittee analyzing the testimony it took some weeks ago. subcommittee concludes that instead of being "local" the Dixon-Yates combination is nothing but an adjunct of Wall Street utility interests, with the policies of subsidiary com-panies being dictated from New York.

The New York domination is symbolized in the two chief figures in this deal-Edgar H. Dixon, president of Middle South Utilities. of which Arkansas Power & Light and Mississippi Power & Light and others are subsidiaries, and Eugene A. Yates, chairman of the Southern Co., another holding company for

Southern subsidiaries.

These two gentlemen hardly could be classified as southern gentlemen. Both were born in New Jersey. Both live in New York. Both have their offices in New York's financial district. In this, of course, they are not different from any number of carpetbaggers who have gone South continually since the end of the Civil War, some of them actually to make their homes there, to acquire southern accents and to adopt local prejudices with a fervor far beyond that of even a pro-

fessional southerner.

But the real story is not in the two New
Jersey gentlemen who have made good in the South by remote control. It is in the joining of their 2 holding companies, Middle South and Southern, under 1 tent—Mississippi Valley Generating Co.—subject to approval by the Securities and Exchange Commission. Thus will be created the local interest to satisfy the Eisenhower ideal of partnership. Or, as the committee report describes this local interest and its real purposes:

This combination will largely monopolize the electric power supply of the States of Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Georgia, and through many high-voltage interconnections by which contract power could be delivered to the Tennessee Valley Authority, start an octopuslike integration of that great public system into this privatemonopoly giant."

In short, swallow TVA. That's the plot, anyhow. Further, the report says that consummation of the Dixon-Yates deal will put together a holding-company combine serving aprpoximately 9 percent of the entire area and population of the United States.

Local Interest?

This superlike apparition stirred old memories in one who watched the Federal Trade Commission investigation a quarter of a century ago, with its picture of the private-utility monopoly and all of the evils that followed in its train for investor and consumer. We saw an aroused Congress pass a law to limit holding companies and integrate them on a geographical basis. That same memory stirred in old-timers connected with the

Senate Judiciary Subcommittee. And what did they find as they followed their instincts?

As they explored the southern companies in the Dixon-Yates combine, and saw how they operated, the trail kept leading back to New York where, it was discovered, the real decisions were made for local interests, including one rate increase imposed upon the people of Arkansas. The end of the trail was Electric Bond & Share, one of the big figures in the holding company story of a quarter of a century ago, and to Ebasco Co., an engineering affiliate so-called, which curiously enough was set up by Electric Bond & Share at the time it divested itself of affiliates to comply with the Holding Company Act. Now Ebasco has dealings, and has had dealings with the old Electric Bond & Share subsidiaries, including those in the South involved in the Dixon-Yates deal. The Senate subcommittee suggests that if Electric Bond & Share really is exercising control of its old affiliates through Ebasco. then the original holding company system may still be to a large extent intact. It then adds:

"Such centralized monopoly control would render the whole concept of private power companies as locally managed and locally regulated monopolies a hoax on the public.

From what it has learned in exploring the Dixon-Yates case, the subcommittee wants to go on to see if this pattern of revived monopoly runs again throughout the whole utility industry. That would be a public service. It has been a long time since we have had a good look.

Congress Does Excellent Job. Members Deserve Salary Hike

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDWARD MARTIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Pennsylvania. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD comments by Roscoe Drummond in an article entitled "Congress Does Excellent Job, Members Deserve Salary Hike."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Washington.—It is time somebody stepped up and said a good word for Congress. cartoonists and columnists need a filler, we find it pretty easy to draw a short bow and let Congress have it. This permits us to attack everybody in general but nobody in particular. What I am saying is that while Congress is criticized more often than it deserves. it rarely gets the praise it deserves.

It seems to me that the 83d Congress does deserve praise, does deserve to be put down as a Congress with a record of accomplishment substantially above average.

I would cite two major attainments:

It has been a "do-something Congress." It has to its credit a sizable, significant budget of important legislation and it has worked hard to produce it. No Congress of recent memory has been as productive as the 83d.

Congresses as narrowly divided as this one, with a whisker-thin Republican majority in both Houses, have usually ended in legislative stalemate. To have avoided stalemate under such circumstances is a considerable achievement. Both parties deserve credit. On any comparative basis, the Democratic opposition conducted itself responsibly. It

disagrees on some bills, like amending the Taft-Hartley law. That makes a 2-party system. The opposition rarely voted captiously, seeking to block the administration merely as a partisan tactic.

It strikes me that on the basis of this record and after the midterm elections, Congress ought to come back and do something for Congress. I mean put something in the pay envelope as former Presidents Hoover and Truman, President Eisenhower, and a commission of distinguished citizens recom-

mended earlier this year.
You don't have to agree with everything Congress has done to agree that Congress has done a good job and an expeditious job. You may not like parts of this bill or that, or think, as I happen to think, that if serlously botched the anti-Communist law in a frantic partisan boxing match in the frenzied hours of preadjournment. But the solid accomplishments of the 83d Congress remain and are clearly visible. To mention only a

It approved the St. Lawrence seaway after

a 30-year delay.

It produced a 1,000-page modernization of the whole Tax Code—a careful, constructive, monumental streamlining of the whole in-ternal revenue structure for the first time in 78 years.

It enacted basic changes in the atomic energy law primarily to take account of the fact that we no longer have the monopoly We possessed when the McMahon Act was passed. The new law permits sharing of in-formation with our allies on the use of atomic weapons, offers private industry opportunities to develop atomic power.

It passed, with bipartisan support, the most wide-ranging social security and unemployment insurance measures since the early

days of the New Deal.

A pay raise for Congress is long overdue. The case doesn't rest on what Congress has done in any particular session but its record this year would make action by Congress to raise its salaries more politically graceful

Senators and Representatives are now paid \$15,000 in salary and expenses. The Commission on Judicial and Congressional Salaries recommended that the figure be in-creased to \$27,500. Such an increase would add only \$0.00717 to the budget and cost the country only 3.4 cents per capita. Members of the Cabinet receive \$22,500 and some ambassadors' salaries are \$25,000.

Congressional salaries have never kept abreast of inflation. Because of inflation Congressmen actually receive a lower compensation than they did in 1939 when salaries were \$10,000.

The Formosa Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of today's RECORD the text of an editorial entitled "The Formosa Resolution," which appeared in the January 25 issue of the Baltimore Sun.

In my opinion, this editorial explains clearly and concisely the full significance

of the President's message.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FORMOSA RESOLUTION

President Eisenhower has apparently concluded that the threat to Formosa and the Pescadores so often voiced by the Chinese Communists is a real threat and that we must take the necessary steps to make them stop and think.

Because such necessary steps involve the risk of war with Red China and, however remotely, war with Russia as well, the President wants to be certain that the steps he proposes have the wholehearted backing of the Congress and the American people. has therefore outlined in some detail what he proposes to do and has asked the Congress to give him its assent in advance. Thus he keeps his pledge not to involve the country in war or the risk of war without advance consultation with the national representa-

What has just been said gives, in broad outline, the significance of the message sent to the Congress yesterday. To understand its full meaning it is necessary to review the

background in some detail.

In the first place, we must recall that the United States wrested Formosa and the nearby Pescadores not from China but from Japan. It takes no long memory to know that the island with its appendages, when in hostile hands, was a major threat to this country and its allies. Under no circumstances could we afford to turn it over to an unfriendly power, China, or any other. the peace treaty, Japan has given up all claim to it. No decision has been made as to its ultimate destination.

However, as the Chinese Reds advanced, it was natural and inevitable that the re treating Nationalists under Chiang Kai-shek should find refuge on this fertile and productive island, with its mainly Chinese population. Chiang and his armies and supporters are our loyal friends and allies. It was therefore our duty to help them as best we could to escape from their enemies. With the future of China and of Formosa itself uncertain, it was equally our obligation to maintain and supply them, within limits, and to defend them from possible attack from the mainland.

In their retreat, Chiang and his forces managed to keep control of a number of the small islands which are strung along the Chinese coast, sometimes almost within a stone's throw of the shore. Such islands were never Japanese nor can they be called appendages of Formosa. They are in fact as much a part of the Chinese mainland as Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket are part of the mainland of the United States. are legally responsible for Formosa. We are not legally responsible for those islands.

The chief reason the Chinese Nationalists sought to hold them was that they cherished a hope they might ultimately be used as bases for a return to the mainland. Today, as nearly everyone recognizes, there is small ground for such a hope. Thus the islands have little strategic significance for Chiang. Moreover, it is almost impossible to defend them against strong forces based on the continent and so there is every likelihood that the Nationalists will be forced to abandon them under attack. Mr. Eisenhower expects to use the United States Seventh Fleet in helping the deployment of the forces In this instance deployment on them. means withdrawal.

But, though the islands have little present use as a base for operations against the Chinese mainland, they would be useful to the Reds should they make a reckless attempt to carry out their threats against Formosa. Thus, as Mr. Eisenhower points out, it is important that this country prevent the concentration of any large forces on the islands or on the nearby Chinese mainland, the objective of which is the invasion of Formosa or the Pescadores. The President is determined to prevent such an undertaking by the Reds. Perhaps it is correct to say that the most important passage in this message was that in which he asked the Congress to understand and support him in this determination. This suggestion is called the most important because it could involve action against the Chinese on their own territory. The risks involved are clear.

This Formosa question has plagued our politicians and our military leaders since the end of the war. Its difficulties became acute with the retreat of Chiang and the victory of the Chinese Reds. Because opinion in this country was divided and because conditions were constantly changing, we have never succeeded in formulating a clear-cut policy. There was a period when the State Department itself seemed to deny the stra-tegic importance of the island. We know tegic importance of the island. We know better now and Mr. Elsenhower's statement of yesterday is the final statement of our settled determination not to permit an unfriendly power to seize it. We yield the small coastal islands, but on Formosa and the Pescadores we stand firm, come what may.

Mr. Elsenhower believes that this clear statement, if backed by an overwhelming vote in the Congress, will convince the Chinese Reds that they had better hold off. If his conviction is well based, it means that we shall avoid military struggle with the Reds for the time at least. Meantime, all of us will hope, along with him, that through the United Nations some more durable armistice may be worked out.

The Unconquerable Jews

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following illuminating editorial from the Lawrence Sunday Sun, Lawrence, Mass., September 26, 1954:

FOR 5,715 YEARS

In the forthcoming observance of the high holy days of the Jewish calendar there is a lesson for all the world to read. Over the period of recorded time the Jews have been the epochal targets for enslavement, persecution, butchery. Their people have been scattered to the four winds. But day after day, down the long, dim, and bloody cor-ridors of time, for 5.715 years, the sun never has set upon earth without lighting the face of the unconquerable Jews raised in prayer to Almighty God in humble penitence or in glorious thanks for that which God has given them.

Even in our time, the barbaric decimation of the Jewish populations of nations which were under the heel of a despot have written many a sanguinary page into history. First it was Hitler who sought to wipe out completely the Jews in Germany, and now we learn that in another corner of the world this same bloodthirsty pogrom has been re-peated. From behind the Iron Curtain the truth has finally leaked out that Russia, the "liberator" of the underprivileged peoples of this earth, has, during and since World War II, caused the unexplained disappearance of 3,390,000 Jews.

But, as it has for more than 5,000 years, Rosh Hashonah will come in at sunset tomorrow, and Yom Kipper will shine on the Jewish calendar again at sunset on October

And Jews by the millions all over the globe will pray as they have done through all the ages past; for God in his infinite wisdom has provided that no pogrom, no slaughter shall crush these people beyond their power to arise again, nor no scatter-ing of them in enslavement in distant lands has dissipated them beyond trace in the maw of humanity, as has happened to so many other races.

The estimate last week that the Soviet Government has been responsible for the disappearance of 3,390,000 Jews accentuates history, because the word "pogrom" is from the Russian tongue, and means an organized

massacre, especially of the Jews.

Those who govern Soviet Russia today may scoff at the precedents of history in which it is shown that every nation which has persecuted the Jews has fallen, in the good time of the designs of the Lord. The masters of brutality of the past are dust; their records are eyesores in the chronicles of

Wherever totalitarian government exists, there burns a fanatical belief in the invincibility of that form of government. Organized massacres in Russia are not a new story to the Jews. In the 19th century one is recorded where soldiers returning home from the Russo-Japanese War found their dwellings destroyed, their women and children slain. How many soldiers returning from World War II found loved ones gone, having disappeared in the mists of Communist police secrecy? How much of this historic memory remains in the minds of the uncountable thousands of Jewish men who are now serving in the Soviet armies?

The revelation of the more recent decimation of the Jews in Russia must be a bitter pill for the Soviet leaders to swallow, for it is propaganda which does not react in one nation of the world, but in all nations which today are being culturally benefited by the infusion of Jews into their populations. This global reaction only serves to strengthen the bulwarks of democracy and to cause thinking people to determine with greater vigor that this philosophy of rule by machinegun shall not spread beyond its present limits.

Periodically, for over 5,000 years, the Jews have endured this almost incredible reign of terror. From nation to nation, continent to continent, they have been forced to fiee to save their lives and to seek out liberty. no wanderings over the face of the entire globe have anywhere permanently sub-

jugated this enduring race.

Tyrants have lived who have brutalized and enslaved them; but no one ever lived who conquered them. They are an invincible people, and it is especially significant in this respect that they are a God-fearing people.

Yes, the Jews have taught a lesson world over the centuries. In the bitterness of their suffering, they have forged from the fire a great people—a people which can inspire al others in the knowledge that righteousness cannot be crushed.

Inaugural Address of Gov. Frank G. Clement, of Tennessee

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROSS BASS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BASS of Tennessee. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the recently delivered inaugural address of the Honorable Frank G. Clement, Governor of the State of Tennessee:

Seven hundred and thirty-three days ago we assembled on this same spot in this historic capital city of the great volunteer State for the purpose of inaugurating a program of honesty, decency, and morality in the name of the people of Tennessee.

In accord with a prearranged understanding, constitutionally dictated, we agreed to a political audit, in the year of our Lord 1954, to determine whether the program had produced results and to ascertain whether the executives of this political corporation were managing the affairs of the people in accord with the public interest.

In the meantime, however, you, the owners of this corporate enterprise, determined with the advice and assistance of your board of constitutional delegates that henceforth you would extend to the chief executive a 4-year contract, and while it would be nonrenewable, the Governor would be assured of the opportunity of long-range planning

and uninterrupted service.

In this historic hour of political change in Tennessee we are witnessing the end of short-term planning and the beginning of the first 4-year term of uninterrupted service in our grand and glorious history. As history's humble agent in this hour of momentous change, I give grateful acknowledgment and thanks, on behalf of my wife and three sons, as well as the loyal, distinguished, and outstanding group of public servants comprising our official family, to you-the great citizens of the greatest State among Statesfor your generous expression of faith. You have been better to me than I could possibly

This is not a time for political debate; it is a moment for reverent expression of intent. It is not an hour to be used in boasting: it is instead a time for prayer and humble thanksgiving. This moment should not be used for statistical comparison; it must be a period of spiritual reckoning. Let us dedicate this hour to the purposes of the future and reaffirm

the policies of a people.

The youngest child and the oldest man; the poorest citizen and the richest corporation; the members of minority groups and those who constitute the majority; the humble in spirit and the poor in heart-all have the same right to expect the same consideration, the same fair treatment, and the same devotion to duty from the chief execu-

tive of this great State.

As the first 4-year governor in our history, I pledge you my word that whether it carries me to the heights of popularity or to the depths of desertion; whether it affords us the cheers of our friends or the jeers of those uninformed of our purpose; whether I am hailed as a success or condemned as a failure; I will during the years ahead while am your governor, act in accord with what I conceive to be the best interest of 31/3 million Tennesseans; I shall diligently increase my knowledge and my ability; and above all I shall kneel with you before an Almighty God with a prayer that He shall sustain us, forgive us for our past sins, bless us, and keep us until that time when all of us shall stand on equal terms before the throne of eternal justice.

Although none of us knows what tomorrow may bring, all of us have a duty to give thanks for the blessings of yesterday. Faith decrees that we recognize the truth of the forecast that the accomplishments of tomorrow are limited only by the doubts of today. No enduring prosperity can be engendered without confidence. There is a basis for confidence. Faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen. Confidence, assurance, and conviction are thrusts into the unknown produced by pull from a reality believed to be out there. A people grow if there is confidence, assurance and conviction.

To all of those who love the Lord and would with sincerity attempt to establish the human version of His kingdom upon the soil of Tennessee; to all who want good government for the benefit of all of our people; to all who in spite of political battle and the scars left thereby love God and Ten-nessee more than bitterness and revenge; to all who seek truth and would abide by whether or not the facts are as we would will them; to all who want the best government of men which frail humans are capable of establishing upon this old earth; to all who believe honesty, decency, and morality should be a practice and not merely a slogan; to all patriotic Tennesseans whose love of God and devotion to Tennessee transcend every other consideration-we extend with humility, hope, faith, and prayer an invita-tion to join in Tennessee's greatest era of progress for the next 4 years.

The Bible teaches faith, hope, and charity; the Constitution teaches obedience to law and patriotic devotion to government; it is to be determined during the days ahead what you and I will teach and practice.

John Sevier had the courage to recommend wagon road across the western mountains of Tennessee 159 years ago; James Robertson was brave enough to enter the savage wilderness of Nashville to establish this capital city; Andrew Jackson risked his life time after time in order to preserve and promote a way of life we now enjoy in peace and prosperity, depleting his own resources to pay his faithful soldiers; Sam Houston did not hesitate to surrender the governorship of our State and face hunger, exile, and death while remaining loyal to his country and his people; Andrew Johnson suffered the scorn of the uninformed and the partisan while valiantly striving to serve the interests of his persecutors; James K. Polk had the statesmanship to fulfill his promises to acquire the great Northwest Territory from a reluctant England and of winning Texas into the Union; Cordell Hull gave himself to the world in order to unite freemen and spread happiness and prosperity at home and abroad; Jim McCord willingly and know-ingly accepted political defeat for the children of Tennessee of whom he was blessed with none; and you and I have the grand opportunity to band ourselves together, 3 million strong, under the divine wisdom of Almighty God, beneath the broad canopy of heaven, in a cause as great as any of these—namely, the promotion of prosperity. the preservation of moral and cultural stand ards, and the assurance of a greater era of progress than any of these great men had an opportunity to promote.

Frank Clement is incapable of doing this alone, but the people of Tennessee have an opportunity to leave for all time the memory of their patriotic service by steadfastly refusing to become political victims of partisan and selfish interests but instead of rising to the heights of human service, unselfish glory, and nonpartisan cooperation.

Only the Almighty knows what an unprecedented 4 years of cooperation, un-selfishness and service to mankind political and citizen statesmen could produce. All of us know the pitfalls and human improbabilities that beset us in seeking such a glorious path of service—but God teaches and man must realize that if we do not hitch our wagon to a star, we can never climb that highest mountain nor even approach that political utopia.

With sincerity of purpose, humility of self, and with a soul free from bitterness I do promise that with God's guidance and your help I shall earnestly strive to promote within the Volunteer State the most progressive government, the most honest administration, the most decent public standards, and the most moral principles of which I am capable—always remembering that the alpha and the omega, the beginning and the end, must be the same in purpose. Therefore humbly and prayerfully let us start 4 years of hopeful toil and willing tribulation by once again saying with you, "Precious Lord, take our hand and please, Lord, lead us on."

Mr. Chief Justice, I am ready to take the oath of office.

Defense of Formosa and Adjacent Areas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "United States Intends To Back Its Pledges," written by David Lawrence and published in the Washington Evening Star of January 24, 1955; also an article entitled "A Wise, Firm Policy," written by Constantine Brown and published in the Washington Evening Star of January 25, 1955.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Evening Star of January 24, 1955]

United States Intends To Back Its Pledges— President's Call for Stand Against Reds in Far East Expected To Have Big Impact on Rest of World

(By David Lawrence)

The American people will learn this week whether they have a divided or a united Government in Washington and likewise whether the free world is behind the United States in its forthright stand against Communist aggression.

For the President, in sending a message to Congress which requests authority to use American Armed Forces to protect the American defense line in the Far East, has taken a decisive step. It calls for support by the Democratic as well as the Republican Parties in both Houses. It calls also for support of the principle by Great Eritain, France, Italy, and the other countries of the free world to Whom the United States already has given a similar commitment in the congressional authorizations related to the North Atlantic Treaty. For in that area a future attack on any one of the member countries is to be construed as an attack on the defense line of our own Armed Forces.

Occasions in American history when a President of the United States has asked for the Passage of a joint resolution authorizing the use of the Armed Forces of this country are rare. Usually they arise when American military intervention already has occurred in an emergency and Congress is requested to ratify the step, or else when authority is requested to ratify a state of war already begun by some other country.

This time the President is asking for a contingent authority—the right to use the Armed Forces if and when an act of invasion of the Formosa area—defined as within our defense or security orbit—is committed by a heattle.

hostile power.

Actually, the United States for all practical purposes now is in a state of war with the government of Red China which has a million troops poised against the American and allied forces in Korea. An armistice is not a treaty of peace and hence a state of war continues in Korea.

Pursuing this realistic fact, the President now is really asking for authority to protect the troops in Korea. For if by any neglect of the Formosa area, the Communist Chinese are able to conquer the armies of the Nationalists, the way is open for the Red Chinese to transfer their big army on the mainland to Manchuria and the vicinity of the Yalu River. To ignore this factor of the military situation is to put in jeopardy the American divisions now stationed in Korea.

Hence, the President's message is in line with the traditional policy of the United States to protect its armed forces wherever they are. While American troops were sent to Korea to fulfill a mission directed by the United Nations, once they are stationed abroad their protection as an army does not cease to be the military obligation of the United States Government.

The defense line of the United States at present extends from Korea southward to Okinawa, Formosa, and the Philippines. Under the Truman administration, the defense perimeter did not include Korea, but it did run southward from Japan to Okinawa to Formosa and to the Philippines. So the Democrats are committed to the adoption of military measures to protect that line—in fact, it was this thesis which the United States Joint Chiefs of Staff upheld when General Eisenhower was Chief of Staff of the Army prior to the outbreak of the war in Korea.

The defense of an American line in the Far East, however, is not solely a military matter that is confined to American forces. It goes to the obligations that are implicit in the treatles of mutual defense which have been drawn up with the Republic of Korea, the Nationalist Government on Formosa, the Philippines, Australia, and New Zealand. In fact, the protection of all Southeast Asia is directly related to the joint resolution which the President now is requesting from Congress. For it means the United States intends to make good on its pledges contained in those mutual defense pacts. This is a concrete exhibition of American good faith. For a threat to the peace of the Far East indeed has arisen through the warfare by the Communists close to Formosa.

The moral impact of the step must inevitably be felt throughout the world, and especially in Europe. It puts the United States on record as willing to do its share in the defense, not only of the free countries in Europe, but those of Asia as well. It is notice to the Communists that all the byplay about sentencing American prisoners as spies and seeking by propaganda methods to capitalize on the incident is irrelevant and that when the chips are down-as they appear to be in and around Formosa United States will employ its Armed Forces. This means naval power and airpower and the use of atomic power, too. For today the dropping of atomic shells can be confined to military installations. The Communists now must understand that the United States means business and that peaceful coexist-ence must mean peaceful behavior on the part of the Communists, too, if the use of American armed force is not to be compelled.

[From the Washington Evening Star of January 25, 1955]

A WISE, FIRM POLICY—CALCULATED RISK OF THREATENING TO FIGHT IS ESSENTIAL TO SECURITY OF WORLD

(By Constantine Brown)

America is again showing to the world a firmness in keeping with her interests and power.

The decision by President Eisenhower to take a stand in the Formosa Strait beyond which the Communists could advance only at the risk of looking straight down the muzzles of the 7th Fleet's guns climaxed long debates and arguments within the Chief Executive's official family.

For nearly a year congressional leaders have advised the White House that even the appearance of a soft policy toward the Reds would play into their hands. Secretary of State Dulles, and Walter Robertson, Assistant Secretary of State for the Far East, were of the same opinion.

Other political advisers encouraged the President—for the sake of not disrupting our alliances with Western Europe—to use the soft touch and show patience and forbearance. We have done this ever since the signing of the Korean armistice. However, the Communists ignored its provisions, ran wild in Indochina, refused to return United States prisoners of war whom they held for bargaining purposes, and adopted an attitude toward the United States which was like that of Hitler toward Poland in the late thirties.

Mr. Eisenhower was urged by congressional leaders, and particularly by Senate Majority Leader Knowland, to put a stop to the Red provocations which were lowering America's standing in the world and furthering the Communist cause.

Last week's discussions were decisive. The Chinese Communists were definitely on the rampage. Their aggression was encouraged by their belief that the United States would defend only Formosa and the Pescadores and had excluded Quemoy and Matsu. These latter are regarded by our Joint Chiefs of Staff as the gateway to Formosa.

Mr. Eisenhower has tried earnestly to avoid involving the country in any armed clash, but he now believes the time has come to put a stop to the Red advances. He decided to ask Congress to support use of air and naval forces. They are being deployed to evacuate Nationalist soldiers from the militarily untenable Tachen Islands and also to bar any further Communist advances toward the rest of the Nationalist-held territory.

Mr. Eisenhower is reported to welcome United Nations intervention in the Communist-Nationalist shooting match despite the risk that it might set Peiping off toward the city of the U.N.

shooting its way into the U. N.

The question uppermost in the minds of legislators after the Presidential message is whether the calculated risk we may now be undertaking is essential to this Nation's security and also to the security of the world. The answer this reporter has found from those intimately connected with the problem of America's security is emphatically "yes."

The Red axis extending from the Elbe River to the Pacific is determined to dominate the world. In Europe the opposition to the Communists has somewhat softened. The Reds are relying in their cold war in Europe on the Socialists, Communists, and neutralists in the remaining free countries to further their interests.

Moscow no longer expects any determined opposition to its penetration of areas west of the Rhine. Trade and coexistence are its main weapons. Rightly or wrongly the Kremlin believes that Western Europe has been softened up sufficiently to make military action unnecessary.

The situation is entirely different in the Far East, where communism has made no impression on such free countries as South Korea and Nationalist China. Unless these two stubborn opponents of communism are reduced by force the entire Communist plan for Asia may fall to pieces. Moscow and Peiping can hope to gain the upper hand in Korea only by a decisive defeat of the Nationalist forces concentrated on the China Sea islands.

Destruction of Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalists will mean inevitably the fall of Japan and the Philippines to the Communist conspiracy. Our Government is fully aware of this. President Truman gave the order in July 1950 for the 7th Fleet to defend Formosa against possible Red aggression. This order is still fully in effect. Mr. Elsenhower agreed to a mutual-assistance pact with Nationalist China because he, possibly more than his predecessor, realizes that this country's security would be seriously jeop-ardized if the Communists got hold of the western Pacific and pushed our first line of defense back to the Hawaiian Islands.

Many military and diplomatic specialists hope that the decision to step determinedly into the Pacific picture will have a sobering effect on Peiping and instead of promoting further shooting in the area will bring it to an end. The next few weeks will show how correct this estimate may be.

Chicago MacArthur Vets to Fete Commander on His 75th Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEO E. ALLEN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. ALLEN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker. under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include a statement from Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, of Chicago: .

CHICAGO MACARTHUR VETS TO FETE COMMAND-ER ON HIS 75TH BIRTHDAY-URGE PACIFIC HERO AS ADVISER ON FAR EAST CRISIS-TRIB-UTE TO GREAT SOLDIER-STATESMAN

"The Nation should render Gen. Douglas MacArthur a 21-gun salute on the occasion of his 75th birthday," said Brig. Gen.
Julius Klein, of Chicago, who served under MacArthur in World War II.

General Klein, a personal friend of the general, further stated, "When General Mac-Arthur was summarily relieved of his com-mand, I stated that the Kremlin could fire a 21-gun salute. Judging present events, I would say they are doing just that in their own way. Had we the foresight to heed this great soldier's warnings, the world situation today would be quite different.

"General MacArthur's name has always been connected with final victory," said Gen-eral Klein, pointing out that his famous words "no substitute for victory" are prophetic when viewed in respect to the global

situation at this time.

"America now has an opportunity to honor its greatest citizen-soldier statesman. I have just submitted my report to the United States Senate after concluding a mission for the Senate Appropriations Armed Forces Subcommittee. On page 3 of this report I stated:

"'Gen. Douglas MacArthur, whose years of experience have covered all phases of our defense problems, has stressed repeatedly the importance of our European flank. Out of his recognition of the global nature of Communist aggression, he wrote to Speaker Mar-TIN on March 20, 1951, sounding this warning:

"It seems strangely difficult for some to realize that here in Asia is where the Communist conspirators have elected to make their play for global conquest, and that we have joined the issue thus raised on the battlefield; that here we fight Europe's war with arms while the diplomats there still fight it with words; that if we lose the war to communism in Asia, the fall of Europe is inevitable. Win it and Europe most probably

would avoid war and yet preserve freedom."
"One month later, in his historic address
to the United States Congress on April 19,

1951. General MacArthur again reminded the American people that:

"These issues are global, and so interlocked that to consider the problem of one sector oblivious to those of another is to court disaster for the whole. While Asia is commonly referred to as the gateway to Europe, it is no less true that Europe is the gateway to Asia, and the broad influence of the one cannot fail to have its impact upon the other. There are those who claim that our strength is inadequate to protect ourselves on both fronts, that we cannot divide our effort. I can think of no greater expression of defeatism."

"'I undertook my study of our vital European flank, highly conscious of these admo-nitions by my old Pacific commander."

Klein continued: "I recommended on page 52 of my report that General MacArthur's views be invited by both our highest policymaking authorities and appropriate congressional committees to aid in the shaping of a consistent, clearly formulated global defense policy for the United States. This is the most opportune time to call back General Mac-Arthur.

"I have today wired Senator Knowland: In view of the present crisis in the Far East let me call your attention again to pages 3 and 52 of my report to the Armed Services Subcommittee of the Appropriations Committee of the United States Senate, released January 10, 1955. I urge you to request the President to call in General MacArthur for consultation and I hope your committee will do likewise.

"I have also wired Congressmen MARTIN and HILLINGS: 'Millions of Americans, including those who served under General Mac-Arthur, will applaud your bills asking for the promotion of Gen. Douglas MacArthur as General of the Armies. I urge all patriotic Americans to wire their Senators and Congressmen to support these bills."

General Klein sent the following telegram to General MacArthur: "To my old battle commander and America's greatest citizensoldier statesman of our time, I send prayers and best wishes for your 75th birthday. I have invited MacArthur veterans and other patriotic and civic leaders to join me as my guest for a birthday celebration in honor this Wednesday. Chicago, like the rest of the Nation, will never forget your last visit here. You have kept the soldiers' faith—you will remain a symbol not only to every living American but for generations to come. I know GI's throughout the world stand in salute on this day, and I join their ranks in wishing you well."

H. R. 587

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

MAILLIARD. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call the attention of the Members to H. R. 587, a bill to provide that persons serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955, may continue to accrue educational benefits under the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, and for other purposes. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following letter which I have written to the chairman of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs:

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES. Washington, D. C., January 24, 1955. Hon. OLIN E. TEAGUE,

Chairman, House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, House Office Building, Washington, D. C. DEAR MR. CHAIRMAN: Thank you for your

letter of January 20 inviting me to testify during the hearings on your bill, H. R. 587, to permit individuals in service on or before January 31, 1955, to continue to earn educational benefits. I regret that another committee meeting precludes my testifying. and therefore I would appreciate it if you would include this letter as part of the record.

I would like to urge the Committee on Veterans' Affairs to act favorably and promptly on H. R. 587. I am convinced this bill should be enacted if we are to prevent injustice to service personnel who volun-teered for terms of service of greater length than would have been required under the selective-service law in the belief that they would thereby accrue additional educational benefits. Many of them have made their plans at considerable sacrifice in order to obtain these educational benefits.

As a former member of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs, may I commend you on your prompt introduction of this desirable legislation.

Sincerely,
WILLIAM S. MAILLIARD, Member of Congress.

City of Lakewood-Modern Day Miracle

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, a modern-day miracle has occurred in the 18th Congressional District of California. which I have the honor to represent. In just 4 years one of California's now major cities, with a population of 70,000, has risen on 3,375 acres of land that in January of 1951 was an agricultural reserve.

During these 4 years over 14,000 new homes were built on acreage which was part of a grant by the King of Spain to Dan Manuel Nieto in 1784. A \$100 million shopping center nears completion. A new and novel city government has been born. And important new economic strength has been added to southern California and the Nation. Such, in summary, is the city of Lakewood.

Although Lakewood's 30 new homes a day pace is slacking off, it is not because it is losing any of its reputation as a pleasant place in which to live. It is simply that residential building sites are nearing the full utilization point. There remains room to add only about 3,500 new residences.

A gigantic 154-acre shopping center containing parking space for 7,632 cars lies at the city's center. Here is to be found Lakewood's modest rented city hall, together with a total of 84 businesses in operation. Construction of nine additional stores is underway and others will be added. The shoppingoff with a medical building and addi-

tional parking lots.

The city government of Lakewood, Which was incorporated April 18, 1954, has attracted nationwide attention for its unique plan of obtaining practically all its services from special county districts in existence prior to incorporation or through contracts with the county of Los Angeles. Under this system the city has been able to contract for police, fire, sanitation, and most other functions ordinarily carried on by local governments.

Lakewood's economies in capital in-Vestment and routine overhead are substantial. Under the contract system, the city has been able to operate with only a 29-cent property tax rate and with a small staff headed by City Administra-

tor Robert T. Andersen.

After only 8 months of corporate existence, at the start of the new year the city of Lakewood had a total unexpended balance of \$441,166.98 out of appropriations of \$548,203 for the last 6 months of 1954. Thus expenditures for this city of 70,000 amounted to only \$170,036.02 during the last 6 months of 1954. Accounts show \$15,005.22 spent for personal services; \$77,551.59 for contractual services, \$5,765 for materials and supplies: \$7,636.37 for equipment and \$1,-177.75 for fixed charges.

Costs in all contracted services ran far below appropriated estimates, according to the city's financial report. Only \$269.26 of \$2,000 set aside for county jail use was spent but \$162.55 of \$600 appropriated for health and sanitation. Highest cost was \$53,100 of a \$130,000 appropriation for lighting maintenance. Business-license enforcement cost but \$776.24 against \$21,329.69 in business-

license revenues.

The extent to which contractual arrangements for services has been carried is illustrated by a current roundrobin series of city civil-defense programs being carried on throughout the city. Even these are conducted by Los-Angeles County civil-defense officials under a contract from the city of Lakewood.

Much of the success of the sparkling new community rests with its outstanding elected public officials. It is probable that no group of men anywhere in the Nation have given as much of themselves to their community during the past year as have Lakewood's city councilmen. The councilmen, all of whom serve Without pay, are: Mayor Angelo M. Iacoboni, attorney; Eugene K. Nebeker, realtor; William J. Burns, newspaper re-Porter; George Nye, Jr., school teacher; and Robert W. Baker, electrical engineer.

Starting off with a marathon reading of the massive municipal code that started on the day of incorporation and ended at 5 a. m. the next day, by the first of this year the council had enacted 37 ordinances and 150 resolutions covering a great variety of activities ranging from the city's basic legal code to cosponsorship of monthly teen-age dances.

The small group of city employees headed by administrator Andersen con-sists of: city clerk Nita Birch, deputy clerk-typist Alene Hyatt, and administrative "interne" Henry Goerlick, who is

center area eventually will be rounded on a part-time basis. Guy Halferty, special assistant to Andersen and city attorney John Todd serve on a retainer

> Incorporated Lakewood City is the hub of a yet greater contiguous community of homes some of which are in the corporate boundaries of Long Beach and others are in unincorporated county territory. The area as a whole is known as greater Lakewood. Despite this split political personality, residents of greater Lakewood regard themselves as a single community and there exists a great civic spirit which unites religious, fraternal, veterans' and civic organizations for the benefit of the entire area.

> Greater Lakewood has a colorful history. By 1930, through transfers and marriages, the part of the King of Spain's original grant to Don Nieto, which is now Lakewood, had come in the hands of the Montana Land Co. headed by Clark J. Bonner. In that year Bonner filed a plan for subdivision of the area and today is kown as the father of Lakewood.

> However, it was not until 1932 that the real beginning of greater Lakewood as a community for modern living began with the construction of Lakewood Country Club by Montana Land Co. In that same year, the company gave 29.84 acres of land to the Long Beach Unified School District for development of Long Beach City College campus. In September 1934 ground was broken adjacent to the campus for the first Lakewood subdivision.

> Montana land chose promotion-minded Charles Hopper, developer of Bel-Air and South Gate to promote sales in the subdivision and one of his first steps was to have two-lane Cerritos Avenue renamed Lakewood Boulevard. Today that road's six busy traffic lanes truly entitle it to the name "boulevard."

> Greater Lakewood's first business building was opened October 25, 1934, and its first resident, John Davies, moved into his new home in the spring of 1935.

> Growth in the area was on a modest, but steady scale until it was given impetus by breaking of ground for the huge Douglas Aircraft Co. plant at Carson and Lakewood Boulevard in November 1940.

> Postwar years saw ever increasing development by several subdividers including Griffith & Legg, Walker & Lee, Cunningham & Brittain, and the Aldon Construction Co.

> However, it was not until an \$8,800,000 transaction in January 1951 transferred Montana land's remaining 3,375 acres to the Lakewood Park Corp. which set out to build 17,500 homes that the incorporated area of Lakewood City got is real impetus.

> With its neat rows of well-kept homes, many new schools, beautifully landscaped parkways, convenient shopping sections, model city government, and intense civic pride, Lakewood today is one of the outstanding communities of the United States. Its developers and residents have made it that way.

> Every Member of Congress takes pride in the district he represents. In my case, the miracle of the city of Lakewood more than justifies my pride in California's 18th Congressional District.

Federal Regulation of Natural Gas Prices Poses Serious Problems for All Amer-

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN JARMAN

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the attached article which appeared in the January-February issue of the Link, a magazine published by the Carter Oil Co., Tulsa, Okla.:

WHAT'S IT TO YOU?-FEDERAL REGULATIONS OF NATURAL-GAS PRICES POSES SERIOUS PROB-LEMS FOR ALL AMERICANS

All of us are inclined to steer away from complicated subjects

Take the atomic bomb, for example. Most of us don't know how it works or the principles behind it, being content with a few knowing statements on the subject, like "splitting the atom." Yet no one can deny the very real role this scientific achieve-ment has on each of our lives.

Or let's consider the Natural Gas Act. Granted the matter does not have the import of the atomic bomb but what has happened in Washington is earth-shaking to the oil industry and could be earth-shaking to thousands of users of natural gas throughout America (40,000 consumers have signed up for it in Chicago but cannot get service today.)

The current Natural Gas Act problem isn't complicated. It is really a fairly simple subject about which you, as a citizen, should

Let's go back to the days before World War II. About the only folks using natural gas then were the ones in the heart of the oil and gas fields. But these folks were really sold on the fuel. Women liked it because it was so clean. Men and women liked it because it was so economical.

To the oilman, however, gas didn't mean much. He was not looking for it most of the time when he found it. He had only a limited market for the gas to start with and he didn't get enough for it to feel that the whole thing was very worthwhile.

As more and more people used the gasand as the supply grew even larger as the search for oil was intensified—it became clear that the people in distant cities could be rendered a service if this modern fuel were made available to them. So, businessmen formed pipeline companies and cross-country pipelines began to be built. As fast as one city got the new fuel with all its advantages, others wanted it. Now, gas began to come into its own.

Since the pipelines stretched from Oklahoma, Texas, and Louisiana clear across the United States to the eastern seaboard, the gas was moving in interstate commerce, which could not be regulated by local or State authorities. So Congress passed a law to regulate these pipeline companies transporting the gas in interstate commerce. This was all well and good.

But even in 1938, when the law was passed, the lawmakers were very careful to distinguish between companies operating in interstate commerce and those doing business locally. And yet today this single point is the cause of all the current complicated controversy.

Before we read the act itself, let's make you an oilman.

You were drilling an oil well in Oklahoma. You were looking for oil, but found gas. You don't want to waste the gas, because it is an important, exhaustible natural resource. Naturally, you want to sell it. You make the arrangements; get a satisfactory price for it.

Then a man lays a pipeline to your well and runs the line over to a place where it connects with a lot more lines he has from wells such as yours. This man is engaged in "gathering." He in turn sells the gas he bought from you to a pipeline company which will "ship" it to the east coast.

Since you are now an oilman, let me ask

you a question:

"Are you operating in interstate commerce because you found and sold gas to a gatherer, even though you were looking for oil?" Well, let's read the law passed in 1938.

It says: "The provisions of this act shall not apply * * * to the local distribution of natural gas or to the facilities used for such distribution or to the production or gathering of natural gas." That seems clear enough, doesn't it?

The Federal Power Commission, administers these laws, thought so. It flatly stated in the first hearings that it had no jurisdiction over producers of natural gas.

In 1947, the Commission issued its now famous order No. 130 which said:

"The Commission gives its assurance to independent producers and gatherers of natural gas that they can sell at arm's length and deliver such gas to interstate pipelines and can enter into contracts for such sale without apprehension that in so doing they may become subject to the assertion of jurisdiction by the Commission under the Natural Gas Act.

A sigh of relief followed the order. it's easy to understand why. If the Com-mission claimed the authority to regulate independent gas producers and gatherers, they might just as well contend they had the right to regulate and control the entire oil business, since the search for oil and for gas are virtually inseparable. In other words, the authority to regulate the oil industry from the bottom of the well in Oklahoma to the burner tip of the stove in the Connecticut kitchen might have been the result.

Does that sound like America?

That's why there was a sigh of relief in

But ensuing events made clear that the Commission order No. 130 would not go unchallenged-

So, fearing another assault on their independence, the oilmen sought still further The Congress passed the Kerr bill which did nothing more than the Natural Gas Act had tried to do-specifically exempt from Federal regulation the independent producer and gatherer of natural gas. It was, unfortunately, vetoed by President Truman.

Then one of the big producers of gas, Phillips Petroleum Co., was brought into a case before the Commission. After lengthy study, the Commission said in effect in its decision (as it had often said before): "We don't have jurisdiction over Phillips because it is an independent producer and gatherer."

Then, people who were in favor of expanded Federal regulation appealed this decision to the United States Supreme Court.

And, surprisingly enough, in June 1954, the Supreme Court held what practically everyone believed the Congress had never held or intended . . . and what the Commission did not hold in the Phillips case—that the Commission did have "jurisdiction over the rates of all wholesales of natural gas in interstate commerce, whether by a pipeline company or not, and whether occurring before, during, or after transmission by an interstate pipeline company."

Now consternation hit the oil industry.

In the first place, the search for gas is inextricably bound up with the search for oil. You may drill a wildcat for oil and hit gas. You may not even want to get gas or get in But now, by this new the gas business. Supreme Court decision, these are your

choices if you do get gas: You can shut in the well (and perhaps lose your lease and all of your investment).

You can sell your well. You could sell your gas, and if a single cubic foot of it wound up in interstate pipelines, here might come the Federal Power Commission to tell you what you could and could not do, the price you could or could not get, the amount you could or could not produce.

What other natural resource in America is

subject to such regulation?

Logically it would seem that oil is no different from coal or any other natural resource in this respect. If coal from one of the mines in McAlester, Okla., is loaded into freight cars and shipped to a steel center in Texas, does this mean that coal mines should be regulated by the Government?

According to the Supreme Court, the answer would apparently be an emphatic

"Yes!

If aluminum from the bauxite mines in Arkansas is shipped to eastern manufacturing centers for processing, does this mean that mines in Arkansas should be regulated by the Federal Government?

Surely, any average, thinking citizen can see the danger to our economic system-the envy of the world-if the Federal Government moves in to regulate every natural re-

There is where the matter rests today. Undoubtedly the Congress will be beseeched by oil men and citizens alike to act-to prohibit discrimination against a singled-out natural resource-to do once again what was sought and contended in its own Natural Gas in 1938 and by the Kerr bill which it passed in 1949. This complicated problem is one we cannot afford to ignore.

And instead of 135,000 consumers in Chicago alone who want but cannot get natural gas, there may be hundreds of thousands of would-be consumers denied this modern

Of more serious significance than even this. are the implications clearly pointed out by the Oklahoma Municipal League late in September 1954:

"Federal regulation cannot be justified except on a socialistic basis which could lead to the regulation of the price of all commodities, including oil, and which would further centralize regulatory authority in the Federal Government and thereby usurp the powers and functions of the States.'

The President's Message-Formosa and the Pescadores

SPEECH

HON. LAURENCE CURTIS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. CURTIS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to make clear my position on House Joint Resolution 159, as pro-

posed by the President.

This is a time of national crisis which demands unity. The issues transcend partisan considerations. The country must unite behind the President in supporting the national policy, and show clearly to the world that despite political differences on the home front we

stand united when the national security is threatened.

Our first objective is to do everything consistent with national security and honor to avoid war and promote peace.

To let the world know what we deem to be our vital security interests is a constructive step in that direction. The danger and futility of not doing so has been proved by past experience. The President's message must be regarded as a step toward peace, not toward war.

We believe in the principle of united action by freedom loving peoples to repel aggression and to prevent war. In accord with that principle the President stated in his message that this country "would welcome action by the United Nations which might in fact bring an end to the active hostilities in the area.' The action which we take in passing the President's resolution will strengthen the efforts of the United Nations to find a peaceful solution to the problems in the western Pacific area.

The President's message is noteworthy in indicating his desire that Congress should share in the making of this vital foregin policy decision. This is democracy at its best. It is no renunciation of the President's constitutional power to take military action on his own authority as Commander in Chief in the face of attack or defense necessity. The President recognized that he had such authority. Consultation with Congress in the present circumstances is a wise and statesmanlike step. It strengthens our national position before the world, and particularly before those who threaten aggression.

In supporting the President we take a firm and honorable course. We are true to our traditions so nobly expressed by a great President: To strive on "with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."

National Association of Independent Business Opposes Lowering Tariffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RUSSELL V. MACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Speaker, I feel certain that most members are acquainted, as I am, with the National Association of Independent Business. This association is composed of small independent businessmen throughout the United States and has the largest individual membership of any business organization in the United

The officers of this organization are constantly polling the membership for their views on pertinent legislative problems. There are many members of this organization in my district, and I regularly receive their answers to the ballots sent to them. I find these answers most valuable and instructive.

As a result of this constant polling of their membership, the representatives of the National Federation of Independent Business are able to present to congressional committees accurate views of thousands of independent businessmen.

Under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a statement of Mr. George Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, regarding tariff reductions. It was made this morning before the House Committee on Ways and Means during consideration of the Reciprocal Trade Extension Act.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT BY GEORGE J. BURGER, VICE PRESI-DENT, NATIONAL PEDEBATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS

RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENT EXTENSION

I am George J. Burger, vice president in charge of legislative activities, National Federation of Independent Business, 740 Washington Building, Washington, D. C. Our national headquarters are located in Burlingame, Calif. We also maintain division offices at New York City, Cincinnati, and Chicago.

It must be understood by Members of Congress that no officer or group of officers is permitted to speak for the federation as to its position on any legislative or economic problems unless so directed by a nationwide poll of our members. The entire membership is polled and the results of these polls give the executive officers the authority to act in behalf of the members.

I am appearing in opposition to any further extension of the reciprocal trade agreement. I am basing this action on recent polls of our membership, instituted by the federation. For example, in mandate bulletin No. 169, we polled our members on H. R. 6780, introduced by Congressman Mack, a bill to protect American businessmen and their employees from cutthroat foreign competition caused by dumping of foreign products on our markets by low-wage, low-living-standard foreign producers. The results of the poll on this bill were as follows: 80 percent for the proposition, 16 percent against it, and 4 percent no vote.

In Mandate Bulletin No. 197, we polled our members on H. R. 2949, introduced by Congressman Gaoss, which would forbid excessive imports of goods which are in surplus supply in our domestic markets. The results of the poll were 67 percent for, 28 percent

against, and 5 percent no vote.

In Mandate Bulletin No. 205, we polled our members on H. R. 8585, introduced by Congressman Baker, to provide that Federal Government help States to pay jobless benefits for workers unemployed as a result of international trade agreements. The results of this poll were 20 percent for, 76 percent against, and 4 percent no vote.

It should be self-evident, Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, that the feeling of the typical small-business man reflected in this poll is that small business is not interested in any handouts or subsidies from the Pederal Government or the States.

The mandates referred to above are attached hereto as permanent exhibits in con-

Lection with this testimony.

Our Nation has been most charitable during the past decade or more in its financial aid to nations throughout the world. Billions upon billions of dollars have been appropriated and spent by the Federal Government in the hope of rehabilitating the economy of these foreign nations.

It is significant and important to note in recent comments from foreign correspondents of leading newspapers of this Nation the reports state that many of the nations who have been aided have shown consider-

able improvement in their economic situation, some nearly equaling peacetime records and even exceeding them. I think a review of the comments recently expressed by that competent correspondent, Michael Hoffman of the New York Times, will verify the statement I have just made.

In the course of our daily contacts with our small-business membership throughout the Nation, we have been notified of the serious impact on their own individual businesses due to the excessive imports of foreign goods, for example, motorcycles, bicycles, and tinfoil, etc., in which some of our people made the report that it was coming from behind the Iron Curtain countries.

More recently, from membership in the State of Texas, complaints have come in of excessive importation of Egyptian cotton. I could go on and relate the reports from many other producers or distributors in small business of this Nation who have registered protest against the excessive imports of cheap foreign goods, all tending to reduce their position in the production or distribution field.

We believe that the reciprocal-trade arrangement has gone far enough and that this power should now revert back to the Tariff Commission where it rightfully belonged in the first place.

longed in the first place.

Our interest, Mr. Chairman, is to protect the people we represent, the independent businessmen, and indirectly thereby American employment generally, and in this respect, to show the actions of the federation, I respectfully request that the attached copy of a paid advertisement of the federation which appeared in the press nationwide, be made a part of this testimony.

In conclusion, we respectfully request that you vote "No" on the extension of the re-

ciprocal-trade agreement.

Prisoners of War in China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks, I include a copy of a resolution adopted by Nicholson Post, No. 38 of the American Legion, Louisians.

Whereas the government of Communist China is holding as prisoners, many Americans, both civilian and military personnel;

Whereas one of the attributes and obligations of national sovereignty is the protection of the citizens and nationals of one's country; and

Whereas it is our opinion that the United States Government is honorbound to do anything and everything within its power to protect and defend members of the Armed Forces of the United States who go into a foreign country under orders of their Government or are captured and taken into a foreign country against their will while in military service; and

Whereas the members of the United States Armed Forces now being held in captivity by the Communists in China are military prisoners and entitled to be treated as such under the rules of warfare; and

Whereas it is important for the cause of world peace, the dignity and honor of the United States Government, and the proper relations between the nations of this earth, for the United States to proclaim to the

world that its citizens and military personnel cannot be imprisoned, mistreated, or detained without just cause: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the membership of Nicholson Post, No. 38, the American Legion, of Louislana, does hereby urge the President of the United States and the Congress of the United States to forthwith take any and all steps necessary to secure the release from Red China of all members of the Armed Forces of the United States and all citizens and nationals of the United States who are not detained for just and reasonable cause; and be it further

Resolved, That the United States Government should use any means required to secure the release and return of these United States citizens held prisoners by Red China; and be it further

Resolved, That the adjutant of this post send a copy of this resolution to the President of the United States, the national commander and national adjutant of the American Legion, the United States Secretary of State, each Senator and Representative in the United States Congress from Louisiana, the department commander and the department adjutant of the Department of Louisiana, the American Legion.

It is needless for me to add, Mr. Speaker, that I am wholeheartedly in favor of the contents of this resolution and that I hope this Government will use every means at its disposal to secure the immediate release and return of our people held in prison in violation of treaties and of laws by the Chinese Communists.

If We Want Water Tomorrow We Must Take Care of Our Watersheds Today

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, I am including, herewith, a statement entitled "The Elements of a Sound National Land and Water Policy."

The first National Watershed Congress was held in Washington, D. C., December 6 and 7, 1954. It was sponsored by 24 organizations, including the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce, the American Federation of Labor, the CIO, the National Grange, the National Farmers Union, the National Association of Soil Conservation Districts, the Izaak Walton League, the Wildlife Management Institute, and a number of other civic and conservation groups. There were some 350 accredited representatives of these organizations present along with about 150 other persons interested in the watershed movement.

The committee in charge of the Watershed Congress was headed by E. H. Taylor, associate editor of the Saturday Evening Post. Mr. Taylor is widely known and is considered an authority on farm problems, especially with respect to soil conservation. Mr. Taylor's contribution on the subject of watershed development is well known. Having given thought and effort in dealing with the question of soil

conservation over a period of 20 years, Mr. Taylor has come to the conclusion that the primary watershed is the practical basis for a conservation policy. He expresses the view that "We should begin at the beginning in the upstream sheds where most of the moisture falls." Mr. Bryce Browning, director of the Muskingum Conservancy in Ohio, is vice chairman of the committee. He worked with Mr. Taylor in proposing a real watershed program.

In -connection with the Watershed Congress Mr. Taylor has submitted a statement made by Mr. Richard E. Mc-Ardle, Chief, United States Forest Service, who expresses forthright constructive views as to what he believes to be the elements of a sound national land and water policy. Here is what Mr. McArdle has to say:

If we want water tomorrow, we must take

care of our watersheds today.

The permanent welfare of the Nation requires a basic, long-range policy for the con-servation, development, and sustained use of our land, water, and related natural resources. A sound national policy to this end should:

1. Insure adequate renewable natural resources for the needs of an increasing population and an expanding economy.

2. Recognize that these resources are interdependent and bound together in the system of nature and that programs for their conservation, development, and constructive use should deal with them in their proper combination and not separately.

3. Provide for their conservation and orderly development on a planned and continuing year-by-year basis instead of by hap-

hazard or emergency action.

4. Endeavor to develop their full potential usefulness, with the broadest possible benefits to the public.

Involve Federal, State, and local cooperation and coordination of effort, with an equitable sharing of costs and the maximum practicable local initiative and responsibility.

Practical reasons and a favorable public attitude make the primary, or as better known, the small watershed, the most feasible approach to such a policy. The United States is physically a nation of watersheds, with great river basins subdivided by numerous tributaries and myriad small streams. The problems of the major river basins are a compound of the resource problems of their lesser drainage areas and can be most effectually solved by going back to this source. The primary upstream watersheds thus become the logical starting point. Nature has fitted them for such a role. Each contains a combination of land, water, and related resources, making it a natural operational unit for the conservation, development, and management of these resources together. The measures that conserve and improve one resource will reinforce the others.

The watershed is the collector of moisture in the form of rain and snow, the soil the greatest natural storage for it. Beginning with conservation practices on the land that restrain wasteful water runoff and soil loss, multipurpose programs can be planned to yield such benefits as erosion control, reforestation, stream stabilization, flood reduction, recharging of underground water levels, protection of farm, municipal and industrial water supplies, and increased recreational opportunities. The benefits of more regular stream flow and water delivery, lessened flood dangers, and siltation prevention will extend to downstream communities.

The primary or small watershed is also the most effective approach from the standpoint of people as well as nature. Because

it is close to them both rural and townspeople living in it can see at firsthand the mutual benefits they will share in a watershed development program. This unity of interest encourages cooperative action and a willingness to assume local responsibility. The soil conservation districts, watershed associations, conservancy districts, business, farm, sportsmen's, and other groups common to the American community provide a readily available leadership to initiate, plan, and organize such programs. With the necessary technical assistance furnished by Federal and State agencies and an equitable sharing of costs, the process of Federal, State, and local cooperation becomes a working reality.

To forward such a policy these steps should be considered:

1. Increased Federal and State research to determine what physical measures are most effectual in watershed development.

2. Action by the States, not equipped, to set up a competent State agency to assure full cooperation and coordination at the State level.

3. Adequate legislation by the States, in advance of increasing demands on the water supply, to determine the respective rights of water-users and settle "whose water is it?"

By starting with the smaller watersheds the foundation is laid for expanded programs of full resource conservation, development, and management. Programs on the subwatersheds of a larger stream basin can be coordinated in plans for basinwide improvement and geared in with downstream projects for flood control, power development, irrigation or water reserve storage. The States, acting through their responsible resource agencies, can integrate watershed development plans in statewide programs. With the necessary upstream work underway, the States can synchronize their own watershed programs with plans for major river basin improvement through interstate compacts or other forms of agreement. By such progressive stages a program of nationwide scope would be brought within range of realization.

These are the elements of a sound national policy for our land, water, and other renewable natural resources as your committee sees them.

America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN JARMAN

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. JARMAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following poem by Dr. Glen Levin Swiggett, of Washington, D. C .:

Beloved America, O bounteous land And generous Nation, blessed with liberty Of thought and action, may your people be Forever free as that brave pilgrim band That came in search of freedom to your strand!

And may they ever treasure thankfully Their liberty and offer helpfully To those who would be free a friendly hand!

America, your mission is today Most urgent in another hemisphere, Where newborn nations seem, in doubt, to sway

Between desire for freedom and the fear Of tyranny. Therefore, so act that they May lengthen liberty's far-flung frontier.

Capital-Gains Tax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks I wish to include a very sensible and plausible letter received from one of the learned members of the Massachusetts bar on a subject matter to which he has given a great deal of time. thought, and study.

The writer of this letter, Attorney Frederick J. Gillen, of Lawrence, Mass., is very well versed on the Government tax program and on issues of public

finance.

This short letter merits the attention of the membership of the Congress and I offer it to you for your consideration:

LAWRENCE, MASS., January 21, 1955. Hon. THOMAS J. LANE,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.
DEAR TOM: From the fact that a home owner is allowed to sell his home at a profit

and reinvest in another home without paying a capital-gains tax, Life magazine attempts to argue that, holders of common stocks should be allowed to sell their shares at a profit and pay no tax if the money is reinvested in other stock.

It should be noted that the provision for home owners does not apply to real-estate investments in general. It should also be noted that real estate is subjected to a continuing form of capital gains tax in the nature of increased assessments and tax

rates.

The present capital-gains tax, as it applies to stock holdings, is like a huge Hoover Dam. Behind this dam a large reservoir of capital gains has accumulated. The accumulation has been going on since the year 1913. The color of this lake is mostly blue from the chips it holds in solution.
Congress built the dam. The Government

has a sort of lien on the vast potential behind this dam based on announced rates for

short-term and long-term gains.

Some people, including the President, believe that Congress should lift this lien and allow this accumulated power to go free at discount rates. To do so would be a fraud on the millions of taxpayers who do not have an interest in this great pool. majority of people have borne heavier burdens because the owners of this great lake of accumulated capital gains have escaped taxation by not reducing their gains to cash. even though it was readily available, even in that form.

Before the floodgates on this tremendous dam are opened a survey should be made by Congress to determine the actual depth of the waters (the actual amount of capital gains in the lake behind the dam).

Accumulated profits, over the years, have been poured into this reservoir, wherein they lost their identity and became known by another name-capital surplus. Stock dividends, representing this surplus, were issued to shareholders in the form of distributions of capital and untaxable. Stock-holders have seen their holdings double. treble and quadruple, yet, they never paid a capital gains tax, or even a tax on the dividends that made these capital gains possible.

Corporations, insurance companies and all sorts of investment trusts are waiting with bated breath for Congress to free them from taxes on their accumulated gains.

It was suggested before a committee of Congress (Subcommittee on the Economic Report, Flanders, Republican) that, the power of these great investment institutions may some day challenge even the power of the Federal Reserve System. They may, even now, be able to defeat the control that the Federal Reserve System exerts on the national economy.

If the plan hinted at in the economic report succeeds, namely, to free vast amounts of capital gains from taxation, it will be the biggest giveaway in history. We have no way of estimating its effect on the economy of the country.

Sincerely yours,

FRED GILLEN, Attorney-at-Law.

The Closing of Fourth-Class Post Offices in Georgia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. L. FORRESTER

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. FORRESTER. Mr. Speaker, under orders of the Postmaster General the following fourth-class post offices in the Third District of Georgia have been closed.

Sumter post office, a post office which had existed for approximately 90 years and a post office which served 27 families and, also, a school which was dependent upon that service; Dooling post office, an office which had been in existence for many, many years and serving 51 families; Cobb post office, an office serving 31 families and being the office which served the Veterans' State Park where the safety program, inaugurated by the State Highway Patrol of Georgia, is held annually and hundreds of boys attend annually, and where statewide veterans' activities are held on practically a yearround basis: and Plainfield post office, Which has existed for more than 40 years and which serves more than 39 families.

Further, the post office at Powersville, an office which has been in existence for many years and which serves at least 175 persons, and which would serve the personnel and civilians at the United States Naval Base, which is now in process of being built and located only 4 miles from Powersville, and where a new State highway is being built to Robins Air Force Base only 12 miles away, will be closed shortly unless the Postmaster General shows a great change of heart.

In fact, every fourth-class post office in the district I represent, which has been considered by the Post Office Department, has been closed with the exception of Powersville, and the Postmaster General has advised that Powersville is to be closed. Additionally, the Postmaster General is now investigating other fourth-class post offices in the district I serve, and if the Postmaster General follows past performance those under investigation will be closed, also.

The wholesale closing of fourth-class Post offices simply cannot be justified. The post offices I have referred to, which have already been closed, have been the means of holding those fine rural settlements together. The post offices and churches have been the means of keeping these people in their rural communities.

The post office service has been one service these rural people could see and understand, also, a service by their Government from some of the tax money they paid the Government.

Despite the fact that I thought the closing of these post offices was a tragic mistake. I have tried to feel that the fourth-class post offices in our district were sharing the same treatment as other offices over the Nation. I was terribly shocked, however, when I read in the papers last week that the Postmaster General had decided to retain a fourthclass post office in another section of this country which served 12 families, and that his decision to serve that office was based on the fact that a great athlete, in the years gone by, received his mail at that post office. This is not to be construed as a demand that the service of that post office be discontinued, but I do intend that it serve as an example to demonstrate the reckless action on the part of the Postmaster General. In common with every section in this country, prominent and remarkable people live in everyone of the areas of the post offices which have already been closed in our district.

Mr. Speaker, it is my opinion that a review should be made by the House Committee on Post Office and Civil Service of every fourth-class post office which has been closed, and to ascertain the damage inflicted upon the people served by those offices and, also, to ascertain whether any well-defined and fair policy has been adhered to in the closing of these offices, or whether many have been recklessly disposed of and many have been retained for some fanciful, but impractical, reason.

Roses and Their Contribution to the History and Economy of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, PAUL B. DAGUE

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. DAGUE. Mr. Speaker, when our esteemed colleague the gentlewoman from Ohio, Mrs. Francis P. Bolton, introduced House Joint Resolution 102 on January 10 for the purpose of designating the rose as the national flower of the United States, I was reminded of the contribution roses have made to the history and economy of Pennsylvania and, more specifically, to my congressional district.

In checking authoritative sources I have determined that the nursery production of rose plants is greater in Pennsylvania than in any other State east of the Mississippi, and in fact in any other State east of the Rocky Mountains, except Texas, where, as my informant puts

it, "They do everything in a big way." Incidentally, the production in Pennsylvania centers in Chester County, my home county.

Pennsylvania is also a leading producer of cut roses for the flower market, with 31 producers operating greenhouses in our State, in which over 1½ million plants are under cultivation. This greenhouse production in Pennsylvania constitutes about 15 percent of the annual United States output and represents an income, at wholesale prices, of around \$3 million.

On the historical side our research leads us to an interesting ceremony which takes place each year at Manheim in Lancaster County, Pa., and is traced to the life and times of "Baron" Henry William Stiegel, an ironmaster and manufacturer of early American glass. Mr. George L. Heiges, a noted historian, in commenting on Stiegel, who was a devout Lutheran, has this to say:

Earnest rosarians have knowledge of him through a unique service in a Lutheran church located in a small Pennsylvania town (Manheim), where one red rose passes as ground rent annually to a descendant of this many-sided man.

In addition to this reference to the part the rose has played in our early history, there is also the fact that the cities of Lancaster and York in Pennsylvania are known respectively as the Red Rose and White Rose Cities out of deference to the Houses of Lancaster and York in the mother country, from which their names were derived.

Returning to my home county of Chester, I am indebted to Mr. Sidney B. Hutton, of West Grove, Pa., the president of the Conard-Pyle Co., who has furnished me with the background material supporting the Red Rose rent celebration which is held each year at historic Red Rose Inn commemorating the payment of a red rose annually if demanded to William Penn and his descendants by the grantee of the land on which the inn is located. Mr. Hutton's interesting article is included in this extension of remarks and should lend further significance to the importance of roses to our way of life:

RED ROSE RENT AND HISTORIC RED ROSE INN

To pay the rent on a fine bit of property with "one red rose yearly if the same be demanded" is a delightful thought. Some such proviso has been found in several old deeds from the early days of this country. The earliest of these that has been discovered dates from 1731 and covers the tract of land at West Grove, Pa., on which the building of the present Red Rose Inn was begun in 1740. The land was part of the original grant from the King of England to William Penn. 1731 this parcel was deeded to his grandson, also named William Penn, with the proviso for the payment of a red rose yearly if demanded, and the deed was so recorded. Later deeds to the same property in 1742 and 1748 continued to carry the same provision. Then, through the years of growth of this new nation, the old deeds lay forgotten.

In 1927 a part of this tract was purchased to provide increased acreage for growing Star roses, with no prior knowledge of the red rose rent proviso. With infinite care, the new owners proceeded to restore to beauty the old inn which was included in the purchase, and to preserve its interesting features. Its oldtime, simple charm has been

retained, along with its seven fireplaces, great Dutch ovens, old cupboards, handwrought hardware, etc. Its terraces and gardens were rescued from neglect and now their stonework and boxwood make a pleasant setting for the building itself. Adjoining it are the great fields of Star roses, each adding to the beauty of the other.

To discover the date of the original construction, for the restoration of the inn, research was made of old records concerning the property. Then was found the old proviso for the payment of one red rose yearly as a rental token. And there, acres of roses were growing on that very land, not only red roses in June but roses that bloom all season and of a color range undreamed of by the writers of those early deeds. It was as if they had somehow forecast, from some 200 years before, that this spot of earth belonged to roses and never should be sold without retaining that connection.

The Chester County Historical Society in 1947 erected a marker in front of Red Rose Inn commemorating this earliest Red Rose rent deed. On a bronze tablet embedded in a large boulder is inscribed the dates, names, and details of the Red Rose rent clause in the old deeds they found recorded in the Chester County archives.

"In 1731 John, Thomas, and Richard Penn, proprietaries, granted 5,000 acres to William Penn, grandson of the founder of Pennsylvania, subject to the rental of 'One red rose on the 24th day of June yearly if same be demanded.' In 1742 William Penn granted this tract to William Allen subject to his 'paying the red rose aforesaid yearly.' In 1748 William Allen sold 53½ acres of this tract to Samuel Cross. Again the rental terms included payment of one red rose, This marker is on the Samuel Cross property."

Star Roses held the first Red Rose Rent Day in 1937, to pay the year's rental of one red rose, according to the provision of the old deeds. The following year they decided they should present, not only the one red rose, but also another 205—one for each year that was not known to have been paid for since the date of the original proviso. Annual Red Rose Rent Day celebrations followed through 1941. Then World War II interrupted the custom and, in 1947, five red roses were paid to compensate for that accrual. Since then the Red Rose Rent has been paid annually, in behalf of Star Roses, by various eminent men, including James H. Duff, then Governor of Pennsylvania; George D. Aiken, United States Senator from Vermont; Dr. William Cadbury, emeritus professor of medicine, Lingnan University, Canton, China; Hugh C. McClelland, British consul general; M. Kebalii, French consul; and others.

The charming idea of paying a red rose as rent has great historical significance, with real meaning to freedom-loving people. In olden times a man was commonly required to pledge his sword and his life to the service of the feudal lord or great landowner, if he wished to acquire a bit of the countryside for his own use. This pledge would be in addition to any purchase price that might have been settled on, and became a perpetual, grim lien on the property, passed on from father to son. In 1215 the Magna Carta in England cut down somewhat this character of rent for the first time in feudal history. Charles II made use of a symbol such as the rose instead of demanding human service as rent.

It was natural for the sons of William Penn, the great, peace-loving Quaker, to use the symbol of the rose in this way in their new English colony. It pointed out the fact that feudal lords no longer had their private soldiers for neighborhood fighting, or to rent out for ready cash. This symbol of the rose was a symbol of the advance that had been made in law and thought, away from lifetime servitude, toward greater freedom and dig-

nity for the human individual. So, on a Saturday early in September of each year that it is possible to hold the festival, one red rose is paid to a direct descendant of William Penn, for the growers of Star Roses, as an annual reminder that human freedoms that were so hard to gain must be preserved, and are not to be taken lightly.

Will Indiana Provide Schools for Its Own or Let United States Do It?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the New Castle (Ind.) Courier-Times of January 21, 1955:

WILL INDIANA PROVIDE SCHOOLS FOR ITS OWN OR LET UNITED STATES DO IT?—GOAL SHOULD BE TO END PROPERTY TAXES FOR SCHOOL PURPOSES

There is a growing awareness that there must be a substitute for property tax to support our schools.

Close examination of the problem will reveal that property can no longer bear the load put upon it, should not do it, and that the choice to be made is whether we wish our schools to be financed by State taxation or by Federal taxation.

There are really only two practical alternatives if we wish to avoid the disaster of federalization of our schools: they are an increase of about 50 percent in the gross income tax or the levy of a sales tax. Whichever tax should be adopted, the money should be distributed to the schools on the same basis as the gross income-tax money now is distributed. That is, it should be collected from over the State as a whole, and be distributed to schools on a per pupil basis.

That way the child in a poor county has the same educational opportunity as the child in a wealthy county, all sorts of special aid programs for the poorer counties are made unnecessary, and local folks run local schools.

It is important, however, that this additional money raised by State taxation for school purposes not be restricted in its use. It should be handed over to the local schools, and they be permitted to use it for salaries, new buildings, coal, or whatever. After all, it takes all of these things to make a school.

The goal of this tax should be not just to alleviate the school situation. It should be to apply the cure by making its goal the practical elimination of property tax for school purposes.

This looks to the possibility of tax levies in our cities that would be below \$5, which is all that property should reasonably and

fairly be asked to pay.

Municipal government is in as bad shape as the schools, and the elimination of the schools from the property tax would make it possible for adequate civil city levies to be made without creating a burden. Home ownership and improvement would be encouraged, our cities and farms improved, and taxation levied in accordance with ability to pay.

If the State doesn't do the job, the Federal Government will.

How much time we have to act before federalization of our schools takes place nobody knows, but the school problem is acute right now, and if Indiana's General Assembly fails

to act in accordance with its constitutional responsibility to provide schools in this State, nobody can promise that federalization of schools will not have taken place when it meets 2 years hence.

The National Security Council

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following most interesting and enlightening article that appeared in the Christian Science Monitor, January 24, 1955.

It is important to note that Robert Cutler, a highly respected and admired citizen of Massachusetts, and one who is so highly qualified in national security affairs of our Nation, is really the work horse of this organization. We from the Bay State are most confident that with men like Robert Cutler on the staff to investigate and advise the membership of this most important safety council our country we will have nothing to fear and that we will be on the right road to an enduring and lasting peace.

The article follows:

(By William H. Stringer)

On a certain Sunday last September some of the most powerful men in Washington flew to the President's summer White House, at Denver, to help Mr. Eisenhower thrash out a question which could mean peace or war: Whether to defend the islands off the Chinese mainland against the Communists.

These men comprised the membership of what is easily the most important, high policy ranging, "hush hush" outfit in the United States: the National Security Council.

It is safe to say that until that publicized flight, in response to Presidential summons, most Americans were almost entirely ignorant of the existence, not to say the mode of functioning, of this agency which has such solemn influence in framing the vital decisions which determine this country's foreign policy, safety, and security in a time of mortal storm.

When the planes from Washington touched down at Lowry Air Force Base that September Sunday, there emerged such men as Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, Defense Secretary Charles E. Wilson, Vice President Richard M. Nixon, Admiral Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff; Allan Dulles, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, and a half dozen more.

These men bespeak the caliber of this organization which has variously been dubbed a supercabinet, a supreme high command, the successor to the State Department in the formulation of foreign policy, and a streamlined amalgamation of necessary functions.

WELL-GUARDED CORRIDOR

If one searches for the driving, pulsating "operations center" of this organization, one discovers it down a well-guarded corrider of the old State Department building. in a spare and spartan suite of offices where no reporter roams at will and where safes are locked with triple care. This is the domain of Robert Cutler, Special Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, the

energizer and catalyst whose indefatigable zeal keeps the National Security Council's wheels turning with marvelous efficiency.

It is Mr. Cutier, a bachelor and Bostonian banker, who briefs President Eisenhower for the weekly sessions of the National Security Council. It is he who chairmans the Planning Board of the working-level departmental officials which studies the problems brought before the council and formulates suggested courses of action.

Throughout the week in Washington, the topmost officers of the departments and agencies concerned with defense and foreign policy devote part of their time to functioning as a combined operations task force, grappling with the big issues. A special aura of distinction has developed around this council, so that the phrase "approved by the NSC" is powerfully influential with Congress and with public opinion generally.

That is, it is influential when people know what the NSC is doing, which isn't often. For this important aggregation has been criticized for being too "hush hush" for the good of the American people, for operating too much in a closed circuit where it hears only its own opinions, and for reaching decisions without benefit either of public discussion or of the advice of Congress.

WISE AND STRONG POLICY

One thing is certain, however: If the NSC didn't exist, something very much like it would be invented speedily in these days when American policy must be wise and strong.

When the United States was an isolated republic of the Western Hemisphere in the 19th century, or even in the 1920's when the annual budget was measured in millions rather than billions, there was no compelling need for a top policy-coordinating-and-advising body. But during the last stages of World War II the need for coherence among the agencies engaged in formulating politico-military policy became urgent.

This resulted in interagency conferences

and Navy Departments. These became regularized into sessions of the State, War, and Navy Departments. These became regularized into sessions of the State-War-Navy Coordinating Committee, SWNCC was the

forerunner of NSC.

In 1947 when Congress, by the National Security Act, unified the Armed Forces (at least on paper) and set up the Joint Chiefs of Staff, it also ordered into existence the National Security Council, which led a fairly mild and sheltered existence until President Eisenhower, with his talent for organization, for pooling of the best minds, and for orderly procedure, breathed new importance into the structure and began to rely heavily upon it.

By statute, the function of the council is "to advise the President with respect to the integration of domestic, foreign, and military policies relating to the national security so as to enable the military services and other departments and agencies of the Government to cooperate more effectively in matters involving the national security."

NO PRESS RELATIONS

No reporters cover the sessions of the NSC. There is no press-relations man on its staff. The council makes no public disclosures. No congressional committee scans its operations, as a joint committee of both Houses watchdogs the functioning of the Atomic Energy Commission. Its deliberations are uncovered only when its recommenadtions, approved by the President, are aired in some careful utterance by the President, Mr. Dulles, or another high official, or are discerned in some act of national policy.

When President Eisenhower stands before his weekly press conference and comments on the Nation's ability to maintain a sufficiently strong defense posture with fewer troops in uniform, the reporters surmise that this subject has been under discussion at the NSC.

When Vice President Nixon expressed to a luncheon of the American Society of Newspaper Editors his view that the United States might have to send troops to Indochina if the situation worsened, editors assumed that this was a Council conclusion, because Mr. Nixon attends these sessions (and presides when the President is absent) and because this is precisely the sort of decision with which the NSC normally deals.

As a matter of fact, the Council had debated the Indochina issue but had reached no conclusion—which indicates the perils of false assumption, and the dangers of having no publicity policy at all.

MEMBERSHIP LISTED

Who, precisely, sits on this Council besides the President and Vice President. The membership consists of:

By statute: the Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles; the Secretary of Defense, Mr. Wilson; the Director of the Foreign Operations Administration, Harold Stassen; and the Director of Defense Mobilization, Arthur S. Flemming.

Added to the Council by Mr. Eisenhower: Secretary of the Treasury George M. Humphrey, Director of the Budget Rowland R. Hughes, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Radford, Director of the Central Intelligence Agency Allan Dulles, Chairman of the Atomic Energy Commission Rear Adm. Lewis L. Strauss, Director of the Bureau of the Budget Joseph M. Dodge, and Special Presidential Assistant Nelson Rockefeller.

Quite an aggregation. All have equal status; all join in the Council's deliberations.

President Truman made use of the National Security Council, but to no such extent as has President Eisenhower. During the Truman regime the NSC made only half as many recommendations, met only 40 percent as often. Whereas the funds budgeted for Council operations in the outgoing year of the Truman administration totaled \$160,000, Mr. Eisenhower estimates an expenditure of \$240,000 in fiscal 1956.

The President pledged, during his election campaign, that the NSC would be increasingly relied upon. This has happened. Seldom does the President allow anything to interfere with an early-morning appointment each Wednesday, when, at about 8:30, Mr. Cutler arrives briskly at the White House carrying a fat brief case full of top secret

PRESIDENT BRIEFED

At this session, lasting half to threequarters of an hour, Mr. Cutler briefs the President in preparation for the weekly meetings of the full Council on Thursday. Theirs is a swift discussion—by two men who dislike waste motion, highly respect each other, and have similar, orderly thought habits.

They occasionally meet on more relaxed occasions, such as those rare White House evenings when the President and Mr. Cutler have talked far into the night. But of the Wednesday sessions Mr. Cutler observes:

"The President is amazingly perceptive. It takes me half a day to get ready for the questions he is likely to ask."

The Council, which meets on Thursday morning, is a streamlined body. Members are not allowed to bring staff, except in rare instances. Each official will already have received working-paper briefs from the Planning Board. Presumably, they have studied these carefully. Only for the greatest emergency is absence from a session excused.

Members sit down at 10 a.m. around the long table in the Cabinet Room—scene of the televised Cabinet report by Secretary of State Dulles last autumn. Seldom do they leave before 1 p.m.

The session starts with a globe-ranging 15-minute intelligence summary by CIA's

Allan Dulles, brother of the Secretary of State. Then Mr. Cutler, in his crisp Boston accent, calls on the official whose department is most intimately concerned with the policy under discussion to state his views. If the topic were military commitments in Asia, this might be Admiral Radford.

BRISK DEBATE ENSUES

A brisk debate ensues, with each interested party speaking out boldly, including Mr. Eisenhower. When the matter has been thrashed out to everyone's satisfaction, then it is up to the President to render the final decision. Shall it be this course of action or that course, this policy or that policy, or some other?

The President seldom delays. He usually makes the big decision immediately. When he has done this, and a day or so later has affixed his initials to the paper embodying the study and decision, a new official policy of the United States has been established.

The NSC deals wholly with basic viewpoint and policy, not with implementation, tactics, or procedure. It never concerns itself with purely domestic affairs.

Behind the Council and acting as its spark plug, research agency, and formulator of alternatives stands the Planning Board.

This is the agency which, with Mr. Cutler as its busy chairman, grabs hold of a problem, obtains all available information on it, discovers what the financial cost to the United States will be, and proposes a solution or various alternative solutions. Membership on the Board embraces the same departments and agencies, but at the assistant secretary level.

Talking to Mr. Cutler, one is likely to discover that the Planning Board, which normally meets three times a week, has just kept its lights burning until 11 p. m. to develop an emergency presentation for the next council meeting. Mr. Cutler is equal to any such emergency. A truly extraordinary and dedicated man, this former brigadier general and board chairman of Boston's Old Colony Trust Co., maintains a daily work schedule averaging from 8:30 a. m. to 8:30 p. m. and usually including Saturdays.

He flew to Denver seven times last summer to brief the President but he saw that city only once in the daytime because his plane customarily arrived at 7:30 p. m. and he was off for Washington again at midnight.

Who decides when and where the council should next focus its massive and wide-ranging attention? Who decides what problem should be tackled?

The agenda materializes in various ways. Sometimes President Elsenhower, peering thoughtfully into the future, says to Mr. Cutler, "Bobby, I'd like to have you give this subject a run." Sometimes a Cabinet meeting will suggest a topic. Sometimes some new phase of Soviet or Chinese Communist policy will demand attention. And sometimes, as Mr. Cutler says too modestly, "We think of things here."

When the Planning Board tackles a problem, the subject is analyzed to discover the most likely line of approach. The CIA is asked for an intelligence report on the issue and the State, Defense, and Treasury Departments, the FOA, and other agencies produce their judgments and estimates. At the Board sessions Mr. Cutler works like a Socratic questioner to elucidate information.

Finally a working paper is ready for the Council members, a study organized into five parts: (1) A statement of basic considerations, (2) a statement of desired objectives, (3) the recommended courses of action—one or several, (4) an estimate of the financial cost (very important to the President), and (5) the voluminous documentation. The whole thing is carefully stamped "top secret" and so treated.

BOARD IMPLEMENTS DECISIONS

It is an ancient weakness of government that the most stupendous decisions may go to waste because of faulty implementation. To avoid this sort of thing, President Eisenhower in September 1953 established the Operations Coordinating Board, which takes over where the Council stops, and sees that NSC policies are actually carried out.

Chairman of the OCB is the State Department's Undersecretary Herbert Hoover, Jr., and sitting with him are top representatives from the Defense Department, CIA, FOA, and Mr. Rockefeller. Through the OCB many policies have been rescued from a snafu of misdirected application—or no application at all.

On file today in the locked safes of the Council are hundreds of policy papers bearing the activated Presidential initials: "D. D. E." They do not automatically bearing the problem of the problem.

come matters of public knowledge.

Sometimes a news leak by a columnist will disclose that the President has ruled against his military advisers on the Council and decided that American air support shall not be available for the defense of the coastal Chinese islands. Sometimes a dispute within the official family, for instance, between Messrs. Stassen and Humphrey over Asian aid, will disclose that no final policy decision on this point has been initialed by the President.

It is this lack of publicity, which in effect means a haphazard and disorderly publicity, that has earned for the National Security Council its most serious criticism to date.

QUESTIONS RAISED

Everyone admits that the NSC represents a better procedure than earlier practices when a President's working papers were sometimes carried in the band of, his hat. But the question has strongly been raised whether Congress and the public really get an adequate look-in here.

Is there sufficiently wide participation in the formulation and discussion of crucial national policy? Is there sufficient crossfertilization with differing viewpoints? Are the political realities brought sufficiently to bear? Or are the same men talking to each other, and getting the same unrefreshed answers?

Is it democratic for a nonelective super-Cabinet to reach, in secret, decisions which can mean peace and war to millions of Americans? Is there sufficient liaison with Congress? Is the regular Cabinet, with its wider representation, being displaced?

These are the questions raised. There are

some impressive answers.

Perhaps the basic consideration is that the Council is not a policymaking body. As Mr. Cutler emphasizes, it has solely an advisory, recommendatory function. Its job, as spelled out by the National Security Act of 1947, is to advise and recommend. No policy proposed or developed through the NSC is official until the President has approved it.

cial until the President has approved it.

Therefore, it is argued, the Council is simply a modern, streamlined, orderly method, established by Congress, by which the President may assemble the best advice from the best Government sources. This systematic pooling of advice is now a must, considering the tremendous responsibilities facing a modern President, it is contended.

COUNCIL SEEN PERMANENT

The Council has undoubtedly attained a permanent status. Other Presidents may rely on it less but no President is likely to dismantle it.

The National Security Council, in fact, seems likely to become imbedded in the Washington picture as one more of those extraconstitutional organs of government, even as is the Cabinet itself. Even though its function is strictly advisory to the President, the very caliber of its membership is such as to give any policy which has been matured through the Council the weight of a decree from high authority.

This being so, should anything be done (1) to improve public awareness of what the NSC is doing? (2) to bring wider public influence to bear on its deliberations?

Obviously the formulation of delicate policy cannot be conducted in a goldfish bowl. On the other hand there are presumably more effective ways of keeping the Nation informed than through news leaks and scoops by the Alsop brothers and Drew Pearson.

WATCHDOG UNIT PROPOSED

Should the President, since his is the final word, undertake a periodic public accounting of the NSC's deliberations and decisions—those which can safely be made public? Or, if not Mr. Elsenhower, should a wise and discerning director of public information be attached to the Council to make an orderly, periodic report to the Nation?

It has been suggested, also, that a congressional committee might be set up to review NSC operations, even as the congressional Joint Committee on Atomic Energy watches over the AEC. Another proposal is that the President name a public commission from among the country's ablest civilians, a commission designed to function parallel with the NSC as an advisory agency on top-level policy. Such a commission would have full clearance for military secrets, power to require documents, and authority, as civilians, to make recommendations direct to the President.

Would this bring added experience and another set of values to bear on the great problems of the hour?

President Eisenhower apparently is happy with arrangements as they are. He has commented that the Council is at last working the way he likes it. It is a well-ordered and distinct improvement on earlier methods of policy formulation. But like all new institutions, it may well be subject to refinements and adjustments as experience dictates. And this institution merits the most thoughtful and appreciative concern, for it stands guard along our highest ramparts, and its Thursday morning deliberations develop policy which protects the entire free world.

Recognition of Red China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, Mr. Sokolsky has written a most logical résumé of a situation our Nation is presently confronted with. I recommend that the membership of the House and United Nations read this most interesting article especially during these days when the game of international chess is so important to the future and security of our Nation and the world.

The article follows:

THESE DAYS
(By George Sokolsky)
RECOGNITION OF RED CHINA

The pull for recognition of Red China by the United Nations and the United States—in practice such recognition will be identical—is gaining force. As Red China grows increasingly recalcitrant and belligerent, many inside and outside the Government of the United States insist that, as the alternative is war or recognition, it ought to be recognition. Some even hold to the theory that recognition might achieve the hoped for split between Red China and Soviet Russia, which the British believe may occur.

What must be important to the United States at any time is the attitude of the Asiatic countries. In this respect, the 30-power conference of Asiatic and African countries to be held in April is of paramount significance. This will be the first all-Asian conference ever to have been held and will include Red China. Japan has been invited but not Formosa, which is indicative of the attitude.

This prospective conference, for some reason, is played down in the United States, but it may result in the advanced prestige of Red China in Asia.

At this conference, the leadership is likely to be taken by Nehru, of India, or Chou En-lai, of Red China. They may combine for strength, but Caesar and Napoleon cannot sit at the same table without one of them being at the head of it. Nehru will undoubtedly try to form an Asiatic-African combine of states that will be neutral, with New Delhi as the new Jerusalem, whereas Chou En-lai will labor to establish Peiping as the core of the revived Asiatic civilization according to the gospel of Karl Marx. A conflict between Nehru and Chou, should it occur, could be helpful to the American policy, but is not to be counted on.

The question of the recognition of Red China will take precedence at this conference at which will be present many United Nations members. They could form an embarrassing bloc within the United Nations—that is, embarrassing to the United States. The weakness of the American position from the standpoint of Asiatic logic is that if we recognize Russia, which is the mother country of Marxism, how can we reject China, which is an offspring?

Prof. C. Northcote Parkinson, of the University of Malaya, pleading for recognition.

once put it this way:

"Diplomatic courtesies imply no approval of the way a land is ruled. If they did, Great Britain need never have recognized the independence of the American Colonies. In recognizing their independence, the British were not viewing the matter with enthusiasm. They were merely recognizing a fact. The first step toward peace in southeast Asia will be for the Americans to display as much sense of reality as was shown by George III. And George, remember, was not even sane."

Professor Parkinson forgets that the United States gained its freedom at the end of a war in which the British did badly. Naturally, the British did not view our independence with enthusiasm and never have. It was probably the greatest error in British history, as William Pitt and Edmund Burke told the Parliament of their day. Our present problem is not analogous unless we are prepared to say that because we lost the Korean war, we must recognize ourselves as vanquished and the Red Chinese as victors, accepting from them a conqueror's peace. We are not as insane as George III yet. At any rate, it is to be hoped that we have not lost all dignity and honor, because we fear an atomic war, despite the frightening consequences of such a war.

A Reluctant Vote

SPEECH

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted to all Members of the House to extend their remarks concerning House Joint Resolution 159, I want to take this oppor-

tunity of expressing my extreme reluctance in casting an affirmative vote on this resolution.

I would particularly like to associate myself with the forceful and pertinent remarks made by my able colleague from California, the Honorable Chet Holifield, as well as the clear and, I believe, the most important matters of principle stated to the House by the distinguished and beloved Speaker, the Honorable Sam Rayburn, as well as those of my respected colleague, the Honorable Paul J. Kilday.

My reluctance in voting for this resolution was heightened by the answer given by the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs when, in answer to a question, he stated that he believed this resolution gave to the President direct authority to bomb the coast of China if, in the opinion of the Commander in Chief, such action was necessary to assure the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores. This answer highlights the extremely broad courses of action which this resolution, by implication, assures the President that we, in this House, have approved. In other words, the Congress-for the first time that I know of—is giving prior approval of actions Which the President may take, as Commander in Chief-now unknown perhaps even to him—and certainly to us, and which, as was so well emphasized in the debate—and in the President's own message-are actions which he alone, under our Constitution, has the power to

This resolution and the rule under which it was adopted also, I am sure, prevented many of my colleagues from clearing up points which are of importance to them. For instance I, for one, do not want my vote in any way to indicate approval of any aims which the present so-called Government of the Republic of China has to restore itself to power on the mainland of China. This also does not imply that I approve of the present Communist Chinese Government. I do not. That such a rule was necessary does not detract from its unfortunate effects.

There were two main and prevailing reasons for my affirmative vote:

First, I have great respect and confidence in the leadership of the majority of this House of Representatives, and when that leadership—as in this case—was unanimous in believing that it was in the national interest to adopt such a resolution, it meant and did carry great weight with me.

Secondly, the message of the President carried one most significant sentence, and I quote:

Thus it will reduce the possibility that the Chinese Communists, misjudging our firm purpose and national unity, might be disposed to challenge the position of the United States, and precipitate a major crisis which even they would neither anticipate nor deare.

To this the President also added, and quote:

I hope, however, that the effect of an appropriate congressional resolution will be to calm the situation rather than to create further conflict.

These are expressions of opinion from the one man who has the direct responsibility and who is in a position to have the most complete facts concerning this situation. In brief, this is a step the President asks for to further the cause of peace. Therefore, I reluctantly concluded that it was the duty of the Congress to support a direct request from the President for an action which he believed would contribute to peace as well as safeguard our national defense.

I can only pray—as I am sure that the vast majority of our fellow citizens are also doing—that the President may have divine guidance in his judgment. I pray, also, that he may realize that the passage of this resolution has placed upon him an even greater responsibility—that such additional power or influence as this resolution may give him shall never be used for any aggressive action of any kind.

Orange County, Calif.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES B. UTT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. UTT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I would like to include a statement by Mr. Adolph Schoepe, president of Kwikset Corp., of Anaheim, Calif., which is in my congressional district. It presents a picture of the phenomenal growth of this area. The ideal climate is attractive not only for residential purposes but for desirable manufacturing activities.

A most important point of the article is the proving of the fallacy of communism and its antipathy to capitalism. Only under our free enterprise system can the necessary large investment of capital be obtained to make possible our huge employment and its resulting high standard of living.

The Kwikset Corp. can feel proud of its important contribution to the economy of Orange County and to the American way of life. The statement follows:

We all, no doubt, noted the tremendous home building activity in Anaheim and Orange County during the past several months. The face of our area has been changed extensively.

The research department of a southern California bank reports that Anaheim and Garden Grove are the fastest growing cities in perhaps the fastest growing county (percentagewise) in the United States.

To get an idea of the population growth in Orange County, consider these figures:

In 1930 the county had a population of 118,674. It then gained some 1,200 new residents per year up to 1940 when the population was 130,500.

Between 1940 and 1950 the county gained population at the rate of a little more than 8,500 persons a year to put Orange County population at 216,200 in 1950. From 1950 to 1953, our population grew at the rate of 20,000 a year. In 1953 it grew by 26,000 to give us a population of around 300,000 on January 1, 1954. Last year the area took an-

other big population jump. Experts say it is safe to predict that our population will continue to grow rapidly for several years.

It may be interesting to note that the core of Los Angeles—the central sections—are declining in growth as people and industries (which are able to move) decentralize and spread into communities near Los Angeles.

Industries want to be near the great population center of southern California—and the important west coast markets—but do not want to be swamped by the congestion of a metropolitan area.

That is one of the reasons why Kwikset came to Anaheim from South Gate, and is one of the reasons why more and more new industry is being attracted to this area.

As the population in our area grows, so must job opportunities. Jobs must be created in industry and agriculture. These jobs not only will provide livelihoods for many families but will accelerate expansion in retail stores and other service establishments—which will provide more jobs.

But, of course, this is easier said than done.

But, of course, this is easier said than done. Studies show that an average of \$13,700 is invested by American manufacturing in order to put 1 person in a production job.

This means that before a person can go to work in a manufacturing plant, such as ours, someone must invest \$13,700 to provide 1 job. Where does this money come from? It represents someone else's labor and his ability to save money to invest in a job—after taxes have consumed a large part of his earnings.

Where does it go? It goes for machinery and equipment, buildings (working space), inventory, working capital, financing costs, land, and some miscellaneous expenditures.

It is estimated that the labor force—men and women who must find jobs in industry—is growing by approximately 1 million persons a year in the United States. Consequently, it is evident that \$13.7 billions for new jobs is required every year if this country simply holds its own against unemployment.

All this makes clear the importance to our economy, both in the United States and Orange County, of the vital role each person plays in giving utmost encouragement to the men and women who manage the plants, decide their locations, and who invest in our industrial expansion.

· United States To Get Most From Tidelands Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, during the debate on the Tidelands legislation in the 83d Congress many extravagant statements and claims were made by opponents of the legislation including such allegations as: "It would give away Federal resources to the oil companies," and that "it would deprive the Federal Government of revenues and thus burden Federal taxpayers."

As you recall, the legislation confirmed the titles to the submerged lands within historic boundaries in the respective coastal States. Thus it was apparent and obvious that whatever the Federal Government gave up, if anything, was to our States and not to private oil

companies.

Now, almost 2 years after passage of the legislation, experience shows that in actuality the Federal Government and not the States is the chief income beneficiary from this act of Congress which corrected the unfortunate implications of a Supreme Court decision.

Take the situation of two States only, Texas and Louisiana. Undersea oil deposits off their coasts are estimated at 13 billion barrels. Of this, the Federal Government controls an estimated 11.5

hillion barrels

That amount of oil, at today's prices, is worth about \$30 billion. The royalties expected by the Federal Government, at 16% percent, are placed at \$5 billion. In addition, rental and bonuses to be collected by the Federal Government are expected to add another \$1 billion. Thus, from this area alone, the Federal Government will receive \$6 billion in revenues that could not, and would not, have been available except for the fact that the Tidelands law swept away inhibiting legal roadblocks and opened up these undersea areas to exploration and development.

Details regarding this Federal bonanza in offshore oil are contained in the following article from U. S. News & World Report for December 24, 1954:

Tidelands oil is going to turn out to be a bonanza for the Treasury in Washington, far less so for the States that fought so hard for the title to these lands under the Gulf of Mexico.

It appears now as though the Federal Treasury will end up at least \$6 billion richer because of tidelands development. The States of Louisiana and Texas will be

lucky if they get \$1 billion.

This twist of fortune results from the wording of the law that turned over part of the tidelands to the States and the oll development that now is going on. In writing the law, Congress gave Texas title to lands extending 3 leagues, or 10.5 miles, offshore, while Louisians was given title to lands 3 miles out. The rest of the Continental Shelf, stretching out as far as 100 miles, was reserved to the National Government. Louisiana, however, is claiming title to lands going out to 27 miles.

It is these lands reserved to the Federal Government that now are turning out to be most attractive to the companies that are searching for oil. These lands also are believed to contain almost eight times as much oil as the lands now held by the two States.

Federal officials, in fact, are surprised at the prices they are getting for drilling rights in the submerged lands. They recently asked for bids on 199 tracts of about 5,000 acres each off the Louisiana coast. They expected to get about \$50 million for the lot. Instead they got one hundred twenty-one million for only 97 tracts. The other 102 tracts were withdrawn because of the conflicting claims to title from Louisiana.

So far, the Treasury is getting \$144 million for leasing only 462,000 acres—less than 3 percent of the submerged lands mapped as potentially oil bearing. So, just for drilling rights alone, the Federal Treasury now is likely to get at least \$1 billion when the whole area is leased.

Royalties too: In addition, the Government will collect 16 ½ percent of the value of all oil produced. The Geological Survey estimates that off in these lands amounts to

11.5 billion barrels. At today's prices, that means a return of at least \$5 billion in royalties.

All of this money is now destined to go into the general fund of the Treasury. Once, however, Congress came close to setting aside offshore-oil revenues for the benefit of the Nation's public schools. That proposal passed in the Senate but was blocked in the House. Later the "oil for education" plan was shelved in the conflict over giving tidelands to the States. This plan now is expected to be revived.

Whatever is done with the money, it now is clear that one of the most extensive oil hunts in history is about to get under way, and the Federal Government will get the lion's share of the public benefits. The one hundred and forty-four millions that the Federal Treasury already is offered for a fraction of the tidelands, contrasted with the sixty-five million realized from leases by Louislana and Texas, is an indication of what lies ahead.

More than 30 oil companies now are active in the hunt for oil. Before they are through, they expect to locate at least as much oil under water as that already proved in the coastal plain of the Gulf States. This dry-land area is known to contain 11 billion barrels of oil and 67 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. New discoveries are still being made.

Drills go deeper: The advantage to the Federal Government results from the growing ability of cil companies to drill farther out from shore and in ever-deepening waters. Not so long ago, a 60-foot depth of water was considered the limit. This seemed to give the Gulf States all the breaks in tidelands development. But now Continental Oil Co., with associates, is preparing to drill in 97 feet of water off Grand Isle, La. Gulf Refining Co. has leased a Federal tract that lies under 164 feet of water. And oil engineers and shipbuilders have designs for seagoing platforms that will operate at 200-foot depths.

These developments have changed the basic conception of oil possibilities. The offshore area once was thought to embrace no more than 25,000 square miles. Now the estimates are double that figure, with most of the area under Federal control.

Underwater explorations are being stepped up by recent finds. Magnolia Petroleum Co. and associated firms brought in a new well on a submerged salt dome 30 miles off the Louisiana coast. The same companies made another strike 18 miles offshore. Another group also opened a new field 30 miles out, and Phillips Petroleum Co. located a natural-gas well in still another area. Shell Oil Co. has made a strike close to the 3-mile limit off Louisiana, and Standard Oil of Texas has brought in a discovery well near Corpus Christi, Tex., in State-owned waters. At the moment, at least 22 wells are being

drilled in Federal waters alone. This drilling is expected to double in the next year as more and better platforms, tenders, and barges are built.

However, it is not cheap to explore for undersea oil. A typical company usually invests \$3 million in seismographic surveys alone, just to find indications of oil. Then anywhere from \$2 million to \$10 million goes for drilling equipment. Another \$1 million may be needed to drill a well to a depth of 10.000 feet, where most of the oil is found.

These costs can be justified only if large amounts of oil are discovered. As one company executive says: "It looks like we'll have to learn to walk away from small discoveries."

Billions of barrels: Actually, the companies expect to find a lot of oil. One estimate is that, within 5 or 6 years, explorations will turn up 6 billion barrels of new oll reserves, plus 15 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. Official estimates indicate that the whole submerged area, State and Federal, will add 13 billion barrels to the Nation's present proved reserves of 34 billion barrels. Underwater oil off California may add another 2 billion barrels. That adds up to enough oil for about 20 years, at last year's rates of United States production.

Most of the oil hunting is being conducted at present off the Louisiana coast. In the waters off Texas, drilling difficulties are reported to be much greater because of high winds and rough waters. Two recent drilling ventures in this area were failures. Nevertheless, oil-company executives rate their prospects off Texas as good and are planning on more extensive drilling. They expect to solve their problems as they gain

more experience.

Eye to the future: The emphasis at present is on locating reserves. What most companies want primarily are reserves for future production, not oil that is to be marketed now. Reserves are a guaranty that oil producers will stay in business for many years ahead. Also, before undersea oil can be marketed, pipelines must be laid to link offshore wells with refineries on land. To date, one pipeline has been laid stretching out 17 miles from the Louislana coast. This is to be lengthened soon to 48 miles.

Signs are, therefore, that the actual marketing of tidelands oil will not be undertaken on a large scale for some years. That means large royalties to the States and Federal Government will not be realized either, until sometime in the future. However, there seems to be little doubt that eventually a very large public revenue will be realized from offshore oil and that more than 85 percent of it will flow into the coffers of

the Federal Government.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, on this 75th birthday of Gen. Douglas Mac-Arthur, I wish to include in my remarks a poem written by Horace C. Carlisle, of Winston-Salem, N. C., honoring this great American patriot:

GEN. DOUGLAS MACARTHUR ouglas MacArthur is known

G-en. Douglas MacArthur is known, E-verywhere, as a great general who N-ever forsook or deserted his own—

D-aring, in spite of all odds, to stand true.
O-n all occasions his conscience was guide,
U-nder God, he stood as firm as a rock—
G-od gave him strength; upon Him he relied;
L-oyal to Him, he survived every shock.
A-nxiously fought he to win every fight,
S-trongly supported by justice and right.

M-ade in the image of God, 'twas his aim A-lways to fight, not to lose, but to win—C-owardly knuckling, to win himself fame A-nd men's applause, was unpardonable sin-R-ight was the might that gave to him his hope

T-o win the Russian-planned Korean war— H-e, more than Truman, knew best how to cope.

U-nder God, with the foes that we abhor-R-ussia's defeat was what he battled for.

-Horace C. Carlisle.

Russia's Drive to the Pacific

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, the following article, written by a brilliant young Marine Corps officer, Col. J. D. Hittle, is worthy of congressional attention, particularly during these critical times in the Far East.

The article is factual and denotes a great amount of diligent research. It is

brief and most informative.

Colonel Hittle is well known to our entire membership, and is to be commended for his wonderful achievement in this article:

Russia's Drive to the Pacific (By Col. J. D. Hittle)

Commodore Matthew Perry, USN, who opened the long-shut doors of Japan, was more than an unusually able admiral, capable of carrying out delicate diplomatic policy. He was, unquestionably, a far-sighted strategic thinker possessing the all-too-rare ability to see events of his time in long-range historical perspective.

Perry, who participated in the bitter international competition of the western Pacific when that area was developing at mid-19th century into a vast sea-power area, recognized the great geopolitical forces then taking shape. It was in a speech to the American Geographical Society in New York in March 1856 that Perry made his now famous forecast of events in Pacific Asia:

"It requires no sage to predict events as strongly foreshadowed to us all. * * * It seems to me that the people of America will, in some form or other, extend their power until they have brought within their embrace the multitudes of Islands of the great Pacific * * * and I think, too, that eastward and southward will her great rival of future aggrandizement (Russia) stretch forth her power to the coast of China and Siam, and thus the Saxon and the Cossack will meet once more, in strife or in friendship, on another field."

Seldom has there been a more accurate prophecy of the course of international affairs. In terms of history, a century is but a tick of eternity's clock, but in not even quite a century since his speech, events have heavily underlined Perry's grasp of history

and the accuracy of his vision.

By this point of the mid-20th century, America, by purchase of Alaska, victory in the Spanish-American War, and defeat of Japan has become the dominant seapower of the Pacific Basin. Truly, America had brought within her embrace the multitudes of Islands of the great Pacific, and most certainly, that much of Perry's prophecy has evolved as he saw it at that time.

And, unfortunately for the interests of the free world, Perry's prophecy as to Russian power stretching out to the coasts of China had come true and extension southward to Siam is perilously close to reality. Today, a new contender has entered the Pacific seapower area. World communism, under the leadership of Soviet Russia, currently controls the Asiatic Pacific littoral from the Arctic to Indochina.

The strategic result is that the world is witnessing Russia, the world's greatest land-power, emerge as a Pacific power of major consequence. Russia's rise as a seapower in the western Pacific resulted, paradoxically, from the eastward extension of Russian land-

power to its geographical limit. The shore of the Pacific marked the eastern boundary of her landpower and when Russia reached that water boundary, further eastward expansion would be largely in terms of maritime seapower.

It is from Vladivostok that Russian power Pacific Asia has radiated, and it is this base that has served as imperial and. later, Soviet Russia's main springboard for projecting influence throughout northeast Asia and much of the Pacific littoral. Russian establishment of that foothold on the Pacific marked the beginning of Russia's power in that vital area of the world and, by so doing, underlined the geopolitical vision of Commodore Matthew Perry who so accurately appraised the inexorable currents of history that were to bring the United States and Russia to the role of contenders for control of the western, if not all of the Pacific Basin.

Vladivostok is the base for Russian power in Pacific Asia. Without such a base the history of Russian activity in the Far East would read much differently, and the problems of world strategy would be much different and probably much more simple.

Although Russian exploration and acquisition of the northern Pacific shores has had significant, strategic implications, the focal point of Russian Pacific power is Viadivostok in the southern part of Russia's Maritime Province. Possession of this Maritime Province between the Ussuri River and the seathe area known as the trans-Ussuri region—flanking Manchuria from the sea and stretching southward along the Sea of Japan almost to Korea, has been indispensable to the development of Russian power in the western Pacific area. Unquestionably, Russian acquisition of this territory on the Pacific littoral constituted one of the most important developments of modern history.

An understanding of how Russia obtained Viadivostok and the surrounding maritime provinces is essential background for any basic appraisal of Russian power in the Far

East.

The story of the Russian march to the Pacific began in the reign of the able but cruel czar, Ivan the Terrible, in the latter half of the 16th century. His was a Russia in transition. The yoke of Tartar domination had been thrown off less than a hundred years before; Moscow had not consolidated her position as successor to Kiev as the seat of power. Tartars in the south, Poland, Lithuania, and the German knights in the north threatened the existence of Muscovy itself.

To the east was the vast expanse of an apparently limitless frontier sparsely settled by native groups, an easy target for conquest and colonization. Actual conquest of the lands east of the Urals dates from 1580. However, Ivan, plagued by internal and external threats, had no time for carefully planned exploitation of his eastern frontier.

In a real sense, the conquest beyond the Urals was an accurate reflection of the hectic conditions of then contemporary Russia, for the march to the Pacific was begun by a Cossack outlaw named Yermak. It was not the patriotic cause of carrying eastward the banner of Muscovy that induced Yermak to push beyond the Urals. Rather, it was because of his desire to escape Muscovy, for Yermak was under sentence of death if apprehended, for rebellion against the crown.

At the head of a small group of armed adventurers Yermak, in the fall of 1581, defeated the native prince Kuchum and claimed the vast trans-Ural territory, the "capital" of which was the town of Sibir—a significant term, for from it is derived Siberia, the name by which the entire area east of the Urals is known.

Yermak, a realist and opportunist, voluntarily presented his conquered territories to the Tsar who, in return, rewarded him with

a pardon and gifts. Thus the authority of Moscow was carried beyond the Urals and the frontier was opened. The overland move to the east had begun and it was not to end until it reached the Pacific. Significantly, the colonization of Siberia and the drive to the Pacific was not initially the result of a deliberate governmental design, but rather the early flow of hardy peasants and adventurers, migrating steadily toward a retreating frontier in an effort to improve their economic and political status.

Parenthetically, it is worth noting the historical similarities in the colonization of the American and Siberian frontiers. On both frontiers colonization began in the latter 16th or early 17th century. While the American and Siberian colonists certainly had different interpretations of freedom, each in their own way were seeking it. They were seeking material things, too, for the magnet that drew adventurers further and further into the frontiers of both Stherts and America was the quick riches in the form of Yet, there was another group which contributed later in the Tsarist regime to development of Siberia. These were the exiles who, usually for political offense, were forced to settle in Siberia. While their col-onizing role was significant, they did not play as large a part in Siberian development as some popular accounts have indicated.

On each frontier, wilderness communications were facilitated by great rivers which served as the highways of exploration. Although most of the main Russian rivers empty into the Arctic seas, their tributaries and frequently portions of the main rivers flow in an easterly or westerly direction, thus providing convenient means for waterborne

penetration of the frontier.

Also, in both instances possession of the frontier was obtained from native peoples by armed conquest: In America it was from the Indian tribes and in Siberia it was from the natives who were of largely Mongol stock. Not the least significant was the fact that the American and Siberian lines of colonization (the American marching westward and the Siberian marching eastward) were converging on the Pacific. It was this fundamental feature that so impressed Perry. Thus, in both America and Russia the frontier drew both peoples toward the Pacific. and by so doing the retreating frontiers were shaping the present conflicts of interest. With good historical reason, it can be stated that the Russian colonization of Siberia and the exploitation of the American frontier were moving Anglo-Saxon and Russian peoples in accordance with their manifest destinies on collision courses.

Within 6 years after Yermak seized Sibir, Russian colonists had pushed beyond the Urals to establish the town of Tobolsk. The march continued and the shores of Lake Baikal were reached in 1651.

Again, however, some of the land had to be wrested from the natives by force of arms. and it was only after 3 years of fighting 1655-58) that the tough Buriat Mongols of the Baikal region were conquered. As if impatient to reach the Pacific, the bolder colonists and adventurers refused to wait for the pacification of the Buriats and pressed on in the trans-Baikal region between the lake and the Manchurian frontier. As the Cossack spearhead of the Russian drive to the east moved deeper into this trans-Baikal area it reached the region of two rivers, the Amur and the Ussuri. These waterways were destined to play an increasingly important role in Russian military and diplomatic effort to establish a firm foothold in eastern Asia.

By the mid-17th century the Cossacks under Khabanov had sailed down the Amur, plundering the natives and exacting tribute as they went. At about the same time a Russian fort was established on the Amur, thus signifying in eastern Asia what other peoples in other places were to learn about the Russian to the places were to learn about the Russian to the places were to learn about the Russian to the places were to learn about the Russian tribute to the places were to learn about the Russian tribute the same tribute to the places were to learn about the Russian tribute t

sians—that conquest by Muscovy was not a transitory raid, but eventual occupation and accession.

Having reached the valleys of the Ussuri and the Amur, the Russian expansion to the sea met with an unexpected and formidable obstacle.

What had hapepned was that the Russians, who moved so swiftly through the scattered native tribes east of the Urals and in the Baikal region had, by reaching the Amur and Ussuri, pushed their expansion to the northern borders of the Chinese empire. No longer were the Cossack adventurers dealing with relatively ineffective tribesmen. Instead, they were confronted by one of the oldest and most powerful nations of the world. It was an unfortunate time for the Russians to challenge Chinese power, for China of the latter 17th and early 18th century was a China under the rule of the great K'ang Hsl, second emperor of the then new Manchu Dynasty, and one of the most able statesmen ever produced by the oriental world. This vigorous and wise ruler was not slow in reacting to the Russian pressure against his tributary peoples to the north.

Russia's armed occupation of the Amur-Ussuri region was accompanied by diplomatic overtures by the Russians toward the imperial court in Peking. Each of these early missions failed because the Russians did not offer tribute, a required ritual in initiating diplomatic relations with China, which had long ruled as the Middle Kingdom of the oriental world. The historian Aaston Cohen relates, however, that one Russian mission to Peking did return with a letter from the court, but the letter "was of no use to anybody for nobody in Moscow could read it."

K'ang Hsi was not one to be intimidated by the appearance of the Russian soldiers and colonists on his northern borders. Nor, on the other hand, were the Russians, after pushing the frontier all the way from the Urals, in any mood to turn back toward the Urals because their presence was offensive to the Chinese emperor.

As a result, there began an undeclared but bitter border war, although neither the Russians nor the Chinese wanted war. Russia sought commerce and territory north of Manchuria; K'ang Hsi's primary objective was the stabilization of his northern borders and the protection of his tributary tribes in that area threatened by Russian expansion.

In 1685 K'ang Hsl initiated negotiations with Moscow for a settlement of that Chinese-Russian conflict in the Far East. The Czar indicated a conciliatory attitude by designating Theodore Golovin as his ambassador for the negotiations with China. Four years later, in the summer of 1689, Chinese and Russian representatives met at Nerchinsk, east of Lake Baikal.

The negotiations were conducted under conditions which emphasized that in the Orient, as elsewhere, diplomatic and military strength are not unrelated. It is recorded that the Russian proposals were supported by the presence of 1,000 soldiers. K'ang Hsi demonstrated his faith in the value of diplomacy backed by force by supporting his representatives with a fleet of river boats, artillery, and 10,000 troops.

Apparently the Russian envoy got the point. The Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689) was the first treaty between China and a European power. It was also a diplomatic victory for China. Under the terms of that historic treaty—and in respect for K'ang Hsi's 10,000 troops at Nerchinsk—the Russians agreed to withdraw from the entire valley of the Amur.

Thus China was freed from the threat of Russian pressure on the northern borders of Manchuria and Russia was haited in her drive to establish a base of power in the Amur-Ussuri region of northeast Asia. Even the fort of Albazin on the upper Amur was razed in accordance with Chinese demands. One aspect of the Nerchinsk Treaty is of

One aspect of the Nerchinsk Treaty is of immediate interest in view of the recent and prolonged Korean negotiations over the issue of prisoners of war. It will be recalled that the Communist negotiators in Korea demanded the repatriation of all prisoners, regardless of their personal desires and irrespective of whether they were captured by force or surrendered willingly.

At Nerchinsk the Russian and Chinese negotiators agreed on the repatriation of "deserters" from their respective forces along the border. Thus, at the end of the 17th century, Chinese-Russian negotiations demonstrated a line of thought with respect to repatriation of enemy-held nationals which was to constitute a fundamental issue in the Korean negotiations over two and a half centuries later. Again, we have an eloquent example of how the lessons of oriental history have direct application in present-day Far Eastern affairs.

In essence, the Nerchinsk treaty expelled Russia from the Amur-Ussuri region. By so doing, the Manchu Emperor K'ang Hsi relieved the pressure on his northern Manchurian border, and he blocked, for almost a century and a half, Russian access to the strategic maritime province. However, the Russian tide of eastward expansion was running too fast and too strongly to be dammed completely by the reversal at Nerchinsk. Deprived of the Amur-Ussuri region, Russian expansion was deflected northward into the northeast Kamchatka region of northeast Siberia. Eventually, Russian expansion jumped the Bering Straits and moved into the American shores of the northern Pacific. All of which serves to illustrate the almost irresistible momentum with which Russia of the 18th and early 19th century pressed eastward into the Pacific littoral.

However, such expansion in the north did not make Russia forgetful of the more hospitable climate and terrain of the Amur-Ussuri region. An unfaltering memory has been an historic characteristic of Russian—Czarist or Soviet—imperialism. An objective once sought was never forgotten. Russia's patience was equaled only by her determination to seize the first opportunity to take that which had been denied at Nerchinsk.

Sensing that such an opportunity was soon to arise in the Far East, the Russian Government in 1828 revived its interest in the Amur region by ordering a survey of the entire area. As the middle of the 19th century approached, 4 factors combined, as if in a giant conspiracy of circumstance, to bring Russia once again to the northern borders of Manchuria and the Amur route to the sea. The first and perhaps the most basic of these factors was that the deterioration, which inevitably overtook all Chinese dynasties, had begun to manifest itself in the Manchu court. Next, unfortunately for China, deterioration of the Manchu dynasty coincided with the entry of the great western maritime nations into competition for the Chinese trade, accompanied by demands for extraterritorial concessions which China was incapable of resisting.

Then, China, by her failure to colonize the Amur-Ussuri region, made the area a tempting target for colonization. Such failure to exploit and consolidate the diplomatic victory at Nerchinsk, created in a sense, a power vacuum in the Amur-Ussuri region. Russia, whether Czarist or Soviet, has demonstrated an historical eagerness to fill such vacuums. This was to prove no exception.

Further, in 1847 the Czar designated a Nicholas Muraviev to be governor-general of the vast area known as Eastern Siberia. For that reason the year 1847 was destined to be an historic one in the long story of Russian imperialism. Muraviev was a man of great determination and astuteness, and like some other successful agents of imperialism in the Far East, he was apparently not hampered by an overdose of scruples.

Muraviev clearly envisioned the geopolitical significance of Russian possession of the strategic trans-Ussuri region on the Pacific. Control of that area would outflank Manchuria on the sea and would inevitably serve to project Russian power southward toward Korea and China proper.

Fortunately for Muraviev, Russian colonization in northeast Siberia had not stopped with the rebuff of Tsarist expansionism at Nerchinsk. Although blocked in the more desirable Amur-Ussuri region, development of eastern Sibera had been continued by exploration and active colonization in the north. The Kamchatka Peninsula was occupied in 1707 and the bleak Kolyma region opposite Alaska was colonized by 1742. The Pacific littoral had a magnetic attraction for Russian imperialism and in 1732 the Russian explorers Fedorov and Avozdev reached Alaska. Nine years later Captains Behring and Chinikov were sailing along what is southern Alaska. The Russian-American Company, under Baronov, had established Russian authority in Alaska, and by 1812 he had a Russian colony in California. It is indeed worth noting how vigorously Russian imperialism moved out of northeast Manchuria to North America and continued southward along America's Pacific littoral. Baronov, who was dedicated to his dream of making the Pacific a Russian lake, died in 1818. Had he lived a few years more it is highly posible that Russian expansion on the west coast of the American continent would have assumed a size and degree of permanency that could not have failed to create a fundamental Russian-United States conflict of interests in the 19th century.

Such Russian expansion around the northern rim of the Pacific indicated how Russia. in the 18th century, as a result of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, bypassed her main objective, the trans-Ussuri region which she wanted for her base of power in the western Pacific. It was bypassed, but not forgotten, for it always loomed large in her imperialistic designs. Thus, when the deteriorating power of the Manchu dynasty in the mid-19th century offered the opportunity for Russia to make another bid for the trans-Ussuri coastal region, Muraviev's position strengthened by the colonization of the Siberian frontier and settlement of the northeast Asian and northwest American coastal area. All of these developments had the effect, in a geographical sense, of flanking the trans-Ussuri objective.

Muraviev moved rapidly in tightening the encirclement of his objective area. In 1848 he made a test violation of the Treaty of Nerchinsk by sailing a Russian force down the Amur. This brought forth no strong Chinese protest. In 1850 he established, again in violation of the treaty, the city of Nikolaievsk at the mouth of the Amur. Russia had a firm foothold on the northern flank of the vital coastal area between the Ussuri and the sea.

In 1854 the Czar conferred on Muraviev what amounted to plenary authority to negotiate the boundary problem with China and was free to consummate his plan for acquiring the trans-Ussuri region as the bastion of Russian power on the Pacific.

China was progressively weakened by foreign intervention and domestic unrest. This was the moment he had hoped for, and in 1858, as China fought the Tal-pings in civil war and the British and French in the Arrow War (over trade diplomatic representation, and extraterritorial rights) Muraviev succeeded in bringing Chinese envoys to a boundary conference at Aigun, on the upper

At Algun there was a reversal of the Chinese and Russian positions at Nerchinsk

At the over a century and a half before. time of the Aigun negotiations, China had no forces to spare for a border war with Russia. Muraviev had a small but superior force as well as a growing base of power resulting from Siberian colonization. Power was on the Russian side, and the Treaty of Algun was a Russian diplomatic victory. Again, an example of the influence of power in orien-

tal diplomacy.

The Aigun Treaty was a salient, although not complete, victory for Muraviev. He did gain Russian possession of all the northern (left) bank of the Amur, the area from which the Russians were excluded at Nerchinsk. This Chinese concession to Russian imperialism established the northern Manchurlan-Siberian border essentially as it has remained

to the present time.

agreement on the settlement of the trans-Ussuri issue is of more than academic interest, for it was based on a compromise, the pattern of which has become virtually the hallmark of Soviet expansion in the present age. China refused to cede the trans-Ussuri and Muraviev would not withdraw his demand that it be transferred to Russia. Muraviev then resorted to the device of joint control of the region and this was finally accepted as the basis of settle-

This was satisfactory to Muraviev, for he knew that joint control of the area would Russian control. Apeventually mean parently the Manchu court at Peking sensed the same outcome and the Emperor re-

nounced that portion of the treaty.

Such Chinese reaction had no effect on Muraviev. By the terms at Aigun he had gained Russian entry into the trans-Ussuri and he had no intention of withdrawing as long as he had the stronger military forces in the area.

While Muraviev was vigorously pushing his occupation of the disputed area, a determined effort to obtain treaty sanction for Muraviev's invasion was being made in Peking. On this the Manchus were still adamant, curtly informing General Ignatiev, Muraviev's partner in imperialism, that even the joint-control provision of the Aigun Treaty was null and void.

But the Manchus were still in the unfortunate position of not being able to back diplomacy with force. Tai-ping rebel armies were devastating vast areas of China proper, the joint British-French forces had occupied Peking, burning the summer palace as punishment for the deaths of 20 European captives of the Chihese. Chinese resistance collapsed and the Manchu Emperor fied to the mountains of Jehol, on a face-saving hunting trip, leaving his brother, Prince Kung, to settle with the French and English.

Such a confused and troubled situation was just what the Russian representative, General Ignatiev, wanted and he moved rapidly, and with no small degree of astuteness. Accordingly, when he made his move, he did so with at least superficial subtlety, demonstrating an awareness of the oriental emphasis on saving face. His approach to Prince Kung was simply this: China was being invaded by the powerful British and French forces; the summer palace had been burned; Peking was faced with destruction; as a Russian, and hence a friend of China, he would intervene to save Peking from the French and British. In return for this friendship, Russia only wanted the trans-Ussuri region.

Prince Kung saw the true inwardness of the proposal, but he was powerless to reject Thus the Manchus in 1860 learned, as did Sun Yat-sen a half century later, the

high cost of Russian friendship.

So, in November of 1860, Ignatiev and Prince Kung signed the agreement by which the trans-Ussuri region was ceded outright to Russia, thus obtaining treaty title to what

Muraviev had actually, if illegally, already made a part of Russia. However, the legal affirmation of such Russian imperialism was a highly desirable achievement, for it strengthened Russian claim to a vital region at a time of intense European competition for Asiatic possessions.

The results for Russia and the modern world have been indeed significant. The Russian frontier had reached the sea and Manchuria was cut off from it. Russian territory now reached to almost the northern boundary of Korea. Russia, via the land route, had emerged as a power on the Pacific possessing a strategic coastal lodgment to serve as the base for her struggle against the maritime powers for control of Asia.

In the southern part of the newly acquired trans-Ussuri region—now known as the Maritime Province-Muraviev founded the city that was to be the hub of Czarist, and later Soviet, power on the Pacific. The founding signaled the culmination of an era of expansion, colonization, and imperial-ism begun by Yermak, the Cossack who ism begun by Yermak, the Cossack who crossed the Urals 200 years before. It also marked the opening of a new era of increased Russian competition in the Pacific Basin, an era of east-west Pacific conflict so accurately forecast by Commodore Perry.

In view of the events of far-eastern history, since Muraviev founded that city, it would appear that the name given it was less a geographical designation than an indication of the role its imperialist founders intended it would play. That city was Vladi-vostok—"domination of the Pacific."

Partnership for Whose Benefit?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include a column written by Thomas L. Stokes, which appeared in the Washington Evening Star:

PARTNERSHIP FOR WHOSE BENEFIT?—EISEN-HOWER PHILOSOPHY SEEN LEADING TO GREAT MONOPOLY IN POWER AND CONSERVATION-AND WITH TAX MONEY

In his message to Congress, President Eisenhower harps constantly and repeatedly upon his "partnership" idea, so-called, for conservation and development of our natural He refers to a "partnership" resources. among Federal, State, and local governments and private enterprises, with emphasis upon shifting responsibility away from the Federal Government.

Already it has raised the question: Partnership for whose benefit?

For purposes here, we will just mention in passing the revelation of how special benefits are being conferred upon powerful electric utilities by operation of this policy in development of water resources. What "partnership" means is that the utilities "monopolize the bulk of revenues" at the dams. So the trick is described by newly elected Senator RICHARD L. NEUBERGER, Democrat, of Oregon.

He knows. He won election, as the first Democratic Senator from Oregon in 40 years by exposing the harmful effects of the partnership program on the people of his State and on development of the Pacific Northwest. He is a recruit to a group in Congress which is very familiar with this issue from long experience. In the coming session this band will resist encroachment of the Eisenhower partnership idea and try to prevent damage to TVA in the Southeast, the great public projects in the Northwest, and the Southwest Power Administration in Missouri, Oklahoma, and Texas and its rural electric cooperatives

So much for hydroelectric power. There is, however, another threat to the public and consumer interest which is less readily detected because it is an almost new field. That is the production of power from atomic fuels. In a few years this will far outdistance production of electricity by other

means.

You will remember how the last Congress enacted a law by which private industry was admitted to partnership in development of power from atomic fuels, all under pressure of the administration, the Atomic Energy Commission and politically powerful private utility and other interests.

You will recall also, because of the dramatic filibuster to which they had to resort, how an embattled band in Congress was finally able to insert a few protections to the public so that the law was not the complete giveaway of the Nation's heritage in this new source of energy that otherwise it might have been.

But the law is still full of confusions and loopholes by which a monopoly could be set up that would make the once all-powerful private utility monoply look pale and wan and minuscular.

Another attempt will be made in Congress at this session to insert further protections to the public in the law after a detailed review of how the AEC is operating under the present law. That review will be through hearings by the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy headed by Senator CLINTON P. ANDERSON, of New Mexico, that he announced will begin the last of this month and run for 2 weeks or more. After hearing from the AEC, the committee then will listen to representatives of the industry and the public.

and the public.

What is the "partnership" story here?
In the first place, the whole atomic energy plant belongs to the people of the United States for the simple reason that they paid for it by their taxes, involving a certain amount of toil and sweat. Some \$14 billion of our money has gone into atomic energy to date. We are the owners-and the partners. The Government holds our investment in trust for us.

What do we see happening now? The Government-which means us-is farming out part of our holdings to private industry to develop power reactors to produce electricity. The terms are favorable to a few industrial giants which worked the Government during the war and since to produce atomic bombs and do research in peacetime uses under contracts with the Government for payment for their services, They are on the inside and on the ground floor. They have the know-how.

We are already subsidizing one company and will subsidize others with our tax dollars. They are the favored and, unless we watch they can monopolize the field to the exclusion of others. This is because of speci-fications in the law that will make it difficult for others, private industries as well as public power agencies such as municipalities and rural electric co-operatives, to get fuel and get into development of power. These specifications must be corrected. For another defect in the law, there is nothing to force private power producers from atomic fuels to pass along in rate reductions the subsidies from us, the taxpayers.

Also, while the law contains a provision for compulsory licensing of patents for 5 years, this is not tightly enough drawn in the view of some experts to prevent the giant "insiders" from withholding patents from others entitled to them.

Unless Congress and all of us are alert, we are on the eve of permitting creation of the greatest monopoly the world ever saw, and with our own money.

If we allow it, we'll deserve what we get.

The People Take the Lead

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, in this Nation's efforts to ease racial and religious tensions we often tend to be more aware of the problems still confronting us rather than of the progress we have made. I believe a short pamphlet entitled "The People Take the Lead," which is a factual record of progress in civil rights since 1948, published recently by the American Jewish Committee, is a very real testimonial to the achievements in this field.

The American Jewish Committee is an organization which was founded in 1906 and which now has chapters in 44 principal American cities and members in 550 communities. Its charter, granted by the State of New York, empowers it, among other things, to investigate the infraction of the civil and religious rights of Jews in any part of the world.

To me it is significant that this pamphlet, rather than dealing exclusively with religious tensions, cites gains we have made in combating discrimination of all kinds. The majority of references are to improved conditions for Negroes, orientals, and persons of many national origins.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting the pamphlet herewith:

THE PEOPLE TAKE THE LEAD

This edition of the People Take the Lead marks 7 years of nationwide civil-rights progress. Since 1947, when the President's Committee on Civil Rights issued its historic report, new gains have repeatedly overshadowed events regarded as epochal when they occurred.

Five years ago, the first edition of this report listed few fair practice laws. Today, 12 States and 32 cities have fair employment laws. Three States have fair education laws. Five States have public accommodation laws with administrative enforcement.

Five years ago, this report listed the first Negro college professor appointed; the first Negro officeholder in the South; the first Negro doctor on the staff of a general hospital. Today, such firsts could probably fill this entire book.

Five years ago, the National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital scored widespread discrimination in Washington. Today, segregation in public facilities in the Capital is the exception rather than the rule.

Five years ago, Negro students were rarely admitted to southern State universities. To-day, some 2,000 Negro students attend integrated college classrooms in the South.

And the most far-reaching advance of all the United States Supreme Court's historic decision on May 17, 1954, banning segregation in the Nation's public schools—was only a far-off dream, 5 years ago.

In every area of American life, the gap between ideals and practices is closing slowly, to be sure, but steadily. Our courts, our State and municipal legislatures, our civic leaders are continuing the forward march toward equal justice and opportunity for all.

There are still setbacks, of course; and much progress remains to be made. But those who look to this country for proof that democracy can fulfill its promise have reason to be heartened by the advances highlighted in these pages.

ARMED SERVICES

Administrative measures

Washington, July 1948: President's Executive Order No. 9981 forbids discrimination in Armed Forces; creates Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services.

United States Army, 1949-50: Governors' proclamations in Minnesota, Michigan, and Washington end segregation in National Guard. (See legislation.)

Washington, 1950-54: Army drops quotas for Negro enlistments; Selective Service drops questions on race for draft registrants; Navy, Marines, Air Force, and Army report segregation entirely eliminated.

Washington, April 1954: Army promises end to segregation at West Point.

Washington, October 1954: Veterans' Administration announces end of segregation in all VA hospitals.

Legislation

United States Army, 1947-49: New Jersey, Connecticut, New York, Wisconsin, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, California, and Illinois forbid discrimination in the National Guard

ATHLETICS

Administrative measures

Birmingham, Ala., January 1954: City commission lifts ban on Negro-white football games.

Court action

Chicago, Ill., 1950: Illinois Superior Court fines American Bowling Congress \$2,500 for limiting membership to white males; ABC convention deletes "white males only" clause from charter.

Austin, Tex., October 1954: Court of eivil appeals rules State ban on Negro-white prize-fights unconstitutional.

Voluntary action

New York, N. Y., March 1948: United States Lawn Tennis Association admits first nonwhite player to national tournament.

New York, N. Y., September 1949: Greater New York Bridge Association admits Negro players to tournaments.

New York, N. Y., November 1949: Amateur Fencers League of America admits qualified applicants regardless of color.

Houston, Tex., October 1950: University of Texas permits Texas Western College to play football against teams with Negro players.

Atlantic City, N. J., November 1950: Eastern Amateur League signs first Negro in organized hockey.

San Diego, Calif., January 1952: Professional Golfers Association admits Negro players to PGA-sponsored events.

Boston, Mass., March 1953: Harvard track team withdraws from Birmingham, Ala., relay carnival because Negro member is barred.

Nashville, Tenn., October 1954: Fisk University plays Taylor University in State's first Negro-white football game.

CITIZENSHIP

Administrative measures

Mobile, Ala., November 1948: Federal officers invoke rarely used civil-rights statutes; arrest sheriff and deputy for inflicting physical punishment on Negro prisoners. New Orleans, La., December 1949: Two policemen are dismissed for depriving two Negro youths of their civil rights.

Trenton, N. J., September 1952: State Banking and Insurance Commissioner orders auto insurance companies to remove questions on race from application forms and to stop charging Negroes higher insurance rates.

Chicago, Ill., March 1953: Illinois Commission on Human Relations reports that 13 States no longer require designation of race or color on drivers' license application forms.

Legislation

United States of America, 1949-51: Texas and South Carolina adopt antilynch laws. United States of America, 1949-53: Ala-

United States of America, 1949-53: Alabama, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Florida, and Virginia forbid wearing of masks and burning of crosses.

United States of America, 1950-53: Tennessee and South Carolina abolish poll tax; Alabama reduces cumulative tax from 24 years to 2 years.

United States of America, spring 1953: Florida and North Carolina regulate sale of explosives to prevent hate bombings.

Washington, August 1953: Congress repeals Federal prohibition against sale of liquor and firearms to Indians. United States of America, 1953-54: New

United States of America, 1953-54: New Mexico, Montana, California, and Arizona end ban on liquor sales to Indians.

Court action

Santa Fe, N. Mex., August 1948: Federal district court removes last restriction on the right of American Indians to vote.

Columbia, S. C., November 1948: Federal district court enjoins State Democratic Party from barring Negro voters from primaries or from participation in party affairs. Washington, March 1949: United States

Washington, March 1949: United States Supreme Court (Schnell v. Davis) upholds Federal district court decision that Alabama's "Boswell amendment," which set upstringent educational requirements for voting, is unconstitutional.

Atlanta, Ga., July 1949: State supreme court rules that counties with substantial Negro populations must add Negroes to grand and petty jury lists.

Montgomery, Ala., September 1949: Federal grand jury, with two Negro jurymen, indicts one policeman and three former officers on charges of violating civil rights.

United States of America, 1949-52: Supreme courts of Oregon and California declare State alien land laws, barring sale or lease of land to Japanese aliens, unconstitutional

Birmingham, Ala., May 1951: United States court of appeals upholds sentencing of Georgia sheriff and deputy to 12 months' imprisonment and \$1,000 fine for delivering 7 Negroes to a masked mob.

Richmond, Va., October 1952: United States court of appeals upholds kidnaping convictions against seven North Carolina Klansmen.

Jacksonville, Fla., November 1952: State district attorney is indicted by Federal grand jury for keeping Negro youth in jail over a year without legal proceeding.

Mobile, Ala., April 1953: White jury frees Negro youth charged with rape of white woman.

Washington, May 1953: United States Supreme Court (Avery v. Georgia) sets aside death sentence of Georgia Negro because jury was chosen on racial basis.

Washington, May 1953: United States Supreme Court (Terry v. Adams) outlaws Jaybird primary in Texas as device to prevent Negroes from voting.

Washington, May 1954: United States Supreme Court (Hernandez v. Texas) rules that systematic exclusion of Mexican Americans from juries in Texas is unconstitutional.

Sloux City, Iowa, October 1954: Municipal court declares State law prohibiting liquor sales to Indians unconstitutional.

Voluntary action

Atlanta, Ga., September 1949: Negroes vote in primary elections for mayor for first

United States of America, 1950-51: Democratic State primaries opened to Negroes in Texas, Arkansas, Louisiana.

Chicago, Ill., November 1951: Independent Voters League of Illinois gives Negro State legislator "Best Legislator Award."

Jackson, Miss., November 1952: Voters relect referendum to curb Negro registration.

POTICATION

Administrative measures

Washington, July 1948: Report of President's Committee on Higher Education condemns segregation and discrimination in colleges and professional schools.

Albany, N. Y., November 1949: Commissioner of education orders rezoning of school districts to eliminate segregation by gerrymandering.

Nashville, Tenn., September 1950: Attorhey general, in first voluntary compliance With United States Supreme Court decisions in college cases, rules that the State uni-Versity must admit Negro graduate students.

Tucson, Ariz., September 1951: All school districts except Phoenix abandon segregation in public schools. Phoenix follows in 1953

Washington, November 1951: President pocket vetoes bill requiring racial segregation in military post schools and other Federal property.

Paducah, Ky., June 1953: City college ad-

mits first Negro students.

Oak Ridge, Tenn., December 1953: Town council asks Government to end school segregation in community run by United States

Government.

Louisville, Ky., January 1954; City-sup-Ported general hospital accepts first Negro

student nurses.

Washington, February 1954: Secretary of Defense orders end to segregated military Post schools by 1955.

St. Louis, Mo., June 1954: Board of education plans full integration in high schools

by September 1955. Charleston, W. Va., June 1954: Board of education opens nine State colleges to quali-

fled Negro students.

Pasadena, Calif., June 1954: Board of education agrees to abolish method of assigning pupils criticized as "disguised segregation

Washington, June 1954: Board of education adopts 2-year program to end school

segregation in Capital.

Albany, N. Y., September 1954: State education department integrates Indian children Into regular schools, ending century of segregation in reservation schools.

Legislation

Trenton, N. J., 1947-49: New constitution ends segregation in New Jersey's public schools; omnibus civil rights law extends Jurisdiction of the division against discrimination to all nonsectarian educational institutions.

Albany, N. Y., 1948-51: Legislature adopts first State law outlawing racial and religious discrimination in colleges and universities (March 1948); later (March 1951) extends Coverage to business and trade schools.

Indianapolis, Ind., March 1949: Legislature adopts progressive elimination of segregation in public schools.

Springfield, Ill., July 1949: Legislature bars State funds to school districts discriminating against pupils because of race or creed.

Madison, Wis., July 1949: Legislature forbids exclusion of children aged 4 to 20 from public school on account of religion, nationality aggregation in ality, or color, and prohibits segregation in public schools.

Boston, Mass., August 1949: Legislature

fair education law.

Louisville, Ky., July 1950: Legislature amends 46-year-old State law requiring racial segregation of students; Louisville colleges announce registration of Negroes for fall

Phoenix, Ariz., March 1951: Legislature repeals education law requiring segregation, permitting individual school boards to establish unsegregated public elementary schools.

Salem, Oreg., April 1951: Legislature outlaws discrimination in vocational, professional, and trade schools licensed by State.

Albany, N. Y., April 1953: Legislature bars institutions of higher learning from accepting gifts or endowments conditioned on teaching racial superiority.

Court action

Washington, January 1948: United States Supreme Court (Sipuel v. Board of Regents) decides unanimously that Negro students cannot be excluded from State university, which offers educational opportunities unavailable at Negro school.

Austin, Tex., June 1948: Federal court rules public schools of Texas may not segre-

gate children of Mexican descent.

United States of America, 1948: Suits to equate salaries of Negro and white teachers are successful in Surrey, Va.; Atlanta, Ga.; and Oklahoma City, Okla.

United States of America, 1948-52: Courts order Universities of Oklahoma, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Arkansas, Delaware, Virginia, Louisiana, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas to admit Negro students.

Washington, June 1950: United States Supreme Court (McLaurin v. Oklahoma; Sweatt v. Painter) rules that forcing a Negro to sit apart from his classmates at a State university or to attend a school lacking the educational opportunities of the State university is unconstitutional.

Fort Worth, Tex., June 1950: Federal district court rules each school district must provide equal schooling for Negroes and whites; bars transporting Negro students to other districts.

Arlington, Va., September 1950: Federal district court orders school board to provide equal facilities for Negroes and whites.

Jefferson City, Mo., November 1950: State supreme court rules white public schools must admit Negro students to courses not available in Negro schools.

Phoenix, Ariz., March 1951: Federal district court rules segregation of Mexican-Ameri-

can children is unconstitutional.

Tarboro, N. C., August 1951: Federal dis-trict court orders Washington County officials to equalize white and Negro school facilities and appropriations.

Phoenix, Ariz., February 1953: State superior court invalidates 1951 statute permitting local school boards to segregate.

Washington, May 1954: United States Supreme Court (school segregation cases) rules compulsory segregation in public schools unconstitutional; calls for further argument on implementation; returns other pending appeals for reconsideration by lower courts in light of desegregation decisions; and finalizes lower court decisions admitting Negro students to State-supported schools.

Shreveport, La., May 1954: Federal court rules State-operated Southwestern Louisiana Institute must admit Negro students.

Voluntary action

Annapolis, Md., May 1949: United States Naval Academy graduates first Negro midshipman.

Lexington, Ky., May 1949: Catholic Committee of the South urges all Catholic in-stitutions of higher learning to admit Negro students without discrimination.

Washington, November 1949: Poll of 15,000 southern college teachers by Southern Conference Educational Fund reveals 70 percent favor integration in professional and graduate schools.

Chicago, Ill., November 1949: Over 100 university presidents, deans, and admissions officers from 24 States, at Conference of American Council on Education, urge elimination of college admission quotas based on race, religion, or national origin.

Easton, Pa., January 1950: Lafayette College refuses \$140,000 bequest restricted to non-Jewish and non-Catholic students.

Birmingham, Ala., October 1951: Southern Episcopal synod urges admission of Negro students to theological schools at Sewanee,

Tenn., and Lexington, Ky. Chapel Hill, N. C., October 1951: Students' protest wins right of five Negro students at University of North Carolina to sit with white students at athletic events.

United States of America, 1952: Over 1,000 Negro students attend previously all-white colleges and universities in Southern and Border States.

Washington, 1952: New Roman Catholic high school and several Episcopal elementary schools announce nonsegregation policy.

Sewanee, Tenn., June 1952: Faculty of Cumberland Forest Music Festival and eight leading religious instructors cancel teaching and concert contracts in protest against University of the South's refusal to admit Negro divinity students; following year, university admits Negroes to school of theology.

Denver, Colo., December 1952: Colorado-Wyoming Association of Collegiate Registrars and Admission Officers votes to delete references to race and religion from applications.

Gadsden, Ala., June 1953: Cumberland Presbyterian Church admits Negro students

to theological seminary.

Boston, Mass., December 1953: Department education announces that all of State's 1,131 private schools have eliminated discriminatory questions on admission applications.

New York, N. Y., December 1953: Nationwide survey by Antidefamation League dis-closes that 450 colleges, universities, and junior colleges have removed questions concerning color, nationality, and religion from application blanks.

United States of America, spring 1954: Catholic archbishops forbid segregation in San Antonio, Tex., and Nashville, Tenn., archdioceses.

Richmond, Va., May 1954: Bishop rules Catholic high schools will admit Negro students.

Ames, Iowa, August 1954: National Student Association, representing students at 250 colleges, calls for "swiftest possible integration of the races at all educational levels in all parts of the country."

Nashville, Tenn., August 1954: Fisk Uni-versity is first Negro college invited to participate in Rhodes scholarship competition.

EMPLOYMENT

Administrative measures

Washington, July 1948: President's Exec-utive Order No. 9980 orders Federal agencies to ban discrimination in employment; creates Fair Employment Board in Civil Service Commission to investigate plaints and establish procedures for compli-

Philadelphia, Pa., March 1949: Unemployment compensation board rules employee may refuse to work on Sabbath without sacrificing unemployment compensation.

New Haven, Conn., January 1950: Con-necticut Interracial Commission conducts first public hearing under a State FEP law and finds complainant was denied employment because of race.

United States of America, 1950-51: State Commissions Against Discrimination in New York and Massachusetts issue cease and desist orders against employment agencies for discriminating in job placements.

Sacramento, Calif., July 1951: Attorney General rules that California Employment Stabilization Commission has many of the powers of a State FEP Commission.

Salem, Oreg., August 1951: State Labor Commissioner orders Brotherhood of Railway Carmen to cease racial discrimination against applicants.

St. Louis, Mo., October 1951: State Employment Service merges Negro and white

United States of America, 1951: State employment services in California and Illinois announce they will refuse to accept discriminatory job orders and will delete all racial and religious data from records.

Washington, 1951-54: President Truman creates Committee on Government Contract compliance (December 1951) to enforce prohibition against discrimination in employment by firms contracting or subcontracting Government orders. President Eisenhower creates new Government Contract Committee with Vice President as chairman (August 1953); Committee tightens nondiscrimination regulations (April 1954).

Raleigh, N. C., September 1952: Governor eliminates Negro-white salary differentials for staff of mental hospital in Goldsboro.

Atlanta, Ga., October 1953: Southern Regional Council reports 112 cities in 13 Southern States now employ 545 Negro policemen, 87 plainsclothesmen, and 90 policewomen.

Washington, October 1953: District's Board of Commissioners orders inclusion of antibias clause in future contracts. District telephone company drops color bars.

New York, N. Y., October 1953: State commission against discrimination successfully negotiates to modify employment policy of Pennsylvania Railroad. Company hires first Negro brakeman and opens other jobs to qualified Negroes.

Louisville, Ky., March 1954: Segregation eliminated in city's fire department.

Boston, Mass., July 1954: State commission awards \$250 damages to Negro fired from job because of race.

Sacramento, Calif., Scptember 1954: Attorney General rules Negro firemen in Los Angeles may not be segregated.

Washington, September 1954: District Commissioners order desegregation of Negro firemen.

Legislation

United States of America, 1943-51: Ordfnances in Akron, Ohio; Phoenix, Ariz.; Richmond, Calif.; and Sioux City, Iowa, bar discrimination in public employment or in work under city contracts.

under city contracts.

United States of America, 1948-51: City ordinances bar discrimination in public and private employment in Gary and East Chicago, Ind.; Minneapolis and Duluth, Minn.; Farrell, Monessen, Philadelphia, Sharon, Erie, Clairton, and Duquesne, Pa.; Campbell, Cleveland, Girard, Hubbard, Lorain, Lowell-ville, Niles, Steubenville, Struthers, Warren, and Youngstown, Ohio; Pontiac and River Rouge, Mich. Cities with FEP ordinances now total 32.

United States of America, 1949-51: Washington, Oregon, New Mexico, and Rhode Island adopt enforceible FEP laws, bringing total to eight.

Albany, N. Y., May 1949: Legislature prohibits questions concerning birthplace on application for State civil service

application for State civil service.
Sacramento, Calif., June 1949: Revised civil-service laws prohibits discrimination against State employees on grounds of religion, political belief, marital status, race, color, sex, or blindness.

Los Angeles, Calif., January 1951: Ordinance forbids discrimination in hiring of building construction workers on projects under urban redevelopment program.

Sacramento, Calif., November 1952: State approves constitutional amendment eliminating last prohibitions against employment of Chinese on public works.

Juneau, Alaska, March 1953: Alaska adopts fully enforcible FEP laws.

Topeka, Kans., March 1953: Legislature adopts FEP bill patterned after Wisconsin's educational plan. Four States now have nonenforcible FEP laws.

Des Moines, Iowa, April 1953: Legislature sets up commission to investigate racial and religious prejudice in State.

Court action

Washington, November 1949; United States Supreme Court (Graham v. Brotherhood) sustains injunction against Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers because of discrimination against Negro railroad employees.

Birmingham, Ala., May 1950: Federal district court finds Gulf, Mobile & Ohio Raliroad and Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Engineers guilty of discrimination and awards damages based on wages plaintiffs would have earned on jobs denied them.

New Haven, Conn., October 1950: Superior court sustains interracial commission's order under FEP law.

Charlotte, N. C., January 1951: United States court of appeals reverses lower court decision which permitted railroads to restrict hiring of Negroes as firemen.

Washington, June 1952: United States Supreme Court (Brotherhood v. Howard) rules that Negro railway porters doing work of brakemen must receive pay and title of that job and be represented in collective bargaining by Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

ing by Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen.

Hartford, Conn., 1952-54: State courts
sustain civil rights commission's order
against International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers. Superior court fines Hartford local of IBEW \$2,000 for refusing to
drop discriminatory membership policy, plus
\$500 per week until compliance. Union
abandons 5-year defiance of State FEP law;
admits 2 Negro apprentices (April 1954).

New York, N. Y., April 1954: State court of appeals affirms decision of New York Supreme Court, which upheld authority of State commission against discrimination to direct an employment agency to cease inquiries, direct or indirect, as to race, creed, color or national origin of applicants for employment.

United States of America, spring 1954: Supreme courts of Ohio and Michigan rule workers may refuse to work on their Sabbath without sacrificing unemployment compensation.

Milwaukee, Wis., August 1954; Circuit court uphoids cease-and-desist order of State industrial commission under so-called educational FEP law.

Voluntary action

United States of America 1948-50: University of Chicago, Fordham University, Harvard Medical School, University of Miscouri, and Brown University appoint first Negro educators to full professorships.

United States of America, 1948-54: Many big-league teams admit Negro baseball players following successful employment of Jackie Robinson by Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947. Pacific Coast League hires first Negro umpire (December 1953).

Washington, February 1948: Gallinger Hospital is first all-white hospital below Mason-Dixon line to accept Negro interns.

United States of America, December 1948: Ten railroad unions agree to eliminate discriminatory clauses from their national constitutions, or to make them inoperative in those States with FEP laws.

New York, N. Y., April 1950: New York Telephone Co. announces discriminatory advertisements by employment agencies will not be accepted for classified telephone directories throughout State.

New York, N. Y., June 1950: Journal of American Medical Association announces it will eliminate designations of race and creed from all "situations wanted" advertisements.

New York, N. Y., July 1951: New York Telephone Company, RCA Communications,

American Cable and Radio Corp., and Western Union Telegraph Co. form voluntary committee to cooperate with State commission in eliminating discrimination in communications industry.

munications industry.

New York, N. Y., October 1951: Metropolitan Opera Company signs first Negro ballet

dancer.

Chicago, Ill., October 1951: Personnel manager of Carson, Pipee, Scott & Co. declares integrated hiring policy successful.

integrated hiring policy successful.

Miami Beach, Fla., March 1952: Mount
Sinai Hospital is first hospital in the deep
south to appoint Negro physician to staff.
Salem, Oreg., April 1952: Public protest

wins civil service appointment for Nisel veteran denied Tax Commission job.

Minneapolis, Minn., July 1952: Minneapolis Star and Tribune heads its employment advertisements with notice that they are "accepted on the premise that qualified applicants will be hired * * * without discrimination because of race, color, religion or nationality."

New York, N. Y., October 1952: International Geneva Association, a society of chefs, headwaiters, and managers serving fashionable hotels and restaurants, lifts ban on Negro members.

Los Angeles, Calif., January 1953: Negro and white locals of musicians union merge-Indianapolis, Ind., July 1953: Railway hires first Negro trolley drivers.

Peoria, Ill., August 1953: American Federation of Teachers votes to void charter of any local union which continues to segregate members.

Boston, Mass., May 1954: State commission against discrimination announces agreement by Pullman Co., of Chicago, to end 90-year ban on Negro Pullman conductors.

New York, N. Y., October 1954: Marian Anderson is first Negro singer hired by Metropolitan Opera Co.

HOUSING

Administrative measures

Washington December 1949: Federal Housing Administration and Veterans' Administration refuse to insure loans on any new housing covered by recorded restrictive covenants.

Charlotte, N. C., January 1950: Public housing administration rejects bid for Federal aid in construction of segregated housing project; city council reverses segregation register.

policy.

United States of America, 1950-54: City housing authorities in Schenectady and Buffalo, N. Y.; Los Angeles County, San Bernardino and San Francisco, Calif.; Newark, N. J.; Omaha, Nebr.; Chicago, Ili.; Baraga, Mich.; St. Paul, Minn.; Pasco, Wash.; Allegheny County and Pittsburgh, Pa.; Toledo, Chio; Washington, D. C., and Wilmington, Del., eliminate racial segregation in city housing projects.

Washington, November 1950: Public Housing Administration declares low-rent housing programs "must reflect equitable provisions for eligible families of all races determined on the approximate volume and urgency of their respective needs."

New York, N. Y., April 1951: State commissioner of housing rules that, for the purposes of the housing law, segregation is discrimination.

Washington, May 1951: Housing and Home Finance Agency says needs of displaced minority-group families and availability of substitute housing will be scrutinized carefully before approval is given to local urbanredevelopment plans.

redevelopment plans.

New York, N. Y., June 1951: Federal Housing Administrator announces that all projects to which FHA obtains title will be administered on a nonsegregated hasis.

ministered on a nonsegregated basis.

Chicago, Ill., August 1953: Housing authority admits Negro tenants to previously all-white public-housing project.

Washington, October 1954: Housing Administrator says Government will refuse Fed-

eral aid to cities which default on their obli-

gations to minority citizens.
San Francisco, Calif., January 1954: Housing authority includes nonsegregation clause in contract for operations of four temporaryhousing projects.

Legislation

United States of America, 1949-52: Connecticut, Wisconsin, New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Massachusetts forbid discrimbination and segregation in public hous-

United States of America, 1949-52: Los Angeles and San Francisco, Calif.; Cincinnati, Ohio, bar discrimination and segregation in

urban redevelopment.

United States of America, 1949-52: Ordinances in San Francisco, Calif.; Hartford, Conn.; Boston, Mass.; New York, N. Y.; Cleveland and Toledo, Ohio; Philadelphia, Pa.; and Providence, R. I., bar discrimination and

Segregation in public housing.
United States of America, 1949-53: Legislatures in New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Connecticut forbid racial and religious discrimination in publicly assisted

housing.

New York, N. Y., March 1951: Ordinance bars discrimination in publicly assisted housing.

Madison, Wis., June 1951: Legislature re-Deals State law recognizing validity of racial restrictive covenants.

St. Paul, Minn., April 1953: Legislature prohibits race restrictions in real estate contracts.

Denver, Colo., September 1953: City council bars approval and recording of subdivisions containing racial restrictive covenants.

New York, N. Y., July 1954: Ordinance makes it illegal for owners of multiple dwellings, erected with loans or guaranties from Public agencies, to discriminate against tenants because of race, creed, color or national origin.

Court action

Washington, May 1948: United States Supreme Court (Shelley v. Kraemer; Hurd v. Hodges) rules courts cannot enforce racial restrictive covenants. Five years later (July 1953). Court rules courts may not award damages for breach of racial restrictive Covenant (Barrows v. Jackson).

Birmingham, Ala., December 1950: United States court of appeals holds city racial zon-

ing law unconstitutional.
Chicago, Ill., June 1953: State circuit court bars condemnation of land owned by Negro, thwarting attempt to drive his family from heighborhood by turning property into a public park.

United States of America, July 1953: Federal district courts in Evansville, Ind., and Toledo, Ohio, enjoin local housing authorities from segregating Negro tenants in public

housing projects.

San Francisco, Calif., August 1953: State court of appeal upholds earlier superior court ruling that San Francisco Housing Authority must abandon neighborhood pattern of resident selection and admit applicants without discrimination. United States Supreme Court rejects appeal (May 1954).

Denver, Colo., October 1953: State district court rules housing authority may operate integrated housing on property once covered by restrictive covenant.

Voluntary action

Chicago, Ill., January 1948: Chicago Im-provement Association negotiates agreement under which white owners agree not to enforce existing restrictive covenants.

Miami, Fla., November 1950: National As-Sociation of Real Estate Boards votes to change its code which pronounced it unethical for a realtor to introduce new races into a neighborhood.

Buffalo, N. Y., October 1952: Builder of Philadelphia's first nonsegregated private

rental housing tells National Association of Housing Officials venture is outstanding suc-

Philadelphia, Pa., April 1954: Commission on Human Relations reports that 88 percent of the city's Negro families and 22 percent of white families live in blocks where there is some racial integration.

PROFESSIONAL, BUSINESS, RELIGIOUS, AND PRATERNAL SOCTETIES

Voluntary action

Chicago, Ill., 1948-54: The American Nurses' Association votes to give direct membership to Negro nurses refused district membership; 2 years later, National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses votes to disband. By 1954, 53 State and Territorial associations-all except Georgia-include

Negro nurses in membership. United States of America, 1949-54: Negroes are admitted to membership in State medical associations of Florida, Georgia, Mis-Virginia, Tennessee, and Alabama; medical societies of St. Louis and Jackson County, Mo., Fulton County, Ga., northern Virginia, Washington, D. C., Charleston County, S. C., and Pulaski County, Ark.; American Pediatric Society; American Board of Surgery; St. Louis Dental Society; bar associations of Missouri, Los Angeles, Cincinnati, Galveston, Louisville, and St. Louis; Arkansas Education Association: Albany Junior Chamber of Commerce; North Carolina Academy of Science, and California

United States of America, 1949-54: Baltimore Synod-Synodical of Presbyterian Church appoints first Negro moderator; Southern Presbyterian Church approves first Negro candidate for ministry; Akron Ministerial Association, General Council of Congregational Christian Churches, and Augusta County (Va.) Ministerial Association elect first Negro presidents. California-Arizona Methodist Conference has Negro bishop presiding; Episcopal diocese of Georgia elects Negro to executive council; Grand Rapids Synod of Christian Reformed Church appoints first Negro in charge of evangelism; Southern Presbyterian Church dissolves Negro synod and votes to absorb colored presbyteries in white synods; Washington Cathedral selects Negro canon; Catholic church in Washington appoints first Negro pastor; South Carolina diocese of Protestant Episcopal Church invites congregation to apply for membership in diocesan convention; bishop of diocese of Raleigh decress that segregation in Catholic Churches of the diocese "will not be tolerated"; Disciples of Christ in Portland, Oreg., admit Negro disciples churches to full membership; presbytery of Philadelphia elects first Negro moderator; Reformed Church in America installs first Negro minister.

United States of America 1949-54: National Interfraternity Council urges affiliates to eliminate discriminatory qualifications for membership; many fraternities revise regulations. National Committee on Fraternities in Education organizes to fight bias in college fraternities; Columbia University, University of Michigan, Dartmouth College and Colorado University announce they will withdraw recognition from any campus organizations except religious groups which continue, after warning period, to deny membership on grounds of race, color, or religion: New York State University orders social fraternities and sororities to cut ties with their national organizations in a drive to eliminate racial and religious discrimination in extracurricular organizations. Court action by fraternities is dismissed (November 1954) by United States Supreme Court.

Washington, October 1950: American Prison Association votes not to meet in cities where hotels practice racial discrimination.

Lexington, Ky., September 1952: Fisk and Howard Universities are first Negro colleges to obtain chapters of Phi Beta Kappa.

Washington, September 1952: American Psychological Association votes unanimously to hold no future meetings in Capital until "additional progress has been made toward democratic treatment of minority groups."

New York, N. Y., August 1954: State American Legion asks end to racial bias in Legion's Forty and Eight Division.

PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION Administrative measures

Louisville, Ky., May 1948: Public library admits Negroes to all departments on same basis as whites.

Washington, 1949-50: Department of Interior prohibits discrimination and segregation in any activity or facility conducted in parks and public swimming pools of the Nation's Capital.

Miami, Fla., June 1951: City erases color

line in its library.
Washington, November 1951: Interstate Commerce Commission bars racial discrimination in sale of tickets on Washington-Mount Vernon excursion boat.

Houston, Tex., December 1951: City au-thorities bar segregated restrooms and eating facilities in new airport terminal build-

Boston, Mass., 1952-53: State commission against discrimination awards damages to complainants denied accommodations at motor court, and service in cafe because of

Chicago, Ill., May 1952: Illinois Commerce Commission bans racial segregation by Illinois Central Railroad.

St. Paul, Minn., July 1953: Governor orders discriminatory resort literature re-moved from State Tourist Bureau offices,

New York, N. Y., July 1953: State Commission Against Discrimination orders summer resort to discontinue club-membership procedures used as subterfuge for religious discrimination and to eliminate brochure references to selected clientele.

Salem, Oreg., January 1954: Attorney general rules that under new civil-rights law, restaurants may not segregate patrons.

Dallas, Tex., June 1954: Park department ends segregation on municipal golf courses.

Washington, October 1954: Justice Department asks Interstate Commerce Commission to ban segregation on interstate railroads.

Legislation

United States, 1948-54: Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New York, and Rhode Island extend jurisdiction of State commissions against discrimination to public accommodation statutes; Washington strengthens antidiscrimination law; Oregon prohibits discrimination in places of public accommodation.

Miami Beach and Surfside, Fla., 1949-51: Ordinances bar advertising which discriminates against any religion.

St. Thomas, Virgin Islands, October 1950: Legislative assembly passes law providing "equal rights in places of public accommodation, resort, or amusement."

Annapolis, Md., February 1951: Legislature repeals mandatory racial segregation in public transportation.

Kansas City. Mo., June 1951: Ordinance forbids segregation at Municipal Air Terminal, Municipal Auditorium, and Starlight Theater.

Madison, Wis., July 1951: Legislature prohibits discriminatory advertising by public accommodations.

Albuquerque, N. Mex., March 1952: Ordinance bans racial discrimination in public accommodations.

Knoxville, Tenn., January 1954: Ordinance bans segregation at privately owned restaurant at municipal airport.

Richmond, Va., March 1954: Legislature bans discriminatory advertising by public accommodations (race explicitly excluded). Houston, Tex., June 1954: Ordinance bans

segregation on municipal golf courses.

Court action

Washington, February 1948: United States Supreme Court (Bob-Lo Excursion Co. v. Michigan) decides unanimously that Michigan law forbidding discrimination in places of public accommodation applies to excursion boat operating between Michigan and Canada.

Baltimore, Md., July 1948: Federal district court orders Baltimore to open its three public golf courses to Negroes, though permitting restriction of Negroes to certain days of the week. Three years later (July 1951), park board votes to end segregation in city's municipal courses.

United States of America, 1948-54: Courts in Trenton, N. J.; Oxford, Ohio; Webster Groves, St. Louis, and Kansas City, Mo.; Philadelphia, Pa.; Minneapolis, Minn.; and Houston, Tex., rule that public swimming pools and bathing beaches may not discriminate against Negroes.

Washington, January 1949: Federal district court sustains right of Civil Aeronautics Administrator to prohibit discrimination and segregation at Washington National Airport, although airport is in Virginia, which has a compulsory segregation law.

Louisville, Ky., May 1950: Federal district court awards \$1,500 damages to Negro ejected

from bus on interstate trip.

Washington, June 1950: United States Supreme Court (Henderson v. U. S.) outlaws segregation in dining cars on interstate railroads.

Richmond, Va., January 1951: United States Court of Appeals holds that segregation on interstate railroad violates United States Constitution.

New York, N. Y., April 1951: Federal district court allows damages to plaintiff forced to move to segregated railway car traveling interstate.

Charleston, W. Va., June 1951: Federal district court rules county airport dining room must serve all, regardless of race.

Orlando, Fla., June 1952: Federal district court holds Negroes may not be refused admission to municipal auditorium if Negro auditorium has inferior facilities and entertainment.

Kingston, N. Y., December 1952: Jury awards substantial damages to Negro patrons refused resort accommodations after their reservations were confirmed.

Los Angeles, Calif., April 1953: Municipal court refuses to dismiss suit against interstate railroad practicing racial segregation in violation of State civil rights law.

Washington, June 1953: United States Supreme Court (District of Columbia v. Thompson) upholds 1873 statute prohibiting public eating places from refusing service because of race or color; voids long-standing segregation tradition of Capital restaurants.

Philadelphia, Pa., June 1953: Federal district court awards \$600 in damages to 4 Negro patrons arrested when they refused to be segregated in an Oxford, Pa., theater.

Washington, October 1953: United States Supreme Court (Kansas City v. Williams) denies review of lower court's decision opening municipally-owned swimming pool to Negro citizens. Court thereafter remands or refuses to review other public accommodation cases in light of school segregation decision.

Atlanta, Ga., July 1954: Federal court orders Negroes admitted to municipal golf courses.

Voluntary action

Washington, 1948-54: National Committee on Segregation in the Nation's Capital issues report condemning discrimination in Washington, D. C. (December 1948); Actors' Equity bans Washington bookings because theater rejects Negro patrons (May 1948); National theater drops segregation and reopens for legitimate stage productions (November 1951); last dime-store chain operating segregated lunch counters drops ban against Negro patrons (September 1952); motion pieture theaters drop color line (October 1953). New Orleans, La., October 1949; Archbishop

New Orleans, La., October 1949: Archbishop cancels annual holy hour services in city stadium because park commission insists on segregation of participants.

segregation of participants. New York, N. Y., April 1950; New York Travel Agents Committee resolves not to recommend discriminatory resorts.

Washington, April 1951: Daughters of the American Revolution drops 12-year ban on Negro performers in Constitution Hall.

Cincinnati, Ohio, May 1951: Dining room concession at Municipal Airport ends discrimination against Negroes.

New York, N. Y., May 1951: Unions representing more than 70,000 restaurant employees, and management associations comprising more than 1,500 restaurants, pledge equal treatment of patrons regardless of race; Committee on Civil Rights in East Manhattan, Inc. finds (June 1952) discrimination against Negro patrons in east side restaurants has decreased from 42 percent to 16 percent in 2 years.

Atlanta, Ga., June 1951: National Association for the Advancement of Colored People holds first nonsegregated meeting since reconstruction days in Municipal Auditor-

United States of America, 1952-53: Legitimate theaters in Baltimore, Md., and St. Louis, Mo., end segregation.

Miami, Fla., January 1952: First nonsegregated audience since Civil War gathers to hear Marian Anderson.

Lake Junaluska, N. C., June 1952: Delegates to regional Methodist student conference vote to boycott swimming facilities until management permits use of lake by Negroes.

Norfolk, Va., June 1952: Norfolk Ministers Association cancels annual January preaching mission until racial segregation of audiences is eliminated.

Washington, November 1953: Southern Railway System, faced with lawsuit, orders patrons seated in order of their entrance into dining cars.

Washington, January 1954: Columbia Hospital announces complete racial integration of patients.

Houston, Tex., June 1954: Protestant Episcopal Church, protesting segregation, cancels plans for 1955 convention in Houston.

Danville, Va., June 1954: Democratic committee breaks century-old precedent with unsegregated Jefferson-Jackson dinner.

Portland, Maine, August 1954: Medical Association changes site of State Medical Convention to protest discrimination by resort originally chosen.

Detroit, Mich., October 1954: Michigan Tourist Council bars discriminatory advertising in 1955 regional guidebooks of Michigan Tourist Association.

MISCELLANEOUS

Legislation

United States of America, 1951-53: Legislatures in Oregon, Montana, and Colorado repeal bans on intermarriage between whites and Negroes, Mongolians, or Chinese.

Philadelphia, Pa., January 1952; New city charter prohibits discrimination in use of city property.

New York, N. Y., June 1952: City ordinance bars public funds to any child-care institutions discriminating against youngsters because of race, creed, or ancestry.

United States of America, spring 1953: Legislatures in Washington and Iowa bar cemeteries from refusing burial because of race or color.

Sacramento, Calif., April 1953: Legislature repeals restrictions on property rights of

Court action

Washington, January 1948: United States Supreme Court (Oyama v. California) invalidates California alien land law which raises presumption of fraudulent ownership and occupation of agricultural land by persons ineligible for citizenship.

Washington, June 1948: United States Supreme Court (Takahashi v. Game Commission) invalidates California law prohibiting issuance of fishing licenses to persons ineligible for citizenship.

Sacramento, Calif., October 1948: State supreme court rules that law barring interracial marriages is unconstitutional.

Madison, Wis., January 1953: State supreme court rules State-administered life insurance fund may not reject Negro applicants on ground that as a racial group they are a substandard risk.

Voluntary action

Washington, May 1950: CIO orders local unions to disregard State segregation laws and operate all CIO facilities without discrimination.

Chicago, Ill., November 1950: Red Cross votes to eliminate racial data on all future blood donations.

New Haven, Conn., December 1952: Yale Divinity School undertakes 2-year survey of racial and cultural references in Protestant church literature.

Tuskegee, Ala., December 1952: Tuskegee Institute reports 1952 is first year free of lynching in United States since records were begun in 1882.

The Foreign Agents Registration Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a news item written by William Galbraith of the United Press, appearing in the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 16, 1955, together with a memorandum on possible legal questions raised therein prepared for me by the American Law Division of the Library of Congress:

SOVIET SEEN EVADING UNITED STATES TRAVEL CURBS

(By William Galbraith)

The Soviet Union gets partly around the recently imposed tighter control on Russian travel in the United States by employing Americans, officials said yesterday.

The Americans include cight correspondents here and in New York employed by Tass, the official Russian news agency. A small number also work for Tass in noneditorial canacities.

The United States clamped the new travel controls on Russians January 3 in a tit-fortat measure against similar restrictions which have long hindered American travel in the Soviet Union.

The order closed about 27 percent of the United States to persons holding Soviet pass* ports.

However, officials said the order has no effect on the Americans working for Tass. If the Soviet Union wants to learn something about an area closed to Russian travelers. Tass can send one of the Americans to the area to make a firsthand report.

State Department officials, who worked out the order with other interested Federal agencies, said they were aware of this loop-hole when drafting the controls.

However, officials said, if the United States found any open attempt to circumvent the Order the State Department could bring the matter up with the Soviet Embassy and presumably take action against such an attempt.

The United States hires some Russians for Work on unclassified matters in the American Embassy at Moscow. These Soviet citizens are not subject to travel restrictions on Americans but are affected by many other controls which Russia maintains on all its citizens.

LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, LEGISLATIVE REFERENCE SERVICE, Washington, D. C., January 24, 1955. To: Hon. JOHN W. McCORMACK.

From: American Law Division. Subject: Foreign Agents Registration Act.

Reference is made to your letter of January 16, 1955, in which you requested a brief on the Foreign Agents Registration Act showing what cases it covers and how it affects Americans employed by Russia or a Russian agency who travel in areas from which Russian nationals are excluded.

The Foreign Agents Registration Act (U. S. C. 22: 611-621) is aimed at foreign agents who carry on propaganda and kindred activities in the United States. On the theory that full disclosure of the facts is the best method of combating such activity, the act requires foreign agents to register with the Department of Justice and give detailed information about themselves, their principals, and their activities. It also requires them to label political propaganda sent through the mails or channels of interstate commerce for disemination among two or more persons. It does not impose travel controls on such agents.

The act applies generally to persons in the United States whether citizens or aliens, who are agents of a foreign principal. However, persons engaged only in legitimate diplo-matic, humanitarian, religious, scholastic, academic artistic, scientific or private commercial activities, or agents of a country whose defense the President deems vital to the defense of the United States, are exempt from the registration requirements. Offi-cials of foreign governments who are not Public relations counsel, publicity agents. Information-service employees or citizens of the United States, are also exempt in some circumstances.

The term "foreign principal" includes not only a foreign government or a foreign political party, but also foreign individuals and organizations, domestic organizations subsidized by a foreign principal and individuals affiliated with, or controlled or subsidized by, a foreign government or foreign political Party. A person in the United States who acts as public-relations counsel, publicity agent, information-service employee, servant, agent or attorney of, or who collects infor-mation for, a foreign principal, or who accepts compensation from, or collects funds, for, such a principal, or acts under its orders, is a foreign agent within the purview of the act. So also is a member of the Armed Forces, an officer or employee of a foreign country, and a person trained in espionage or sabotage by a foreign country or foreign political party. Domestic news agencies and publications engaged solely in bona fide news or journalistic activities are not covered.

Whether particular persons are governed by the act depends on the facts concerning their status and employment. Citizens of the United States who are employed by the Russian News Agency, Tass, may be subject to the registration and propaganda-labeling requirements of the law.

MARY LOUISE RAMSEY.

American Law Division. JANUARY 24, 1955.

The Generals Invade Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, in the February 1955 issue of that sparkling publication, the Democratic Digest, there appears a very interesting article entitled "The Generals Invade Politics." I ask unanimous consent that this interesting discussion be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE GENERALS INVADE POLITICS

Is a new political party beginning to emerge in the United States?

No one can be sure, but this much seems certain, if a third party actually does develop, it will be rigidly and extremely conservative, it will fluctuate between isolationism and so-called preventive war, and its inner circle will be full of military celebrities.

It is this last development—the now unconcealed appearance of many famed generals and admirals in the ranks of the radical right-which has aroused fresh interest in the possibility of a new party. The movement has all the necessary attributes: leadership, money, and a common denominator of extremism.

Though these extremists have no official name as yet, they have been called "Americrats," in deference to their violent and often

reckless superpatriotism.

But with or without an official name, they are on the march, holding rallies, circulating petitions, forming organizations. Their political spokesmen (McCarthy, Knowland, Jenner, Dirksen) are relentlessly trying to marshall public support by intemperate speeches and accusations which keep their opinions on page No. 1.

Not since the late 1930's, when the New Deal and the threat of a Second World War aroused bitter opposition, have the forces of reaction been as vocal as they are today.

Many Americans only began to realize the

part played by the military when two Right Wing organizations started to roll.

"For America," the first of these, was formed last May at a luncheon given by Col. Robert R. McCormick, publisher of the Chi-cago Tribune. Its stated purpose is to promote peace and "Americanism" and oppose "super-internationalism, interventionism, one-worldism, and communism."

Its early flavor was provided by such pre-World War II isolationists as former Sen. Burton K. Wheeler of Montana, former Congressman Hamilton Fish of New York, and Gen. Robert E. Wood, retired chairman of Sears, Roebuck & Co. They were joined in the early days by Clarence Manion, who was fired by Mr. Eisenhower last winter from the Intergovernmental Relations Commission because he crusaded for the Bricker amendment to reduce Presidential powers.

By November, the Colonel, an outspoken right-wing Republican, had receded into the background in order to emphasize the "nonpartisan" nature of the group. As the Christian Science Monitor described it:

"For America is seeking to reach across party lines and bring together all persons who are 'united in their distrust of Communists, socialists, internationalists, and New

The group did not fly its military colors until a few days after the November election when the names of 43 new National

Policy Committee members were made public. The military part of the roster features: Gen. Mark W. Clark, former Commander in

Chief of the U. N. forces in Korea, and commanding General of the U.S. Army Forces in the Far East;

Gen. A. C. Wedemeyer, Commander of the United States forces in China, 1944 46, and Chief of Staff to Generalissimo Chiang Kaishek:

Gen. James A. Van Fleet, also a Com-mander of the U. N. forces in Korea. Gen. George E. Stratemeyer, commanding general of the United States Air Force in the China theater in 1945, and Commander of the Far East Air Force in Korea in 1950.

Brig. Gen. Bonner Fellers, who directed Gen. Douglas MacArthur's psychological warfare against the Japanese. (Between 1948 and 1952 he was national defense consultant for the Republican National Committee.)

General Fellers, who was named executive director of For America late in November, believes that "we should slow down on our foreign aid, withdraw our troops from Eu-rope, pare down on Army and Navy expendi-tures, and build up our Air Force." He wants 10 million members and \$1 1/4 million to put his program over the top.

Two days after For America published its policy committee membership, a second organization, Ten Million Americans Mobilizing for Justice, announced a 10-day nationwide petition drive against the censure of

Senator McCarthy.

Insiders insisted the two organizations were not connected, despite the fact that General Stratemeyer was named chairman of Ten Million Americans, and General Van Fleet was named a vice chairman. One Eisenhower Republican called it a coalition of America Firsters, soreheads, and Mac-Arthur admirals.

At the time of the announcement, General Stratemeyer was down in Florida with heart trouble. But he gathered enough strength to urge the nonpolitical and nonpartisan But he gathered enough strength group to show "the real sentiment of the great majority of Americans" against censuring McCarthy.

The petition itself said that censure "could be helpful only to the Communists and their Soviet masters." It blamed opposition to McCarthy on "the Communists and their un-American cohorts * * * willing stooges and blind but innocent dupes," and made it plain that in their opinion anyone who opposed McCarthy also opposed America.

Chief of staff for the drive was Rear Adm. John G. Crommelin, who was retired as a captain from the Navy in 1950 for bitterly and publicly opposing unification of the Armed Forces. The admiral first met Mc-Armed Forces. The admiral first met Mc-CARTHY when the Senator offered to serve as his legal counsel if he was court martialed for his opposition, which he wasn't.

Immediately after his forced retirement, Crommelin ran for the Senate in his home State of Alabama, where he was listed on the ticket as an "Alabama Democrat." Said the Atlanta Constitution: "The people of his native State—being familiar with him—turned him down resoundingly."

Two other military figures in addition to General Van Fleet were named as vice chairmen of the petition drive. They were Adm. William H. Standley, former Chief of Naval Operations and Ambassador to the Soviet Union, and Lt. Gen. Pedro A. del Valle, retired, who commanded the 1st Marine Division at Okinawa.

Despite their efforts, Senator McCarthy was condemned by 67 Senators for contempt of a Senate subcommittee investigating his conduct, for abuse of its members, and for his insults to the Senate itself during the censure proceedings. Democrats voted unanimously against the Scnator, but Republicans, some of whom may have been influenced by the petitioners, split almost evenly-22 for censure; 24 against.

How had the military men become so deeply involved, not only in the McCarthy movement but with the right-wing forces generally?

Over and over again, the military men have been giving voice to their political sus-

General Stratemeyer told the Jenner committee last summer that "We weren't allowed to win" the war in Korea. He has warned against "some hidden force or some hidden power or something that is influencing our people" from its entrenched position in the Government's executive branch.

Admiral Standley is also alarmed by the hidden force which has wielded power over the last 20 years regardless of the party in

power.

General Clark likewise implied to the Jenner committee that traitors or dupes blocked an American victory in Korea. He felt there was some influence at work some place when the decision was made not to bomb Manchuria. "I do not know who was making our foreign policy," he said.

On another occasion he suggested that

the postwar rush to bring the boys home from the battlefronts in 1945 was not prompted by wives, mothers, sweethearts, and the men themselves. Instead, "Com-munists had been planted in our army to sap the power of the United States through well conceived campaigns to demobilize too

Admiral Crommelin is also upset by this

alleged mysterious hidden force.

Maj. George Racey Jordan (retired), co-ordinator of operations at TMA's New York headquarters, has offered his solution for the country's troubles: "Some fellows from West who haven't been infected with this type of thing may have to come East and shoot a few people." (The major has also warned citizens that fluoridation of public water supplies is a Russian plot.)

The Louisville Courier-Journal took note of the nagging (and undocumented) inference in General Clark's testimony that those who opposed and overrode his views were

traitors or dupes.

By quoting liberally from his book, From the Danube To the Yalu, which was published last April, this newspaper showed that only last spring Clark saw nothing mysterious about the identity of the policymakers, on Korea at least, and nothing simple about the problems those policy-makers faced. Not once in his book did he equate differences of opinion with treason or stupidity.

These generals are buttressed by other military celebrities, who have not formally joined any of the new organizations, but whose views are often just as extreme and just as political. General MacArthur, for example, was a hero of the Old Guard camp at the 1952 Republican convention, and a

dark horse candidate himself.

The general's former staff has also been active on the propaganda front. Only last summer the country heard from Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, MacArthur's intelligence chief during World War II and the early Korean war. He urged the United States and its allies to use A-bombs and H-bombs to blast "a belt of scorched earth' across the Communists' path in Asia.

How strong have the rightwingers now become? Columnist Doris Fleeson is inclined to think they will stay within the Republican Party and exercise "a veto power against actions and people they don't like." They will do this, she says, by branding the unwanted man or policy as pro-Communist and anti-American.

This was exactly McCarthy's line after his censure by the Senate. He attacked the President for weakness in fighting Communists and apologized to the voters for having told them in 1952 that Ike would conduct "a vigorous, forceful fight against Commu-

Herald Tribune Columnist Roscoe Drummond, who often seems to know what the administration is thinking, said even before the McCarry attack that the President is at a turning point. Eisenhower is now "fully convinced," says Drummond, that if the Old Guard is determined to fight him, then "it will be better for the country, better for the Government, and better for the Republican Party as a whole if they make a clean break and establish their own party."

This attitude may give an important impetus to the third-party move. Now that the Americasts are pulling hard toward the right, if the President starts pushing them in the same direction, there might easily be

a sudden split.

This ties in with the analysis of William S. White, of the New York Times. He has

"There are many signs, quite apart from the issue called McCarthyism, that the rightwingers are reaching a point of ultimate rebellion against the Republican left and center-a point where action succeeds talk.

"The political events of the last few months increasingly indicate that another third party for 1956 is by no means inconceivable-should President Eisenhower heed the appeals of his followers that he run again.

TV Towers Hazard to Aviation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CARL HINSHAW

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from Aviation Age:

TV TOWERS HAZARD TO AVIATION (By Bill Deming)

(The writer of this article is a television and film producer. He also holds a commer-cial pilot's license and is a Navy Reserve with 27 years' flight experience. He wrote this article for AvAge on the basis of talks with airline pilots and his own experience in flying.)

We have three seats for you. One in the cockpit, one on the aisle, and one on the divan.

For example, this seat you occupy with your wife by your side. Junior's curled up behind, asleep. You and your family are on your way home. It's been a happy weekend visiting grandma in a nearby State

When you began this trip after the family dinner, the afternoon sun was warm and bright, the sky cloudless. For the past 15 minutes, however, the change has been dra-Rain slashes down and that lightning stabbing off to the left emphasizes the gathering darkness. You are grateful for the white ribbon of highway that lies ahead. straight as the proverbial arrow.

But this is not a highway for your wheels. It lies 500 feet below the small, rented plane in which you and your wife and boy are flying home. Like most other planes in this class, it is without blind flying instruments and if it did have them, you are not too sure of your own instrument flight ability. instrument flight requires constant practice.

As the storm increases and there are long moments when the highway ahead disappears in low clouds that join the rain in reducing your visibility, you push lower. You must not lose sight of that road home. The lightning is closer now and the little plane begins to bounce around in the increasingly turbulent air. You suggest to your wife that junior be awakened and his seat belt fastened. Your eyes are on the road ahead.

ANOTHER SEAT

There's another seat not too far away we'd like you to try. It is on the aisle and you nod affirmatively to the stewardess as she comes by checking seat belts. Rain streaks the rectangular windows and the big airliner pitches with a ponderous rolling movement. You look around to catch the stewardess You would read but the light doesn't work.

Beyond your sight in the cockpit ahead, the pilots are struggling with the same prob-The plane's electrical power has failed and the pilot is without the guiding radio signals required to complete his flight along the airway, down through the clouds and to the terminal airport according to normal plan. He turns to the copilot who is on his knees in the radio compartment and shouts, "Keep looking, Paul, I'm going down . . we'll go in underneath."

And now this seat on the divan. This seat is in the comfort of your own livingroom. Relaxed, you push off your shoes and lean back to enjoy You Bet Your Life. Television comic Groucho Marx is at his best tonight and you join the unseen audience in a deep laugh as a luckless contestant tries to match wits with the master of satire.

IMAGE DISAPPEARS

Quite suddenly the image disappears from your screen and only a gentle hiss replaces the program sound. For a few minutes you wait for the technicians to correct the problem and then, tentatively, twist the knob to another channel to test your own set's operation. The other channel comes in clear-irritably you return to the blank screen-They'd better get it fixed in time for Dragnet.

But you do miss Dragnet and the late news supplies the answer. A low-flying plane crashed into the tall television tower on the edge of town. All passengers were killed and the tower demolished.

Your very personal participation in this drama is assured with mathematical precision. You might be among the 573,000 holders of pilots licenses, you could easily be numbered in the more than 30 million people who flew on the Nation's airlines last year, or be among the close to 100 million in the coast to coast television audience. In one group or the other, there is a seat for you.

HUNDREDS OF TV MASTS

Conscious of the economic reasons behind the raising of literally hundreds of television masts close to or exceeding 1,000 feet in height all over the country (1 tower 2,000 feet high is being considered) we have for some time wondered what the airline pilots might think of these obvious hazards to safe flight.

The answer we received just about boiled the coffee. Cleaned up for home consumption, it paraphrases into, "There are no more amateurs." These men said definitely that due to the widespread TV tower dangers, flying under bad weather flight conditions today is a two-man job. One flies the plane and the other navigates.

But of course, tubes do burn out-fuses blow. Then what?

We checked with officials of the Civil Aeronautics Authority at Idlewild International Airport. Not only are there no periodic danger warnings published, but a senior airline pilot confirmed that only by word-ofmouth did the Nation's airline crews learn of these deadly structures.

MEASUREMENT OF SICILI.

No one ever flies very long under exclusively fair skies. Darkness, rain, snow, or fell inevitably enter to some degree. Our skill is measured in the correctness of our deci-Our skill sion to go on through and try to complete our flight or land safely and wait for a weather break. Airlines with their incomparable equipment and superbly trained pilots complete flights under conditions few prudent private fliers would be qualified to venture into.

Yet, the airline flight rules are studded with safety regulations and minimums that keep them on the ground or send flights to alternate airports under unsafe conditions.

But how about the private flier? The amateur about whom this essay was origi-

nally planned?

Well, CAA sets certain flight rules and then leaves it up to him entirely. Penalties for the rule infractions are trivial. A private flier may take off and attempt to fly through weather that has all airline traffic grounded. It's his life and his plane. But is this entirely so? Headlines often testify that his innocent and trusting passengers share the death into which he flies them all.

HAZARDS WILL BE ERECTED

We must accept the fact that channels for 2,000 television stations in all of the 48 States have been allocated. Almost that number of tall TV towers eventually will be built to become aviation hazards.

Both the CAA and the airlines are working on hazard-marking schemes, recommending 24 hour lighting, alternate solid banding of the towers, highly visible painting, the hanging of large Christmas tree balls on the spread of guy wires that usually surround the masts and ground marking in the area.

There should be no dragging of feet in this important marking and immediate FCC directives to television tower operators should order these safety precautions. No less than maximum hazard marking is imperative

No safety recommendations could stand Without emphasizing the urgency of providing every pilot who flies with current dangerous obstruction warnings. service is not provided to the airlines today is negligent, to say the least.

It is obvious that a terribly dangerous lack of practicable liaison exists between the CAA which governs aviation and the FCC, the radio and television licensing body. was illustrated during our talk with the Idlewild CAA Aids and Hazards Specialist. We were able to show him a listing of a 940foot television tower authorized by the FCC for erection in his area, about which he had heard nothing.

ALL REQUIRED DATA

The CAA doesn't seem to be aware, but the television industry is served by a publication (Television Factbook, published by Television Digest, Wyatt Building, Washington, D. C.) which provides, on a biyearly basis supplemented by weekly issues to subscribers, all of the warning information re-Quired by pilots to maintain their charts currently.

Each published specification lists the exact geographical location of every existing or ap-Proved television tower in degrees, minutes, and seconds of latitude and longitude. This permits the exact plotting of every hazard. In addition, the height of the tower above the ground, above the average surrounding terrain and, most important, above sea level is shown. This information, plus adequate tower marking, should greatly lessen any danger to the airlines who normally fly only on designated airways under complete ground supervision.

It is the private pilot who needs urgent help. Close to 90,000 private aircraft are available to more than half a million licensed pilots in the United States. We have no intention of specifying the new laws required on both National and State levels to legislate safety into private flying in the face of the growing number of aeronautical hazards offered by tall television towers.

NEW RULES OF SAFETY

However, it must be obvious that the present unrestricted right to fly in any weather conditions, regardless of a private pilot's proved instrument flight qualifications or his plane's equipment, must be quickly tied

to new rules of safety.

Remembering the airline pilot's admonition that there are no more amateurs, we realize that if these hundreds of thousands of itinerant pilots are to be saved from themselves, new laws are needed urgently-for the towers are going up now.

As this is written, the comparatively few television towers now standing have cost 31 lives. An airliner with 25 aboard and two private planes have struck towers with no survivors in any instance. Unless adequate marking, identifying, and legal action is taken immediately by all concerned, it may be expected that this total will be multiplied many times in the near future.

One of those seats may be yours.

Live Free or Die

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD W. HOFFMAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

HOFFMAN of Illinois, Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an address delivered by Dr. Eugene Youngert, the superintendent of the Oak Park-River Forest high school in Oak Park, Ill., before a recent meeting of the Oak Park Rotary Club. An honored guest at the meeting was Mr. Stafford E. D. Barff, O. B. E., director of British Information Services in Chicago, Ill.; the speech was recorded so that it might be reproduced at a meeting of the Wandsworth Rotary Club in the suburbs of London, England.

It is a privilege to have an opportunity to call to the attention of my colleagues Dr. Youngert's remarks concerning the religious and philosophical basis for the freedoms which we in this country enjoy today. It is encouraging to know that the secondary education of the young people of the Oak Park-River Forest area is under the supervision of a man so thoroughly imbued with the knowledge of democratic principles and so thoroughly capable of arousing young men and women to devotion to those principles. I heartily commend his address to the attention of my colleagues:

LIVE FREE OR DIE

The title of the address that I am making today is "Live Free or Die." It is the motto of one of the States of my country. I choose to make this particular address because I think it covers the most important subject in the world, and the most important subject with which Rotarians of our two countries can cooperatively concern themselves as individuals in the present perilous condition of world affairs. Let me state as a subheading what it is that I am really talking about. Here it is:

The critical necessity that we must stick together whose common use of the English language betokens common origin of ethical and political ideals; that we must stick together and not allow ourselves to be driven apart if we are to have a chance to establish a lasting peace in our world. We are the inheritors of a religious ethic and a political philosophy that make freemen, and would be traitors to our great cause of liberty were we to allow that cause to fail, because we failed to stand united in its defense:

That there is a titanic struggle of ideologic nature in our world everyone knows. But nowhere near all realize that on both sides of the struggle there are men who honestly believe each that his side is right. It is abhorrent to us that men can honestly believe that our quality of individual freedom is wrong and that their idea of the submergence of the individual in and for the mass is right. It would be better for us were all of our opponents dishonest in their thinking, for then victory for our cause would be easier to attain. Men do not fight to the death for mere expediency. But they do fight to the death for ideas that they honestly hold, no matter how wrong we may think and know those ideas to be. There are scoundrels on the other side who seek to make themselves tyrannical dictators of the world, and there are countless millions in a condition worse than slavery; but also there are some on the other side who are the product of philosophies as old as philosophy itself who believe our insistence upon the worth and dignity of the individual to be error and weakness and who give allegiance to the notion that the collective state is the rightful master of men. There is the struggle. "Live free or die" is a motto for freemen, but it is at the same time the challenge cast against us by men who would make us slaves, because they do not believe in liberty. Unfortunately, in the struggle, we do not have on our side an overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of the earth.

We who are the English speaking countries-for whom English is our first language and our common means of communicationwe are the largest bloc in the world championing the cause of the individual man as against the encroachment of an oppressive all powerful state. We are the rallying point for free men everywhere. We are that champion and that rallying point because of a glorious inheritance from ancestors who through centuries cast off the yoke tyranny and established the citizenry as the makers and masters of the state. I call those men ancestors not necessarily in the sense of national, but rather of spiritual descent. Let me make myself my illustration. By national descent, I am a Swede. By birth I am a citizen of the United States. But by political descent I am the child of men who held high the Judeo-Christian ethic and who in that spirit from Magna Charta through the 400 years to the Petition and the Bill of Rights, and to this day, created a state built upon the ideal of the worth and dignity of individual men and upon the political technique of the dominant representation of these men in the machinery of the state. So are all of us who are the English speaking people of the earth: People from many lands and climes and folk, but one in the ethic and the political philosophy that are implicit in the langauge that we use. If ever we needed to be one, it is now. If ever it was true that "united we stand, divided we fall," it is now. We must stand united, for there is no alternative in which we can serve the great need of our time.

Well, let's get on. What is it that we must stand united on? What is it that makes the English speaking people champions of the liberties that make men free? What is our side, that we must be prepared to live

and die for it? Let's see, and in the seeing, let's contemplate how gloriously it serves the need of man in these crisis years.

What we are talking about is, of course, the contribution of the English-speaking countries to western culture. I suspect it has been well said that western culture is compounded of these four essentials: (1) the Judeo-Christian ethic; (2) the Greek intellectual process; (3) the Roman genius for order and law; (4) the Englishman's concern-for the liberties of the individual citizen, and the consequent British development of the representational form of govern-With no derogation meant to the contributions of the Greeks and the Romans—they were highly important—I want to spend the rest of my time on the first and fourth of the essentials that I mentioned, the religious ethic and the political philosophy that envisage the uniquely exalted state of the individual person in a social situation. For these are the heart of our side of the appalling struggle that rapidly is making of the world two armed camps.

My remarks about the religious ethic will be confined to five of the social ideals of Judeo-Christian ethic that have been basic as intellectual concepts in the evolution of the present attitude of the Englishspeaking world toward man and his govern-Please understand that I do not ments. mean that everyone accepts as his personal religious conviction this Judeo-Christian ethic, although I want to say that I do, personally. But, inasmuch as this ethic been warp and woof of the thinking of our leaders for hundreds of years, even those inherit it who reject it, just as a son can inherit who rejects his own father. That ethic has shaped the social and political thought of the English-speaking world.

At the heart of the Judeo-Christian ethic is the belief that man is created in God's image and is son of God. The natural conclusion of that belief is the insistence that each individual has worth in and of himself, and that he is not a mere dot in the mass. Such an ideal is anathema to any totali-tarian order, but it is lifeblood to liberty. Furthermore, the extent to which we allow it to become weakened is the measure of the extent of the weakening of liberty itself.

Secondly, as image and son of God, man is encompassed in a brotherhood that includes his fellowmen. For, denial of that brotherhood is denial of the divine sonship that is proclaimed by the ethic. That idea, is anathema to a totalitarian order, which can brook no feeling of brotherhood that goes beyond the confines of the state; but it is an idea that is lifeblood to democracy. Again, the extent to which brotherhood is the rule among men is the measure of the extent of the genuine fulfilment of the democratic hope.

Thirdly, the quality of the principles of conduct among men is evidence of the quality of the general ideal that we call integrity. In the Judeo-Christian ethic, the principles of enjoined conduct are those that represent integrity of a high degree, and the ideals they teach bear some of the noblest names known to man: truth, honor, service, beauty, justice, mercy, courage, temperance, sympathy, compassion, kindliness, love. and democracy cannot exist unless these are the ideals of social conscience, no matter how they may fail in practice because of the weaknesses of men. Totalitarianism, on the other hand, cannot exist in their presence, for in totalitarianism the sentiment of man for man must be completely subordinate to that of the subservience of man to his state.

Fourthly, freedom of mind and spirit are the essence of liberty and democracy—not the pseudo freedom of license, but the re-sponsible freedom of brothers that respects the rights and needs of others as it does those of self. It is the glory of the Judeo-Christian ethic that that freedom stands

at the apex of belief. One accepts or rejects God and Christ as he wills, for enforced belief is abhorrent to the thought and will of God as presented in the ethic of the Christian and the Jew. Where freedom is present, totalitarianism cannot exist; where it suffers attrition, liberty and democracy languish on the vine.

Fifthly, in the Judeo-Christian ethic, there is reverence for life as creation and gift of God. Our century is brutal-terribly brutal—and often death is treated as a mere statistic. Yet, under the drive of the ethic, the goal remains the preservation of life under conditions that will permit its unfolding according to the design of its Creator. This reverence for the life of each individual as son of God is essential to liberty and democracy; but a totalitarian order that would so exalt the individual would by that act point its own doom.

Here, then, are five social ideals that grew from religious concepts dear to leaders who century after century shaped the social be-liefs and political machinery of the English speaking world. There were other ideals, for this enumeration is not all-inclusive; but these are sufficient for illustration. They are under attack in many parts of the world today, as materialistic paganism seeks to substitute for them a theory of conduct that eliminates consideration of the welfare of the individual in favor only of the total whole. The extent to which we dedicate ourselves to their survival in the strife will be the measure of the extent to which liberty and democracy will survive. I, for one, believe that their survival is intimately tied in with the survival of the ethic that gave them birth.

I turn now to the political area of our side in world conflict, although I recognize that the political is but the extension of the philosophical into the realm of the practical. What, then, is common in the political heritage of the English speaking world?

We start with 1215 A. D., on an island in the Thames. There King John at the demand of powerful subjects signed Magna A simple act? No; for behind it lay a relentless struggle by the people against the absolute rule of kings. A simple act? Rather, a prophetic act, for it unleashed an idea that by 1689 so crystallized liberty as the rightful possession of the people that not since 1689 have the inalienable rights of Englishmen been successfully questioned by king or queen.

Was liberty achieved on the day after Magna Carta was signed? No, and certainly not for the rank and file of the people. But Magna Carta was a starting point, and it presaged 474 of the most thrilling and fruitful years that have ever marked man's upward reach to be free. Foundation stone it was of English liberty; but foundation stone it was also of the liberty of the people of the United States and of people everywhere in the world who spurn the tyrant's hand and govern themselves as freemen should.

en though Magna Carta was only starting point, there are countries behind the various obscuring curtains today that would make almost immeasurable progress if they could gain in 1954 what Magna Carta gave almost 750 years ago.

Back and forth went the struggle in England between rulers and people until in 1628 the people at the risk of the lives of their leaders wrung from Charles I his approval of the Petition of Rights and his agreement to redress wrongs and grant new freedoms along the road of liberty.

Then, the rule of another monarch having proved intolerable, the people forced his abdication and invited William and Mary to rule, upon their acceptance of the Bill of Rights as English law in 1689.

The story of those 474 years should be engraved upon the minds and hearts of all who live in the English-speaking world.

And we should remember that man after man after man perished in his resistance to the throne; that blood, sweat, and tears was not only the promise of Churchill but was the lot of countless brave souls who from Magna Carta on brought forth the structure of democracy that is the assurance of liberty in the years in which we live.

But, say some, what did come from those days to make men free? Hear, then, from the record, and think how because we so take our blessings for granted, we forget that without them we, too, would wear the slave's collar as multitudes do wherever liberty's light is out. What did come? Listen: prayer-

fully and gratefully.

The ruler must rule according to the desires of the people; Government is a contract between the ruler and the people, that neither can break without accountability; the power of the ruler is restricted by what law permits and forbids; martial law may no longer be a tool for use against the people at the whim of the sovereign; the right to quarter troops in private homes is sharply limited: the rights of the people are stated definitely in the law; laws shall be enacted by the representatives of the people in parliament assembled; the right of the people to bear arms is established by law; taxes may be levied only by the representatives of the people in parliament assembled; free elections and frequent meetings of the representatives of the people must be held: person's property may not be taken for public use except by due process of law; persons may not be held in jail without a presentment of the cause: bills of attainder are illegal; there shall not be ex post facto laws; the ideas of freedom of speech, assembly, and petition are introduced; there shall be trial by jury; there shall be freedom from arbitrary imprisonment; there shall be no unusual punishment; there shall be no excessive bail. That is not the whole of the record, but is it not enough to stir us to protect our liberty against totalitarians who would hurl us back into the dark from which Magna Charta lighted our way?

Men of Oak Park, of River Forest, of the United States: think of our own Constitution of 1789. It was no concession from a ruler, but the deliberate creation of a sovereign people, limiting and defining the powers of their Government in order to make their liberties secure. Thank God, that in the days in which our Nation was being formed, we had leaders who knew almost page by page those 474 glorious years from 1215 to 1689. so that they could write down in the law that governs us what had been wrested for all men, from the arbitrary king. And thank God that we had other men who so distrusted the corrupting influence of absolute power that they demanded in the first 10 amendments to our Constitution the proclamation of rights as specific as those in the bill of 1689, and almost in the very same words. Did it not seem a moment ago as though I were reading from our own Constitution and

our own Bill of Rights?

So it is wherever we who speak the English language have made our homes. So it is when men of other languages have read the record and decided to rear the structure of liberty for themselves and those they love. So it is wherever the fundamental concept of the worth and dignity of the individual man dominates the thought of man.

I repeat, we who are the English-speaking countries are the largest bloc in the world championing the cause of the individual man as against the encroachment of an oppressive all-powerful state. We are the rallying point for freemen everywhere. We are that because we are the inheritors of a religious ethic and a political philosophy that make men free and of a political technique

that keeps men free.

The question in the world struggle is whether our ideal of liberty shall live on of go down to defeat at the hand of dictatorial force. The question is not of our own choosing. It is forced upon us. The question is whether we will defend to the uttermost the liberty won so hardly by heroes who knew full well the evil they sought to escape. The question is whether we know how easily liberty can be lost, and that once lost it can be rewon only by the long hard road by which it was first won.

The answer is that we must and will defend our liberty. But to do that we of the English-speaking countries must stick together in our common cause. Only such a united front will win lasting and worthwhile peace for the world. We must allow nothing—literally, nothing—to drive us apart. Knowing what is at stake, we must stand as one people and face the future, not unconcerned but undismayed.

Gentlemen, the answer to the question is,

"Live free or die."

Citizen Interest in Fine Arts Legislation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert herewith the text of part of a radio broadcast made by Mr. Patrick Hayes on Sunday, January 23, 1955, over station WGMS:

The next 5 days are of particular interest and of some significance in the musical life of Washington. The question has been raised from time to time when the subject of an opera house or music center has been under discussion, as to whether there is a true and real need for one, and as to whether it would be put to full use once built. If you will look at the music pages this morning in the amusement sections you will see a program of festival proportions scheduled for the next 5 days: It starts today at 3 p. m. with a recital by Robert Casadesus, Which is close to being sold out, but with seats still available and the hall box office how open. Tomorrow night a great ballet company from England, London's Festival Ballet, opens a 3 day engagement at the Capitol Theater, evening performances 8:30, Wednesday matinee at 2:30. Tuesday evening, the Philadelphia Orchestra come to Constitution Hall for one of its regular concerts on its Washington series, and bringing Heitor Villa-Lobos as guest conductor, and Nicanor Zabaleta, harpist, in an all Villa-Lobos program. Wednesday evening the distinguished Dame Myra Hess is soloist with the National Symphony Orchestra in Constitution Hall, and the occasion brings Dr. Howard Mitchell back to the podium there after a 4 week flying tour of Europe as guest conductor. Thursday afternoon the orchestra and Dame Myra appear at Lisher Auditorium at 2:30, repeating Wednesday night's performance.

These are the highlights—there are 18 musical events worthy of your attention this week, and this is 6 or 7 under the winter average.

When the argument might again be stated as to whether there is enough musical activity in Washington to warrant the big and expensive step of erecting special buildings for music, ballet, and opera, it will be a convincing point that during these 5 days there were public performances by Robert

Casadesus, London's Festival Ballet, Villa-Lobos, Myra Hess, the Philadelphia Orchestra, the National Symphony Orchestra—and all well attended.

Citizen interest is beginning to emerge in support of the bills before Congress on fine arts legislation. On Tuesday, February 1, at 8:30, there will be a public meeting the fifth-floor auditorium of the old District Building, 14th and E Streets NW. The new Congressman from Trenton, N. J., Frank THOMPSON, JR., will speak on his bill which he introduced on the first day of the new session of Congress, to establish a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an inaugural hall of Presidents, and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center—this last applies to facilities for broadcasting by radio and TV of many of the present new music auditorium. Twenty-five thousand dollars is all that Mr. Thompson asks for in his bill, to get something started, to get the project off the ground, or at least out of the hopper. On Tuesday, February 1, the speakers will include F. Joseph Donohue, former District Commissioner; William H. Press, executive vice president of the Washington Board of Trade; Lee Callison, of the Washington office of Webb & Knapp, local representatives for Zeckendorf; and John R. Searles, Jr., executive director of the District of Columbia Redevelopment Land Agency. Master of ceremonies and moderator will be Melvin D. Hildreth, a leading spokesman in our civic life for music and theater and their related fine arts.

This is a public meeting, and much attention will be paid to it. The press will cover. It would be important to have a large crowd in attendance, as a sign of substantial interest, and it goes without saying that it will be a stimulating evening for those who do attend. The panel is composed of quite a battery of experts, all of whom live close to the nerve center of Washington life. The meeting has been arranged by the women's committee of the Capital Opera Association, Mrs. Hortense L. Amram. chairman.

I mentioned the modest appropriation which Congressman Thompson requests to get the ball rolling-\$25,000. In the hearings last June before the Howell subcommittee, it became clear that \$5 million would be a minimum figure to get started a na-tional arts program; that it would be a long indoctrination process to get this through Congress and the White House; but that some start should be made, if only by appointment of a commission of fine arts for study and research. Mr. THOMPSON has wisely followed this reasoning, and such a bill has a chance. The impact will be tre-mendous when Congress recognizes the fine arts in this manner. However, the larger aim is not lost sight of. Another fine-artsminded Congressman, EMANUEL CELLER, of New York City, has introduced a bill establish a program of grants to States for the development of fine arts programs and projects-this was the essence of the Howell bill in the last Congress, a truly national arts program of activity, in cooperation with the States and cities of the Nation.

The language of the Celler bill is eloquent. It begins:

"The Congress hereby finds that great contributions can be and are being made by the fine arts to the morale, health, and general welfare of the Nation. The Congress, recognizing the fact that man cannot live by bread alone, further finds that an education which includes the humanities is essential to political wisdom, and that in the world of today, as we face the persistent problems of men and defend and attempt to add stature to the ideals and principles of freemen and of free institutions, the relevance of the humanities to our task is un-

questionable, for it is the humanities, more than science or statistics, which provides the real answer to communism.

"(b) It is therefore declared to be the policy of the Congress and the purpose of this act (1) to assist the several States in developing projects and programs in the fine arts in order to serve better the needs of the people of the United States, and to encourage the growth and development of the fine arts throughout the United States for the purpose of developing greater knowledge. understanding, and practice of the fine arts;
(2) to establish in the executive branch of the Government a Federal agency to advise and cooperate with public and private agencies and organizations operating in the field of the fine arts on all matters directly or indirectly concerned with these objects, and to establish an advisory body of experts eminent in the fine arts to assist such agency in its activities; (3) to facilitate the formulation of plans for the development of the fine arts in time of war, depression, or other national emergency, in order to prevent our cultural institutions from shrinking in importance or passing out of existence and to avoid the often deplorable standards exemplified by art projects of Federal agencies at such times in the past, and in order to offset declining employment by providing for Federal assistance to States and local governments in projects for the construction, alteration, expansion, and repair of public facilities and for the development of cultural programs; (4) to integrate, coordinate, improve, and raise the standards of the fine arts programs which are presently being carried on in more than 15 Federal departments and agencies; (5) to reaffirm our faith in fundamental human rights, and in the dignity and worth of the human person; to fortify and preserve the principles of democracy, personal freedom, and political liberty, the constitutional traditions, and the rule of law, which are our heritage; and to strengthen, with these aims in view, the social and cultural ties which unite us as a people and with the free nations of the world, with our allies, and with other States inspired by the same ideals and animated by a like determination to resist aggression; (6) to stimulate private, business, and foundation giving to the liberal and fine arts; (7) to protect and preserve our artistic and historic inheritance through the pro-tection and restoration of historic monuments, houses, buildings, and sections of our cities; and (8) to destroy finally the Communist myth that Americans are insensitive, materialistic barbarians."

The bill then goes on for 12 pages of specifications and detail, portraying a great potential in America for culture and the fine arts.

Thus, early in January 1955, and early in the life of the new Congress, there is immediate and substantial activity in behalf of the fine arts. There is much to be done by many local people—first we must pay attention and display interest. We cannot expect Congress to come down the street, put up a building, and then say, citizens, here it is. There must be citizen interest shown now and continuously. There must be local leadership, such as is being shown on Tuesday, February 1, at the the District Building meeting. All this will enliven the atmosphere and bring about a favorable climate of opinion for what is proposed. And not the least possibility is that in the course of this activity and display of interest, a wealthy family or foundation might elect to come forward with a major grant of money to establish a fine arts center here in the Nation's Capital. I urge you now to note on your calendar February 1, old District Building at 8:30, for this first important meeting on the subject, Washington's Role in Cultural Affairs.

Great Lakes Water Diversion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I wish to commend to the attention and careful study of the membership of this body an informative memorandum prepared by Mr. H. C. Brockel, municipal port director of Milwaukee, dealing with the legal background of the Chicago water diversion controversy.

Because there is a possibility that attempts will be made to revive this controversy during the present Congress, I believe that Mr. Brockel's memorandum, submitted originally to the mayor of the city of Milwaukee, merits our careful consideration:

JANUARY 21, 1955.

HOD. FRANK P. ZEIDLER.

Mayor, City of Milwaukee.

DEAR MR. MAYOR: As requested, we are glad to send you herewith a memorandum concerning the legal background of the Chicago water diversion controversy, which apparently will be revived again in this session of Congress, despite Presidential veto last August of H. R. 3300 which, if enacted, would have authorized an additional 1,000 cubic second-feet of diversion from Lake Michigan through the Chicago Sanitary Canal.

The water diversion controversy arose from the circumstance that, between the years 1892 and 1900, the city of Chicago and its suburbs carried out a plan to dispose of the sewage of the Chicago metropolitan area by cutting a canal across the low continental divide about 10 miles west of Lake Michigan, and discharging the sewage of the entire metropolitan area into the Mississippi watershed by way of the Chicago Sanitary Canal, Des Plaines and Illinois Rivers.

This action precipitated 40 years of controversy and litigation. Ultimately, the other States of the Great Lakes Basin all the way from New York to Minnesota brought an original action in the United States Supreme Court to enjoin Chicago from the continued abstraction of waters from the Great Lakes Basin. The United States Supreme Court appointed Charles Evans Hughes as special master. After years of hearings and investigation, the Supreme Court, in 1930, issued a decree based upon the findings of Special Master Hughes, who later became Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court held that the Chicago water diversion had caused a lowering of 6 inches in the levels of the Great Lakes. It held that the lowering of lake levels by approximately 6 inches caused "a substantial and injurious effect upon the carrying capacity of vessels, and deprived navigation and commercial interests of facilities which otherwise they would have enjoyed in com-merce on the Great Lakes." The Court also held that the 6-inch lowering of the Great Lakes had caused substantial injury in connection with fishing and hunting grounds, beaches, summer resorts, and public parks.

The Court in its decree of 1930 ordered a gradual reduction in water diversion from the amounts then being taken and ordered Chicago to provide other means of disposing of the sewage of the sanitary district.

Since 1930, Chicago has slowly and reluctantly progressed the building of sewage treatment plants, and it is understood that substantially all of Chicago's sewage is now fully or partially treated.

The Supreme Court ordered that by 1937, diversion from Lake Michigan be reduced c. s. f., plus domestic pump-The diversion of 1500 c. s. f. was considered adequate to provide water circulation in the sanitary canal and to main-tain navigation levels. No sooner had the diversion reached the level fixed by the Supreme Court in 1937, than Chicago initiated the first of its many attempts to evade the Supreme Court decree. In practically every session of Congress since 1937, bills have been introduced providing for diversion in quantities much greater than allowed by the Supreme Court decree. Numerous other efforts were made by Chicago to circumvent the decree. For example, in 1942, the Chicago Sanitary District attempted to secure from Donald Nelson, War Production Ad-ministrator, an order increasing the diversion on the grounds that increased flow of water through the canal would permit increased generation of power at Lockport for war production purposes. Thanks to vigilant action by Milwaukee public officials and the Great Lakes Harbors Association, this specious plea was denied.

Very shortly thereafter, Chicago attempted to hoodwink the United States Public Health Service into issuing an order for increased diversion. Chicago claimed that a great pool of pollution existed in Lake Michigan, in the vicinity of its water intakes, which could be siphoned off by increased velocity of flow from Lake Michigan into the sanitary canal. At the same time that the sanitary district claimed that its water supply was in peril, Mayor Kelly was campaigning for office and loudly proclaiming that Chicago had "the finest water supply in the world." Dr. E. R. Krumbiegel, Milwaukee Health Commissioner, was an effective witness in refuting this fallacious claim before the United States Public Health Service and before congressional committees.

Having been frustrated before the War Production Board, the United States Public Health Service, and congressional committees, Chicago then attempted to secure an Executive order from the late President Roosevelt authorizing increased diversion. A barrage of protest came from the Great Lakes region as a result of which the President declined to issue the order.

Chicago thereafter petitioned the Supreme Court to reopen the case on the grounds that Chicago's water supply and public that Chicago's water supply and public health were in jeopardy. A special master was appointed by the Supreme Court, who conducted lengthy investigations and took much testimony. The special master found the Chicago claims unfounded and the Court declined to modify the decree.

Officials of the sanitary district have gone so far as to claim that increased diversion of lake water is needed for the development of atomic power at the Argonne Laboratory. Neither the State of Illinois nor the Chicago Sanitary District is in any way concerned with the development of atomic power at the Argonne Laboratory. No suggestion has ever been made by the Atomic Energy Commission that increased diversion is nec essary for the operation of this atomic plant.

A variety of specious reasons have been advanced by the State of Illinois and the Chicago Sanitary District. These are not the real motives for increased diversion. real motive is obscured in the sensational claims of the sanitary district. Increased diversion is desired because of the additional income to be derived from the development of hydroelectric power at Lockport. Ill., where the sanitary district maintains an electric powerplant and to decrease the operating expenses of the sanitary district, which becomes possible if untreated or partially treated sewage can be diluted with additional lake water. In the report of Special Master Lemann to the United States Supreme Court in March 1941, it was pointed out that the additional electricity which could be developed by a diversion of 10,000 c. f. s. is worth \$1,500 a day to the sanitary district, or \$550,000 a year.

The sanitary district has thoroughly confused the entire issue by repeated shifts of position and numerous phony claims. Among the purposes mentioned by Illinois for requiring increased diversion of Lake Michigan water are navigation, public health, recreation, community use, agriculture, and atomic power. Every one of these claims has been thoroughly disproved. Only two conclusions can be drawn; Either the securing of increased diversion has become an obsession and a fixed political objective in the Chicago area, or the sanitary district wants the water for power generation at Lockport to increase the funds available to it from sale of power.
The Great Lakes Harbors Association, the

port cities of the Great Lakes, the Lake Carriers Association, and the governments of the States bordering the Great Lakes have been united in opposition to the demands of Chi-cago that the waters of Lake Michigan be exploited for the political or financial benefit of the Chicago Sanitary District. Canadian Government has repeatedly prothe tested through diplomatic channels attempts to abstract water from an international basin for the benefit of a single

community.

For the past 40 years, the Milwaukee city government has been a powerful force for the protection of community and regional interests in this matter. Milwaukee should not be diverted from its position by abusive statements emanating from Chicago, which have little or no basis in fact. The allegation that pollution in the Chicago area emanates from Milwaukee is utterly ridiculous. While the writer is no authority in the field of sewage disposal, it is my understanding that it would be physically and financially impossible to build sewage facilities of a capacity adequate to treat sudden deluges of stormwater when torrential rains fall. Under these conditions, there is inevitably some mixing of storm and sanitary sewage and a flow develops beyond the capacity of our treatment plant. However, it is my understanding that quantities of sewage passed under these conditions are small in volume, short in duration, and so diluted as not to present a health hazard.

Chicago is obviously attempting to weaken the united front of Great Lakes interests against water diversion by endeavoring to make it appear that this is a Chicago-Milwaukee squabble. Nothing could be farther from the truth, and Milwaukee's valuable and historic leadership for the protection of its interests and the interests of the entire lake region should not be diminished by these unworthy and unfounded allegations.

It has been the position of many interests on the Great Lakes that if Chicago has a legitimate basis for adjustment of the 1930 decree, it should go back to the Supreme Court and make its petition, which will become the subject of reasonable and thorough investigation. In a word, this important issue, affecting a great watershed, 2 nations, and 8 States should be decided by the judicial processes and not by political methods.

With another temporary rise in lake levels, it can be anticipated that another hue and cry will emanate from Chicago, for more water. The Chicago Sanitary District and Chicago newspapers have done a clever propaganda job in persuading and alarming owners of shore property in Wisconsin and Michigan that increased diversion of water to the sanitary canal will solve the high-water problem on Lake Michigan. The maximum correction which would result in high water in Lake Michigan as a result of H. R. 3300 would be 1 inch in 3 years. One inch of water

would obviously not settle the erosion problem when the lakes rise to levels of 3 above normal, as they did in 1951 and 1952. On the other hand, removal of 1 inch of water from Lake Michigan as a result of the Chicago water diversion would, at the low lake level cycles, have a disastrous effect upon lake shipping. If the bulk freighter fleet on the Great Lakes has its safe draft reduced by only I inch, the annual loss in carrying capacity is approximately 2 million tons of cargo per season for American vessels only, excluding Canadian and ocean shipping. In the contest between erosion and navigation, the Chicago water diversion shipping. offers small comfort as an erosion preventative, but presents a very real threat to havigation and shipping on the Great Lakes.

Milwaukee, other port cities, and maritime interests of the Great Lakes region are now pressing for Federal deepening of the Great Lakes connecting channels in preparation for the St. Lawrence seaway project. It would be most inconsistent to press for such a costly improvement and at the same time consent to other measures which would result in

lowering lake levels.

We recommend that Milwaukee continue to support legislation providing for long-range study of water levels of the Great Lakes with a view to the building of control works. Such a study by the Corps of Engineers is now in progress. Its findings should be awaited before lake levels are further tampered with. In the meantime, the writer believes that it would be sound public policy to insist that Congress refrain from adjusting the allowable water diversion until lake-level engineering studies are completed. The groups opposing the Chicago water diversion are now in a very powerful position, having the support of a Presidential veto which will serve as a deterrent to congressional committees and to both Houses of Congress against hasty enactment of legislation such as H. R. 3300 which slipped through the Senate in the confusion of the closing hours.

H. C. BROCKEL, Municipal Port Director.

Salute to India

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleague from New York [Mr. Powell] in a salute to the Republic of India on this fifth anniversary of its independence.

I share with him the thought and belief that the Government of India and its people are not antiwhite and that such charges made by leaders in our own country are unwise, unfair, and unjust.

To have India as a friend of the United States and of the free world is of vital importance to the cause of democracy and human freedom. It seems to me that the philosophy and character of the Indian people puts them on the side of freedom and human decency and against totalitarian tyranny in any form.

Not only are hostile public statements offensive to the people of India, but they

offend our friends among the dark races of Asia. The Communist cause and not the cause of freedom and democracy is helped by irresponsible public statements against the young republic and the Indian people.

As my distinguished friend from New York has so eloquently pointed out, we can play a more effective role in the fight against totalitarian tyranny when good sense and the practice of democratic principles becomes more evident in both our foreign and domestic policies.

Personal Attacks on President Eisenhower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, many of our colleagues must have read with amazement, as I did, an extension and revision of remarks in yesterday's Record by our distinguished colleague from California [Mr. Holifield] in connection with the Formosa resolution.

In an address to Congress by President Eisenhower on February 2, 1953, dealing in part with the employment of the United States 7th Fleet by former President Truman both, first, to prevent attack upon Formosa; and, second, to prevent Formosa from attacking the Communist-held China mainland, President Eisenhower said of the Truman order:

This has meant, in effect, that the United States Navy was required to serve as a defensive arm of Communist China.

Mr. Holifield characterized this statement by President Eisenhower as a "brazen partisan political statement," and said that "it was received by the Democrats with deep resentment—because we knew, as the President knew, that the statement was untrue."

Elsewhere in the body of today's RECORD our distinguished colleague from Michigan [Mr. Bentley] discusses in detail the facts of the 7th Fleet deployment and shows the complete accuracy of President Eisenhower's statements.

It is my real and sincere hope that Mr. Holifield did not intend from the forum of the House of Representatives to call the President of the United States a liar. I would resent such a personal attack and I know millions of fine Americans would resent such a personal attack.

Nevertheless, and despite general statements from the President's political opponents that they will not oppose just for opposition's sake, I have noted a recurrent emanation from them of what I would consider unfounded and unwarranted personal attacks on the President and those around him. Some persons have even raised a question as to whether or not there exists an organized and planned all-out attack by vilification and innuendo both against President Eisenhower and his program.

It may be that I am oversensitive to these unwarranted and unfounded personal attacks on the President. So that my colleagues may judge for themselves, I set forth some statements made over the past 6 months which I regard as personal attacks against the President of the United States:

Adlai E. Stevenson, August 18, 1954 (United Press): Stevenson charged President Eisenhower with "putting party expediency" ahead of "even his own view of the national interest."

Adlai E. Stevenson, August 18, 1954 (United Press): Stevenson sharply criticized President Eisenhower for offering his good wishes to Joseph T. Meek, 1954 Republican candidate for the Senate in Illinois.

Adlai E. Stevenson, August 18, 1954 (Washington Post and Times-Herald): In a speech on the Republican farm program, Stevenson said: "But even more interesting * * was the * * * Presidential failure to point out that it was a cynical and total breach of promise, which apparently is no longer a political offense, at least among Republicans."

Stephen A. Mitchell, August 16, 1954 (New York Times): "Let's look * * * at the Dixon-Yates scandal, Here was a deal to grant a subsidy of \$140 million to a favored power syndicate, on the President's personal order, over the protest of the Atomic Energy Commission and the TVA, without competitive bidding.

"A director of 1 of the 2 companies in the favored syndicate is one of the President's closest friends (Bobby Jones) with a cottage next to President Eisenhower's at

the Augusta golf course.

"Maybe they never even talked about it, I don't know. Maybe it's just a coincidence that some of the bankers in this administration came from banks which underwrite this kind of project; I don't know."

Stephen A. Mitchell, August 18, 1954 (United Press: Democrat Chairman Mitchell charged President Eisenhower with a "multi-billion-dollar giveaway to big business" in the Dixon-Yates power controversy.

Averell Harriman, December 8, 1954 (Associated Press): The Democrat Governor-elect of New York said: "We've got to stop avoiding holding President Eisenhower responsible for the actions of his lieutenants and of the Republican Party." * * *

"When President Eisenhower told the people of this country that there would be a 'partisan cold war' in Washington if the Democrats won control of Congress," Harriman continued, "he was saying something that wasn't true—and that he has admitted wasn't true." • • •

"If that is an example of the responsibility that President Eisenhower feels to the people of this country, then I hope it is also a lesson for us Democrats—and I think it's one we're beginning to learn.

"We've got to quit this business of excluding President Eisenhower from criticism of the unworthy campaign tactics that have been adopted by the Republican Party, and that he has condoned."

Harriman added: "This is not an administration, or a party, without a head—much as it sometimes seems to be."

Paul M. Butler, December 5, 1954 (Baltimore Sun): The present Democrat chairman said: "As the months have passed it has become more and more apparent that a military background is not a full and complete preparation for a Chief Executive.

"It has become more and more apparent month by month that the Eisenhower administration and the Republican Party have a lack of capacity to lead and unite the American people."

Asked by reporters if he meant Eisenhower himself, Butler said: "I certainly did. I think the responsibility is with the Presi-

Paul M. Butler, December 5, 1954 (Associated Press): "The responsibility is with the President to see that the Nation is united and there is ever-increasing evidence of his

Paul M. Butler, December 8, 1954 (Washington Post and Times-Herald): President Eisenhower "has not shown the particular qualities that applied the particular of the particula qualities that enabled Harry Truman to write

such a courageous page in history.
"I only wish that President Eisenhower had the courage to join with moderate Republicans and Democrats in Congress to square away with the Old Guard and ex-tremists in his own party."

Paul M. Butler, December 10, 1954 (New

Times): Amplifying his earlier attacks on President Elsenhower, Butler declared: "It would seem to me that the first step might well be to make some effort to unite and lead his own party. We do not have to look far to see that the Republican Party is not united and is not being led by the Presi-

Paul M. Butler, December 12, 1954 (Associated Press): "We feel that thus far the President has not displayed the qualities of leadership that he displayed as a military

SAM RAYBURN, December 4, 1954 (New Orleans Item): The Item quoted RAYBURN as saying that he "does not think President Eisenhower knows his job." * * *

The Item further quoted RAYBURN as say-"The truth is, I don't think he (President Eisenhower) pays enough attention to the work and I don't think he knows what is

going on"

SAM RAYBURN, January 4, 1955 (Washington Post and Times-Herald): At the party caucus of Democrat Members of the House on January 4, RAYBURN said. "* * * We on January 4, RAYBURN said, "* * * We Democrats cannot forget some of the tactics employed by the President's own party in the last campaign, the reckless smearing of Democrats as alleged traitors, with which the President saw fit to identify himself." • • • "In my estimation, that makes Eisenhower

a party to these unwarranted attacks on our

patriotism."

Democratic Digest, February 1955: The February issue of the Democratic Digest tried to show that in more than a score of inhower was "at odds with himself or his party."

The Digest asserted that since the President appeared on the political scene "he has presented so many different faces that no one

positive image had emerged."

Walter P. Reuther, December 9, 1954 (New York Times): Reuther accused President Elsenhower of perpetrating a "political fraud" by saying that Labor Secretary Mitchell held equal status with other Cabinet

"The Secretary of Labor is not a member of the Cabinet," Reuther said. "He is just there as convenient window dressing to make the working people believe they have a voice in the policymaking decisions of our Government.

Can the Ukraine Shake Off the Communist Yoke?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OTTO KRUEGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. KRUEGER. Mr. Speaker, the anniversary of the Declaration of Ukrainian Independence, January 22, is another reminder of the tactics and policies of the Soviets against the peoples of the world who love freedom and independence.

It was in 1918 that these 40 million residents of the rich Ukraine moved toward self-government after the collapse of the Russian empire. But the Bolsheviks with a Russian army invaded the new nation, set up their puppet government and the territory went under the control of the Communist dictators.

The familiar story of oppression and pillage followed. The resources of 250,-000 square miles of fertile land, the mines and industry were diverted to the upbuilding of Communist power.

Resistance was bitter but costly. Massacre and famine followed. Millions were uprooted, sent to Siberia, to other Asiatic areas to face a bitter existence as slave laborers.

And while we hear this talk of coexistence, let us remember the pattern of conquest, the ruin of peoples and of nations that have come under the Kremlin's

In the United States today we have a group of Ukrainians who escaped the Communists. They have taken a place in their adopted country, are leaders in professions, citizens of the finest type. It is this group, with a full realization of the benefits of liberty, that are the voice of the 40 million behind the Iron Curtain, that help keep us conscious of the dangers of communism in our country.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of the Proclamation of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, the United Ukrainian Organizations of Newark demonstrated on January 23 on behalf of the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence and the 36th anniversary of the union of Eastern and Western Ukraine. This traditional observance is a fitting occasion to reaffirm the faith and hope of all freedom-loving people in the eventual liberation of all the nations behind the Iron Curtain. I was happy to send the following message to my good friends of the United Ukrainian Organizations:

JANUARY 20, 1955.

UNITED UKRAINIAN ORGANIZATIONS OF NEWARK,

Newark, N. J.

DEAR FRIENDS: It is a privilege to send a message of greeting and friendship to your distinguished assembly upon this hallowed occasion.

January 22 of 1918 was a memorable day for all freedom-loving Ukrainians, and especially so for those who, after enduring the severe vicissitudes of World War I, attained their most cherished dream, that of national political independence. This national ideal, which was carefully nursed in the hearts of all patriotic Ukrainians during the long

years of their subjection to alien rulers, had become almost a second religion to all devout Ukrainians. Its realization in 1918 looked like a true national resurrection. Unfortunately the newly recreated government could not withstand all the evil forces of tyranny and barbarism which were arrayed against it. In less than 2 years the Ukraine's independence became a victim of these forces.

Today Communist tyranny rules over the Ukraine with an unrelenting, iron hand, but even under the present adverse circumstances, all patriotic and freedom-loving Ukrainians still cherish their national ideal. their political independence. In this celebration you are certainly helping to keep alive that fine sentiment. I extend my cordial greetings to all of you on the occasion of this celebration and wish you every

With kindest regards, I am Sincerely yours,

HUGH J. ADDONIZIO, Member of Congress.

Pledges and Hedges

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker it is easy for some people to promise much today and perform much less tomorrow. What follows illustrates this point by demonstrating the gap between the words of the Republican campaigners and the deeds of the Republican administration. It also indicates that our well-meaning President need defer to no one as a good promiser.

These pledges and hedges appeared in the Democratic Digest of February 1955: PLEDGES AND HEDGES

ON PEACE: BEFORE AND AFTER THE ELECTION

The pledge: "For the first time in 20 years * * * today we have peace." (Elsenhower, Indianapolis, Ind., October 15, 1954.)
The hedge: "The President * * * added

that the world was not at peace as he would define that word. * * * An armistice, [he] said, cannot be termed peace." (New York Times, December 9, 1954.)

BALANCE THE BUDGET

The pledge: "Isn't it time we had, in Washington, an administration which knows how to keep spending down * * * which believes that an unbalanced Federal budget is dangerous to every one of us—and moves to bring that budget into balance?" (Eisen-(Eisenhower, September 30, 1952.)

The hedge: "Humphrey Calls Balanced Budget Out of Reach: The budget outlook, as described by the Secretary, means that the administration will be unable for third year to redeem 1952 campaign pledge. (New York Times, December 7, 1954.)

UNLEASH CHIANG KAI-SHEK

The pledge: "Eisenhower Frees Chiang To Raid Mainland: I am issuing instructions that the 7th Fleet no longer be employed to shield Communist China [the President nid]." (New York Times, February 3, 1953.) The hedge: "The Nationalist Chinese Navy

and air force have been ordered to cease attacks on Chinese Communist mainland targets as a result of United States pressure."
(Washington Post and Times Herald, October 7, 1954.)

AVOID CONFLICTS BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The pledge: "We shall not allow our Government agencies to fight at the expense of the American people." (Eisenhower, Troy, N. Y., October 22, 1952.)

The hedge: "Dulles, Humphreys Split Over Shift to Long-Range Aid: President Eisenhower's Cabinet is split over a proposed longrange program of economic grants and loans as the free world's chief weapon in the cold war." (New York Times, December 4, 1954.)

GETTING GOOD MEN TO SERVE IN GOVERNMENT

The pledge: "We can get the best men in America. There will have to be no cry 'we can't get good men to come to Washington.' Pure bunk." (Eisenhower, Chicago, September 5, 1952.)
The hedge: * * drawing upon the busi-

ness community for Government executives is not so simple * * * as was thought * * *. The administration from now on will find it harder to locate businessmen who are able and willing to serve. (Fortune magazine, July 1954.)

PRESERVE A NONPOLITICAL CIVIL SERVICE

The pledge: Federal employees shall be selected under a strengthened and extended merit system.

erit system. (1952 GOP platform.) The hedge: White House seeks jobs for GOP favorites. White House jobs-for-Republicans campaign headed by Adams' office. (Washington Post and Times Herald, October 27, 1954.)

HELP STATES BUILD SCHOOLS

The pledge: "In this critical problem of adequate education, we must now undertake to help needy States build schools." (Eisenhower, Los Angeles, October 9, 1952.)

The hedge: When asked about Federal aid to education, [Welfare Secretary] Hobby em-Phatically replied that it was not on her legislative agenda. (New York Times, October 22, 1954.)

AVOID BLUSTER IN FOREIGN POLICY

The pledge: "Bluster in words could here mean national humiliation * * * The way to true national security is something different from either extreme; quiet firmness in words, effective strength in purpose." (Eisenhower, Salt Lake City, October 10, 1952.)

The hedge: If you add up all the statements made by Eisenhower, the Vice President, the Secretary of State, the military and assorted Republican leaders, the sum total is bluff, bluster, backdown, and baloney. (Chicago Daily News, July 14, 1954.)

Trade Expansion Essential to Prosperity of America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER NORBLAD

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an editorial published in the Seaside (Oreg.) Signal and written by Mr. Max Schafer on the subject of world trade:

TRADE EXPANSION ESSENTIAL TO PROSPERITY OF AMERICA

Of all the recommendations made during the opening weeks of the new Congress by President Eisenhower, probably the most important involves the program for promoting trade between the western nations. The whole future of the world can hang upon the decision of Congress in this mat ter. If the United States takes the lead in promoting expanded trade, we can develop the economies of the western nations to point where communism will lose its appeal. If we do not, we will force several nations into the arms of the Communists. One of them will be Japan, the key to the defense of the western Pacific. Others will be forced into a socialistic economy, which, after all, is just the first step toward com-And we will of necessity adopt more and more socialism ourselves.

From our own standpoint the most important phase of this situation is simply the fact that we cannot continue to maintain a free enterprise economy without free trade. Our productive ability has become so great that only a worldwide market, free of all restrictions and barriers, can support full employment. That we now have several million men unemployed is due to trade restrictions, which make it impossible for us to enter many markets throughout the world. We will always have this situation until trade throughout the western world is freed of restrictions.

While we are by no means the only of-fenders in this matter, it is up to us to take the lead in solving the problem. We still export more than we import. Normal imports will not pay for the American goods being bought by other nations. The difference is made up in foreign aid of one kind or another. Elimination of this aid would mean more unemployment than now exists. If we take the lead in removing trade restrictions, and in return demand that other nations do the same thing, we will open markets now closed to us and put more men to

The important fact is that we must buy from others if they are to buy from us. Except for help we give other nations, they have no resources with which they can buy American goods other than dollars earned in the process of selling goods to us. If our exports are to expand our imports must also expand.

The greatest strength of the Soviet bloc is the ability to move resources, labor, and products without restraint across artificial boundaries. Economically the various members of the bloc are a unit. The greatest weakness of the western nations is their lack

of such economic unity.

There will always be the problem of certain American industries which have been built on the basis of trade restrictions. -Probably they will need some sort of a subsidy for a period during which they would be forced to adjust themselves to the new situation or to liquidate. But the fact is that most American production will compete with any in the world and will sell in competition to that of any other nation, regardless of wage scales. Properly employed, the high-wage American workman is the cheapest labor in the world, because, with the tools American industry gives him, he produces more for a wage dollar than any other workman in the world.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, January 22 marked an anniversary that tears at the hearts of many loyal Americans of Ukrainian descent-the 37th anniversary of the independence proclamation of the Ukrainian people. They had great hopes and faith when they started anew, in 1918, to carry on their ancient traditions of national independence. But their hopes were shortlived. The Ukraine was the first non-Russian country to fall victim to the wicked imperialism of the Soviet. The churches of the Ukraine were among the first to be leveled in the fanatical atheism of these godless conquerors. Ukrainians were dessimated in the famines and purges and the deportations and mass murders to which Moscow resorts when it is challenged by the national spirit of the non-Russians it enslaves.

Yet, through all these trials and tribulations the Ukrainians have never lost their spirit or their hopes. In the brief interlude during World War II, when they were permitted to fight at our sides. the Ukrainians distinguished themselves as a valorous breed apart from their Russian masters. They wait, 40 million strong, for the great opportunity-which history must surely hold for them-to reaffirm their independence and take their places, at last, in the community of free nations and free men and women.

These brave friends of ours behind the Iron Curtain cannot raise their voices so we can hear. But they hear us, through our official efforts to communicate with them, and through all the unofficial channels that always carry words of hope to men of good heart within the tyrants' domain. I am glad to see a number of my colleagues taking note of this anniversary. I am proud to join them, and add my voice to theirs.

Federal Regulation of Natural Gas Producers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN E. HENDERSON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HENDERSON. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared January 25, 1955, in the Times Recorder of Zanesville, Ohio, poses a penetrating question on the meaning in terms of economic philosophy of the newly imposed Federal regulation of natural-gas producers:

IS THIS WHAT WE WANT?

For years the Federal Government has fixed rates for carriers in interstate commerce and for certain legalized monopolies. State, county, and local government have regulated their public utilities. This is to give the public an enforceable guaranty of fair and just rates in the absence of competition.

But today, for the first time in the Nation's peacetime history, the Federal Government has stepped in to regulate the prices, profits, and general operations of private producers who sell a commodity for private consumption in a free and competitive market.

That commodity is natural gas, now subject to Federal price-fixing at the point of

production under a 5-to-3 Supreme Court decision of last June which considers a private, competitive producer of natural gas to be in interstate commerce because sells his product to an interstate pipeline. Actually, this independent producer is one segment of a three-part operation which brings natural gas from the field to your furnace and kitchen. The others are pipeline transporter, who is already regulated by interstate commerce laws; and the distributor, or local gas company, who is controlled by public-utility statutes. So why regulate the producer too? Will it give us cheaper gas? Indications are to the concheaper gas? Indications are to the con-trary—with the additional long-range danger of further Federal encroachment on everybody's business.

Natural gas is a clean, convenient, and economical fuel, vital to the 21 million American households that now use gas, and to the millions more who are waiting for new pipelines to bring it to them. To meet this ever-growing demand, there must be continuous exploration for new reserves. But exploration is expensive. It costs more than \$100,000 to drill an exploratory well, and 8 out of 9 are dry and unproductive. The cost of these operations must come out of the profits of productive wells, as they did when the uncontrolled gas producer was receiving 10 cents or less as his total share—not profit, but total share—of every household gas bill dollar.

Certainly there is nothing in history to

Certainly there is nothing in history to suggest that government can give us cheaper gas by imposing additional controls on production. Unless there is aggressive development of new supplies, spurred by reasonable incentives for the producers, there can only be less gas. And it is abundance, not shortage, that keeps prices down.

Far more dangerous, however, is this new precedent which could lead to Government supervision of all productive business whose goods reach consumers outside of the State of origin—oil, coal, minerals, farm products, and most anything else.

To extend the economic philosophy of the natural gas decision would, of course, be socialism. So the whole question is fairly simple: Is that what the American people want?

The Job Export Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I desire to call the attention of my colleagues to an excellent article appearing in a recent issue of the United Mine Workers Journal, under the caption "The Job Export Program."

Mr. John T. Jones, director of Labor's Nonpartisan League, and a high-ranking official of the United Mine Workers of America, presents forcefully the situation particularly as it affects the workingmen and women of the United States.

Mr. Jones' article follows:

THE TIME TO SEE YOUR CONGRESSMAN IS NOW, JONES WARNS IN STATEMENT ON CHEAP IM-PORTS

(By John T. Jones, director, Labor's Nonpartisan League)

The 84th Congress, convening in January 1955, will determine whether or not "the jon

export program" will be extended, or even be made permanent.

Its proponents do not call the program by that name. Officially it is on the statute books as the Trade Agreements Act. It was originally passed in 1934 as an emergency measure, and has since been extended, in periods of 3 years or less, until the present date. It deals with the statistically tedious and boringly intricate consideration of the extent to which low-cost-production goods of foreign nations may be imported into the United States to compete, for purchase dollars by Americans, with the American goods produced under the high living standards of the United States and by the workmen of this Nation.

The facts that many segments of our population fail to recognize in regard to this act include the following:

1. Every foreign-made item sold in this country in competition with similar items made in the United States represents a loss of employment to American labor.

2. The flooding of American markets with more cheaply produced foreign goods—and the resulting cutback in American production jobs—reduces the amount of taxable income by which the unemployment insurance, old-age security, pension plans, and other benefits of Americans under the American way of life and the American standard of living, may be sustained.

3. Trade agreements, which permit cheaper made foreign goods to come into the United States under low import duties, or without any duty, add to the capability of foreign goods to undercut American goods in the American home markets.

It is well to look at the backlog of fact predating the passage of the 1934 Trade Agreements Act.

Article 1, section 8, of the Constitution of the United States delegated to the Congress the regulation of foreign trade through adjustment of the duties, imports, or excises commonly called tariffs.

From the passage of the first Revenue and Tariff Act by Congress on July 4, 1789, to June 12, 1934, trade and tariff problems were handled by Congress in accordance with article 1, section 8, of the Constitution.

On June 12, 1934, a strong executive won from a weak legislative branch of our Government an abrogation of the legislative power, constitutionally given, to regulate tariffs. It was accomplished by an amendment to the Tariff Act of June 17, 1930—an amendment giving the executive branch the power to lower existing tariffs by as much as 50 percent, or of raising such tariffs.

The original transfer of this power to the Executive by the legislative branch was to run for 3 years only. The political party which held the White House from the date of passage of the Trade Agreements Act in 1934 to 1952 held sufficient power in Congress to effect extensions of that tariff-control

During the years of the buildup for World War II, the war-production years from Pearl Harbor to V-J Day, through the postwar rehabilitation years, then through the Korean police action, and subsequently the cold-war period to date, the United States has poured multiple billions of dollars into various aid and assistance programs to foreign nations—billions mat by the taxes of Americans.

billions met by the taxes of Americans.

Under the heading of "rehabilitation," the United States shipped machinery, materials, and technical know-how to the rest of the world outside the Iron Curtain. It replaced the outmoded, outworn production plants of foreign nations with modern production plants, and trained foreign labor in the mass-production technique to compete with American products.

But in the United States, as of October 1953, the average hourly earnings of industrial workers was \$1.78, as against \$1.38 in Canada, and as against a range of 75 cents down to 37 cents in such countries as Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Belgium, the

United Kingdom, France, and Germany. The lowest scale, as of 1952, was in Japan, where the average was 19 cents per hour.

The American watch industry all but went down under the impact of literally millions of Swiss-made watches and movements, produced at a fraction of the cost of the American product, and permitted into our markets under low import rates which made it possible for the Swiss watches to undercut domestically produced watches. Since 1953 there has been some effort to equalize the situation with an upward tariff revision.

American glass and pottery makers have felt the stunning impact of cheap foreignmade products allowed to come in over low tariff barriers which permit the underseiling of American goods.

Recent testimony before the Malone committee of the United States Senate, contended that the American coal industry should have been exporting 50 million tons of coal in 1953 to foreign countries. We gave money aid to Italy, France, Yugoslavia, and the Low Countries—and they used the money to buy Polish and Czechoslovakian coal. Within the past months reports have come through of an agreement between Japan and Communist China by which Japan will import 165,000 tons of Red Chinese coal under one contract, and 85,000 tons of Red Chinese coal under another contract. At the same time the Japanese Premier was in this country seeking further financial aid from us to bolster the sagging Japanese economy.

Soviet Russia forces trade with her satellites, and, at the same time, is cajoling our "allied" friends of the free world—Great Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Norway, Denmark, Turkey, Greece, Egypt, Pakistan, and many others—into trade and barter agreements. Red China follows a similar drive to bring India, Burma, Indochina, Indonesia, Nepal, Afghanistan—all the southeast Asia nations—into a Red Chinese orbit of trade.

ALLIES UNDERCUT UNITED STATES MARKETS

The British, West German, Italian, French, Belgian, and Dutch nations, trading with the Soviet and satellite nations, build the economic power of the Soviet toward the strength sufficient for worldwide aggression. Reciprocal trade agreements, by which these nations, of the free world can undercut American products in American markets, can only weaken the industrial power of the United States by making it impossible to maintain our high wage scales and standard of living.

American big business, maintaining production plants abroad, selling in the foreign markets with the benefit of low-cost foreign labor, further takes from the American workers the man-hours of employment which would accrue in this country were the goods produced here.

The jobless automobile workers in Detroit would do well to think of how many are "on the bricks" because of the number of Soviet, German, French, and Italian automobiles sold in foreign markets that used

to be ours.

American textile workers, hatters, shoe workers, producers of minerals and agricultural products, might well ask their Senators and Representatives, before the 84th Congress acts on the up-coming proposals to extend the Trade Agreements Act, if they understand that the proper title for the legislation should be the "Job Export Program of 1955."

After enactment of extension it will be too late. The time to see your Senator or Congressman is between now and January. The place to see him is at home, before he gets to Washington and is confronted with the pressures of the big business lobbyists waiting for him there.

WARNS AGAINST DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN OF Russell B. Brown, general counsel of the Independent Petroleum Association of America, warned that propaganda of oil-imPorting companies is leading America into a state of complacency over increasing de-

pendence on foreign oil.

In a report to IPAA President W. A. Vaughey, Brown said the companies through Publications, speeches, radio, TV, and paid Publicity are "maintaining their pressure for continued excessive imports."

Brown stated that the American people would not stand for the United States becoming dependent on foreign sources for water power which now supplies about 4 percent of our total energy needs, but, he Dointed out, we are already more dependent on imported oil which now constitutes about 6 percent of the Nation's energy needs.

A Fair-Play Code for Congressional Investigating Committees

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, the congressional investigative process must be retained, undiminished and unimpaired. It is essential to the proper functioning of the legislative process.

Nevertheless, we should be the first to recognize that at times abuses have occurred. We should put our own house in order by adopting a set of basic rules to govern the conduct of all investigating committees. Then we should devise appropriate machinery to enforce such a code. At the same time we should study the methods whereby committees can more effectively deal with recalcitrant,

evasive and defiiant witnesses.

These are some of the matters which, it is contemplated, would be considered by a special committee created under the provisions of House Resolution 78.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Rochester (N. Y.) Democrat and Chronicle urging early congressional attention to this problem:

KEATING ON A CODE

Representative Kenneth B. Keating has chosen a strategic time to win converts in Congress to a plan for developing a code of fair play which he hopes will silence the rumblings of complaints over investigative abuses. His resolution will have the support of sympathetic colleagues of his party. It should also claim backing among rankled Democrats. The temper of the times indicates reform is due.

The Rochesterian's proposal of a special House committee to come up with a code of fair play stems from his grave concern over the improprieties and weaknesses of congressional inquiries. Since 1792, when a House committee made the first inquiry (into the failure of an expedition against the Indians), committees of Congress have made more than 800 investigations. In the intervening 162 years the investigative arm has swung in an ever-widening arc. The 82d Congress, for example, ran its researches into the more than modest cost of \$5 mil-

No one can seriously question the legal right of Congress to investigate. Unfortunately, some legislators have discovered in the committee hearing a new and wondrous arena for making political plays. Purposes too often have become punitive rather than factfinding. One-man hearings have often been gimmicks for handouts to the press.

The most notable casualties, but not all,

The most notable casualties, but not all, have been the constitutional rights of individuals. They have occurred, hasically, not as a direct conspiracy but as an inevitable result. Representative Keating explains it this way: "The trouble starts when the legitimate interests of the investigating committee clash with the equally legitimate protections the Constitution has given all citizens—presumption of innocence, right to counsel, speedy public trial, privilege against self-incrimination."

But this is a two-edged problem, and the extremes go in both directions. Another casualty has been the committees themselves in their inability to enforce subpenas and their failure to punish witnesses for contempt. Representative Keating's proposal looks to heading off the extremes. We cannot foresee, officially, the fate of his proposal. One forecast is safe: it will precipitate more thought and discussion on a festering sore in our legislative branch overdue for some effective treatment.

Relief From Duty of Robb N. Keyser

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN J. WILLIAMS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, on April 22, 1953, I criticized the manner in which Robb N. Keyser had in 1952 been appointed as director of internal revenue in the West Virginia area.

At that time I pointed out how Mr. Keyser had flunked his civil service examination, was rejected by the examining board as unqualified, and was only given the job after the intervention of the Representative from that State, who contacted the President of the United States, and Secretary Snyder overruled the Civil Service Commission and gave him the job.

This appointment was a direct violation of the reorganization act which was passed by the Congress for the purpose of eliminating political influence in the selection of these directors.

I do not know the nature of Mr. Keyser's more recent charges, but I am glad that at long last the wheels of justice appear to be rolling. They have been a long time getting started.

I ask unanimous consent that the newspaper article dated January 24, 1954, announcing his removal be incorporated in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

KEYSER OUT AFTER INSPECTION—WITH PARKERSBURG OFFICE 22 YEARS

PARKERSBURG, January 24.—Robb N. Keyser, 52, was relieved of duty today as West Virginia director of the Internal Revenue Service.

A terse announcement of Keyser's dismissal from the \$12,000-a-year post was made by W. B. Eshleman, of Cincinnati, regional Internal Revenue Service director. Keyser, nephew of United States Senator NEELY, Democrat, West Virginia, has been

with the Internal Revenue Service for almost 22 years, the last two as director in West Virginia.

The announcement handed newsmen here by Eshleman said:

"As a result of information disclosed through an inspection of the office of the district director of internal revenue at Parkersburg, W. Va., W. B. Eshleman, regional commissioner, announced that District Director Robb N. Keyser has been relieved of duty as of today.

NOTHING TO HIDE

"Mr. Keyser has submitted a resignation effective January 24, 1955. In accordance with established policies of the Internal Revenue Service, no further details will be released at this time."

Keyser declined to make a statement at this time, other than to say:

"I have done nothing I am ashamed of and I have nothing to hide."

STAYED ON UNDER GOP

Keyser is a Democrat but continued to retain office after the new Republican Presidential administration took over. The ouster move is in line with similar action taken affecting postmasters and other holdover Democrats.

The Parkersburg News said tonight that Keyser offered his resignation in preference to dragging the Internal Revenue Service into politics.

Mrs. Ella J. Vaughn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER ROGERS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, it is with distinct pride that I have the honor and pleasure of paying a much deserved tribute to one of the great ladies of our Nation. She is not one who has been publicized in the metropolitan newspapers nor one who has appeared on nationwide radio and television broadcasts. She is not one who has sought the limelight of publicity nor undertaken to find praise for the great contributions that she has made to mankind. The lady of whom I speak is truly "Mrs. America." She is Mrs. Ella J. Vaughn, of Silverton, Briscoe County, Tex., who will on Sun-day, January 30, celebrate her 103d birthday. She first saw the light of day in Wood County, Tex., on January 30, 1852, when Millard Fillmore was the 13th President of this great country. In fact, her birthplace is only a few short miles from the birthplace of the present occupant of our White House, the Honorable Dwight D. Eisenhower. Mrs. Vaughn has lived under the administrations of 22 of our 32 Presidents and has witnessed the greatest era in the advancement of civilization and in the development and progress of mankind. Her first recollection of any President was the Honorable James Buchanan. She remembers vividly the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. She is affectionately known as Grandma Vaughn to everyone who enjoys the honor of her acquaintance. Her full enjoyment of life is exemplified by the perpetual smile that greets her children and her countless friends. Certainly, we in the Panhandle of Texas are honored that her long and useful life has been spent in this great area. Her fine character and unselfish devotion to her children and her country exemplify the fine Christian life for which we all so diligently strive. Grandma Vaughn has been, and will always be, a fine example for all in our section of the country, America is indeed proud to extend to you sincere congratulations on the celebration of your 103d birthday and to extend to you best wishes for many more.

UNESCO Teachings in Public Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES A. HALEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I place in the Record at this time two resolutions adopted by the American Legion which specifically set forth the fact that the American Legion is not in harmony with the teachings of the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization.

The resolutions, which follow, clearly affirm the American Legion's disagreement with the principles taught by UNESCO:

RESOLUTION 322, OREGON, UNESCO TEACHINGS IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS PASSED BY NATIONAL CONVENTION, THE AMERICAN LEGION, WASH-INGTON CONVENTION, AUGUST 30 TO SEPTEM-BER 2, 1954

Whereas the policy of the American Legion in regard to the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization was clearly delineated by Resolution No. 33 of the national executive committee meeting in Indianapolis on May 1, 1953; and
Whereas some confusion now exists as to

Whereas some confusion now exists as to the present American Legion policy toward this same organization: Now, therefore, be it Resolved by the American Legion in na-

Resolved by the American Legion in national convention assembled at Washington, D. C., August 30-September 2, 1954, That Resolution No. 33 of the national executive committee dated May 2, 1953, is hereby reaffirmed as to its resolving clauses: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we deplore the use of material furnished by the United Nations educational, scientific, and cultural organizations for the use in our public schools; and be it further

Resolved by the national executive committee of the American Legion, meeting in Indianapolis, Ind., April 29-30, May 1, 1953, That we call upon all American educational institutions and upon boards of education throughout the United States to cease and desist from the use of the educational materials of UNESCO propounding world citizenship and adherence to a nebulous world government as a criteria of education of American citizens; and be it further

Resolved, That we call upon the representatives of the United States to UNESCO to take appropriate measures to cause UNESCO to cease and desist from dissemination of such subversive educational materials; and be it still further

Resolved, That studies by the national executive committee now in progress by the special committee on covenant on human rights and United Nations be continued. The following resolution, originated in the national Americanism commission meeting in Indianapolis October 4, 1954, was overwhelmingly approved by vote of the national executive committee of the American Legion meeting in Indianapolis October 6, 1954, said resolution as follows:

resolution as follows:
"Whereas the opposition of the American
Legion to the teachings of UNESCO was
clearly stated by Resolution No. 33, passed
by the national executive committee of the
American Legion meeting in Indianapolis,
Ind., April 29–30–May 1, 1953; and

"Whereas at the national executive committee meeting of May 1954, in Indianapolis, the special committee on Covenant on Human Rights and United Nations of the national executive committee filed a report on UNESCO with the national executive committee, on which no approval or other action was taken; and

"Whereas this report largely stated the good things that the United States State Department and the National Commission for UNESCO, who are promoting UNESCO, had to say in favor of UNESCO; and

"Whereas, this favorable report on UNESCO, though it was neither approved nor adopted by the national executive committee has been copied twice into the Congressional Record with inference of about face by the American Legion, and has been quoted and referred to by the press of the Nation, both friendly and unfriendly to the American Legion, as an about face of the American Legion, and as tacit approval of UNESCO by the American Legion; and

"Whereas to clear up this confusion the Americanism convention committee recommended and the Washington convention of the American Legion, August 30-September 2, 1954, passed Resolution No. 322 which reaffirmed the resolving clauses of Resolution No. 33 opposing the teachings of UNESCO;

"Whereas if the American Legion were to authorize the appointment of a representative of the American Legion on the National Commission for UNESCO, it could serve only to be used by the promoters of UNESCO's world-government program, and by the press as approval of UNESCO by the American Legion: Now, therefore be it

"Resolved, Should any proposal be made to the national executive committee of the American Legion for approval of the said report filed by the said special committee before the national executive committee, May 1954 or for the appointment or authorization of the appointment of a representative of the American Legion on the National Commission for UNESCO, that the national Americanism commission hereby urges the national executive committee not to approve said report and not to appoint nor authorize the appointment of any representative or representation whatsoever of the American Legion on the National Commission for UNESCO."

Trade Not Aid Proposal Termed Colossal Hoax

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following interesting article from the Cincinnati Enquirer by Edward Wimmer, president, Forward America Publishing Guild and vice president, National Federation of Independent Business:

TRADE NOT AID PROPOSAL TERMED COLOSSAL HOAX

The drive to lower tariffs is a greater threat to the economic and political stability of this country than any other danger confronting us from the outside world. It has within it all the seeds of self-deception, pollyanna welfarism, fear of communism and unsound economic planning necessary to destroy our present standard of living.

Picture in your mind, please, a scene containing three lakes—one of them larger and more beautiful than the other two, and resting on higher ground. Think of these lakes as the purchasing power of America, Asia, and Europe. Now place two imaginary drain pipes that will carry water from the welf-filled lake at the higher level, to the other lakes, and then open the valves. What happens? The three lakes will find the same level, won't they?

Consider, now, the thinking behind the lower tariff advocates who view 160,000,000 Americans (with one-third of their income taken away in taxes) not only providing enough purchasing power to buy what they are now producing, but, at the same time, provide enough purchasing power to raise the living standards of a half-billion wage slaves and their countless dependents—an uncanny number of whom are now trained to man high speed machinery designed to produce the same goods our own high speed machinery is overproducing.

Just stop for a moment, and ask yourself if our toy manufacturers, for example, who pay skilled workers a minimum of \$1.60 per hour, can compete with the industrious Japanese who work around the clock for 20 cents an hour—which wage will not go up appreciably if we would buy all of Japan's surplus toys. Today, our administration looks fearfully toward Japan and sees unemployment rising at the rate of 500,000 annually. The birth rate is terrifying, and there have been devastating storms and poor crops. The administration also sees Japan looking longingly toward Red Asia for markets, and then there is the voice of Britain saying "Japan must have American dollars to buy British goods."

By any measuring stick do we dare to turn Japan into a plunderbund of the American market place—in the pollyanna, faliacious thinking that we can sell Japan's low wage earners enough goods to offset the loss of jobs, taxes, and outside markets which Japan is taking away from us every day? Isn't Japan now taking orders away from both Britain and the United States, and bidding on American defense contracts at prices no American firm can even approach?

Furthermore, is there any indication that Britain and Germany will lower their tariff walls to admit American goods in direct competition to their own factories and farms, and even if they did, can we produce automobiles, refrigerators, washing machines, toasters, blankets, farm products, or anything else, at prices low enough to compete? After all, we have helped them to set up machinery which will produce all the goods the Germans or British can buy, and at a labor cost far below our own. And think of the foreign branches of American companies, ready to pour goods into the United States in direct competition to their own companies and workers.

Our lead, zinc, and copper mines are a frightening example of what could easily happen on a wide front. To supposedly insure the good will of Communist-infiltrated countries, we paid higher prices for lead, zinc, and copper abroad than it could be produced for at home, which closed a whole string of American mines, and brought near

paralysis to others. On top of this, we gave Britain \$234 million to buy lead, zinc, and copper on foreign markets, which Britain sold to America—at prices our mines couldn't meet. To make matters still worse, this country spent \$594 million to expand mining industries in foreign nations, and only sixty-four million for domestic expansion.

Since World War II we gave away fifty billion in various forms of relief. Countless billions have found their way into foreign bockets through other sources, yet they tell us now that we must let these nations flood our markets so they can get on their feet—no matter where they put us. They have labeled their hoax, "Trade, not aid," but what are broken tariff walls if they are not a subsidy, and what is a subsidy but aid?

The big problem to solve, we believe, is how to exchange goods and services at home and abroad, on a basis of fair trade—for on no other basis can nations hope to live together, prosper, and progress.

A Great Advance in Prevention of Blindness

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FRANCES P. BOLTON

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. speaker, we hear so much that is discouraging that I would like to share with you a very thrilling report that comes to me. It tells of research that led to prevention of blindness in premature infants.

Since 1942, I understand, approximately 8,000 children have been blinded by retrolental fibroplasia. For these children it means a life of abnormal darkness. To the community, the State, and Federal Governments it means heavy costs of education, training, and support, an estimated \$800 million. The successful research described in the following report means that we will have less blind babies, children, and adults in the years to come. I am proud to call attention to the fact that the National Foundation for Eye Research, whose secretary's offices are in Cleveland, Ohio, contributed materially to that research.

Under leave granted to me to extend my remarks, the report is appended herewith.

BLINDNESS IN PREMATURE INFANTS

(Prepared by the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness)

Thousands of unborn children who would have been doomed to blindness next year and every year thereafter will have been granted their sight because of the work of medical science and because of their Government which supported a coordinated research program under the auspices of the heurological institute.

They will have been spared as a result of the investigations of more than 75 ophthal-mologists and pediatricians who for the past year have worked in close coordination at 18 hospitals throughout the United States. Their purpose, and that of the Government which supported them: To find the cause of retrolental fibroplasia, the mysterious disease of the eye's retina which strikes 50 percent of all premature infants weighing 3½

pounds or less at birth. Their findings: That oxygen—the lifegiving oxygen routinely administered to premature infants in their incubators—was in fact a major sight killer.

END OF A 12-YEAR QUEST

This month before a gathering of eye specialists from every part of the Nation and from every part of the continent as well, the way was made clear for the prevention of retrolental fibroplasia. It was exceedingly simple; speaking on behalf of all those who had worked in the cooperative study, Dr. V. Everett Kinsey, associate director of the Kresge Eye Institute in Detroit, summed it up cautiously but clearly. "On the basis of (these) observations," he said, "our group of investigators feels that oxygen only be administered to premature infants in times of clinical crises rather than as routine hospital procedure."

For the scientists and physicians who heard him, and to the hundreds of hospitals and thousands of physicians responsible for the care of the Nation's newborn, these words marked the end of a 12-year quest. The observations which Kinsey had placed before them had been elegant and incontrovertible: 53 infants in the 18 hospitals, Kinsey indicated, had received routine oxygen in their incubators, and 72 percent had incurred retrolental fibroplasia, 25 percent with their eyes permanently damaged (blindness). Of 245 infants, however, who had received curtailed oxygen (for clinical crisis only) only 30 percent had developed the disease and less than six percent had suffered loss of vision.

OPENS THE WAY FOR PREVENTION

"While it had been feared," Kinsey commented, "that curtailed use of oxygen for premature infants might cause an increase in mortality, statistics of the study showed this was not so. The mortality rate was 22.2 percent in routine oxygen and 20.1 for those in curtailed oxygen." With this statement, the way was completely open for the practical prevention of most of retrolental fibroplasia.

Obvious and simple as the study may have appeared, it might well have been but one more failure in the long, hard hunt for the cause of retrolental fibroplasia which has gone on since 1942. It was in that year that Dr. T. L. Terry described and named that disease in the American Journal of Ophthalmology and said: "A variable mass of contracting scar tissue in the vitreous (central portion of the eye ball) explains the partial or complete blindness that is the ultimate expression of the condition."

LACK OF OXYGEN IMPLICATED

To Terry himself and others, the disease seemed to be due to conditions occurring prior to the birth of the premature infant. The records of mothers whose infants suffered from retroiental fibroplasia indicated that many of them had had either multiple births, toxemia of pregnancy, or placental disease or hemorrhage. It was Terry's conclusion, thereby, that lack of oxygen in the unborn baby was the most important cause of permanent damage to the blood carrying tissues of the eye which characterizes retroiental fibroplasia.

As the incidence of retrolental fibroplasia in the United States increased rapidly, however, and as reports from England, Australia, and the Continent indicated that it was on the rise there as well, it became more evident the disease might be caused by conditions related to the changing care of infants in hospitals.

MANY CAUSES SUGGESTED

In the gathering search for the environmental cause of retrolental fibroplasia, the possibilities multiplied—nutritional deficiencies in the infant, or again, nutritional excesses; irritation of light on newborn eyes or possibly not enough light; mother's milk

was implicated, then cow's milk: or was it due to faulty salt distribution in the body, to water imbalance, acidosis and oxygen deficiency stemming from anemia and other conditions? But for every scientific paper indicating evidence for one or another factor, another scientific paper emerged to controvert it.

By 1951, however, the possible role of oxygen, i. e., excess or deficiency, had been suggested. In one hospital, the increase of the disease was observed to correlate not only with the introduction of oxygen-carrying incubators but with the increased oxygen made available to premature infants over a several year period.

ROLE OF OXYGEN DEBATED

In 1952, however, it was lack of oxygen which was condemned; at the St. Louis University Hospital, it was reported that when premature infants were withdrawn from high oxygen-containing incubators, retrolental fibroplasia seemed to progress. Put them back into oxygen, however, said Dr. Szewczyk, and the condition diminishes or disappears. While these results were confirmed in a small number of cases at another hospital, the fallacy of the evidence passed unnoticed for the moment: Since a large number of retrolental fibroplasia cases diminish spontaneously, bow can we know that the cases returned to high oxygen would not have gotten better anyhow?

In 1953, the first major breakthrough occurred in Washington, D. C.'s Municipal Hospital, then known as Gallinger. Working under a grant from the Public Health Service's newly created Neurological Diseases and Blindness Institute, Dr. Arnall Patz of Georgetown University and Baltimore, separated a large number of premature infant rats into three groups who would receive the oxygen equivalent to that given children routinely in hospitals; those who would receive no oxygen; and finally, those who would go in and out of oxygen. The results: retrolental fibroplasia, least in the rat, was caused by oxygen, even oxygen administered for a short period of time.

THE FINAL EVIDENCE

Whether what was true for rats was true for humans still remained to be proved. A clinical study of premature infants weighing 3½ pounds or less at birth would pose a major problem, however; if conducted in a single hospital, it might be 3, 4, or even 5 years before enough premature infants were born so that results of the study could become statistically valid. What was needed if the answer was to be obtained as rapidly as possible was a number of hospitals working on the same problem at the same time under the same strict scientific protocol.

To initiate such a plan would demand considerable funds; even more important its initiation would require the cooperation of distinguished ophthalmologists and pediatricians whose own interest and proposed participation in such a study could stimulate the interest and controlled participation of colleagues at other hospitals. In such a preliminary organization, the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness could play a vital role; through its grants program, funds could become available; through its grantees, it had access to some of the leading scientists in the country who might spearhead the project.

Within 3 months, the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness, working closely with the Coordination Subcommittee for the Study of Retrolental Fibroplasia (including Dr. Jonas Friedenwald, associate professor of ophthalmology at Johns Hopkins and Dr. Richard Day, professor of pediatrics of the University of the State of New York), had drawn up the complete, definitive plan for 18 hospitals which would give precise, rapid evaluation of Patz's animal

work. Patz, himself, became one of the cooperating scientists, as did such other dis-tinguished investigators as Dr. Benjamin M. Kagan, director of pediatric research at Chicago's Michael Reese Hospital, Dr. George M. Haik, professor of ophthalmology at Louisiana State University in New Orleans, Dr. Clement A. Smith, associate professor at Boston's Lying-In-Hospital, and Dr. Algernon B. Reese, clinical professor of ophthalmology at Columbia University's college of physicians and surgeons. To support their efforts, the Advisory Council of the National Institute of Neurological Diseases and Blindness approved research grants in the total amount approved research grants in the total amount of \$40,000, and to this sum was added another \$11,000 contributed by the National Foundation for Eye Research and the National Society for the Prevention of Blindness. It was with this sum of \$51,000 that the final answer to retrolental fibroplasia was obtained.

THE BENEFITS

The sum is a small one compared to the benefits received. Since 1942, it is believed, approximately 8,000 children have been blinded by retrolental fibroplasia. For these still-living children, it means a full, normal lifetime of abnormal darkness and dependency. To the community, the State and Federal Governments, it means the heavy costs of their education, training, and sup-port—\$100,000 for each child (according to the American Foundation for the Blind), or a total cost of \$800 million.

With the study just completed, this personal suffering does not completely come to an end, nor does its economic burden. Some children will still have to receive oxygen for clinical crisis and a few will incur retrolental fibroplasia; a few others may also incur the disorder for causes yet to be explored; but, on the basis of the results so far announced, the picture is considerably brighter; only about 10 percent of the numbers who suffered retrolental fibroplasia in the past will probably suffer it in the future.

DEFINITIONS

Retrolental fibroplasia first reveals itself in the premature infant with shrinkage of the blood vessels of the retina. Where progression occurs, the tips of these blood ves-sels begin to grow out into the vitreous (the clear, gelatinous substance filling the back part of the eye). If the condition persists (and it may reverse itself at any stage), growth of the retinal blood vessels con-tinues, and at the final stage, the ingrown fibrous tissue in the vitreous pulls the retina loose, with resulting loss of sight.

Our Federal Officials Should Have Better Pav

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, newspapers and magazines throughout the country have devoted editorial space urging that the Congress increase the salaries of its own Members and that of the Federal judges of our country.

In that connection I direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the January 22, 1955, edition of the Saturday Evening Post:

OUR FEDERAL OFFICIALS SHOULD HAVE BETTER PAY

How much are leaders worth, in terms of dollars? How much should the richest nation in the world pay for statesmanship? The 84th Congress has to decide, for almost the first item in its order of business is the long deferred proposal to raise the salaries of Federal judges, and of Congressmen themselves.

The Hoover Commission recommended this increase; a Democratic and now a Republican President have urged it; editorials endorsing the salary raise have appeared in more than a thousand newspapers throughout the country. Leading columnists, radio commentators, labor-union groups, agricul-tural organizations, bar and professional associations, all have favored it. No substantial public opinion has been heard against it.

But Congressmen, by our constitutional system, are in the peculiar position of having to fix their own salaries, and time and again they have shied away from voting themselves increases, for fear of a cry of looting the Treasury. And because of a long custom, dating from the first days of the Republic, by which Federal district judges are paid the same salary as Congressmen, the whole judicial establishment of the United States is suffering from the same serious, almost critical underpayment that Congressmen endure.

The last Congress, anxious for public support, provided for the appointment of a nonpartisan commission of leading citizens, drawn equally from labor, business, agriculture, and the professions. Under the chairmanship of Bernard G. Segal, chancellor of the Philadelphia Bar Association, this commission made a full exploration of the standards by which a government should set salaries. What kind of people do we want for judges and Congressmen? the Segal commission asked. And then it inquired, how much salary or income are such qualified people commanding in private life?

The Chief Justice of the United States, they discovered, receives only what a moderately successful lawyer in a middle-sized city might make. Private industry, for tasks less important to the Nation than Congressmen must discharge, often pays salaries 2 and 3 times greater. Union officials, successful professional men, junior executives in business, men from among whom we should find our public leaders of today and tomorrow, cannot become Congressmen except at an impossible financial sacrifice. Lawyers, however qualified, cannot ascend the bench unless they are willing to lower drastically their standard of living.

The Segal commission heard a young Federal district judge in California say that he will have to quit the bench because he can-not support his wife, two children, and a third child soon to come, on a judge's salary. If he should die, his widow would receive no survivor's benefits, and his income permits only the smallest insurance program.

They heard the able and respected John C. Chief Judge of the Federal District Court for the Southern District of New York, probably the busiest Federal court in the land, tell of his financial struggles since he went on the bench in 1918. In all his 37 years, he has never had enough money to live on, has had to teach and write when he could to keep up his insurance and educate his daughter. New York State judges, even New York city judges, and municipal judges in our larger cities receive higher salaries than he does. And though he has refused appointment to State benches because of his lifelong experience in Federal jurisprudence, now, in his later years, he is unable to afford a nurse to care for his invalid wife, and must do nursing duty himself after his day's work in court is over.

The Commission discerned that the day is long past when a Congressman could earn a living in a private business or profession while serving his constituents. Congress nowadays is a full-time job, 7 days a week, every week in the year. Congressmen must maintain 2 homes, usually 2 of fices, pay most of their travel expenses, bear many costs which a corporate employer would pay for its executives. Their expenses have increased with the enlargement of their work, but their salaries have remained the same through the whole period of recent inflation, and have grimly decreased in buying power.

In its elaborate, searching report, the Segal Commission recommended a scale of increases necessary to bring the salaries of judges and Congressmen into line with the practice of the Nation in all fields. The total cost of these recommended increases would be only \$7,500,000. But the 83d Congress, facing an election, failed to

Now the election is over. The public is aware of the need; what the lawyers call the last clear chance is here. The 84th Congress, in its 2 years' existence, will spend more money for more purposes than any other body of men on earth. Common sense and public interest alike require that they should devote a tiny fraction of their appropriations to making the major jobs of statecraft in a free Nation financially pos-sible for the men best fitted to hold them-

The Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting in the Congressional Record another article written by Mr. Monroe Worthington, of Beaver, W. Va. Mr. Worthing-ington's articles often appear in the Beckley (W. Va.) Raleigh Register, and the one included today was part of a series recently written dealing with the ills of the coal industry. It is entitled "New Markets Opened by Scientists."

The article follows:

NEW MARKETS OPENED BY SCIENTISTS (By Monroe Worthington)

Millions of tons of coal will find absolutely new markets if the suggestions made herein are put to work. One proposal demands only a manufacturer. And, in justice to those who have worked on it before, with no commercial utilization so far, it is not original, as many of the suggestions in this series are-

Coal can cool the homes of the Nation. Not indirectly, by making electricity to run refrigerators and air conditioners, but by a burning flame. Just as the little blue flame in a Servel refrigerator keeps food chilled, so a larger, stoker-fed flame can cool homes, offices, and factories. There is no need to explain how it works, for it is generally known that it does. The patents have long ago run out. Anyone who wants to can now make such equipment.

But coal can do far more work in a home than either cooling or heating a house, one at a time. The same burner can heat the house, freeze ice cubes, incinerate garbage, heat water, cook a meal all at the same time, but in different parts of the house. And this is not an original proposal, either. Scientists have invented a chemical called tetra cresyl silicate. It can be heated until it is hot enough to fry a steak, for instance, or set wet garbage afire. Suppose the central stoker unit were in the basement, with heating coils for the tetra cresyl silicate. First all, the distributing pipe would run through an incinerator, to burn up household waste. The fluid would operate the house heater, or the cooler, depending on the season. Insulated branch lines would run to the kitchen, where the stove would always be ready to bake a cake or fry bacon. The refrigerator and the deep freeze would get their power from this heat, rather than from a flame or from an electric wire. And, of course, heater water for the bath and washing machine would come from the same source. Since the stoker would be running, winter and summer, on efficient, lowcost coal, there would always be heat for a chilly bathroom, in the early morning. By combining these services and the needed equipment, a manufacturer could save a homeowner between \$500 and \$1,500, and would insure a larger, winter and summer demand for coal.

As has been said, the byproducts of coal, such as dyes and plastics, take only a tiny fraction of the total output of the Nation's mines. But there is one product which can be made from coal which is used by the hundreds of pounds in each American home, even those now heated by gas or oil. This product is sugar.

MAKE SUGAR FROM COAL

It seems incredible that something as white and sweet as sugar could be made from coal. But mothballs are made from coal, and they are white. And saccharine, so many times sweeter than sugar, but with no nutritional value, is made from coal.

The chemical formula for ordinary sugar is C-12-H-22-O-11. This means that a hundred pounds of sugar contains 42.1 pounds of carbon, or purified coal, if you please. The rest is water, chemically combined with the carbon until it is dry.

carbon until it is dry.

Now this same sugar can be made from petroleum, if the chemists ever get around to it, or if their bosses get hungry for busi-And the oil industry spends thousands of dollars for research, for each dollar spent for the same purpose by coal. This is the reason the oil industry is paying dividends, although the courage and ingenuity of the oilman finds expression in advertising and merchandising, too—arts practically un-known to coal. So the oil industry may proceed with this suggestion, if it comes to their attention. If they turn oil to sugar, perhaps the petroleum people will let the coal industry sell a few tons more for heating. There is no use to keep this idea of turning carbon into sugar a secret. Ideas are contagious. Edison, Dolbear, Gray, and Bell were in the courts for years to decide who owned the telephone patents; Bell won. But all of them conceived the idea about the same time, independently of each other. Chemists may already be working to make a synthetic sugar. Naturally, they wouldn't If any chemists are busy on the be talking. lob, it is safe to say they are not employed by the coal industry; but if the coal industry heeds this suggestion, it may regain millions of tons of its former sales, for a new purpose.

TWO HUNDRED DOLLARS PER TON FOR COAL

Just in case the coal industry puts good research chemists to work and finds a patentable method to make sugar in large volume at low cost, then a multimillion-dollar market will be created for a really large-volume byproduct. Sugar sells for around \$200 per ton, instead of \$3.75 at the mine. And remember, 57.9 percent of sugar is water.

The coal industry has spent a little money

on research from time to time. In fact, several years ago they were spending about a million dollars per year, but still just a tiny slice of the oil industry's budget for the same purpose. And what did they get for their money? The unfortunate thing about many researchers is that they take your money and "No" instead of using their brains and finding the right and original way. Much research being done in the United States today by the coal industry was done in Germany a quarter of a century ago and recorded for anyone who can read German or hire a translator. But few of the coal operators who pay the bill know this. It's much easier to follow an experiment of 25 years ago than to do original thinking. All it takes to do such unimaginative "research" is a Ph. D. degree. Edison, not knowing that inventors must wear a cap and gown, originated the electric light, the phonograph, a better way of making portland cement, important steel technologies, etc. Any self-respecting degree demanding research institute, were he alive and seeking a job today, would toss him out on his ear as unqualified.

REMOVING ASH FROM COAL

The sugar synthesis mentioned above calls to mind a long-known and long-suppressed way of purifying coal. Perhaps the product, which can be made of the lowest grade "bone," is too valuable as a chemical material to burn, but it doesn't have a spoon of ash in a carload, and would thus be an absolutely ideal fuel.

Here is how it is accomplished:

Burn your coal waste or bone in a gas producer, the chief product of value being carbon monoxide, which is diluted by nitrogen, carbon dioxide, steam, vaporized coal tars, and some fixed gases, such as methane, ethane, ethylene, etc. Remove the fly ash in a centrifugal filter and take out the few remaining traces with a Cottrell electric precipitator. Condense the tar vapors by chilling. They can be sold. Under the influence a catalyst (the man with shotgun at a chemical wedding) combine 2 molecules of carbon monoxide to produce I molecule of carbon dioxide and 1 atom of pure carbon. Remove the carbon with a second Cottrell precipitator, and return any unburnt hydrocarbon gases to the gas producer for burning.

If the resultant carbon is used as a fuel, freight costs are greatly reduced. (Of course it must be shipped in tank cars, to prevent the submicroscopic particles from blowing away; or it can be blown in a pipe.) There is no pulverization expense, a substantial item. There is no slagging in the steam boilers. And as a consequence, 2 or 3 or perhaps even 10 times as much of this carbon fuel can be burnt in the same boiler, as before, after stepping up the pumps and the fans. So the output of steam is greatly increased, reducing investment costs. There is no fly ash removal expense; this has been done before. The owner of a new steam-electric plant may save a million dollar investment. The Monday morning wash does not get all sooted up.

The same atomic size carbon can be used in making an ash-free briquet, or in making a liquid fuel which will compete with diesel oil.

But used as a chemical building block this purified carbon can become sugar, one or a dozen or so plastics, or one of a hundred thousand organic chemicals.

The coal industry, in its simple-minded attention to the fuel market, has been eating the banana peel and throwing away the core. But coal operators are basically smart, and when they learn of the opportunities ahead of them, they'll change their ways. Or will they?

Foreign Claims Settlement Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct to the attention of our colleagues the following article which appeared in the December, 1954 issue of the Federal Bar News concerning the speech of Judge Whitney Gillilland, Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission, at the October 11, 1954, meeting of the Chicago chapter of the Federal Bar Association:

CHAIRMAN WHITNEY GILLILLAND OF FOREIGN CLAIMS SETTLEMENT COMMISSION ADDRESSES CHICAGO FBA MEETING

Judge Whitney Gillilland, Chairman of the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, was the speaker at the meeting of the Chicago chapter of the Federal Bar Association at the Chicago Bar Association on October 11.

Judge Gillilland stated that he presumed that we would like to hear what the Commission is doing in Washington and, perhaps, to begin with, what he was doing in Washington

"There is not as much excitement around our place as there is around some and we don't get in the newspapers very often," he said. "At the same time the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States is not without its importance and, as a matter of fact, it is an agency which concerns at least someone in every community in the United States. I believe it is fair to say that every citizen should have some knowledge of its functions and the place it occupies in the framework of our Government.

"Although I am engaged in the settlement of claims which have their origin in the misdeeds of foreign nations," he said, "I claim the right to begin with the presumption that I am not much weighted down or handicapped with any foreign ideologies, philosophies, or prejudices.

"When someone does you a wrong which results in a physical injury or in damage to your property, say someone beats you up or drives a car through your store front window, the circumstances generally give rise to a debt to you on the part of the person injuring you. If you can't collect it, by negotiation, you collect it, or try to collect it, at the courthouse.

"The same thing happens among nations. When one nation or group of nations engages in wrongdoing against another nation to its damage, or the nationals of another nation to their damage, a debt, within that none too definite set of standards known as international law, is created against the wrongdoer and in favor of the nation wronged. Unfortunately, there is no such satisfactory means of recovery as exists in the case of private and personal wrongs. There is no courthouse where general jurisdiction may be found, nor is there adequate power of enforcement, if any such jurisdiction did exist. Furthermore, as in the case of private persons, the wrongdoer does not always have assets from which recovery may be realized. At best, it is a hit, and miss affair, but that does not mean that nothing at all can be done. Sometimes remedies are achieved through negotiation, sometimes

through arbitration, a limited number through the International Court, and sometimes remedies are asserted following a war through the sheer power of the victor nation over the vanquished. The old saying that 'possesison is nine points of the law' has proved its value time and again in the field of international law.

"Many times in American history our Government has sought redress and obtained some satisfaction for a group or class of citizens who have been adversely affected by the conduct of another nation. When such a situation exists, it is customary to create a commission to determine the validity of claims against the settlement fund, and, to the extent possible, provide for their payment. That is the kind of a commission to which I belong," he said, "and of which I am chairman. As a result of the tremen-dous impact of international events in recent years, the present Commission, the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, has had a much greater total number of claims before it and a greater number of categories of claims than any which has ever been previously constituted.

"In recent years there have been two major classes of general liabilities arising against foreign nations and in favor of the United States and the citizens of the United States.

"The first of these arose as a direct result of World War II. It was founded on the premises that World War II was an illegal war, a war of aggression in violation of international law, and that the participants, particularly Germany and Japan, became legally liable for all of the unhappy consequences resulting therefrom.

"The second arose substantially as an indirect result of World War II, the dropping of the Iron Curtain. Many millions of dollars worth of property of American citizents located in the Iron Curtain countries was expropriated.

"In each instance the United States was able to lay its hands on some property of such nations or the nationals thereof, to be applied in satisfaction, or in partial satisfaction, of some claims of some persons adversely affected. It became the duty of the Congress to outline the general classes and priorities.

"During World War II and under the authority of the Trading With the Eenemy Act, the Allen Property Custodian, subsequently the Office of Alien Property in the Department of Justice, impounded all assets of Germany and Japan and assets of nationals of Germany and Japan in the United States. Assets of other nations, including the Iron Curtain countries, were also impounded and, with some exceptions, have not yet been released.

"In 1948 Congress enacted a law known as the War Claims Act, which provided that the net proceds from the liquidation of all impounded German and Japanese assets should be paid in to what is known as the War Claims Fund to be applied against the claims of those classes of persons designated by Congress who were deemed to have suffered unduly as a result of the war. At about the same time, the United States Government reached an agreement with the Government of Yugoslavia whereby in exchange for the release of impounded assets, that nation deposited in the United States Treasury the sum of \$17 million to be applied against the claims of Americans whose properties had been expropriated.

"The exact net balances which under present law may become available to the War Claims Fund have not yet been determined. To date, there have been transfers of \$210 million and \$15 million more is presently authorized.

"To administer these funds, despite the similarity of problems, Congress created 2 Commissions, with 2 sets of quarters, 2

staffs, duplicating administration and similar procedures. To administer the 'War Claims Fund' they created the War Claims Commission, and to administer the 'Yugoslavian Claims Fund' and any other funds subsequently derived from the settlement of claims against the Iron Curtain countries or claims of related nature against other countries, they created the International Claims Commission. Under the terms of President Elsenhower's Reorganization Plan No. 1 of 1954, which went into effect on July 1, 1954, these two agencies were united in the Foreign Claims Settlement Commission of the United States, which results in the elimination of duplication, increased efficiency, and a substantial saving in expenses, including, I suppose, the salaries of three Commissioners.

"Now, I expect you would like to know a little more about exactly what claims receive the attention of the Commission. To date, there have been in the neighborhood of 600,000.

"I will give you a few examples. Following the acquisition of the Philippines from Spain at the turn of the century, a great many American missionaries went to that country and engaged in religious teaching and in the inculcation of American ideals among the people. Included among them were Catholics, Protestants, and Jews. They not only built churches and missions, they established colleges, universities, hospitals, orphanages, observatories, and other related and similar institutions throughout the islands. Not all of our soldiers on Bataan were captured or remained captives. Some got away. They either avoided capture or escaped from captivity. Additionally, there were many thousands of American citizens who were encouraged to remain in the Philippines to support the morale of the native populations. The help that was given by the missionaries to the The help people who were in hiding was immeasurable, They took them in, hid them, gave them food, shelter, and clothing, gave them money and aided their escape. They arranged secret transportation for them out of the islands and to free China and elsewhere. They also helped the American citizens in internment camps to the greatest extent possible. They had an espionage system and, to the extent that they were able, they kept General MacArthur advised and provided information of tremendous value in planning reinvasion. These things were done in peril of their lives and many of them were apprehended by the Japanese and executed or tortured and imprisoned.

Congress provided that these missionaries should be repaid from the War Claims Fund for their expenditures and the value of their services and the food, lodging and clothing furnished. Then, in token of our gratitude for their deeds, and further, in appreciation of the bulwark they are proving to be against Communistic teaching in that critical part of the world. Congress determined that they should be provided with funds to rebuild their schools, colleges, universities, hospitals, orphanages, observatories and other institutions of similar character, many of which had been completely destroyed during the war. We administer that program.

"I have already told you about the Yugoslavian claims. There were some against Panama arising out of an international settlement. We have claims of servicemen and other American citizens who lost their bank accounts in the Philippines as a result of Japanese confiscation. We have claims of American civilian citizens who were captured by the Japanese in the Philippines or on Wake, Guam, or Midway, or who went into hiding to avoid capture. Recently, there have been added similar claims of American citizens in Korea. We also have the claims of American merchant seamen who were captured during World War II.

"Numerically, the largest class of all are the claims of American members of our Armed Forces or American members of Allied Forces who were prisoners of war at any place throughout the world during World War II. These claims are of two classes, first, those arising from the failure of the enemy to provide proper food, and, second, those arising from mistreatment by the enemy such as beating, abuse, undue exposure to the weather, exposure to disease and so on. Similar benefits have recently been provided for prisoners of war in Korea.

"We also have jurisdiction to receive and adjudicate claims against Russia arising under the so-called Litvinov assignments, and measures are pending before Congress which relate to certain categories of claims against Italy, Rumania, Hungary, and Bulgaria."

Authorizing the President To Employ Armed Forces of United States To Defend Formosa, Etc.

SPEECH

OF

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the joint resolution (H. J. Res. 159) authorizing the President to employ the Armed Forces of the United States for protecting the security of Formosa, the Pescadores, and related positions and territories of that area.

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Chairman, the purpose of this resolution is to try to prevent war in the Far East with Communist China. It is based on the conviction, supported by our practical experience in the past, that whenever and wherever the United States has taken and maintained a constant, consistent, dependable position of firmness and strength in harmony with our historic principles, it has not led to war, and our legitimate interests have been protected.

On the contrary, whenever our policy has been soft and weak, or half-hearted, or even hesitant; whenever we have allowed our desire for peace to lead us into vacillation and concessions and then additional concessions to aggressors, we have regularly lost ground, the dangers have increased, and expanded hostilities have resulted.

Our situation in Asia today is similar to that of 8 years ago when President Truman came before the 80th Congress and said in substance, "The time has come when we have got to stop further expansion of this Communist menace in Europe, specifically in Greece and Turkey. The United States must assist free countries in their efforts to resist subjugation from without or subversion from within by aggressive Communist forces."

That Congress was Republican controlled. It gave him full support and the Congress passed, first, the bill to give military and economic aid to Greece and Turkey, later the Marshall plan, and then legislation laying the foundation of NATO. We did so because we knew it

would be too dangerous to the security of the United States to have the apposite shores of the Atlantic in the hands of mortal enemies of the United States instead of in the hands of the friends of the United States.

When our Government took a firm stand on the Communist blockade of Berlin, and backed up our words with firm deeds, the airlift, the Kremlin breathed fire and brimstone, but it did not start a war.

When the Communists attacked South Korea President Truman again took a strong stand and again we prevailed, with much of the free world responding to our leadership. Unfortunately, in 1951, just when victory was in sight, a victory that could have demolished Red China's military power and prevented both Indochina and the present threats against Formosa, some of our allies and some timid souls among ourselves decided that it was more dangerous to win than to accept the truce proposed by the Reds. They assumed that the military defeat of Communist forces meant also their political defeat, and the end of the threat. Many in America thought that to push on to victory in Korea would lead to extension of the war, when in reality that was the only way to end it.

When a strong, firm, policy had succeeded to the point that Malik suggested a truce, many in our Government accepted the proposal at face value and returned to a policy of softness and weakness. They assumed that when Communists propose a truce, they want what we want, namely peace. But to Communists a truce proposal is a military maneuver, not a move to bring real peace. Years ago the present Communist Prime Minister Chou En-lai who is so belligerent today, said, "A truce is the military equivalent of the political tactic of coalition."

That is, in politics, if they do not have enough support to win an election, they say to the stronger elements in the country, Let us have a coalition government, take in all the parties, including the Communists, of course. Let us form a democratic front, or a united front, then they bore from within to take over the coalition.

In war, when they cannot win, they say, Let us have a cease-fire and negotiate.

But let us not forget that to them, a truce is the military equivalent of the political tactic of coalition. It is not a move to end a war, but only a trick to end a losing phase of it—such as Koend a losing phase of it—such as Koend as Indochina—which they believe will be more profitable.

When we see a prizefighter along about the 10th round become very affectionate with his opponent, embracing him ardently, we do not misunderstand that maneuver. We do not imagine it is because he has decided to give up and not try to win the fight. We know it is the reverse: he wants to hang on and rest, if he can, until the end of the round, in the hope he can knock the guy out in the next round.

When Communists suddenly propose a truce, it is only a skilled boxer's clinch.

It means they are in trouble and trying to get out of it. The purpose is not to end the war, but to win it.

Our sincere desire to have peace at almost any cost caused us to make repeated concessions in Asia despite Communist duplicity and violations of agreements. Of course, Communist aggressiveness grew.

When General Eisenhower became President 2 years ago, his first official act in the field of foreign policy was one of firmness. He withdrew the order under which our fleet was protecting Red China against any possible attacks from Formosa. The purpose of that order had been to avoid provoking the Communists, to keep them out of the Korean war by showing them that we had no designs against them, that we were not going to attack them or let Free China harass them. But it did not keep them out. Rather, our softness encouraged them to intervene in Korea and take thousands of American lives. So, it made no sense to continue that order; it had failed of its objective.

That firm act by the new President got prompt results. The Communists reversed their adamant position on prisoners of war, and asked for peace negotiations. It was, of course, only another clinch.

Unfortunately, once more we followed our hearts instead of our heads, and permitted them to get out of the hole they were in in Korea, and resume the offensive elsewhere. I opposed our abandonment of the strong, firm policy, which was working, to return to the soft, weak policy which never has worked. As expected, the result was not to limit the war, but to extent it—to Indochina, and now to the Formosan Straits.

Surely it is plain that whenever we have been consistently firm and strong, we have succeeded. Western Europe and the Mediterranean today are free. Wherever, as in Asia, we have not had a similarly firm and strong policy, under either administration, we have uniformly failed and steadily lost ground.

Our desire to avoid trouble in Asia, because it seemed to some less essential to our security, and the policy that we must not get involved in China has now led to greater involvement, as it was bound to. It has forced us to one or the other of the two courses we wanted most to avoid, namely, we have to withdraw step by step from Asia in disastrous defeat, or we have to expand the sanctions, that is, stop the Reds by force. Those are the two things we did not and do not want; and almost 10 years of weakness and indecision, or at least halfheartedness, in that part of the world have led inevitably to one or the other. We cannot delay a decision any longer. Perhaps by firmness now we may still prevent having to do either. That is the reason for this resolution.

Some may ask, Why not let the Communists take Formosa? Because the stakes are too great for ourselves. The issue in this part of the world is not Chiang Kai-shek, it is not Syngman Rhee, it is not this, that, or the other controversial figure as some have suggested in the past. It is the security of

the island chain from the Aleutians to Australia. It is the freedom of the remaining 800 million free people in Asia. It is the security of the United States.

The Communists have understood that clearly. Right after the end of the last war, 3 months after VJ-Day to be exact, the Communists published their instructions to their faithful followers in this country. I discussed them here at some length in 1950, right after the Korean war started. This was their central instruction: The war in China is the key to all problems of the international front.

We said that Germany was the key; we said the North Atlantic was the key; some said the Mediterranean was the key; some said Japan was the key. But the Kremlin, in its hard-headed realism, said, "The war in China is the key to all problems on the international front."

The war in China was the one we did not want to bother with, but they were determined to win. Why? Look for a moment at the geography of Asia. It is like a giant hand. China is the palm of that hand, the hub of the Asia wheel, just as Germany is the hub of the wheel in Europe. Out of the palm that is China go 12 fingers-12 countries that are island groups or peninsulas. On China's east are Korea, Japan, Formosa, the Philippines. Down in southeast Asia are Indochina, Thailand, Malaya, Indonesia. Then there are four more across the south-Burma, India, Pakistan, and Afghanistan.

In those 12 fingers live one-third of all the people of the world. The Communists saw that if they got the palm, China, and were able to consolidate their position there and develop China's vast manpower and raw materials, they could gradually take over the fingers, one by one—unless the free world fought back.

So the stake is not just Formosa and some island outposts; it is a third of the people in the world, with vast resources and strategically located bases. Once on the Indian Ocean, Africa lies ahead—almost totally unprotected on its east.

Well, the Communists have China, for the present. To change to another figure, China is first base. Their next objective, of course, is second base, the 12 countries lying like a giant crescent around China from Korea and Japan to Iran. If they are permitted to get second base they will outnumber the free world 2 to 1. Europe will be cut off from many of her raw materials and markets. Does anybody think Western Europe can long support herself isolated from two-thirds of the world? Or that we can support her indefinitely? The Communists then can get Europe—third base.

But a man does not go to third base to stop; he goes to third base to get home. And who is home base? We are, of course.

The Communists turned to Asia in 1928 as the surest and safest way to get Europe and America. Their real objective in Asia—in China, Korea, Indochina, and now Formosa—was and is to isolate and ultimately destroy the United

States, which is all that stands between them and total control of the world.

How can they best get second base? If you look at the two chief portions of the crescent around China you see that one is the island chain in the western Pacific and the other is south and southeast Asia. Formosa is a key to both.

Our chairman has described our western Pacific defense line. It arches from the Aleutians through Japan, Okinawa, Formosa, the Philippines, down to Australia and New Zealand. The key to that arch happens to be Formosa.

It flanks the Philippines on the north, You remember the Philippines were attacked and taken by the Japanese from Formosa.

It semiflanks Japan on the south. On Japan's north, the Russians are in the Kurile Islands, which unfortunately were given to them at Yalta in an effort to get peace and good relations. How is anybody going to make a bastion out of a Japan flanked on the south by Formosa and on the north by the Kurile Islands?

Look now at the other part of the crescent around China-the counties to its south. The richest of Asia are not in China. They are down here in southeast Asia-tin, rubber, oil, rice surpluses. Now, if you were a Communist general, would you move down into Burma or Thailand or Malaya or India as long as on your flank lay this unsinkable aircraft carrier, Formosa with some 60 airfields originally built by the Japanese, some of which have been enlarged to take jets? There are not too many jets there now, but we could get them there very quickly from Okinawa, Japan, and elsewhere. It is the existence of a free Formosa on the flank of Red China which makes the Communists say so emphatically that they are determined to capture Formosa. They dare not try to take south Asia without first securing Formosa, or perhaps getting it neutralized.

The reason why they say they must get Formosa is the reason why we are saying they must not be allowed to get Where could they be stopped then? Mr. Nehru, for example, has said he has no means of saving India if the Chinese Communists move against his country. Formosa is a major deterrent to Communist aggression against the vitally rich prizes of the south, including the Malay Peninsula and the vast country of Indonesia. Australia, right next door, understands this, but our people as a whole have not understood it.

We hope we will never have to use Formosa for such purposes, but the very existence of it there in friendly hands on Red China's flank is perhaps the best guaranty against further Communist expansion, which would force us into war-unless we were to let all Asia go and retreat to our west coast.

So this resolution is not just to save one island and some outposts, but to help keep free over one-third of the human beings in the world and keep the balance of power from being turned overwhelmingly against us. The free world now has one-third, the Communists have one-third. Which way is the enemy? That is what we are talking about today.

The CHAIRMAN. The time of the gentleman from Minnesota has expired. Mr. CHIPERFIELD. Mr. Chairman, I yield the gentleman 3 additional minutes.

Mr. YATES. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. JUDD. I yield briefly to the gentleman from Illinois.

Mr. YATES. Is Formosa an international territory today, or does it belong to the Republic of China?

Mr. JUDD. The juridical position of Formosa has been in dispute. Some say one thing, some another. Events are probably going to have to determine it. China ceded it to Japan after the war of 1895. Japan relinquished all right to it in its treaty with the Republic of China after World War II. Both the Nationalist Chinese and the Communists insist that it is Chinese territory. It is the one thing on which they agree. But, the international status of Formosa from a juridical standpoint, I think, has not been finally determined. and therefore I do not think that we need to go into that today.

The main issue today is whether that key strategic area is to be taken over by the Communists and the defenses of ourselves and the free world in the western Pacific go down.

Quite as important as the geographical considerations involved are the morale factors. Should we retreat once more in the mistaken notion that would appease the Communists, the already shaken morale of other countries in the area, and their confidence in us, are bound to deteriorate rapidly. Are we, then, to abandon the Philippines and Japan also as soon as Red China is ready to threaten them? The Japanese prime minister has recently been defeated, in part because he put all his chips on the United States and its strength, and the people out there are not certain we can be depended on.

Mr. Chairman, I came home a year ago from a study trip through all these "fingers" with about four main impres-

First, the people there are awakening to the nature of communism and its threat to them.

Second, they are afraid of it, especially of Communist China, because they know it will destroy their newly won national independence. When people like Mr. Nehru extol the Chinese Communist regime or agree with it on almost everything, it is not because they are pro-Communists; they are afraid. Why should not they be?

A high official in one of these countries said to us that if we strong nations in the West did not have the courage to stand up against Communist China, how could the new and weaker governments of Asia be expected to? He said, "Some your allies 6,000 miles away from China, not right across the border, are insisting that you accept Communist China into the United Nations. If you are to embrace Communist China, how can we resist her?" I did not have a

other third to go-with us or with the good answer. Only such a resolution as this expressing the united will of this Nation to back down no further and to surrender no more strategic bases and no more millions of free people to Communist conquest, can give an answer they will believe.

Third, they want to be on the side of the United States and the free world, because that is their best hope of retaining their dearly bought freedom from alien control; but fourth, they are not certain we will stay on our own side, the side of human freedom. They are afraid we will make a deal with the Red tyrants at their expense, in our desire to get peace for ourselves, however illusory and transient it will be. I hate to admit it, but just as the question mark in Europe is France, so, in the minds of the people of east Asia and southeast Asia, the great question mark is the United States. If they do take a firm stand on our side, how can they be sure that we will not let them down?

It is the vital importance of Formosa from the standpoint of these geographical factors plus the morale factors which has brought us to this showdown today. The showdown for Europe and the Mediterranean came over Greece and Turkey almost 8 years ago. The President and Congress then took a firm stand and it did not lead to war. The showdown for Asia is over Formosa, and it is here now. I only hope it is not too late to convince these men of violence in Peking that our repeated concessions in the past, our attempts to get peace at almost any price, our long suffering and patience, are not synonymous with weakness. The Communists always proclaim to Asia that America is a paper tiger, and they may have come to believe it. Chou En-lai bellowed his threats yesterday in an attempt to intimidate the American people, trying to beguile us once more into believeing that it is not their aggression, but our resistance to it, that threatens war. Naturally he hopes that we will once more give in and back down.

Mr. Chairman, our appearance of weakness and softness in the past has encouraged the present Communist arrogance and aggressiveness. Firmness now may cause them to pause. Weakness now would be certain to increase their truculence and to extend, not limit, hostilities.

For communism is exactly like a cancer. It lives by lawless encroachments on neighboring tissues or peoples. We are presented here today with the same problem a surgeon has when a lady comes in with a cancer. We tell her it must be removed. Her husband says, "But may not the operation lead to her death?" And we reply, "Yes, it may." But what is going to happen if we do not operate? She is certain to die. You had better ask the question this way, "May it still prevent her death?"

So there is risk of war if the United States takes and firmly adheres to the stand proclaimed in this resolution. But we had better put it this way, "May it still prevent war?" Certainly there will be war later if the malignant Communist growth is permitted to continue

circumstances. There is risk of war if We act-but there is also hope of peace. There is greater risk if we do not act-and no hope.

So this proposed action is a belated effort to prevent war, not to make it. However great the dangers involved in taking this step, the risks assumed in not taking it are greater. I have no difficulty in deciding to take the course of lesser risk.

For I am sure that we will have a world war if we return to a weak and vacillating posture. And it will come at a time when, God help us, the odds will be against the United States. I cannot choose that.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section re-lating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together With a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the Year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, Who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Repre-Sentative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

its course-and under far more difficult LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES .- The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim re-port of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUS-TRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS .- No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

- 1. Arrangement of the daily Record .- The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.
- 2. Type and style.—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 61/2-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will These reunusual indentions be permitted. strictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.
- 3. Return of manuscript.—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.
- 4. Tabular matter.-The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.
- 5. Proof furnished .- Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. Notation of withheld remarks .- If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words - addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. Thirty-day limit.—The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days. unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Appendix to daily Record.-When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. Official reporters.—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. Estimate of cost.—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. Illustrations .- Pursuant to section 182b. title 44, United States Code (as shown above). requests for authority to insert an illustration in the Record should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. Corrections.—The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Con-gress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

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Appendix

Address of His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman, at the American Legion National Convention, Washington, D. C., August 30, 1954

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include a splendid and effective and timely address made on August 30, 1954, in Washington, D. C., to the delegates of the American Legion National Con-Vention by His Eminence Francis Cardihal Spellman, archbishop of New York. His remarks made at that time are particularly timely now in the light of recent events. His statement made in an address some 15 years ago "that it is better to have protection and not need it, than need protection and not have it" as Cardinal Spellman so well said in his August 30 address, is just as applicable today as it was then. To translate his statement, "If we are going to err, it is better that we err on the side of strength

The address follows:

than on the side of weakness."

THE PRICE OF FREEDOM

(Address of His Eminence Francis Cardinal Spellman)

Better to have protection and not need it than need protection and not have it.

A few months ago Dien Bien Phu was a hame which stirred the hearts of freemen and alerted the flagging spirits of liberty-loving peoples. For 57 fateful days it had been the scene of an heroic and gallant de-fense by an outnumbered band of French and Vietnamese soldiers. Although it finally fell to the superior numbers of attacking Communist forces, its fall seemed to call the free world together in a common acclaim for the brave and courageous deeds its epic defense had elicited. Hope then ran high that Dien Bien Phu would be remembered not as a symbol of defeat but as the rallying point there the free world would recover its initiative in the struggle against communism. Had it realized that high hope, had it thus served as a reveille awakening the world of freemen to the need for swift, decisive action against that Red tyranny which has now enslaved 800 million souls, it would have combensated, in some measure at least, for the dreadful losses and painful sacrifices its eventual fall entailed.

Alas, the passage of the past 4 months has revealed how pathetic was the hope that Dien Bien Phu would inspire the free world to take a more realistic stand against communism. If Geneva and what was agreed upon there means anything at all, it means that the trumpet which we heard over the fallen garrison of Dien Bien Phu last May sounded taps and not reveille. Taps for the buried hopes of freedom in southeast Asia.

Taps for the newly betrayed millions of Indochinese who must now learn the awful facts of slavery from their eager Communist masters. Now the devilish techniques of brainwashing, forced confessions and rigged trials have a new locale for their exercise. Now will the relentless, shattering fear of the secret police have a new people to terrorize. The tragic plight of Poland, indeed that of all eastern Europe, China, and Korea, will now be shared by a people who, for all the diplomatic guaranties that have been given them, already stand under the heavy shadow of the hammer and sickle spread across their land.

If we view the Geneva guaranty of indebendence for Laos, Cambodia, and South Vietnam with a large measure of disbelief, it is only because we remember how Poland's hopes, and the hopes of all the other countries now in the Soviet orbit, were shame-lessly betrayed. There is no reason for believing that the partition of Vietnam will have any different effect than the partition of Korea. Indeed, hardly was the ink dry on the Geneva Pact when the Communist leader of North Vietnam, Ho Chi Minh, boastfully proclaimed that within 6 months he expected to bring the independent states of Laos, Cambodia and South Vietnam under Communist control. If the history of Communist tactics in Europe and Asia is any guide, then the boast of Ho Chi Minh will be shortly realized. And with its realization we, in America, will have reason to understand that the fall of Dien Bien Phu was more than the loss of a jungle garrisonfor with its loss the grand plan for Communist domination of southeast Asia moved For too long we have into high gear. looked upon each act of Communist aggression as a self-contained conflict where we should have recognized each one as a carefully calculated incident in a worldwide struggle that enlists the zeal, energy, and discipline of Communists everywhere.

What we fail so tragically to realize is that communism has a world plan and it has been following a carefully setup timetable for the achievement of that plan. Red rulers know what they want with terrible clarity; determined to get what they want with violent consistency. Up to the present the Communist advance has concerned us, as Americans, only insofar as it has involved nations and peoples for whom we have the deepest sympathy and most sincere admiration. We are appalled at their enslavement but our sorrow is as nothing compared to the infamies and agonies inflicted upon the hapless victims of Red Russia's bestial tyranny. However, time is running out for us also, because, given the present pace of the Communist advance, it cannot be long before its encircling pincers will be turning upon ourselves. Fifteen years ago I was also privileged to speak before your national convention in Boston. At that time there was much propaganda that it was unnecessary for the United States to be prepared for hostilities. In my belief that the peaceful purposes of our country were not shared by some other nations, I urged that we prepare to defend ourselves against aggress making the keynote of my remarks the declaration that it is better to have protection and not need it than need protection and not have it. And today I stand firmly upon that same program of preparation for preservation, else we shall risk bartering our liberties for lunacies, betraying the sacred trust of our forefathers becoming serfs and slaves to Red rulers' godless goons.

Dear friends and fellow Americans, I speak to you in the frankest terms because I know your demonstrated sacrificing dedication to American ideals, American traditions and the protection of our United States of America. In war and peace you have proven how very much you prize all those treasured factors that have brought America to her present greatness. Your deep concern lest subversive groups undermine our American way of life has been manifested for many years, even when such manifestation exposed you to ridicule and abuse. You have known the menace of communism and you have alerted your members to it. However, there is a vast number of our countrymen who live in complete indifference to the terrifying fact that communism will settle for nothing less than the domination of the whole wide world.

Thirty-five years ago Lenin made this

prophecy:

"First we will take Eastern Europe; then the masses of Asia. Then we will encircle the United States of America which will be the last bastion of capitalism. We will not have to attack it; it will fall like an overripe

fruit into our hands."

While not all prophecies are to be taken at their face value, if we but look at a map of the world today, Lenin's prophecy must startle us. Eastern Europe is completely shackled. China, North Korea, and a large part of southeast Asia are now under Communist domination. The confident boast of Lenin that the United States will not have to be attacked because it will fall like overripe fruit into the hands of the Communists cannot casually be dismissed. Indeed, it constitutes a very shrewd thrust at our complacency and our confident belief that our country will never go down at the hands of any enemy. It is an ancient bit of wisdom that "a man's own worst enemy is himself," and if we extend that wise observation to national life we find that history vindicates it on every page. Nations and civilizations go down at their own hands. When the in-ner life of a people, that life which is nourished by the things of the spirit, shows signs of being hollow and without substance, then that people is sick unto death.

America is not immortal and there are today signs in American life of an alarming deterioration in the things of the spirit. When we think how home life has disintegrated, how parental responsibility is being shamelessly shirked, how shockingly juvenile delinquency has incredibly increased with all of the dreadful social consequences, we can look into our hearts and ask ourselves if the fruit of hard American planting and the sacrifice that went into so much toil has not already become overripe and ready for plucking by an enemy who is willing to make limitless efforts and use dastardly methods in order to gain his goal.

With all the fervor I can command, I appeal to your great organization courageously to extend and intensify your truly American program which emphasizes religious values, and gives to our Nation's youth a vital interest in the things which brought our country to its greatness, combining in a wonderfully integrated way your patriotic, educational, and athletic activities.

It may be that the challenge of evil totalitarianism will be faced by us sooner than we think, and in that event we wil need all the

strength that our prayers and sacrifices can bring to us. The prophecy of Lenin should at least have the merit of putting us on our guard. We remember how paralyzing a blow was struck at our Nation in the surprise attack at Pearl Harbor. And the bitterness of that blow was increased by the knowledge that the attack was not unexpected and that we should have been better prepared for it and spared many mothers and fathers the tragic news that their sons went to their deaths unnecessarily.

The danger of another Pearl Harbor embracing the whole American people is definitely possible and possibly imminent. We have been warned by Communist leaders about their aims and ambitions concerning For 35 years they have given intensive study of the best means and methods to penetrate and overthrow our free institu-tions and they have made no secret of their purposes.

Americans must not be lulled into sleep by indifference nor be beguiled by the prospect of peaceful coexistence with Communists. How can there be peaceful coexistenc between two parties if one of them is continually clawing at the throat of the other, continually threating, continually committing actions which are designed to destroy life in the other party? How does one peacefully coexist with men who mouth words of peace while waging treacherous war; men who wear the trappings of civilization while they indulge in the techniques of barbarism? It is ignorance of a fatal kind which prompts the illusion that free men can peacefully coexist with Communists. We have the words of the Comminists themselves to prove it. Twenty-four years ago an address was given to the international students at the Lenin School of Political Warfare in Moscow, by Dimitry Z. Manuilsky. This is the same man who later presided over the United Nations Security Council in this country in July 1949. This is one of the responsible men of that movement which has introduced the most dreadful bloodbath in history and yet has the effrontery to appeal to the world for peace. This is what Manuilsky had to say in 1930 to the young men and women from all over the world who had been brought to Moscow to be trained in espionage so that they might go back to their native lands and practice their nefarious activities:

War to the hilt between communism and capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 or 30 years. To win we shall need the element of surprise. The bourgeoisie will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. will be electrifying overtures and unheard of concessions. The capitalist countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fist.

Do you peacefully coexist with men who thus would train the youth of their godless, world-men whose language of vilification and arrogance make it impossible for any meeting of minds? Ask any of our American representatives who dealt with the Communists in Germany, in Austria, in Panmunjom. They know the answer to their sorrow-and to ours.

We Americans need to remember as we have never remembered before in our national life how definite a sentence of death has been passed upon us by the very power with whom we have been asked peacefully to coexist. We need to remember as we have never remembered before how fatal it would be to succumb to the temptation to place any trust in those evil leaders who have risen to their world position by reason of lies, duplicity, and treason.

No guaranty has ever been given to America that it shall continue to enjoy the dominance it now has as a nation. America came to its mighty and majestic greatness and achieved her present destiny through a conscious dedication of our fathers to religious truths and principles, for they knew that unless the Lord build the city, they labor in vain who build it. We must intensify our religious life as a people. We must restore to our homelife some measure of that inspiration which our fathers and mothers be-quethed to us. We must give our children that sense of responsibility which will give strength to their characters and direction to their lives. We must ever be mindful of the sacrifices and toil that went into making the heritage which is ours as Americans and never shirk any sacrifice or task necessary for the preservation of the heritage of free-dom for which our valiant forefathers and the glorious youth of America, down through the decades of our country's life, have bought with their precious lives.

United in love and loyalty for our free and

beloved America, let us pray:
O Lord of Hosts, bless and protect the legions of our Armed Forces in their crusade to defend and vindicate the ideals of human freedom; bless them and the thousands of martyrs who have been called to lay down lives on the battlefields of the Grant that we may not prove unmindful or unworthy of their blood, which is the price of our freedom, that freedom which is the fruit of vigilance, toil, and sacrifice.

Be with us Blessed Lord, lest we forget and surrender to those who have attacked us without cause, those who have repaid us with evil for good and hatred for love. Amen.

H. R. 587

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PHIL WEAVER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. WEAVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following statement of Cecil H. Munson, chief, vocational training and education, national rehabilitation commission, the American Legion, on H. R. 587, before the House Veterans' Committee, January 25, 1955:

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, the American Legion strongly recommends approval of H. R. 587, a bill to amend Public Law 550, 82d Congress, the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952. The enactment of this bill will extend education and training benefits to all persons in the Armed Forces on or before January 31, 1955.

It is not necessary to enumerate numerous reasons for supporting this bill. The heading for title II is "Educational and Vocational Assistance" and the declared purpose is to extend education and training assistance to provide vocational readjustment and to restore lost educational opportunities to those whose educational, professional, or voca-tional ambitions are interrupted or impeded by active service in the Armed Forces during the specified emergency period which is referred to in Public Law 550 as the "basic service period." It is further stated in the policy declaration of the bill that this educational program is intended to aid such persons in attaining the educational and training status which they might normally have aspired to and attained, had they not served their country.

For those persons in the Armed Forces on or before January 31, 1955, proclamation 3080 terminating the emergency period does not alter the need for assistance to provide vocational readjustment and to restore lost educational opportunities.

There was widespread confusion regarding education benefits after the proclamation was announced. Enlistments were encouraged believing that those persons in the Armed Forces would be permitted to accrue maximum education and training entitlement. The man in service on or before January 31 will be eligible for home, farm, or business loans partially guaranteed by the Government after he leaves service. This benefit and the educational provisions have been powerful incentives for enlistments. Both have contributed much to good morale in the Armed Forces among those who enlisted or were drafted.

For those not acquainted with legal terminology the reading of section 214, Public Law 550, could lead to a misunderstanding. Paragraph (a) reads: "Each eligible veteran shall be entitled to education or training under this title for a period equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ times the duration of his active service in the Armed Forces during the basic service period. * * *" In the absence of a legal interpretation regarding the relationship be-tween "* * his active service in the Armed Forces * * " and "* * the basic service period . . " before the announcement of a termination date each person in the Armed Forces had reason to believe his entitlement would be based on " * * the duration of his active service in the Armed Forces. *

The enactment of H. R. 587 will promptly dispell all feeling of resentment on the part of those who have entered or will enter Armed Forces before January 31, 1955. These men and women are giving all that is asked of them. It will continue the emphasis upon vocational readjustment and the restoration lost educational opportunities resulting in the obtainment of educational and vocational goals in the shortest time possible. This is of supreme importance to the security of the United States and our way of

Federal Agencies Directed to Slash **Business Activity**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, during the 83d Congress I sponsored H. R. 8832 and H. R. 9890, which had for their purpose the elimination of competition on the part of the Government with its citizens in business activities. After lengthy hearings, the Committee on Government Operations favorably reported and the House passed a bill along these lines. The Senate failed to take action and, therefore, I have again introduced a bill, H. R. 687, for the purpose of ending this type of competition. The New York Times of January 26, 1955, has reported on Bulletin 55-4 of the Bureau of the Budget, and because of the wide interest in the subject I include this article in the Appendix:

FEDERAL AGENCIES DIRECTED TO SLASH BUSI-ACTIVITY-BUDGET CHIEF ORDERS STUDY TO END ENTERPRISES COMPETING WITH PRIVATE INTERESTS

(By Charles E. Egan)

Washington, January 25.—Government agencies were ordered today to see how rapidly they could drop more activities compet-ing with private business.

Under direction of the President, Rowland R. Hughes, Director of the Budget, instructed all agencies and departments to review their industrial and commercial activities and "determine how many of these activities are in competition with private business and how many can reasonably be ended."

Each agency received until April 15 to complete an inventory of its commercial activities and until July 15 to advise the Budget Bureau as to which of the manu-facturing functions it performed could be

ended.

Later in the year, the agencies and departments will submit evaluation of other commercial activities carried on for the Government's own use, such as repair and business services, transportation, communications, and wholesale and retail trade.

These evaluations, of necessity, will require a number of months to prepare, it

was said.

In the meantime, the departments and agencies were told not to start any new enterprises that would compete with private business.

PRESIDENT'S REMARKS RECALLED

The order is in line with the President's thinking, and on many occasions he has em-Phasized his feelings in the matter. During the 1952 election campaign, he said:

"That no Federal project, large or small, will be undertaken which the people can effectively do or be helped to do for them-selves; that no Federal project will be undertaken which private enterprise can effectively undertake; that no project and no program Will be started on the Federal level which can be undertaken and effectively carried through on the State or local level."

Mr. Hughes said today that Government departments and agencies should discontinue activities competing with private enterprise "unless, as shown by the evaluation, it would not be in the public interest to procure products or services from private enterprise through ordinary business chan-

nels.

He said that the order did not deal with "activities of direct service to the public," such as "lending, insurance, and the gen-

eration and sale of power."

He added, however, that the agencies were expected to keep these activities, including insurance of home loans, lending to small business, and the production of electric power by the Tennessee Valley Authority, "under constant review and evaluation."

Costs will be a factor in deciding whether the Government should discontinue a busihess activity, but Mr. Hughes decreed that in comparing Government and private business costs, the computations must be made

fairly and must be complete.

This was believed to be almed at getting cost comparisons on a business bookkeeping basis, including charges for interest on capital, taxes, and other costs normal to business but sometimes not figured in computations comparing Government costs with those of business.

In the last 21 months, the Government has divested itself of a number of commercial activities. Among these were the placing of the Reconstruction Finance Cor-Poration in liquidation, the sale of the assets of the Inland Waterways Corporation, and the selling of most of the synthetic rubber plants, subject to congressional approval.

The Defense Department began a survey of its commercial operations last March and reported that progress had been made in reducing the area in which it competed with private business, Mr. Hughes said.

The Navy is no longer manufacturing its own clothing, he added, and the Army has sold a \$15 million chlorine plant in Alabama. The Army also has increased the percentage of automotive maintenance and pair being done by private garages, and the Air Force is contracting out almost half of its maintenance and modification work.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include therein my statement in observance of Ukrainian Independence Day:

UKRAINIAN INDEPENDENCE DAY

Ukrainians constitute the largest nationality group, with the exception, of course, of the Russians, in the sprawling Soviet empire. It is only under compulsion that these 40 million hardened and sturdy tillers of the soil are subject to the Communist rulers of the Soviet Union. Even with all the harshness of the Red regime, the Ukrainians resist it whenever they can.

The Ukraine is the breadbasket of Russia. Without the Ukraine's abundant harvest, it would be almost impossible to feed the people The leaders of Russia, of the Soviet Union. Czarist as well as Communist, know the agricultural importance of this rich blacksoil area. For that reason they robbed the Ukrainians of their national independence. annexed their beloved and richly blessed country, and have since 1920 considered it a Soviet Socialist Republic.

To call the Communist regime in the Ukraine a republic is, as we know so well, a farce. The independence which the a farce. Ukraine attained at the end of World War I and unfortunately was forced to lose in 1920, was real, was genuine national independence, whereas the euphonious republic which the Kremlin claims the Ukraine is today, is nothing but a sham. It is a downright falsehood, a gross distortion of the accepted meaning of the word, to call the Ukraine of today, or any country dominated by the Soviet Union, a republic.

It is, of course, most unfortunate that since 1920 there has been not a single gleam of light in the Ukraine indicating there is any genuine independence. The barbarians of the Kremlin see to it that there is no such light.

Fortunately, however, neither the tyrants of Moscow, nor their minions in the Ukraine, can extinguish the spirit of freedom and of liberty-loving independence which all Ukrainians claim as their birthright. As long as that noble spirit is kept alive, as long as the ideal of national freedom is cherished by the Ukrainians, no dictatorships or tyranny can rob the Ukrainians of their real independence—the independence of their souls and hearts. As long as they possess this, they will never give up their resistance to the Red tyrants.

The Ukrainian Congress Committee of America has done excellent work in keeping alive Ukrainian hopes for the recovery of their freedom. On this Ukrainian Independence Day, I wish you all success in your inspiring endeavors.

Anniversary of the Establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the text of a speech which I made on Sunday, January 23, on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic:

SPEECH OF HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY, OF MICH-IGAN, IN DETROIT, JANUARY 23, 1955

I am very happy to be here this afternoon and to have the privilege of speaking to the Detroit branch of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America on the 37th anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic. I know of the many thousand persons of Ukrainian origin and descent who live in the Detroit area, in the State of Michigan and throughout our country and it is a happy opportunity to join them in commemorating this day. During the work of the House Select Com-

mittee To Investigate Communist Aggression on which I was privileged to serve during the 83d Congress, I came to learn a good deal concerning the essentials of the history of Ukraine and its people, including the period of Communist takeover and occupation of that nation. Given this occasion which has brought us together today, it is not inappropriate to review briefly some of these essentials so that we may have a better understanding of how the present situation was achieved.

It is a well-known fact to Ukrainians and non-Ukrainians alike that today the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, as one of the union republics of the U.S.S.R., is a charter member of the United Nations, but it is not allowed to enter into direct relations with any of the free nations of the world. Not so well known, perhaps, is the fact that, according to the best calculations, which are, of course, approximate, there are about 54 million Ukrainians in the world. This entitles them to rank in Europe next after the Russians and the Germans in point of numbers. It certainly merits careful consideration being given to the present problems and the future of this great people.

It is interesting to note how Ukrainian consciousness fared under pre-Communist foreign dominations. Under the Hapsburgs there was no denial of the Ukrainian national identity. In Russia, however, that is Czarist Russia, the Ukrainian identity was denied and many of the younger Ukrainians were drawn into the Russian revolutionary movement, while no separate Ukrainian political activity was possible.

A study of the rise of the Ukrainian National Republic should properly begin in March 1917, when the old Russian imperial organism collapsed under the strain of World War I. It was at this time that Prof. Mykhaylo Hrushevsky returned home from forced exile in Russia. On April 7 there was a great demonstration in Kiev at which Professor Hrushevsky spoke of the ending of the past, the fight for fundamental national rights, and called on the Ukrainians to be loyal to their native land-Ukraine. It was out of this that the Central Rada developed which issued, on June 23, 1917, its first universal, written by Vynnychenko, and declaring that from this time Ukraine had to live its own life. The general secretariat which was set up by the Rada was in effect the first modern Ukrainian government.

On November 20, the Rada, which had now become the governing body of Ukraine, issued the third universal, which was really a declaration of national independence except that it contained the phrase "not breaking federative bonds with Russia." This important statement provided for the establishment of a democratic republic in the Ukrainian ethnographic boundaries and guaranteed to all citizens those democratic rights that form the basis of a free country.

More important, however, from the standpoint of the Ukrainian people was the statement issued by Nikolai Lenin, on behalf of
the Soviet of People's Commissars, on
December 17, 1917, which officially recognized
Ukraine as a completely sovereign and independent state. However, at the same time
this recognition was extended, the Bolsheviks
presented an ultimatum, an ultimatum
which was rejected by the Ukrainian Government.

The Soviets thereupon declared war and invaded the Ukraine, driving the Ukrainian Government from Kiev to Zhytomyr in February of 1918. Prior to this, however, the Rada decided to proclaim the fourth universal on January 22 and declare the complete independence of a Ukrainian state.

Thanks to the fact that the Central Powers recognized the independence of the Ukrainian National Republic and sent military assistance, the rada was able to return to Kiev by March 1 and resume its work of constructing a democratic state. On April 29. a constitution was adopted and Hrushevsky was elected president of the Republic. Although a German-inspired countermovement against the rada was temporarily successful, it collapsed along with the Central Powers and by December 19 the Ukrainian National Republic was again restored. On January 3, 1919, the western Ukrainian National Republic voted to unite with the Ukrainian National Republic and the union was proclaimed at Kiev on January 22. It is the 36th anniversary of this great event which we are celebrating here today.

Even before this time, flagrant Soviet interference had assumed serious proportions. On January 16, the legal Ukrainian Government was forced to cease efforts at peace and to declare war on Soviet Russia. Caught in the midst of the Russian civil war, the Ukrainian Government was forced to leave Kiev by early February even though it returned twice briefly in August and again in May of the following year, both times with Polish assistance. However, the armistice of Riga on October 18, 1920, put an end to hostilities. The Bolshevik-supported Ukrainian Soviet Republic signed this treaty and no mention was made of the Ukrainian National Republic. When the remaining Ukrainian military forces withdrew across the Zbruch in November of 1920, it marked the close of a chapter in an heroic struggle for national independence.

Opposition to communism continued, however, especially among the Ukrainian peasants. Ukrainian national consciousness was also heightened by the fact that for a while Moscow desired to keep the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic as a quasi-independent state for its international value and effect. It must be emphasized that Ukraine proved itself an unwilling victim, albeit a very challenging field for the trying out of experiments on ways of dominating subject countries. That is why Ukraine has been the scene of so many experiments and why it has been an especial victim of the Russian Communist terror.

The Russian leaders of the first invasion of Ukraine were as much interested in plundering the peasants to secure grain as they were in capturing the country. As might have

been expected the peasants resisted. Then in 1921 a famine broke out and several millions of people starved. One result was the adoption by the Soviets of the new economic policy (NEP) which resulted in a slight in the field of agriculture. tunately, the outside world assumed that the disastrous effects of militant communism had taught the Communists reason and commonsense and that they were returning to sound and civilized policy. Such impressions were strengthened by the measures which the Communists adopted in heavy industry, in coal mining, and the production of iron ore and pig iron. Even the steady diminution of the influence of the Ukrainian S. S. R. on foreign affairs and the development of the idea, in 1922, of the formation of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics did not serve as sufficient warnings to world leaders.

During this period a lively intellectual life was developing in the Ukraine in connection with the so-called Ukrainization. Ukrainian revival came to an end in 1926 when Stalin decided that Ukraine would continue to be an agricultural area and the producer of mineral and metal raw and semifinished materials which would take their final form in the Russian Republic. first step in the deliberate destruction of the Ukrainian village was to ruin the peasants and force them to turn over their lands to the collective farms. Then, in 1930, came the order for compulsory collectivization of all the land and the means of production. And then Stalin decided upon a still more drastic device-the starvation of the Ukrainian villages-which resulted in the great famine of 1932-33

During the hearings of our committee last year, one witness testified that during the period of the famine at least 6 million people died in the Ukraine as a result of it, and about 80 percent of the Ukrainian intelligentsia also perished. The most conservative estimate is that there were about 4,800 .-000 deaths, although there are many recognized scholars who have placed the number as between five and eight million. In addition, there was the loss to Ukraine of that part of the population which did succeed in getting out of the country and securing work in other sections of the Soviet Union. It should be remembered that, despite all appeals, any international relief was prevented by Stalin and his associates during this period.

At the same time of the collectivization and the famine, a similar attack was directed on all of the intellectual leaders of the country. A Ukrainian orthodox bishop told our committee that over 3,000 Ukrainian priests were exterminated or sent to prisons in Siberia. He added that about 90 percent of the Ukrainian orthodox churches were either completely destroyed or were turned into other buildings, such as warehouses and barns.

It was also at this time that professor Hrushevsky, former President of the Ukrainian National Republic and then 64 years of age, was arrested and confined in an obscure village under inhuman conditions. When he was completely broken by this procedure, he was released and moved to a rest home in the Caucasus, where he died in 1934. Along with Mezepa and Petlyura, he had been charged with bourgeois nationalism and accused of trying to destroy the unity of the Russians and Ukrainians and to undo the great work of Marx and Lenin.

The destruction of the Ukrainian cultural renaissance and the crushing of the traditional Ukrainian peasant life were but the first steps in the policy of Stalin and his associates. That dealt with Ukrainian life and thought in the present. It was necessary also to alter the past and the future. Therefore the suggestion was made that the

Ukrainian language should be assimilated to Russian by the introduction into it of Russian words wherever the Ukrainian words differed. Even today the Communists are striving to make Ukrainian a dead language incapable of growth or of adaptation to modern conditions in any way other than by the addition of Russian elements.

The outbreak of World War II and the crushing defeat of Poland by the Nazi hordes also saw the Soviet Union invade that part of Ukraine and Byelorussia that had previously been Polish lands. On October 22, 1939, a national assembly (elected by the usual Communist methods) met in Lvov and asked admission to the Ukrainian Soviet Republic. A hand-picked delegation went to Moscow and on November 1, the area was formally incorporated by the Soviet of Commissars in Moscow.

It is undeniable that, when the German-Soviet war broke out in June of 1941, many of the Ukrainians welcomed the invading German forces. However, Hitler's plans did not include the formation of an independent Ukrainian Government. In August 1941 the Germans annexed western Ukraine to the governor generalship and the rest of the Ukraine was formed into the Reichskommissariat Ukraine. Therefore resistance against the new invaders developed early in with the formation of the Ukrainian insurgent army (UPA) and the next year there was finally formed the Supreme Council of Ukrainian Liberation (UHVR) which coordinated the military and civilian sides of the Ukrainian struggle. This became in a sense a government for the UPA.

One of the members of the Ukrainian Supreme Liberation Council who testified before our committee told us that the Ukrainian resistance was organized not only on political lines but also in the form of armed resistance and added that all the Ukrainian people fight for the same aims and motives as the Ukrainian insurgent army itself.

When the Soviets returned at the end of the war, they endeavored to soothe the aroused nationalistic feelings in Ukraine and Byelorussia. It was for this reason that they secured the entrance of the Ukraintan and Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republics as charter members of the United Nations and later gave these republics their own flags and provided new national anthems for them. But in spite of this the UPA turned against the Communists and continued to fight the Soviet armies as determinedly as they had fought the Germans.

The success of the UPA encouraged the population and did much to hamper the return and functioning of the Soviet system in the Ukraine. This continued success led to a tripartite agreement of the Soviet Union. Poland, and Czechoslovakia on May 12. 1947, to suppress the UPA, and the armed forces of all three united to suppress a menace that the Communists had denied ever existed. By 1952 open military conflict had pretty much ceased and the chief object of the UPA is now to maintain a constant state of unrest and uneasiness on the part of the more prominent Communist terrorists in the country.

In postwar Ukraine the real church has ceased to exist or has gone underground. The agricultural policy of the Soviet Union has been to revive and reform the collective farms and also to introduce the so-called agrogorod, or farm city, which facilitates the the control of the collective farms by the Communists. The work of restoring the factories has gone slowly since the policy on the part of the Soviets has been to develop the entire union in such a way that Ukrainian industrial production would increase very slowly and the share of Ukraine in the total agricultural and industrial yield of the Soviet Union would definitely diminish.

You may be interested to know that in

You may be interested to know that in January of 1953 there was celebrated with

all the fanfare possible the 300th anniversary of the Treaty of Pereyoslav which brought Ukraine into alliance with Moscovy. On this Occasion the theses of the Communist Party call Kiev the oldest Russian city and Lvov the oldest Ukrainian city because it was founded by the Ukrainians after the division of the language. Of course this postulates an original linguistic, political, and racial union of the two nations. You may also be interested to learn that the Council of Ministers turned over to Ukraine the Crimea from which they had already forcibly deported its native Tartar population. And finally, since Moscow has decided to cultivate more land in Kazakhstan and Siberia, some 800,000 young Ukrainians, young men and women, are to volunteer for the pioneering service. It is another example of the long continued attempt to place the Ukrainians everywhere, except in Ukraine.

These are some of the facts which were brought out by the Select House Committee on Communist Aggression and contained in its special report No. 4 which was published at the end of last year. I have been given a few hundred copies of this Ukrainian report and would be happy to supply you with copies as long as my supply lasts, if you will

write me at my Washington office.

As many of you also know I was, during the last Congress, Michigan's only Representative on the House Foreign Affairs Committee. I recall our hearings on July 15, 1953, on the consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 58 which would have authorized the establishment of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Republics of Ukraine and Byelorussia and the creation of American representation at Kiev and Minsk. Although I endorsed this legislation publicly during the course of the hearings and supported its passage in committee, the bill

itself was never reported out of committee. In this connection, I would like to clarify a point which may seem confusing to some people. The Select Committee on Communist Aggression, in its final report, recommended steps which would lead to the breaking of diplomatic relations between this Government, on the one hand, and the Soviet Union and its satellites, on the other. Along with every other member of the committee, both Republicans and Democrats, I signed this report and endorsed such steps. Some persons might naturally inquire, therefore, why I endorsed the breaking of relations with the Soviet Union while at the same time I supported attempts to establish diplomatic relations with Ukraine and Byelorussia.

Of course, those of us who supported the latter step had little hope that the Soviet Union would permit this Government to have direct contact with the so-called foreign offices of Ukraine and Byelorussia. But We wished to force the Soviet Union to refuse publicly and thus give the lie to the fiction that these two Soviet republics enjoy autonomy in the conduct of their foreign affairs. Of course, we all know that neither Ukraine nor Byelorussia have the slightest degree of external or internal autonomy, but it is important that the most clear and ample proof of this be displayed to the outside world and we believed that the passage of this concurrent resolution would have placed a valuable weapon in our hands for the coldwar struggle.

I wish now to speak of the captive peoples, not only of Ukraine but everywhere behind the Iron Curtain. Recently there has been much talk in the press of peaceful coexistence between this country and the Soviet Union. Some have interpreted such talk as an indication that we have abandoned the captive peoples to their fate, that we are willing to sit down with the Soviet rulers and divide the world into so-called spheres of influence, that we are prepared to per-

mit the Communists to have Ukraine, let us say, if they will agree to abandon their infiltrative efforts in perhaps Guatemala or Chile or Brazil. I want to answer such interpretations this afternoon.

I can categorically assure all of you here that the policy of this Government toward the captive peoples behind the Iron Curtain has not changed one iota, nor will it change under our present administration. Under date of December 16, little more than a month ago, I received the following assurances from the State Department (from which I quote): "This Government is not reconciled to the present fate of those peoples; it will not be a party to any arrangement or treaty confirming or prolonging their subjection to Soviet despotism, and it seeks by peaceful means conditions permitting these enslaved national groups to recover genuine freedom and independence."

You may have heard of or read the recent speech which Secretary of State Dulles made in Chicago in which he stated (and I quote again): "The scope of conferences with the Soviet Government is necessarily limited by our attitude toward the captive peoples, for the Soviets know that we will not make any deal which would condone and perpetuate the captivity of men and nations." And the State Department has personally assured me that our objective remains unchanged, that is, to work in all peaceful ways for the creation of a Europe in which the captive peoples will again enjoy governments as well as social and economic institutions of their own free choice.

I hope that these official statements of policy on the part of our Government will act to reassure the captive peoples that they are not and will not be forgotten and that no so-called deal will be made with the Soviets that would in any sense of the word be an acceptance on our part of their conditions of bondage. Moreover, I will say that I am convinced that the great majority of the American people are desirous and hopeful that the eventual day of liberation will come and that it will come soon.

I wish to make one thing clear about which there has been much misunderstanding. There will be no so-called war of liberation in its literal sense. The American people are not prepared to and do not intend to fight a war solely and simply for the liberation of the captive peoples. The horrors of an atomic and thermonuclear war are too great for us ever to seek war of our own choosing. But if, in spite of all our efforts for peace, war should be thrust upon us, we will not shrink from its horrors, however catastrophic they may be.

All of the peoples of the world ardently desire peace. But we will not pay any price, however unworthy, to buy peace. And I am convinced that if war with the Soviets should come, albeit not of our choosing, we would not hesitate but would wage it until the power of international communism everywhere was beaten and trampled into the ground.

So I tell you that, while there may be talk of peaceful coexistence, a concept which I personally believe can never be realized, the policy of liberation is still as much a part of our national objective as it ever was. And there are peaceful means and ways in which we can work for this liberation, some of which are already in use while many others remain to be tried.

In working for peaceful liberation, I believe we would in effect be working toward a victory over the Soviet Union in the only way which would avoid either shameful surrender to the Soviets or an all-out atomic war in which there would be neither victor nor vanquished. Therefore you can see that the achievement of liberation by peaceful means would be very much in the interest of our own national security and therefore

must of necessity be and remain a part of our Government's international policy toward the Soviets.

One thing more. When one deals with the Soviets, it is necessary to approach them from a standpoint of strength, not weakness, For example, when our citizens are incar-cerated in Soviet prisons, it is not only unnecessary but even the height of folly to resort to the payment of ransom and blackmail in order to effect their release. This was done in the case of Oatis from Czechoslovakkia, Vogeler from Hungary, and in other instances. Such examples not only set dangerous precedents but are also shameful reflections of the loss of honor and prestige of a great Nation. You here in Detroit have just witnessed a successful attempt, in which I was proud to play a small part, at liberating one of your own fellow townsmen from a Soviet prison. No ransom or blackmail, no shameful concessions, were paid to effect the release of John Noble. He had been in a Russian labor camp for 9 years. But it was not until the State Department stopped writing notes and instructed our Ambassador to take the matter up personally with the Soviets that success was achieved.

I have been privileged to join with you this afternoon in honoring the 36th anniversary of the establishment of the Ukrainian National Republic. I join with all of you in praying for the day when the people of Ukraine will once again be free and able to choose their own form of government in accordance with the cherished principle of self-determination which this country has always espoused. I am happy to come here and tell you that the Eisenhower administration is just as concerned with this question of liberation as any of you and to assure you of my own intention to work for this principle as long as I remain in public service. I commend you for keeping the mem-ory of this day alive and I urge you never to forget what this occasion signifies as best expressed by the title of your historic national anthem, Shche Ne Vmerla Ukraina Ukraine Will Never Die.

Correction of Flaws in the Present Federal Statute Regarding Arbitration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, in the 2d session of the 83d Congress, I introduced H. R. 10010, which had as its purpose the correction of numerous inaccuracies and flaws contained in the present Federal statute regarding arbitration. The bill was introduced on July 22, 1954, but because of the relatively short period remaining before adjournment, it was impossible to pursue efforts to have it enacted into law.

I am again introducing the bill, which has been carefully studied by practitioners in various parts of the country, and it is hoped that it will not be the subject of controversy. Accordingly, I trust it will have the favorable consideration of the general membership of the Congress.

For a long time those familiar with this subject matter have realized the lack of provisions for judicial review in questions of law arising out of arbitration. A large number of standard forms of charter party and other contracts contain clauses requiring that the arbitra-

tors shall be commercial men.

A proposed amendment would clarify and would extend jurisdiction of the District Courts to issue orders requiring arbitration. Another purpose of the proposed legislation is to preclude the enforcement of arbitration in those instances where the dispute has become time-barred.

The bill being introduced would incorporate in the statute the prevailing judicial view that unless the parties expressly agree otherwise, all arbitrators must be impartial persons and their decisions should be limited to evidence submitted to them in a specified manner. Members of the Maritime Law Association of the United States have been actively interested in this legislation and I consider it worthy of the attention of the Congress of the United States.

What's Wrong With Our Present Drought Program?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, along with colleagues in both Houses of the Congress, I am today introducing a concurrent resolution calling for a complete study and investigation of drought conditions in the United States for the purpose of preparing plans and programs for their alleviation.

This resolution is offered against a background of increasingly disturbing news concerning the gravity of the drought catastrophe in my own State of Oklahoma and the pitiful failure of our existing drought-relief program to meet adequately the emergency which we face.

It is offered against a background of long-range weather predictions which point to another dry year in 1955.

It is offered against a background of declining farm income throughout the Nation, even as we face an administration farm program which is aimed directly at further depressing of farm prices.

As I pointed out in my speech to the House on January 20, we have 18 States-and 944 counties within their boundaries-which are today classified as drought emergency areas.

Literally hundreds of thousands of farm families are today on direct food relief throughout the Nation, the victims of relentless drought and the tragic fallure to provide an adequate drought relief program.

I want to submit to you a summary of the reports which I have been receiving for some time concerning the operation of the Benson drought program.

Most of the ideas and opinions expressed are the ideas and opinions of men who know the drought program best, because they are living with it, in the drought area of Oklahoma.

From letters and messages received in my office, from farmers, ranchers, county agents, and others, I submit this report

on our drought program.

I hope there are reasonable explanations and answers for some of the program's failures-but I doubt that there

I would prefer that some of the charges are not completely accurate-but I am afraid that they are.

The Congress should act now to create machinery for a careful review of this program, and should act at once to improve it where action is demanded by the plain facts.

REPORT ON THE DROUGHT PROGRAM

The major complanit against the program is plain inadequacy. Concerning the feed relief program, one farmer who is president of a civic association writes as follows:

At the meeting of our organization last night the feed relief program was discussed and found to be inadequate. If this program is not changed at least 60 percent of the farmers who have cattle will be forced to sell their livestock and leave the State seeking employment.

This prediction has already been proved accurate in many counties of the State

The president of one small town chamber of commerce wrote:

The drought program set up by the Government has been of no help to our farmers in that it is set up to help the big man, but not the small cattleman.

A leading citizen of another eastern Oklahoma town agreed:

Our farmers and livestock growers are in desperate condition for feed with which to winter their livestock. They have made no crops and will have very little money if any to buy feed with and the feed that is available is very costly.

A county agent wrote as follows:

I have lived in Oklahoma for 61 years and believe that I can say without reservation that this is the worst drought that I have ever seen, partly due to the fact that it follows previous drouths of 1952 and 1953. A great many of our little farmers especially are in very bad shape financially. They would like some kind of made-work program so they can earn an honest living, not a giveaway Also, it seems to be the consensus of all the farmers that I have talked with that this 60 cents per hundred on drouth feeds is entirely inadequate.

After numerous protests, the Agriculture Department finally admitted the truth of this charge and raised the assistance to \$1 per hundredweight on feed, but the basic problem of finding a way to make up the cash difference remained to blight the program for the small and hard-hit farmer.

Meanwhile, high prices on feed grains were compounding the problem for the drought-hit farmer and stockman.

In most cases, the fault did not lie with the local feed dealer, who raised local prices very reluctantly, but rather with his sources of supply, who were taking advantage of market conditions and at the same time draining off large Government surpluses at bargain rates.

According to CCC operational reports. more than 193 million bushels of corn were sold between January 1 and October 31, 1954. The average price was \$2.52 per hundred.

In Muskogee, Okla., on October 4. 1954, the wholesale price of \$3.40 per hundred was being quoted for corn.

The CCC sold 11 million bushels of oats at an average of \$2.26 per hundred-and the October 4 wholesale price on oats in Muskogee was \$3.00-\$3.10.

More than 12 million bushels of barley sold by CCC brought an average price of \$2.25 per hundred-while the Muskogee wholesale price was \$3.10.

CCC disposed of 1.2 billion pounds of grain sorghums at an overage of \$1.77but in October the Muskogee wholesale price for ground sorghums was \$3.10.

Note that these Oklahoma prices are wholesale prices, for truckload lots or more, according to report, and retail prices in lesser amounts would run even higher.

Who was the beneficiary of the Government's feed program, anyway?

A county agent quoted by the farm editor of the Tulsa World made this comment:

Take the case of grains which are covered by this new plan; all it means is that the feed merchant will simply up his price under this program, and the Government's money will be wasted. * * * The feed trade has the ball now. It is just about the same as a year ago under the beef-buying program when the packers and not the cattlemen had

Members of the Oklahoma delegation, knowing the financial distress of the drought area, appealed on more than one occasion to top agriculture officials for direct distribution of Government grain surpluses, as well as seed for winter cover crops, to the farmer victims of the drought.

The Department elected to peddle surpluses at bargain rates to big feed and seed dealers, and then lend a small measure of financial assistance to the farmer in order to bolster the sizable profit to the feed and seed speculator.

No departmental attempt was made to hold prices down, unless the bargain sale of surplus stocks can be so described.

On the contrary, it is reported that the practice of posting a "fair price" list of dealers guaranteeing reasonable prices was ordered discontinued in ASC committee offices.

The picture on seed surplus disposals and price trends for the farmer is just as disturbing as the feed picture.

In a letter of August 9, 1954, to the President, I offered the following recommendation for emergency drought measures in this field:

2. ASC regulations should be amended to make wheat, oats, and barley available at once as ASC practice for winter pasture and This seed should be made available free if possible in the disaster area, or at least at a reduced cost. As an ASC practice, it would be accompanied by necessary fertilizers, and of course, it would be subject to the provision that the crop would not be harvested for grain but would be

used to meet actual pasturing and feed needs on the farm itself. Such an amendment of ASC regulations, which would not require new law, should take place immediately, since the time for planting of winter pasture will soon be upon us in our section. Of course, this practice would require some rain this fall, but it is our best hope to secure a feed supply through the farmers' own efforts in this disaster area.

On August 18, the Department sent me a copy of a press release dated August 16 quoting the Secretary of Agriculture to the effect that "under a recent change in the ACP any farmer or rancher is eligible to apply for cost-sharing for planting cover or green manure crops on cropland which will be shifted from crop production next year. The ACP authorizes payment of up to 50 percent of the cost of seedbed preparation, fertilizer, lime, and seed for establishing cover crops on such land."

This was a good beginning, but it did not go far enough. In the first place, it should be noted that cost-sharing was made available only in connection with "crops on cropland which will be shifted from crop production next year." In recent years, a great physical change has been wrought in much of eastern Oklahoma. As a result of the good work done by the Extension Service, Soil Conservation Service and other conservation agencies, vast acreages have been taken out of crop production and put into pastures. Obviously, no assistance would be made available on these acres nor to the people and livestock on them.

Secondly, the Department ignored the opportunity to move seed from CCC stocks directly to farmers in furtherance of a program of self-help. In anticipation of developments which subsequently occurred, I called upon the Department to undertake the immediate distribution of winter cover crop seed to farmers in the drought areas. In behalf of my own farmers, I specifically requested the release of CCC stocks of oats for this purpose but was advised that there were no such stocks. In our emergency we would have welcomed any seed that had a good chance of germinating. Since the program did not permit harvesting of any yields, we were not interested in anything but an edible growth.

The Department at that time had tremendous stocks of winter cover crop seeds, such as vetches, crimson clover, peas, and so forth, which were in demand in my State. But our plea for direct action was ignored. As a result of the actions taken by the Department, some startling developments have occurred. To anyone even remotely acquainted with the agricultural situation these developments should not have been unexpected. To anyone closely associated with the Department, and particularly those in policymaking positions, they doubtless were expected.

As the ACP winter cover crop practice got underway, local seed stocks were quickly exhausted. In some States, county ASC committees gave purchase orders to farmers which constituted the bulk of the purchase price for such seed. Great volumes of seed were moved in a short time. The Secretary of Agriculture anticipated this. In his press release of August 16, "Secretary Benson

urged farmers to anticipate their needs and order seed early." It was said that "this will facilitate movement of seed from surplus to deficit areas."

By mid-September the Department was reporting sharp increases in grass and legume seeds, although seed grain prices had dropped. Some seed prices had advanced as much as 35 percent since spring. Seed oats and wheat were also in demand and prices reflected this demand.

The September 1954 price on winter seed wheat was \$2.86 compared with \$2.82 in September 1953 despite the sharp drop in prices in other farm commodities

With increased demand, other seed prices shot up. At least in my section of this country, these price increases did not represent profiteering on the part of local seed dealers. As a matter of fact, they, too, were caught in the price squeeze as they tried to hold retail prices down. Prices generally maintained their stability until local stocks were exhausted, and then they were forced up by the increases in prices asked by the big seed suppliers in other parts of the country. In some sections, I am told that these price increases virtually wiped out the temporary benefit farmers received from cost-sharing participation on the part of ACP.

Since CCC had a virtual monopoly on many seed stocks, I was interested in learning what disposition had been made of them. According to CCC financial reports, more than 18 million pounds of vetch seed was sold between January 1. 1954, and October 31, at an average price of 5 cents per pound. Much of this was common, selling for about 3.5 cents per pound for export. On September 15, the Department reports showed that Oklahoma farmers were paying 13.5 cents per pound for hairy vetch, the national average retail price was 16.3 cents, and prices in some States ranged as high as 23 cents per pound. Common vetches were selling at a national average of 8.4 cents and as high as 10 cents.

Another example of CCC sales of winter cover crop seeds was crimson clover. In this same period the Department sold almost 5 million pounds of crimson clover seed at an average price of 18 cents per pound. Oklahoma farmers were paying 24 cents per pound, the national average was 23.9, and prices were as high as 30 cents in some States. Almost 6 million pounds of Austrian winter peas were sold by CCC at about 2 cents per pound while Oklahoma farmers were paying 7 cents, with a national average of 6.9 cents:

A great demand has also developed for alfalfa seed. Although not a winter cover crop, the actions taken in connection with the 40 million pounds of seed held by CCC typifies the seed operations of the Department. Factors influencing the alfalfa seed market were well known to the Department last summer, but the official reaction to impending price increases was surprising indeed. In its press release of June 1, 1954, about 20 million pounds of northern alfalfa seed was offered at \$37.50 per hundred pounds, and about 15 million pounds of various certified varieties were offered

at \$43 per hundred. On July 1, 1954, these prices were reduced to \$35 and \$40 respectively. From January 1, 1954, through October 31, CCC reported the sale of over 12 million pounds of alfalfa seed at an average of 35 cents per pound. I understand that the CCC stocks of alfalfa seed have either been exhausted since that time or soon will be. In the meantime, alfalfa seed prices in retail stores showed sharp increases between spring and fall. Prices ranged as high as 43 cents a pound and more in some States for improved varieties.

The examples I have cited are illustrative of both the effects of strong demand upon the market and the manner in which the Department of Agriculture reacted. It is quite significant that CCC price decreases and volume sales of seeds were followed almost immediately by considerable price increases at the retail level

This was not the only action taken by the Department in the interests of the seed speculators. As I mentioned earlier, prior to the announcement of the special drought emergency ACP cover crop practice, the county committees had for several years maintained what was known as fair price lists. Each committee determined fair prices for ACP seed after consultation with local dealers and posted such prices in the county office together with a listing of firms agreeing to offer seed at prices not higher than those listed. With the advent of the drought emergency program and an increased demand for seed-paid for in large measure by the Government-the Department directed the discontinuance of the fair price posting. In other words, the Department directed its field personnel to look the other way while the seed industry took advantage of human misery to increase profit margins on seed. For the first time in modern history, our Government gave the green light to profiteering by a few on the suffering of

It is not only proper but highly desirable for the Department of Agriculture, and any other agency of our Government for that matter, to conduct its business wherever possible and practical through normal trade channels. But it is inconceivable for an agency of government to deliberately set up an emergency program to alleviate human suffering and at the same time create conditions for unconscionable profiteering. It will be recaled that when it was found that gamma globulin offered some hope for polio victims the Government stepped in and controlled distribution to prevent inequitable treatment and profiteering on a life-saving medium. Could we expect any less from the same Government in the development of a humaniitarian program of assistance for our drought-stricken farmers?

The 83d Congress recognized the need for emergency credit for drought-stricken farmers in the enactment of Public Laws 115—amending Public Law 38, 81st Congress—and 727. Unfortunately, the administration of these and other credit programs has revealed a striking inadequacy.

There has been little or no uniformity in the local application of regulations applying to production emergency loans. In some places, a penalty has been applied to bigness; in others, it was the little farmer or stockman who found the door closed. Refinancing of existing indebtedness was denied, as were loans to compensate applicants for their losses as a result of the drought.

In too many instances the requirement that the proposed borrower be unable to obtain from other lenders the credit required was interpreted to mean that he must be virtually without means or substance. If he met this test, then he failed the requirement that he have reasonable prospects for success with the assistance of a loan.

These were but a few of the obstacles placed between desperate people and a source of credit which would have meant the difference between survival and failure. Where credit is made available for crop production, the terms of the loan require that the debt be paid when the income derived from the sale of the crops produced with the loans is received. At best, this requirement only delays economic death until the end of the crop season.

The principle of self-help through the extension of emergency credit has been defeated by the manner and method of administration. Thousands of farmers who had found new faith and hope in the announced emergency loan program learned to their sorrow that their Government's interest was limited and that in the end they were left to the mercy of the improvident elements.

In summary of the charges made in this report—which admittedly are only a part of the numerous complaints against our present drought program—I can only repeat that the relief extended thus far has apparently been too little and too late, and all too often in the wrong place.

Hundreds of thousands of American farmers are waiting hopefully for action by this Congress to change this picture, and place in action a fair and effective drought-relief program.

drought-relief program.

Every day of delay means new tragedy on the farm front.

On January 22, the Tulsa Tribune carried the Associated Press item "Farm Population Drop Continues."

Between 1950 and 1954, according to this report, the Nation's farm population fell 12.6 percent, from 25,058,000 in 1950 to 21,890,000 in April of 1954.

This continues a trend in evidence since 1940, when our farm population totaled 30,547,000.

Most heartbreaking aspect of this trend is found in the drought area—the west-south-central region—where the farm population drop in the last 4 years was an alarming 21 percent.

The farmer continue to be the backbone of the Nation and its economy, yet we are permitting the steady weakening of this backbone by our failure to act with full vigor and effectiveness to meet our farm problems.

Make no mistake about it, drought damage is public enemy No. 1 among those problems in many States today.

I hope and pray that the 84th Congress will rise to its responsibility in meeting the drought challenge.

The 1955 Flying Wheels

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, the 1955 Flying Wheels, all-star wheelchair basketball squad of the Paralyzed Veterans' Association, Long Beach, Calif., Hospital Chapter will arrive in the Nation's Capital this next weekend. They will play the Jersey Wheelers of New York at Bethesda Naval Hospital Sunday night, January 30 at 8 p. m. All Members of Congress are invited to attend and I can personally guarantee an exciting and inspirational evening. Wheelchair basketball always is fully as exciting as the regular game and oftentimes more so.

This marks the ninth annual coast-to-coast nonprofit, noncommercial trip by the Flying Wheels to play the Nation's top-ranking teams and provide inspiration and free entertainment for hospitalized veterans.

All traveling expenses for this tour, and the last 3 years, have been paid by the Los Angeles Evening Herald and Express through the courtesy of David Hearst, publisher, and Vic Dunsmore, business manger. Expenses for the other five coast-to-coast tours were raised by tour director John B. Olds, of the sports department of the Herald and Express.

Mr. Old conceived the idea of these tours over 10 years ago and he has directed each one of them. I could not overstate the respect and admiration for Mr. Old held not only by the Flying Wheels, but sportsmen all over the country for his wonderful work over the years on this most worthy of projects.

Paralyzed veterans by definition are fine young Americans who will never walk again. They are paralyzed from the waist down. Most of them are victims of an enemy bullet in the spine; others are victims of polio or tragic accidents. All served their country gallantly.

Many are continuously bedridden, Others find themselves chained to wheelchairs for the rest of their life, compelled to return periodically to VA hospitals for checkups and medical attention.

Their incentive to live is not the same as most people—or so you might reasonably assume. Not so with the courageous members of the Flying Wheels, all-star wheelchair basketball squad of the Long Beach, Calif., Paralyzed Veterans' Association.

They are out to prove to themselves, to their less fortunate bedridden PVA brethren, polio victims everywhere and the world at large that the years to come should not be wasted in self pity or vain regrets sitting on the sidelines of life. They are going to be participants.

The agonies of the soul which all hopelessly crippled young veterans must have suffered can only be imagined. What "gutty guys" like the Flying Wheels are doing today takes more courage, in a way, than they were called on to display against the enemy.

Although their mode of living is limited, they have but one code: "Ability, not disability, counts." Wheelchair basketball is doing much to keep that spirit alive and contagious.

It all started early in World War II at the now discarded Birmingham VA hospital, Van Nuys, Calif. Hunting a way to inspire bed-ridden patients, Bob Rynearson of the recreation department hit upon the idea of wheelchair basketball—played just like able-bodied teams do with only slight variations—such as two pushes on the wheels, while the ball rests on a player's lap, is the equivalent of a dribble.

Occasionally a veteran would wheel down to the gym. On the court self-confidence was bolstered. Returning to his ward, he would brag of his shooting—a direct challenge to ward mates to get out of bed. As the competitive spirit lurks in the heart of every American youth, many accepted. Later more and more. For most of the paraplegics it was their first real inspiration to get out of bed—back into the American competitive way of life if only to beat a bunk mate.

Once on the court they gained physical benefits far and beyond the reach of calisthenics. A new and hopeful mental outlook was born. They bit heavily into the challenge to excel, found they were no longer cognizant of their handicap. Now all wheelchair basketball players love crowds—especially when backward fellows with similar handicaps are watching. Their brilliant court play is inspiring proof positive: Ability, not disability, counts.

Because of its proven value, wheel-chair basketball is now played wherever PVA groups assemble. Unfortunately for the southern California group, there is no other VA paraplegic center west of Kansas City. Hence these annual coast-to-coast nonprofit, noncommercial tours. The Flying Wheels want to meet and beat the best wheelchair teams in the country.

During this tour, in addition to the Bethesda game, they have or will play teams at Tulsa, Chattanooga, Richmond, New York City, Chicago, Kansas City, and Amarillo.

In 8 coast-to-coast wheelchair basketball tours, the Flying Wheels have amassed the creditable record of 50 games won, 22 lost, in 72 intersectional engagements. They have averaged 33 points per game—a remarkably high percentage for a free-wheeling outfit.

Their best years were in 1948, 1950, and 1953. In the 1948 campaign they won 12, lost 1, to be named national wheelchair basketball champions by the Melms Athletic Foundation of California. In the 1950 trip, they compiled a 10 won, 1 lost record to regain the national title.

In 1953 they won 9, lost but 1 game, in their annual tour, that one by 2 points. Two months later the Flying Wheels competed in the national championships at New York City. They were eliminated after winning one championship game by Kansas City, who went on to capture the 1953 crown.

An excerpt from Veterans Administration Technical Bulletin TB 10-503, page 36, paragraph 5, reveals: The importance of competitive games for physical and psychological rehabilitation of paraplegics must not be forgotten. These games maintain the musculature in good condition, improve coordination and put to severe test the paraplegic's ability to balance as in a fast basketball game conducted from wheelchairs.

The mental goal achieved by such competition is a loss of self-consciousness and a gain of self-reliance.

It is medically desirable that tournaments be regularly arranged between the several paraplegic centers in the Veterans' Administration.

Dr. Ernest Bors, medical chief, paraplegic section, Long Beach Veterans' Hospital, observes: Having witnessed the very beginning of the athletic rehabilitation of paraplegic patients, I am impressed with the beneficial effect wheelchair basketball has on the morale and on the physical well-being of the paralyzed veterans.

Sucessful rehabilitation of the severely disabled person is contingent upon the mental approach. It is evident that the self-consciousness of patients, who are bound to use a wheelchair, has been greatly relieved by competitive performances before spectators. Good muscle function, so vital to the patient with a spinal cord injury, is obtained through participation in wheelchair basketball.

The patient's desire to play wheelchair basketball makes his mental and physical rehabilitation a voluntary pleasure.

The Flying Wheels squad roster for 1955 is as follows:

Num- ber	Name	Position	Service	Age
3	Jack Chase Gilbert Ortiz	Forward	Army Signal Corps	. /2
13	Al Halverson	Guard	Army do	1110
6	Morris Moorhead	Forward	Sergeant, Marines	2
7	Fritz Krauth	do	Navy Air Force	3
8	Wally Frost	Guard	Army	- 2
10	Bill Fairbanks	Forward	(Equipment manager)	1 2
11	Lee Barr	Guard	Army	2
12	Norman Harris	Center	Lieutenant, Air Force	3
16	Arthur Eakes	Center	Army	2
20	Walter Haley	Forward	Navy	3

The 1955 Flying Wheels able-bodied personnel on the tour are: Coach, Everett Sylwanowicz, Long Beach VA Hospital; physician, Dr. John F. Fahey, Los Angeles; trainer, Dave Flores, Los Angeles Baseball Club; publicity director, Sam Schnitzer, Los Angeles Examiner; tour aid, Jack Disney, Los Angeles Herald-Express; Stewart Air Service pilots, Capt. Ed Stewart and Jim Gregory; tour director, John B. Old, Los Angeles Herald-Express.

Time for Straight Talk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks, I include a timely editorial entitled "Time for Straight Talk," appearing in the Boston Traveler of January 24, 1955:

TIME FOR STRAIGHT TALK

Like it or not, our Far East policy is

changing by the month.

We're stepping back as Red China feels us out with an exhibition of fist waving. We're cooling off in our attitude toward Chiang Kai-shek and his dream of returning some day to the Chinese mainland.

Within recent days, the administration has shrugged off the Red Chinese capture of Yikiang Island as something of no importance—although it moves the Reds one step closer to an attack against Formosa.

Also, the administration has all but asked outright for a United Nations action that would bring about a cease-fire in Formosa Strait. And Defense Secretary Wilson has said we ought to expand our trade in non-atrategic materials with Communist countries, which happens to be a complete somersault from his stand of some months ago.

Next came the talk about withdrawing Chiang's troops from the outer Tachen Islands and conceding those outposts to the advancing Reds.

It's time President Eisenhower gave the Nation a clear, factual account of what's going on and where we're heading.

We are still committed to the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores. But in view of our recent actions, Red China has good reason to suppose that we won't honor that commitment. The Reds therefore might be tempted to launch their attack, gambling that we'll back out of trouble.

If we meet such an attack, we'll unquestionably be back in a war again. If we duck away from it, we'll be guilty of a shameful sellout and appeasement.

Without doubt, the best solution at the moment would be a cease-fire arrangement, but we don't expect to see one. Neither the Reds nor the Nationalists would accept it at this point.

We think President Eisenhower should speak directly to the American public and state exactly what our policy is and what risks it involves.

Events in the Far East are moving swiftly toward a showdown. We'd like a frank statement of what to expect when it comes.

The American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDWARD A. GARMATZ

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. GARMATZ. Mr. Speaker, the plight of the American merchant marine has been of vital concern to me because of my membership on the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, as well as because of my apprehension for the security of our beloved Nation. Throughout my congressional service, I have been actively interested in the furtherance of

measures calculated to improve this segment of our national defense.

It is with considerable regret, therefore, that I note today the fact that our Nation has fallen to 12th place among the shipbuilding nations of the world. This serious situation must not be allowed to stand, and I exhort the Congress and the citizenry to consider how harmful it will be to American prestige if we do not improve this state of affairs.

Under unanimous consent I insert in the Appendix of the Congressional Record the article appearing in the February 26 edition of the Baltimore Sun, as follows;

SHIPBUILDING IN UNITED STATES TAKES DRAS-TIC DROP-WITH ONLY 99,568 TONS ON WAYS, NATION IS 12TH COMMERCIALLY

London, January 26.—The United States, with only 99.568 tons of merchant shipping on the ways, has dropped to 12th place among the shipbuilding nations of the world.

This was disclosed today by Lloyds Register of Shipping in its report for the last quarter of 1954.

Of all nations, Lloyds said, the American shipbuilding industry showed the largest decrease.

BRITISH YARDS GAIN

On the other hand, British shipbuilding yards touched their busiest point since World War II.

On December 31 British yards were building 327 merchant ships of 2,140,752 tons gross, or 36.57 percent of the world's new tonnage. This was a gain of 82,295 tons over the previous quarter.

Germany improved its position as the second ranking shipbuilding country with 772,-012 tons, or 13.19 percent of the world total, under construction in the last quarter. This was a gain of 103,258 tons over the 3 previous months.

RANKINGS LISTED

The following table shows how the nations ranked as of December 31, 1954:

	Number of ships	Gross tons
Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Germany Netheriands. France. Sweden Japan Italy Norway. Spain. Denmark Belgium United States Other nations.	327 204 136 55 65 47 42 54 62 30 17 15	2, 140, 752 772, 012 529, 679 449, 096 433, 191 376, 565 195, 189 194, 408 186, 817 130, 533 110, 868 99, 568 235, 569
Total	1,169	5, 854, 247

No figures were available for Soviet countries.

MERCHANT MARINE UNIT HITS DROP IN CARGOES

Washington, January 25.—Decline in military cargoes and increased foreign-flag competition for commercial cargoes created a serious impact on the privately owned United States merchant marine during 1954, the American Merchant Marine Institute reported today in its annual report.

These economic factors caused the surplus of United States-flag dry-cargo vessels to exceed 1 million tons by midyear.

The problem of inactive tonnage was relieved in late summer by the enactment of a law requiring at least half of all United States Government-financed cargoes to be moved on American-flag ships and the relaxation of the Maritime Administration's policy on the transfer of idle tonnage to foreign registry.

TRANSFERS ASSAILED

The transfers abroad, which have been attacked by the maritime labor unions, reduced both the overall size of the dry-cargo fleet and the idle United States-flag tonnage, now down to 370,000 deadweight tons.

The private-owned dry-cargo fleet at the end of 1954 was 730 ships of 7,618,071 deadweight tons, a reduction of 76 ships and 770,000 tons from January 1, 1954.

The active commercial-type passenger fleet now totals only 40 vessels, compared with a prewar fleet of 123, the institute said, and added:

"Our inability to keep pace with progress made by foreign fleets leaves us with a glaring deficiency of commercial-type passenger vessels for both overseas travel and for potential conversion to troop transports in emergencies."

Viciousness in Comic Book Field

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following sensible analysis from the Lawrence Daily Eagle, Lawrence, Mass., Saturday, October 2, 1954:

THE COMIC BOOK STORY

The American comic-book business seems to have learned a lesson in the power of public opinion.

A newly created trade group which includes most of the industry has taken steps toward banning offensive comic books.

Under a code of ethics every book will be read by reviewers. All terror and horror books will be refused approval. Books which pass inspection will be marked with a seal so that parents can know at a glance which books are safe to buy.

With all the talk about this development, it deserves to be put in perspective.

In the first place it should be noted that all but a very few comic-book publishers are innocent bystanders in the situation. They have never published anything but wholesome material. They have deplored the excesses of the offending publishers. They should not be tarred by too vigorous a brush.

Then, too, it should be pardonable if newspapers, as the granddads of the comic cartoon, point out the character of their branch of the family.

Your newspaper is now doing, and has always done, a good clean job of entertaining with comics and policing itself, all these years, with good taste and judgment.

There are many safeguards. The newspaper comics are produced by organizations with a sense of responsibility and are reviewed, finally, right in each community by the newspaper editors themselves who are the ones who decide what to print and what not to print.

Smacking down a few merchants of viciousness in the comic-book field still leaves unresolved one of the major tasks facing a democracy built with the keystones of free speech and a free press. There are those at one extreme who feel you cannot have a little censorship. It fills them with dread of a growth toward Hitler-type bookburnings. At the other extreme are those who fear, equally, a contagion from poisonous words which would fill the Nation with a soul-sick and misled citizenry.

This debate will go on and on while we, as a democracy, struggle to hammer out workable rules for our own welfare.

At least, in the area of mass reading for juveniles, it would appear that public opinion has forced a restraint. If the publishers of comic books can't see what is acceptable good taste they will be made to conform.

It spotlights a basic principle which can stand repeating: That the right kind of censorship is that of public opinion.

If people find something offensive it is their right and duty to withdraw support from it. Soon, as occurred in the comic-book case, the public's refusal is certain to bring results.

Universal Military Training

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EUGENE SILER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. SILER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I now submit the following editorial from the American Issue under date of January 1955:

UNIVERSAL MILITARY TRAINING

A new conscription plan has been approved by President Eisenhower and the National Security Council. The plan includes extension of the present draft law under which men must serve a 2-year term, followed by 6 years of Reserve duty. It also authorizes the Army to enroll volunteers for 6 months of basic training, after which they would be transferred to a National Guard or Organized Reserve unit. They would be compelled to attend weekly drills and summer camps for a period of 7½ years, the penalty for noncompliance being reinduction in the Regular Army for another 18 months.

Draft deferments would be cut down and military service made as universal as possible. A limited quota would be accepted for the 6-month program and free choice would be allowed only until quotes ware filled.

be allowed only until quotas were filled.

The indicated purpose of the proposal is to build a 3 million man reserve for the Army in addition to the regular military forces. Under this plan there would be 26 National Guard divisions and 26 Reserve divisions filled by UMT boys.

UMT was opposed in 1950 by church, labor,

UMT was opposed in 1950 by church, labor, farm, peace, and temperance groups. The Council of Bishops of the Methodist Church on November 21, 1954, called upon their 9 million members to fight any attempt at peacetime conscription.

The National Temperance League is constantly opposed to the widespread availability of alcoholic beverages to the Armed Forces at military bases. Hence, NTL is opposed to any conscription plan, which would place every American boy under the pressure to drink beer, wine, or liquor, which is well nigh omnipresent at all military bases, both here and overseas.

The United States Brewers Foundation claims that 3 out of 4 boys in the service drink beer. Evidence from other sources indicates that from 90 to 95 percent of the men in service use alcoholic beverages. Many of these never drank before they were drafted into service. They begin to drink because of social pressure, and loneliness, and because drinking is so much a part of the military tradition.

If the facts were fully known, there is no doubt that the large percentage of ex-servicemen now being treated for alcoholism in veteran's hospitals became alcoholics because of the widespread drinking custom among military personnel

The National Temperance is not unaware of the threat of Communist aggression from without but it is tremendously aware of the threat to individual and national moral welfare from within if every American boy is to be subjected to the pressure to drink which at present seems to go hand in hand with military training.

Continuing Struggle for Freedom and Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, during the past week of January 22 the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America has, throughout the United States, observed the anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence which took place on January 22, 1918.

This observance is truly an occasion, as the committee says, and I quote, "for the unending reaffirmation of our faith in the eventual liberation of all the enslaved nations in the Communist empire."

I am happy to include a summary of these stirring feelings in the Congres-SIONAL RECORD:

SUMMARY

The centuries-old struggle for freedom and independence on the part of the Ukrainian nation constitutes an impressive chapter in the annals of human history. This indomitable will for national freedom clearly crystallized itself in the old Ukrainian Kievan state from the 9th to the 14th century, in the Ukrainian Kozak state from 1648 to 1783, and more recently in the Ukrainian National Republic from 1917 to 1920. As one of the first victims of Soviet imperialism, Ukraine, since the very inception of alien Bolshevik tyranny, has proved to be the Achilles heel of the Soviet Union. The de-struction of its national churches, the horrible manmade famine of 1932-33, the mass murder at Vinnitsia in 1937-39, and the vast purges and deportations decreed by Moscow have failed to exterminate the spiritual and moral resources for national freedom in Ukraine. The historic capital of Kiev, with centuries of rich tradition and culture conserved in its vaults, still symbolizes today the indestructible hope and passion of a nation destined to be sovereign, free, and indepéndent.

During the Second World War millions of Ukrainian patriots seized the short-lived opportunity of the German invasion to realize once again this hope, only to be frustrated in their valiant efforts by the scourge of another imperialism. But this unbending will continues to be strong and powerful in the epic struggle of the Ukrainian insurgent army (UPA) against the evil forces of Soviet imperialism, and in the resistance of the Ukrainian people.

As a nation of over 40 million people—the largest non-Russian nation behind the European Iron Curtain—Ukraine stands as one of our most important and natural allies in the eventual defeat of Soviet imperialism. Its historic claim to national freedom and independence cannot be ignored. Its place as a sovereign and equal partner in the mutual construction of the free Europe of tomorrow must be assured, if the foundation of permanent peace among freedom-loving nations is to be impregnable.

Speech of Hon. Jamie L. Whitten, of Mississippi, at Annual Meeting of the National Agricultural Limestone Producers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMIE L. WHITTEN

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. WHITTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following address I delivered at the annual meeting of the National Agricultural Limestone Producers, January 18, 1955, Washington, D. C.:

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I welcome this opportunity to speak to your Organization and to so many of my leagues. Many times in the past I Welcomed your active assistance in fights in the Congress for conservation of national resources. I understand that your business interests give you a special interest in the conservation of the Nation's soil. Knowledge of the problems which you gain in your own business gives you a knowledge of land needs, and may I say, gives you an obligation to make available to the committees of the Congress and to the public what you have learned. Not only do you have the right to speak but an obligation, in my opinion.

You know there are many things involved in this complex subject of American agriculture and its place in the Nation. We left agriculture out for many years when industry had advantages written into law and when industrial labor was protected by law. Largely as a result, 80 percent of our timber is gone; 40 percent of our fertile land is gone. Farm life had so few returns from the farm share of the national income dollar that farm homes had few conveniences others had. Work hours were longer. It followed that nearly all who could left the farm. Farm population went down steadily from 84 percent to only 13 percent on the farm.

Today, farming is a commercial operation. Farmers either make costs plus a living, or deplete the land, go broke, and move to town like the rest of us. We had the great de-Pression of the twenties, for which many explanations have been offered. At any rate, a drastic break in farm prices led off in that depression which carried all down with it—labor, agriculture, and capitalist. We cannot stand another. Finally, it was determined by the Congress to put protections for agriculture in the law, where the Other two major segments were already. Thus, we have the price support system provided by law. You may say you now have a price support law, though actions last year weakened it; but may I remind you that farm income can be ruined by reductions in acreage and the giving away of our foreign markets.

We no longer have the natural resources to waste, which were wasted when "sale at the market place" under world competitive conditions was all that agriculture got.

I believe in free enterprise, but if you analyze the situation you soon find that our free enterprise has been free only under the laws as written by the Congress and by the States. There has been competition as to how these laws were written. It has been said that all anybody wants is a fair advantage—an advantage which he wants others to agree it is fair for him to have. One way to get such advantages declared fair is to pass a law and have the law declare it fair; with the first Congress the fight was on.

Early in our history, industry got protective tariffs written into law; and a good argument could be made for such protection, especially in the early days. They retain most of them today, and they are not going to be repealed. Only about 22 years ago did agriculture begin to receive somewhat equal treatment in law.

Agriculture today operates in an economy where for all practical purposes those advantages to industry and labor are provided by law, and such laws are not going to be repealed. Only recently the President of the United States asked for a 90 cents an hour minimum wage. Whatever the merits, it can only have the effect of raising farm costs at a time when farm laws are under attack and farm income is going down.

Today farming is a commercial operation, Farming is a business and is no longer merely a way of life. The expensive farm machinery necessary today makes it that.

Forty years ago 70 percent of the farm investment was land. Today only 45 percent of the investment is land. The balance is expensive farm machinery, equipment, and needed buildings. These things cost money, and they wear out.

Forty years ago it took a farmer almost 10 years to lose his farm if he made nothing. Today, due to heavy outlay of cash, he can lose it in less than 2 years. A real farmer must be a capitalist as well as a laborer today.

There has been some 13 freight-rate in-creases since World War II, based on operations of other laws, an 85-percent increase in spread between prices received on the farm and prices to the consumer, a 13-percent increase in farm costs in the past 2 years, with a 12-percent decrease in farm income. These conditions, which largely result from laws, many of them enacted by Congress to provide protection to various segments of our economy, make price supports for certain basic agricultural commodities essential to maintaining some degree of balance in our economy. The fact that price supports are necessary to offset American costs does not remove the necessity that our foreign markets be retained to absorb commodities surplus to our domestic needs, if we are to avoid further curtailments in agricultural production and farm income with the resulting unemployment of thousands upon thousands of American farmers.

LARGE INVESTMENT OF COMMODITY CREDIT COR-PORATION COMES BECAUSE OF REFUSAL TO SELL

The large holdings of agricultural commodities in the hands of the Commodity Credit Corporation in recent years is not the result of our price-support program, rather is due to the Government's refusal to offer to sell our products, once they are in the hands of CCC, competitively on world markets. Yet each time I have challenged this policy of holding our agricultural commodities back, admitted to be our policy by our Department of Agriculture, I have been faced with the fact that such policy reflected the attitude of our State Department and those handling foreign-aid programs, based on what the State Department claimed were political and national defense considerations. That Department has made its decisions, apparently, without any awareness of the effect on agriculture and business in the United States. I believe such policies ruinous to American agriculture and, in the long run, to the Nation.

ECONOMIC LOSS FROM REFUSAL TO SELL

According to the national advisory committee for CARE, composed of such men as Henry A. Bullis, General Mills' chairman of the board; Roy C. Ingersoll, president of Borg-Warner; Ward Melville, Melville Shoe Corp.; H. J. Heinz, and others equally successful, such policy costs the United States \$700,000 a day for storage, deprives American railroads of transportation equal to 100

transcontinental freight trains each day for a year, deprives American shipping of the equivalent of the dispatch of 10 oceangoing freighters every day for a year, not to mention the loss of labor and the effect on agriculture itself, being cut back now to absorb surplus commodities. And all this food and fiber has been held back by the Department's policy, set up by our State Department on the fallacious argument that such a course helps needy peoples of the world.

WE NOW HAVE AUTHORITY TO SELL COMPETI-TIVELY ON WORLD MARKETS

I would point out that the Commodity Credit Corporation Charter Act in section 5 (f) authorizes the Corporation to export or cause to be exported, or aid in the development of foreign markets for, agricultural commodities. Under the Charter Act these commodities may be commodities acquired under price-support programs or specifically procured for export purposes.

The Charter Act contains no restrictions on the prices at which commodities may be sold by the Corporation. Section 407 of the Agricultural Act of 1949, as amended, does establish minimum prices at which the Corporation may sell commodities owned or controlled by it, except in the case of sales for certain specified purposes. Sales for export, however, are specifically exempt from the application of this minimum-price restriction.

Yet the United States Department of Agriculture admitted in hearings before my committee last year that the United States has been following a policy of holding our commodities at prevailing prices, letting other countries undersell and have the markets. Many commodities have not been offered even at prevailing prices.

Foreign countries do have the dollars. However, due to our policy of not offering our commodities these countries simply are not spending as much for agricultural commodities, but are buying other things. Agriculture's share of United States sales has dropped from 28 percent in 1934-38 to 19 percent in 1953. We will spend \$3,200,000,000 in support of our military in foreign countries this year.

Only last week authority was granted to the Commodity Credit Corporation to use \$7,200,000 in additional funds for administrative expenses. Our committee went along with this request because these funds are necessary to handle the quantities of agricultural commodities which the Commodity Credit Corporation owns, but which it has on hand because of faulty Government policy.

The price-support system may have caused the Corporation to buy those commodities, but the Corporation has them because we would not sell them.

This fact is proven in hearings held by our committee last week, when Secretary Benson and Under Secretary Morse were before us.

LARGE HOLDINGS USED TO LOWER PRICE SUPPORTS
AND IMPOSE ACREAGE REDUCTIONS

We read about our Secretary of Agriculture and others talking about having invested more the \$6 billion in farm commodities, and that is true. We saw the last Congress, where the administration including the Secretary of Agriculture, reduce price-support levels on basic farm commodities from 90 to 82½ percent of parity; the Secretary of Agriculture said "to prevent the holding of such huge supplies of farm commodities."

Dairy support levels were reduced because of the butter CCC owned. Last year drastic reductions were made in acreages in wheat, cotton, and other crops, and decreased production was ordered. This year still further drastic reductions in acreage were ordered, which is working a tremendous hardship and putting lots of people out of business in the area I come from.

Our hearings, and if you haven't read those hearings you should, disclose that, notwith-

standing the fact that the Commodity Credit Corporation has had authority to sell these commodities in world markets for dollars, it simply would not do it. We have held our commodities off world markets and thereby helped to increase foreign production. By way of illustration, since 1945 cotton production in Asia has increased by 3½ million bales and in Africa by more than 100 million bales, not to mention Central America and Europe. I tried to get a change in policy last year. Later in the year we got them to offer same commodities in world trade on a competitive basis, and they sold \$453 million worth of them, reducing CCC stocks to a minimum.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

On January 10 we heard the speech of our distinguished President of the United States, in which much was made of the administration's efforts to move the CCC-owned agricultural commodities into foreign trade for foreign currency under Public Law 480. What does Public Law 480 provide? A close reading of that speech will show you that 90 percent of that foreign currency we would receive is not even subject to the control of the Congress. By far the greater part of that foreign currency will be used for economic development in those countries. The last 10 percent of it can be given to them if the President just says the word. was not in the President's speech is the fact that his administration is trying to give these commodities away under Public Law 480 without even offering them for sale for dollars, under the general authority of the The administration's approach would continue to hold an umbrella over world

Representatives of the United States Government are going around over the world trying to give away to foreign countries that which they will not offer for sale, commodities which they have the authority to sell but which they will not sell, all to add to foreign aid.

And all the time foreign production increases, and the American farmers gets his production cut more and more. There is ample evidence of the fact that the Corporation could sell to be found in the experience that they have had with those items which we finally got them to offer for sale on a competitive bid basis last year. Let me read to you a list of those commodities which they will not even offer for sale on a competitive basis: cotton, cheeses, corn, rice, seeds, naval stores, tobacco, wool, and butter—our investment, \$3,700,000,000.

Secretary Benson says the trade recommended this policy. I know many in the trade do not. In fact, many people in the cotton trade have asked that I determine who it is who has benefited from increased foreign production, which is protected by the United States umbrella." In many, In many. many cases, I am told, it is American opera tors who have moved into production and business in foreign countries; and it is charged by some in the cotton business that many of those same people are now in key spots to advise the United States Department of Agriculture to hold American production off world markets. I expect to have a special investigation to find out these facts with regard to the various commodities. I believe such information will be valuable to the Appropriations Committee.

If it be true that it is not foreigners who have increased cotton production in foreign countries, but American business interests which have moved in to take advantage of the United States umbrella they help to raise over their foreign investments, they have what you might call perfect insurance or assurance of profits. Furthermore, do not try to tell me that we must sell these commodities from one government to another government.

THE REMEDY

All we have to do is announce periodically that given quantities of those commodities will be sold on a competitive-bid basis to American exporters for export. By controlling the quantity offered and the spacing of our offerings we can take into account all factors. My suggestion is not dumping, for United States businessmen would buy and sell in the regular way. We would use the private enterprise system.

Foreign countries do have the dollars, but this shortsighted policy of not selling our commodities competitively on world markets, and thus holding an umbrella over world prices, invites the increased production we are getting in nearly every country which produces such commodities. We are making competitors out of our customers. This failure to use the general authority of law is cutting back the income of our own farmers more and more, so as to leave many of them far below any kind of a reasonable standard of living; and if it is continued it will result in American agriculture being limited to the domestic market. What I charge here is proven by the testimony in the hearings before our committee.

Though actually the President's recommendation for giveaway under Public Law 480 is a form of dumping, contrary to misleading headlines our committee has urged no irresponsible dumping. Our Government has held these commodities so long it has built our holdings up to the extent that we must gradually move back. May I read to you the report of our committee:

COMMITTEE REPORT

"In the opinion of a majority of the members of the committee, actions of the Department to reduce price supports, change parity formulas, and reduce acreage allotments will not cure the problem of the increasing commodity holdings of the Corpo-They believe that this difficulty ration. due to the fallure of the Corporation to discharge its responsibility under its charter to sell its commodities competitively in world markets. Testimony before the committee shows that none of the large stocks of cotton, cheese, corn, rice, seeds, naval stores, tobacco, and wool have been or are being offered for sale on a competitive basis, despite basic authority in law to do so.

"The program for moving commodities under Public Law 430, for which much is claimed, actually is a means of giving commodities away in preference to attempting to sell them through normal trade channels. It involves prior clearance from a committee composed primarily of representatives of nonagricultural interests (State, Commerce Departments, etc.) which is a serious hurdle in getting agricultural commodities exported. Also, under the law, the major portion of the local currencies received for commodities shipped abroad will be used for foreign-aid purposes in the countries from which received.

"The majority of the committee feels that steps should be taken as early as practicable to begin the movement of these commodities into world markets on a competitive bid basis through American exporters. The committee also feels that an immediate announcement of such change in policy should be made to discourage further increases in foreign production to the detriment of American farmers.

"Such an action will eventually make possible reductions in administrative costs of the Corporation. It should also help to correct the present practice of making competitors out of former customers and should benefit foreign consumers who have a real need for products surplus to United States domestic needs.

"Further, and most important, it will enable the American farmer to compete with foreign producers and make additional acreage available to relieve undue hardships existing in many areas of the country under present orders."

THE TRAGIC EFFECT

The tragedy of not selling these commodities-cotton, cheese, corn, rice, they could have been sold, is that those same commodities for which there was a market and for which there is authority to sell, were used and counted to cut support levels, to reduce acreage, and restrict American production, to restrict the cotton acreage of American farmers. It was used as an argument to reduce the price-support levels on basic commodities from 92 percent to 821/2 percent. It was used to change the parity formula so that it will almost automatically go down to 75 percent within the next several years. All the time the commodities that were used for this purpose could have been sold, and there was authority to sell them. When these fights were up last year, Secretary Benson did not tell the American people he had full authority to sell these commodities, but would not offer them for sale to our traders for use in world trade. The major harm or loss is not the amount of money we have invested in these commodities; it is not the fact that the longer you keep them the more storage we have to pay; but the commodities which we have, which we would not sell, have been used to do these injuries to the American farmer, leaving thousands of tenants without a means of livelihood in the South and many, many small landowners reduced below the barest minimum essential to a decent living.

VIEWS OF SECRETARY BENSON

The chief difference between the views of the Secretary of Agriculture and myself, on the price support system, is that I believe price supports are necessary to protect the American farmer against high United States costs largely brought about by other American laws.

American laws.

Apparently the Secretary, judged by his arguments for flexible supports, feels that price supports should be a means to help regulate American production. He would increase supports when he wants more production and lower supports when he wants less.

Where I believe the parity formula should be tied to costs as it was under the old parity formula, the Secretary's modern parity, substituted last year, ties parity primarily to the average price the farmer received for his commodities for the 10 preceding years. Under the Secretary's law, as the farmers' prices go down parity goes down though costs may be going up. Under the old formula, as cost went up parity went up.

However, whether you agree with Mr. Benson or with me, neither system will work unless what the farmers produce above domestic needs is offered in world markets on a competitive basis. I repeat: "According to admissions of Mr. Benson and Under Secretary Morse, before our subcommittee last week, billions of dollars worth of cotton, corn, dairy products, wool and tobacco are not even being offered to the markets of the world for sale on a competitive basis. To prove my point, those commodities we have been able to get the department to offer have been sold for dollars."

QUANTITY OR VOLUME IS AS ESSENTIAL AS PRICE

Price-support levels are only one factor. The other essential is quantity or volume. If you guarantee a cotton farmer 200 percent of parity and limit him to 3 acres of cotton, his gross income would be less than \$1,000 per year. Today acreage curtailment in cotton is reducing thousands of small farmers to less than \$1,000 gross per year. Tenant farmers, thousands of them, are being let out entirely. This cutback is to help absorb cotton which the Government has and won't offer for sale competitively: and actually, unintentionally I am sure.

amounts to forcing our United States farmers to absorb foreign increases in production.

SMALL PARMERS

Our distinguished President, in speaking to the joint session of the Congress, said the administration had to do something for the small farmers.

Acreage reductions in my section are making many more small farmers for the administration "to do something for." Today, the Government is giving them cheese and butter, mighty good products but tiresome if the only food provided.

Incidentally the Government has this cheese and butter because it won't offer it for sale to our exporters on a competitive basis.

We must start moving to prevent further losses in our United States export markets. We must begin offering some quantities on a competitive-bid basis to our own traders for export, or we will be back to the domestic market on a permanent basis.

I repeat: by controlling the size of our offerings and the spacing between offerings our Department of Agriculture can consider all factors. Such a course is not dumping; but giving away what we won't offer for sale competitively under Public Law 480 is dumping, though there are certain safeguards written into the law.

PARMERS' INCOME DETERMINES CONSERVATION

Why do I stress price supports and market to you who are primarily interested in conservation? Because, however strongly you and the farmers believe in conservation, restoring minerals to the soil, the job will be done only as the farmer's income leaves enough over after taxes and cost to put something back into the soil.

Income over and beyond cost of living to the farmer is essential to the effectiveness of our Soil Conservation Service, Extension Service, and yes, will even control the amount of sales of limestone by members of your association.

WHAT IS THE FARM SITUATION TODAY?

The prices of farm products have declined about 25 percent since February 1951. The cost of farming continues to increase. The het farm income in 1954 was down about 30 percent from 1951.

And the outlook is for still further declines in net farm income in 1955 because of the reduction in acreage of controlled crops and the low prices of nearly all farm products.

In December, the parity ratio dropped to 86, the lowest since 1941.

As a result of the decline in prices of farm products and the drastic drop in net farm income, the value of United States agricultural assets dropped from \$170.1 billion on January 1, 1952, to \$156.5 billion on January 1, 1955, a loss of \$13.6 billion, or 8 percent.

During this past 3-year period the value of farm real estate dropped nearly \$9 billion, or about 9 percent. The value of livestock declined \$8 billion, or more than 40 percent.

The losses sustained in real estate and livestock were partly offset by small gains in the value of farm machinery, crops on farms, and household furnishings.

What has happened in industry during this period? From January 1949 to January 1955, the value of 30 leading industrial stocks skyrocketed from \$175 to \$412.97 per share. The total value of industrial stocks increased by \$53 billion.

The continuing boom in industry and the spiraling prices on the stock market are reflections of the profits of industry and dividend payments by industrial enterprises. How much of the advance is the result of speculation or hope of future gain is itself a question for speculation and meditation. And all this adds to costs to American farmers, but the new parity formula is based

on the average price the farmer has been receiving, not on the cost of what he buys.

Mr. Fred J. Hurst, director of information,

Farm Credit District of New Orleans, says:
"The farm mortgage debt has almost doubled since 1945. The estimated dollar volume of farm mortgages recorded during the third quarter of 1954 totalled \$380,-343,000, which was nearly 2½ times the amount recorded in the third quarter of 1940, and the largest dollar volume recorded during the third quarter of any year since the heavy refinancing year of 1934.

"Yet, despite the decline in farm prices and farm income, despite the unfavorable position of agriculture in the national economy, responsible officials continue to lower farm price-support levels. At the same time we hear the official call to the Congress to raise the minimum wage level from 75 cents to 90 cents an hour. We hear the call for increase in salaries for various groups. We see and hear many things happening that would tend to widen rather than narrow the disparity between agriculture and industry.

"It is disturbing to note that there seems to be little concern about the plight of agriculture except among farmers themselves and their cooperatives and a limited number of sympathetic farm leaders who know the desperate battle farmers are waging to make ends meet, and who realize the danger to the entire national economy unless the decline in farm income cannot only be arrested but reversed and improved.

"Unfortunately, there seems to be a disposition on the part of some agricultural groups, judging by their published statements, to echo the national refrain, to docilely accept the indifferent national attitude toward agriculture, and to consider the farm price situation as something inevitable and permanent. We want to make a plea for a general awakening to the worsening farm situation. We want to sound a warning. Past experience has shown that there is a limit to the beating farmers can take. There is a limit to the depths to which farm income can drop without bankrupting agriculture and without endangering the entire economy. The current 86 percent of parity is a long way from the 100 percent of parity, the fair level goal set for agriculture.'

GOVERNMENT SUBSIDIES

You may say the farm program is a subsidy program. Collectively, through Government, we spend as much as \$6 million on getting one group of magazines distributed. The Government largely supports the distribution of newspapers. We subsidize the airlines; we held build ships, so our shipping can pay the high wages of the American seamen, protected by bargaining power of labor unions, to haul commodities in competition with foreign shipping; and so it is just about in every direction you look. Through Government we have had many advantages termed fair by being enacted into law. Under those conditions we had better be sure we include agricultural income along with the rest, for food, clothing, and shelter are still basic. Whatever the real cost of the farm program would be, our refusal to sell Commodity Credit stocks on a competitive basis multiplies such costs many times over.

THE YEARS AHEAD

Our population is increasing by 3 million people each year. Twenty years from now, except for new increases in yield, we will need in this country 115 million more acres of land than we now have.

Four out of five people have left the farm in the last 40 years. With the present commercialization of farming, with present high cost of each crop, unless the farmer makes a profit he will first drain his soil of its fertility, as he did with 40 percent of our land; then if price is no better, he too will move to town like the rest of us.

If the consumers demand our food, clothing, and shelter below the cost of production, the United States will go the way of China, whose resources are gone; and instead of 1 farmer feeding 8 city consumers, it will take 6 farmers to feed 1 city consumer.

WE MUST DIRECT OUR ENERGIES TO OUR OWN

A year or two ago the Chief of the National Production Authority, the Federal agency which had the job of planning the increase of the production potential of our country in power, nitrates, aluminum, and all other things needed to meet the Russian threat, told me privately that if he were Joe Stalin and wanted to wreck the economy of the United States he would declare 5 years of peace. With all of us praying then and now for peace, his statement was shocking. He continued:

"If we were to cancel all war contracts with the resulting closed factories and unemployment, if we were to have nearly all of our men in the service back home seeking jobs, if we quit shipping out machinery, equipment, and nearly everything else to our allies, if civilian industry had to cut out its 20 percent of extra production with its labor let off, and if the farmer had no market for 20 percent of his production, it would wreak havoc with our national economy—for with our present debt of more than \$260 million we must keep national income high, the dollar cheap, if we hope to handle it."

the dollar cheap, if we hope to handle it."

If we think of it, we have been producing through all our factories about 15 to 20 percent more to meet the needs of war. There has been a sale for practically anything industry produced. If we will dig further we will realize that labor turning out that production has been accustomed to a full workweek, and farmers producing about 20 percent more than our present domestic markets will-use were accustomed to selling almost anything we could grow.

If we follow the subject further we will also see that the American people as a whole, except for the farmers this year, have enjoyed material prosperity for the past 12 years to a greater extent than any people ever before in this or any other nation. We have had more cars, more clothes, more and better food, more radios, television, more electrical equipment, more of everything that people need or want.

With all of us sincerely for peace, it is unbelievable that it takes a war and preparation for war to continue such prosperity, even though war and its demands on us seem to have brought about increased production.

In war and preparation for war, a large part of that extra effort is shot up in shells, worn out as military vehicles, planes, equipment, guns, warships, in wear and tear on our railroads, our highways. The extra food and fiber is either given to our allies or else we have given them the money and sold them such commodities for our money back. Our lands have been used to a greater extent, our timber and natural resources have been further depleted.

If that extra effort due to war and the preparedness for war is the basis for our material prosperity, then why not continue to put forth that extra effort, not in a war which leaves us a poorer country but in work that will improve our country? Why can't we put forth that extra effort in reforesting our lands, harnessing our streams for electricity, reclaiming our lands through soil conservation and in those things that make our country richer and better?

Where war and preparedness and all that goes with it leaves us with a poorer country, if our efforts were made as I suggest we would have a better and a richer country I think you will agree with me. But I will tell you the only hitch. It is to be doubted that our people will put forth the same effort in our own country, or let us through the in-

strument of government attempt to move in measure designed to prohibit members that direction.

WHILE THE GOVERNMENT AIDS OTHERS, IT REDUCES EFFORTS AT HOME

While speeches are being made on conservation, funds for soil conservation are being reduced by the President's budget. The conservation job is being pushed back on the individual farmers, when their income is decreasing and their costs are rising. The job is being put back on the States, though those with the greatest problems are least able to pay.

While our President speaks of providing farm commodities to the needy peoples of the world, our own school-lunch program is While we provide money to the world for their economic improvement, the same United States commodities are being held off world markets, to give such markets to operators in foreign countries. While American tenant farmers are being cut back in acreage to the point of being without a means of livelihood and thousands of others are reduced to a gross annual income of less than \$1,000, we are promoting the increased production of the same commodities throughout the world-at least 1 million bales per year increase in foreign cotton production-not only by providing an umbrella over world prices, but by grants of American dollars as well.

PROVISION FOR THE FUTURE

It has been said, "The world is never more than 1 year ahead of starvation." In our country we have had great abundance through the years. Now we know we are gaining population at the rate of 3 million a year. We must, in self defense, if we hope to maintain our present high standard of living, see to it that a reasonable part of what is taken out of the land is put back; and that will be done only as income received exceeds cost of production.

Protections for industry and labor are going to continue and since that is true we must see to it that agriculture, the source of all wealth returns to the head table too,

for the good of the Nation.

The farmer must have price, but he must

have volume as well.

Remember, the only source of real wealth is the land. Your income and the future of our Nation, as well, is tied to the farm income.

It we leave to our children and children's children a fertile land, with timber restored, our soil erosion stopped, and our streams harnessed, with our natural resources intact, they will make it fine. On the other hand we could leave them all the money in the world but leave them a worn-out land and they will have nothing on which to build. Remember, the cost of producing food and fiber on the farm is going to be paid-either those who use the products of the soil or by the land from which it comes. Forty percent of our land has paid that price in the past. Today with an everincreasing popula-tion, we don't have the land to spare. There will likely be no Marshall plan or foreign aid law like our Public Law 480 if our country should ever be worn out as are most of the old countries of Asia we ald today.

Entry of Firearms Commonly Referred to as "Souvenirs"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, in the 83d Congress I introduced H. R. 3842, a of the Armed Forces and their dependents from bringing into this country certain firearms commonly referred to as souvenirs. Under the provisions of my bill, the Secretary of Defense would be required to search the effects of returning servicemen and to seize any such weapons.

Statistics show that as many as 50,000 contraband weapons have been brought into the United States of America on 1 ship returning from the European theater. It has also been established that in 1 county of New York City as much as 75 percent of the crimes of violence have been, and are being, committed with these so-called souvenirs.

Too often do we read of tragic accidents resulting in fatality or serious injury as a result of the mere handling of these allegedly harmless guns.

Mr. Speaker, if we mean what we say about combating juvenile delinquency, I can think of no better beginning than by making it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to get these Lugers, P-38's, and Berettas. With few exceptions lawenforcement officials all over the country have agreed that passage of this bill would be a real deterrent to the frightening increase in the crime rate.

I am today reintroducing this bill and urge my colleagues to give it careful consideration.

H. R. 587

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS L. ASHLEY

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. ASHLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I herewith submit a statement in support of H. R. 587. to provide that persons serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955, may continue to accrue educational benefits under the Veterans' Readjustment Act of 1952.

H. R. 587 recognizes the ex post facto nature of the Presidential proclamation of January 1, 1955, which arbitrarily abrogates as of January 31, 1955, the right of men and women now in military service, or about to enter service, to participate in the benefits of the Korean bill of rights.

It hardly need be pointed out that young men and women entering the Armed Forces prior to the President's January 1 proclamation did so, at least in part, on the basis that the benefits promised by our Government were real and concrete. Plans were made on this basis which most assuredly affected the course of tens of thousands of American lives.

I support H. R. 587 because it recognizes that the American people, through their Government, insist upon keeping faith with the men and women upon whom our country depends for its national security.

Prairie Dogs Versus Prosperity?-The Story of Reclamation, Victim of Neglect

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, the story of reclamation should have a different title than this. It should be something like The Story of Reclamation-Prosperity From Investment.

Yet, Mr. Speaker, the sad fact is that reclamation right now is a victim of neglect. Such neglect came by design for we have seen our investment in this program whacked down by 65 percent since our last peacetime budget of 1950. No great improvement is shown in the new budget for 1956 and this great investment program is slowly dying on the

We who come from the West have long understood the many national values from reclamation, the many benefits which accrued to all from water development. However, reclamation has always had many opponents and right now the opponents appear to have the upper hand. Still, I am sure that if the reclamation program were fully understood, if it were placed in its proper perspective, then it would have understanding support from most of those who are now persuaded that there is something wrong with it.

To provide a worthwhile review of the whole reclamation program to the Members, I am attaching to these remarks an article which appeared in the roundup section of the Denver Post of Denver, Colo. It is my opinion that this factual article will prove most interesting and enlightening to those who wish to study the real value to the Nation of a virile and active reclamation program.

The article follows:

PRAIRIE DOGS VERSUS PROSPERITY?-THE STORY OF RECLAMATION, VICTIM OF NEGLECT

(By Robert H. Hansen)

Just a little more than 100 years ago. Daniel Webster scornfully described the western half of the United States as the formidable home of savages and beasts and an expanse of wastelands and brooding mountains. Speaking against western railroad develop-

ment, Webster declared:

"I will not vote one cent from the Public Treasury to place the Pacific Ocean 1 inch nearer to Boston than it is.

"What do we want with this worthless area—this region of savages and wild beasts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs?

"To what use could we ever hope to put these great deserts and these endless mountain ranges?"

Few men so illustrious have ever proved so wrong on such a tremendous scale so soon.

Only a few years earlier, in 1847, Brigham Young and the Mormon pioneers set off an economic chain-reaction when they diverted water from the stream they called City Creek to irrigate their gardens and fields where Salt Lake City now stands.

That was the start of reclamation as we know it today. Little more than 50 years later all three major political parties of the day wrote into their platforms pledges for the rapid irrigation development of the West.

In 1901, President Theodore Roosevelt first set forth far-reaching natural-resource policies that still exist today, with these Words:

The reclamation and settlement of the arid lands will enrich every portion of our country, just as the settlement of the Ohio and Mississippi Valleys brought prosperity

to the Atlantic States.

A year later, on June 17, 1902, Teddy Roosevelt signed into law the Nation's first reclamation act. Many of these principles are cardinal to western development today.

President Franklin Roosevelt put the Federal Government massively into the business of harnessing the West's raging rivers and reclaiming its fertile deserts. He did that at a time when such public works were Justified both as investments and as make-Work projects to relieve unemployment. And he tied public power generation to irri-

gation irretrievably.

Today, 54 years of Federal reclamation have cost \$2.4 billion—insignificant compared to the fabulous new frontiers it opened. the billions of dollars it poured into the Pockets of farmers, wage earners, and businessmen, the millions it has raised in local, State, and Federal taxes, the hundreds of thousands of new jobs, new farms, and new industries it created, the tremendous new markets, sources, and opportunities it developed.

But today, the continuation of that program has been slowed down by skeptics, opponents and men of little faith.

Reclamation appropriations have been more than cut in half since 1950; from \$358.3 million a year to \$143.6 million.
Total reclamation employees have been

reduced by nearly one-third in the last 2 years alone; from 13,348 in 1953 to 9,700 today. Hundreds of those 3,600 employees Who have been laid off are going to be hard to replace when and if reclamation is ever cranked up again, for they include some of the world's finest engineers and most expert technicians.

President Eisenhower promised a revival of major reclamation activity when he addressed the opening of the 84th Congress. He pledged support of the upper Colorado River storage project, which will be a \$1billion-plus undertaking that will require something more than 30 years to complete. with other enormous projects of that kind, Congress will be asked to appropriate funds each year to carry them on, rather than put up all the money in any single Year

A smaller but still costly and complex projis the Arkansas-Fryingpan which provide supplemental valley to 300,000 persons in the Arkansas Valley, and add to the critically short water supply of Pueblo, Colo.

The President, Interior Secretary McKay, and Reclamation Commissioner Dexhelmer are all committed to both projects. But they have been unsuccessful in selling Congress of them as a result of strong opposition by nonwestern Representatives and Senators, and by other groups who insist the economic justification of such public Works is missing. And in finding fault with the repayment procedures, the power sales Policies and the subsidies to agriculture, opponents of reclamation often ignore the demonstrated benefits that have flowed from this program over the years. Too many of those who flatly reject reclamation as a Worthy function of government don't know the facts.

An unheralded, unpretentious document from the Reclamation Bureau should convince even the most skeptical mossbacks.

It's entitled matter-of-factly: "The Growth and Contribution of Federal Reclamation to an Expanding National Economy."

The Bureau of Reclamation prepared it for the congressional Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs. Dated October 20,

1954, it's known as Committee Print No. 27, and signed by Reclamation Commissioner Dexheimer.

In 27 pages of plain language it traces reclamation from its ancient origin in the Tigris, Euphrates, and Nile Valleys to early South American civilization, from the Spanexplorations into the Indian pueblos of the American southwest to the Elsenhower standstill.

Because it tells an amazing story of spectacular progress and significance never before so simply, clearly, and completely complied, the Denver Post presents this digest of the Reclamation Bureau's nationally important findings and conclusions.

First, the official document debunks many popular arguments about Federal income returns, tax collections, and excessive costs.

Hear this:

The total \$2.4 bilion spent on all Federal reclamation since 1902 would finance the Defense Department less than 1 month.

What has been spent on reclamation over 50 years would finance our foreign-aid program to overseas nations for only half a year.

What was spent on reclamation in the one fiscal year of 1953 would have financed the Defense Department less than 3 days, the foreign aid or Veterans' Administration programs less than a month.

Now take revenue returns to the Federal Government from reclamation projects:

The 29 power plants now in operation have paid back \$226 million net to the Federal Treasury, \$34 milion in fiscal 1954 alone after deductions for annual operation, maintenance, and replacements. Over the next 50 years a total net return of \$1,692,500,000 in power revenues is predicted.

Irrigation and municipal water ment contracts will return \$691 million, of which \$109 million has already been paid. While making these construction account repayments, the water users have also paid operation and maintenance costs as they became due.

The total return to the Treasury from water and power projects combined will come to \$2.6 billion over the next 50 years, of which \$335 millon has already been paid.

Now taxes: Since 1916 Federal income-tax revenues which can be attributed directly to Federal reclamation-project developments have exceeded \$3 billion. This sum alone exceeds by 25 percent the total cost of all Bureauconstructed projects to date.

The Bureau's study repeatedly emphasizes that these and other benefits are from projects involving less than half the total irri-

gation feature costs to date.

Accelerated benefits, revenues, taxes, and business, it points out, will pile up as the really great projects of the Columbia Basin, California's Central Valley, and the Missouri Basin go into full operation and production.

. That should be borne in mind as the digest of the Administration's reclamation study continues.

Long after project costs have been repaid fully through the sale of electric energy and operations of repayment contracts," the re-"the new wealth created port stresses. through the Federal investment in the development of its own resources will be reflected in a continuing flow of tax revenues from the project areas and from the rest of the Nation as well."

Under the heading, "Reclamation's Contribution to the National Economy," the Bureau study makes these observations:

First, the crops and livestock shipped out of a reclamation project area create income in transportation, processing, milling, spinning, weaving, manufacturing, wholesaling, financing, retailing, and all other processes between the farm and the consumer.

Total crop production on reclamation projects since 1906 stands at \$10 billion-nearly times the total cost of all reclamation

Consider for a moment the business created by a bale of cotton from the Rio Grande project in Texas as it becomes clothing purchased in Maine or Wisconsin.

Or the Yakima, Wash., pear that turns up in a salad in Chicago. Or the Salt River Valley lettuce and grapefruit on a Pittsburgh table. Or the milk and cream from Twin Falls, Idaho, that becomes butter for Boston and cheese for St. Louis.
"Every State in the Nation shares the

health-giving benefit of protective foods produced on reclamation projects," summarizes

the report.

"A steer fed on the North Platte project may be finished in Iowa, butchered in Chicago, and eaten in Detroit or New York. The trade-creating aspects of the production of a reclamation project goes deep into the national economy.

Take transportation alone. The 1953 crop production from reclamation projects totaled nearly 26 million tons. To move this by rail would require a train 6,258 miles longtwice the distance from the Atlantic to the

And as that production, valued at \$786 million on the farm, is processed into foods and clothing its value is increased many times.

To measure that increase the Bureau followed the production of the Carlsbad project in New Mexico through from farm to con-

"It was found," the Bureau reported, "that the new labor, management, and property incomes over all other costs beyond the project area were about 3.2 times the value of the crops as they left the farm.'

But money isn't the only way to measure the value of reclamation crops.

Many of those crops, the Bureau found, provide "a delightful and health-giving supplement to the Nation's diet."

The irrigated West produces almost all the Nation's apricots, almonds, walnuts, dates, lemons, figs, prunes, and olives. It grows 95 percent of the grapes; 90 percent of the lettuce; 75 percent of the avocados, pears, and cantaloups; 65 percent of the asparagus; 50 percent of the peaches; and more than the truck crops.

Off-season production is important, too. Witness these contributions to the Nation's dinner table from Arizona's Gila, Yuma, Salt River, and Boulder Canyon projects alone:

More than 97 percent of United States-grown dates; 45 percent of winter and 42 percent of spring lettuce; 85 percent of early spring cantaloupes and 80 percent of early summer melons; 85 percent of the spring carrots, and sizable portions of the national supply of other choice vegetable and truck crops vital to healthy diets.

The second trade-creating aspect of reclamation is the purchasing power of project farmers and others whose livelihoods depend on their production.

The Reclamation Bureau discovered that the new income generated at the local farm and nonfarm level is about 170 percent of the value of crop production. That would be \$1.3 billion in 1953 alone. Largely that goes into retail sales.

California's Central Valley project-one of the world's biggest-was cited as an excellent example of the business this new income makes possible. The Central Valley project, it is estimated, provides a new market for:

One million pair of shoes every year, from Massachusetts, New York, Pennsylvania, and Missouri.

Ten million dollars worth of tobacco products, which come from North Carolina, Virginia, Kentucky, Piorida, and Pennsylvania,

And 8.000 vacuum cleaners, 8.000 refrigerators, 8,000 ranges, 8,000 washing machines, 8,000 radios and TV sets-all of which will come from many States, but chiefly from Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Connecticut, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania.

And that's not all. The report continues: The increased purchasing power of this project translates into an annual market for 15,000 new cars, some from Detroit and South Bend, and other cities, but many assembled in California from parts manufactured in Michigan, Indiana, Illinois, Ohio, and Wisconsin; for hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of textiles from New England and the South Atlantic States; and for thousands of automobile tires and accessories, home appliances, office machines, and

all the assorted gadgets of the day produced in all corners of the country."

The 6,000 new farms carved out of the Central Valley desert, the report disclosed, also require 8,000 tractors, largely from Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Wisconsin; 7,500 trucks from Michigan, Indiana, and Wisconsin; and 1,000 hay balers, spray outfits, harvesters, and other machines from Tennessee, Iowa, Wisconsin, Illinois, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania; and thousands of plows, harrows, cultivators, mowers, and other implements from the Great Lakes, East Central and South Central States.

Concludes the bureau's report:

"Every segment of the Nation's economy has participated and shared directly or indirectly in the construction of these reclamation projects.

"In doing so every section of the Nation has been benefited by reclamation long before the impact of prosperous and continuing consumer markets has been measured.

'An analysis of direct Federal procurement for the Central Valley project in California, for example, indicated that all of the 48 States, the District of Columbia, and Hawaii supplied some portion of the \$99 million

Federal purchase.

"In like manner, these many areas shared in purchases by the contractors of millions of dollars of materials, equipment and supplies. The same pattern of nationwide procurement occurs in the construction of other

reclamation projects."

To analyze the trade reclamation generates between the eastern and western halves of the United States the Interstate Commerce Commission made a study of railroad way-

It found that in 1951 more than 1,500,000 railroad cars, weighing nearly 40 million tons, were shipped into the 17 Western

States from the 31 Eastern States.

More than 2 million carloads, weighing nearly 72 million tons, were shipped from west to east. An additional 5 million freight cars were loaded with 187 million tons goods and shipped from one Western State to another.

Then a study was made of the growth of these rail shipments from typical reclamation project areas. Here are some of those

Wyoming's Shoshone project showed only 510 produce carloads were shipped out of basin, Greybull, Lovell, Powell, and Worland in 1910. By 1941, those shipments had almost reached 12,000 carloads. Shipments into the region from other parts of the Nation grew from 653 to more than 5,000 carloads.

In 1900, before irrigation began on the North Platte project in Wyoming and Nebraska, only 190 carloads of outgoing freight were shipped from Scottsbluff. By 1910, when irrigation started, carloadings reached 1,300. By 1942 they had exceeded 3,100.

Even larger growth was reflected in goods shipped into Scottsbluff as reclamation developed.

In 1900, only 283 carloads from 6 States were sent to Scottsbluff. In 1940, 14 States shipped in more than 1,400 freight cars. 1942, 39 States were shipping in more than 7,000 carloads of goods a year.

A similar pattern was uncovered in a study of carloadings to and from Ada and Canyon Counties in Idaho, on the Boise, Owyhee and

Vale reclamation projects.

And those studies reflected only railroad Said the Reclamation Bureau:

"Significantly, the carloadings and tonnage figures covered in the ICC report represent rail shipments exclusively, and do not prorate the 162 billion ton-miles of shipments carried by motortrucks in the Nation

This tremendous volume of trade produced a retall sales market in the west in 1951 which was nearly three times greater than the total United States exports to all foreign nations combined.

Retail sales in the 17 Western States during 1951 rose to almost \$40 billion. That's an average of \$1,139 for every man, woman, and child. National retail sales the same year averaged noticeably lower-\$1,023 per capita.

All this in a land not even Daniel Webster wanted only 100 years ago, in a land only cowboys, trappers, and Indians even knew. And still this digest has only scratched the surface of the role reclamation has played in this great boom.

The Reclamation Bureau's factfinding report makes this comment, populationwise;

"The story of the phenomenal growth of our Nation is the story of the new frontiers it has conquered. The Ohio Valley, Louisiana Territory, California, the Oregon country, Alaska, and the persistent development of the resources of these and many other new frontiers have provided the Nation with ingredients for economic growth.

"From the Nation's beginning it was the resources from the new frontiers that nurtured it from economic infancy as a nation of farmers and woodsmen to the industrial giant it is today, and made possible the population growth from the 5.3 million of 1800 to 161 million today."

Clearly, said the Bureau, the West today is that new frontier with the new resource the Nation needs to feed and clothe its climb

to 200 million by 1970.

Since 1900, it noted, the 17 Western States gained 204 percent in population; the 11 Mountain and Pacific States, 378 percent; and the 3 Pacific States, 499 percent. During the same time the national population did not quite double.

Since 1940, the Bureau went on, the 17 Western States gained 25.8 percent; the 11 Mountain and Pacific States, 40.9 percent; and the 3 Pacific States, 48.8 percent. total United States population increased only 14.5 percent.

"The West is growing up and, in the process, is assuming more than ever a position of vast strategic importance in the Nation's future," the Bureau sums up.

What did reclamation have to do with that great western population boom, and what of the future? The Bureau made a study of that, too. Here's what is found:

First, the past and present-

"The story of any major reclamation area in the Western States is a story of a humble beginning of a few irrigated farms, from which an economic giant has grown," the Bureau observes

"No one would claim that irrigation alone created these giants, but it is not accidental that each started where man came to grow crops and developed the water resources.

In 1953, the Bureau calculated, reclamation crops contributed \$550 million in income to farmers, owners, and laborers. totals about 70 percent of the value of crops produced on reclamation farms.

An additional \$786 million in urban income to labor and capital in the project trading area also was generated-or \$1 in business income for every \$1 worth of crops produced.

That adds up to \$1.3 billion in total farm and nonfarm income made possible in 1953 by reclamation crops.

The Bureau offered individual illustrations for various projects in Idaho, Oklahoma,

Oregon, Nevada, New Mexico, California, and other States and then concluded:

"The Salt River project (in Arizona). which represents a total Federal investment of about \$26.7 million, offers an ideal case study of the benefits of reclamation to the country, and at the same time provides another Horatio Alger's theme on a magnificent scale, not the rise of an individual, but of & community of over one-third of a million

"At the turn of the century, Phoenix was a village in the desert. Today it is a metropolis and the heart of the Sait River project, one of the most highly developed agricultural

areas in the United States.

"The gross value of crops produced on the project during 1953 was \$79,875,616. Since the first irrigation water was supplied in 1909, the cumulative value of crops harvested through 1953 amounted to \$1,187,021,331.

This wealth production is evidenced perhaps the most readily through its influence on retail sales, bank clearings, and Federal

"Retail sales from Maricopa County totaled \$468.637.000, volume of bank clearings in Phoenix reached \$3,229,375,000, and Federal taxes from Maricopa County were estimated aa \$69,400,000, all during 1951.

"Much of this business activity was created in the processing, shipping, and marketing of the project's production, and in providing goods and services required by farm owners, operators, and laborers and by all those whose income is derived from the production of the project."

Again to sum up, the Bureau figured since reclamation began in 1902, it has contributed \$6.8 billion in income to reclamation farmers and farm workers, plus \$10 billion in local nonfarm income within the trading area it

spawned.

That's a total of nearly \$17 billion-or six times the cost of the reclamation projects that not only made it all possible, but are paying themselves off as they continue to expand farm production and business at the local, regional, and national levels.

From the day in 1847 when the Mormons first diverted the waters of a creek to their fields, irrigation has been a part of the development of the West," the Bureau report

reflects at this point.

"In many cases, small irrigation enterprises grew to large projects. People created on the desert or in the mountain valley first a village, then a town, and now a city, with processing, shipping, manufacturing, industries, churches, schools, hospitals, and banks, and the numerous other facilities and services common to a modern urban center.

'The irrigated land may seem lost among the modern improvements, but year after year crops have been grown to sustain the economy of the area. Reclamation, both Federal and private, along with grazing, mining, forest production, and transportation have constituted the economic hase upon which the West has been built."

Recreationwise, the United States Fish and Wildlife Service was quoted on a "conservative estimate" that reclamation projects produced \$33 million a year in benefits to sportsmen and businessmen.

Here's how that is figured:

Some 6,500,000 annual visitors are esti-mated to enjoy recreation of some kind on the more than 100 reclamation reservoirs. Half are tourists from every State in the Nation. If they spend \$6 a day for food, lodging, and other items, that's \$19 million a year.

Fishermen spend more than 1 million angler-days on the reservoirs, too. If they spend \$10 a day for gas, oil, boats, and tackle, that would be \$11 million.

Another three hundred thousand-odd hunter-days of all types of hunting on all reclamation projects is believed a reasonable estimate. At \$10 per day expense for each hunter, that's a \$3 million annual business reclamation generates.

In direct benefits such as reclaimed land, irrigation and other water development, public power, and flood control, reclamation makes perhaps its most valuable contributions to the Nation's economy.

There are 69 irrigation projects or major divisions constructed by the Government, or receiving water through Government-built works, scattered over the 17 Western States

They supply full or supplemental water to more than 7 million acres. About two-fifths of those lands depend on reclamation for their full water supply; three-fifths for part of it.

They lie from the hay and pasture producing high mountain valleys to below sealevel truck crop farms. They constitute only 23 percent of the total number of acres irrigated in the West, and only 21 percent of the Nation's irrigated land. The rest is irrigated by private projects.

Yet this report deals only with the features and benefits of the Federal reclamation proj-

ects and areas.

Federal reclamation water serves about 125,000 family-size farms, and another 125,-000 suburban homes. On the projects were 417 towns with a population of more than 1.6 million.

"Considering power, municipal and industrial water and irrigation," says the Reclamation Bureau, "more than 5 million people in the service areas of reclamation projects obtain their living directly or indirectly by reason of the project development."

Mammoth dams like Grand Coulee, Hoover, and Shasta often give the impression that the Bureau deals only in grandiose projects.

Actually, the reverse is true.

Yes, the Bureau has the know-how to erect the world's tallest dam, Hoover Dam across the Colorado River. It has drilled the Nation's longest tunnel, the Alva B. Adams bore under the continental divide on the Colorado-Big Thompson project. And it has built river-size canals in California's Central Valley and the Columbia Basin.

But, concludes the Bureau, those are the

exceptions.

"Most of the Bureau-built projects are small in size and involve relatively simple engineering structures," the Bureau observes.

All but 14 of the 69 Federal reclamation Projects serve less than 100,000 acres; 31 Berve less than 25,000 acres, and 9 serve less than 5,000 acres.

Typical of the smaller, local projects to which the Bureau has given increasing attention in recent years, are the Fort Sumner Project in New Mexico and the Lewiston Orchards project in Oregon.

Fort Sumner supplies 205 farms and 2,650 Deople. Lewiston Orchards serves 1,800 domestic water users and irrigates 3,524 acres.

Such projects, according to the actual figures, far outnumber all the Hoover, Grand Coulee, and Shasta Dams the Bureau could ever hope to build.

Now to touch on power, municipal and industrial water and flood control, for therein lies the much-discussed principle of multipurpose resource development. The Bureau puts it this way:

"For optimum development, control, and use of water resources, Federal reclamation multipurpose works are being constructed to serve irrigation, power, municipal water, flood control, navigation, fish and wildlife, recreation, pollution abatement, and other purposes.

"The inclusion of revenue-producing power facilities permits the construction of projects greater in cost than the repayment ability of the irrigation water users ordinarily would allow."

Seventeen multipurpose reclamation projects with 29 powerplants are now in

operation. They include 4.72 million kilowatt capacity, almost 9,000 miles of transmission lines, and nearly 300 substations.

In fiscal 1954, these plants generated and sold 24.5 billion kilowatt-hours of electricity, enough to supply a city of 7 million people.

The sale of that power netted the Government nearly \$34 million, after paying all operation, maintenance, and replacement costs.

The rates are fixed to pay off the Federal power investment, plus $2\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 percent interest, in the first 50 years of plant operation.

The 29 powerplants now in operation on Federal reclamation projects have paid back some \$226 million to the Government, and in the next 50 years at current rates should return a total of \$1.7 billion more. That revenue will keep right on coming in long after the plants are fully paid off.

Who buys that power? Half of it goes to such Federal marketing agencies as Bonneville Power Administration in Washington and Oregon, which in turn feed it into private industry, private utilities, and

public agencies.

The second largest buyer is the Nation's private utilities. Despite their arguments that they and their customers foot reclamation bills through taxes but can't buy reclamation power, private utilities take more than 20 percent of the total output.

Another 20 percent is purchased by State and local publicly owned utilities. The rest is divvied up between co-ops and other Gov-

ernment bodies.

Many of the cities served by that electric power also get their municipal and industrial water from reclamation projects, too. Farmers also depend on reclamation water not only for irrigation but also for domestic uses.

There are now about 56 urban areas under contract to receive their municipal and industrial water from Federal reclamation projects.

Under the present concept of comprehensive, multipurpose water development, the Federal Government now includes current and future water needs of all cities and towns in project areas.

It also carefully considers downstream flood-control needs as well.

The first reclamation projects were strictly for irrigation. Then along came power to help pay the bills, and domestic water for thirsty cities. And today, flood-control protection is a major consideration.

The Bureau has found that a little more cost to include flood-control features can save millions of dollars and even hundreds of lives downstream.

For example, the dams on the Columbia River saved an estimated \$5.5 million in flood damages in 1950. The giant Shasta Dam in California held that State's worst flood in history to a toll of \$10 million, also in 1950.

Remember the great Kansas flood of 1951, the following year? Worst in the Nation's history, it caused nearly \$1 billion in damages, killed 18 persons, drove 87,000 from their homes, destroyed 354 businesses, did \$363 million damage to Kansas City alone.

That scarred into history just how disastrous floods can be.

And it was all so needless. Engineers can prove those raging torrents could have been reduced to a mere trickle by dams and levees long held on drawing boards by lack of construction funds.

Each of the reclamation dams, then, holds back water, stores it for time of greatest need, and puts it to beneficial uses for all the Nation that can be measured only in the billions—water which, if not controlled, could destroy property and life with the suddenness of lightning.

Looking into the future, the Reclamation Bureau sees an even greater need, greater

role, and greater potential for reclamation in the next quarter century.

By 1975, the Bureau estimates, the Nation's population will stand at 200 million—a 40-million increase in the next 20 years. Others say 200 million will be reached within 15 years.

Every day that means 6,000 more people sit down to dinner. In 25 years, 5 will be seated around the dinner table which feeds 4 today.

There won't be enough food to go around, the Bureau warns bluntly—not at our present standards of living and eating.

"The equivalent of 100 million new acres must be developed," the Bureau declares, "Much of this will come from more intensive use of land we now farm, a part will come through new irrigation projects in the arid West.

"But perhaps the most productive potential source will come through making irrigation available where rainfall is unreliable or inadequate."

To date, the Nation has improved irrigation and put water on 26 million acres, Most of this has been reclaimed from the desert.

There are approximately 400 million acres all told under cultivation. In 1900, there were 4.2 acres for each person; by 1950, 2.7 acres. With fewer acres per person, the Nation is still living and eating better than it did 25 or 50 years ago.

That's been accomplished by making 1 acre do the job of 2—through irrigation, fertilization, mechanization, scientific farm-

ing, and conservation.

In the future, irrigation is going to be called upon to play a bigger part in continuing that progress as the total population booms while farm population drifts into the cities.

But the growing demands for more food are only part of the rising need for water developments.

The water problem is no longer one of irrigation limited to the parched West. It has reached into all levels of society, all walks of life.

For example, it takes 18 barrels of water to refine a barrel of oil. More than 85,000 gallons of water to produce a ton of rubber. Some 800,000 gallons to grow a bale of cotton. About 200 gallons a day for every person.

No longer is the East a land of plenty of water, either. Many of its cities face water shortages even more severe than Denver's.

To paint water's role in the economic world of tomorrow, the Bureau has singled out the upper Colorado River Basin, thusly: "Here are 17 pecent of the world's coal

"Here are 17 pecent of the world's coal resources. Much of it can be developed as a source of synthetic oil. This reserve would supply the Nation's present consumption of oil for hundreds of years.

"The oil-shale deposits would supply the present national consumption for 190 years. Vast deposits of uranium, vanadium, magnesium, and phosphate are available for use.

"The development of water and its power potentials would lead the way to a vast industrial expansion."

That's the kind of new economic frontiers and opportunities reclamation must open up in the future to keep the Nation growing and strong, the Bureau believes. It puts it this way:

"Our increasing population must find an increasing field of economic opportunity. The development of new water resources can be used as a foundation on which an expanding economy can be constructed."

Not only that, the Bureau adds, but such developments as the upper Colorado would disperse both industry and population, reduce transportation burdens, and make regions of the Nation more self-supporting—all important factors in atomic war.

Is there any limit to reclamation's potential? Not that the Bureau can foresee, not when the Nation puts to beneficial use only 14 percent of the annual water runoff while 400 million acre-feet of precious water waste

into the ocean every year.

Is there any limit on what engineering can do? No project, the Bureau answers, has ever been proposed that cannot be built with the engineering skills of today.

To what extent does the future of America rest upon water development? The Bureau, in reply, quotes President Eisenhower's letter to Secretary McKay on May 26, 1954, as follows:

"The conservation and use which we make of the water resources of our Nation may in large measure determine our future progress and the standards of living of our citizens.

"If we are to continue to advance agri-culturally and industrially," President Eisenhower continued, "we must make the best use of every drop of water which falls on our soil, or which can be extracted from the oceans.

"It is my desire that this administration furnish effective and resourceful leadership in establishing national policies and improving the administrative organization needed to conserve and best utilize the full potential of our water resources."

Reclamation, then, stands today at the crossroads and so does the Nation. And the Eisenhower administration stands squarely on the spot.

Forestry Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under Mr. leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of January 26, 1955:

FORESTRY ANNIVERSARY

If America is greener in 1955 than it was in 1905, some part of the credit certainly must be due to the Forest Service. The trend half a century ago was away from conservation, but it carried its own correctivethe wasting of the Nation's timber resources led to the setting up of a national program of timber saving which now is one of our country's most useful public agencies.

Of course the Forest Service has not been the only working force in this field. When it was formed by merging the old Bureau of Forestry and the Forestry Division of the General Land Office, it was expected that it would have the cooperation of other conservation organizations and establishments. Visitors to the golden anniversary exhibition at the Agriculture Administration Building see evidence there of the helpful partnership of State forestry units, forestry schools, forest industries of many different sorts and many farm societies, wildlife and recreational bodies and hundreds of private individu-We Americans definitely are timberminded people. In perhaps no other similar activity are we so conscious of the origins of our material progress. But it does not follow that we are as concerned or as well educated as we ought to be. For example, there is need for wider and more effective knowledge of the insect enemies of our forests and of the fungus diseases which afflict them in large areas. We also should be better trained and better equipped to fight forest fires, first by being vigilant to pre-

vent them and, where they already have been started, skilled in putting them out and re-placing the losses they have caused. Forest conservation and its relation to water supplies likewise should be better understood.

The 50th aniversary of the Forest Service then is no mere jollification. Rather, it is a new opportunity for enlisting interest in keeping America green and in making America greener.

Meeting To Help Coal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I should like to insert the following editorial from the Bluefield Sunset News, Bluefield, W. Va., for Monday, January 24, 1955:

MEETING TO HELP COAL

Representatives of the coal industry and other industries in West Virginia affected by foreign imports will meet in Washington tomorrow to chart a course of action in connection with President Eisenhower's call for extension of present United States trade policies. The meeting is important to West Virginia because of the economic beating have taken in the coalfields as well as in our glassmaking and pottery centers. The meeting is under the auspices of the nationwide Committee of Industry, Agriculture and Labor on Import-Export Policy. The Nation's economy and security are threatened, members of the committee contend, by the Eisenhower administration's trade policies.

Industries expected to be represented, in addition to bituminous coal, include railroads, chemicals, glassware, and a score of others. Railroad brotherhoods and the UMW will join with management in urging relief from present policies, which, in the case of foreign residual-oil imports, have cost coal heavily in important markets.

Some 30 bills have already been introduced in Congress relating to import restrictions, higher tariffs, or other forms of stabilizing foreign-trade policy, and we are happy to say that West Virginia's Democrats in Congress have thrown their full weight into the fight. Bluefield's Congresswoman KEE, for example, who has long espoused quota limitations on the imports of residual oil, has been a leader in this fight.

Only recently she reported to Congress that on her trip to Europe in November and December that she had an opportunity to see at firsthand a number of communities where "industrial recovery has been slow and real prosperity is still not in sight. Nowhere," she said, "did I see the economic stagnation that has enveloped many of the coal communities of West Virginia since foreign residual oil began its relentless surge into the fuel markets of the east coast. To my way of thinking, our first obligation is here at

Other West Virginia Members of the House have echoed Mrs. KEE, notably Representative HARLEY O. STAGGERS, of the First District. He has protested administration attempts at further reduction of tariff barriers by demanding "a Marshall plan for American workers." He attributes heavy unemployment in West Virginia and other coalproducing States to the fact that "the Government of the United States has seen fit to take away from them the fair and just protection of a tariff that for more than 160 years helped the American workman achieve a standard of living unmatched by the workers of any other nation in the world."

Representative Balley has described some of the supporters of the program to extend the Trade Agreements Act as "investors and international bankers whose prime objective is to make it more profitable for American capital to invest abroad than to spend their money in the development of our own country."

Representative Byrn has castigated importing oil companies which "ruthlessly subordinate the interests of United States economy and safety to the practice of profit-at-any-cost." Inserting in the Congressional Record the resolutions on competitive fuels and reciprocal trade adopted by the NCA board of directors last month, Representative Byan said that careful study of the documents may "go a long way toward helping the legislative body decide upon the course that our fuel policies-immediate and long range-are to take."

The meeting Tuesday will have its work cut out for it. There is a preponderance of evidence to support the contention, in the case of coal, that quota limitations should be placed on the oil imports. But the big stumbling block and the one that must be overcome is the opposition of the Republican administration and President Eisen hower to doing anything to restrict such imports. The only way the situation can be helped is for Congress itself to recognize the plight of such industries as coal and to enact relief measures.

Cushion for Freer Trade

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. VERA BUCHANAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. under leave to extend my remarks, wish to include the following editorial from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of January 25, 1955:

CUSHION FOR FREER TRADE

It is as a longtime friend of freer trade for America that Representative HERMAN EBERHARTER, of Pittsburgh, wants to help those who might be hurt by tariff cuts.

Mr. EBERHARTER figures there are 20 johs in the United States that are dependent on foreign trade for every 1 dependent on high tariffs. Even so, he would like to cushion the effect of freer trade for that very small minority of 1 in 20. He has introduced \$ bill under which Uncle Sam would give special aid to this minority, the idea being to help affected firms and workers switch over to new and profitable business. Such help would come, for example, in low-interest loans, in quick tax writeoffs for new machinery, in training for workers, in loans to workers to help them move elsewhere if that move is necessary, in favored treatment on Government contracts, in technical advice-The help would be temporary.

High tariffs, as Mr. EBERHARTER rightly figures, are plain subsidies. They are subsidies paid to a special group of firms and workers by every American consumer. Certainly, for the good of American consumers, for the good of most American workers, for the good of the family of free nations, we must lower these subsidies. But since we have given them for so many years, we do have a moral and social duty to show some consideration for a distressed minority in withdrawing.

withdrawing them.

This is just what Mr. EBERHARTER has in mind. His idea of cushioning the effect of freer trade has been put forth by others—notably by Pres. David McDonald, of the United Steelworkers. It is an idea that should appeal to all those who, while supporting freer trade in principle, have had occasional doubts about how it might work in practice. If Congress incorporates this idea into the administration's proposals on trade, the whole program should surely enjoy the overwhelming support of Americans.

The Economics of Pension Funds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article entitled "The Economics of Pension Funds," by F. W. Paish and A. T. Peacock, which appeared in Lloyd's Bank Review for October 1954:

THE ECONOMICS OF PENSION FUNDS (By F. W. Paish and A. T. Peacock)

The recent Report of the Committee on the Taxation Treatment of Provisions for Retirement 1 and the study of the Research Group of the Institute of Actuaries 2 have drawn attention to the remarkable growth in pension rights which are being accumulated through schemes sponsored and in many cases administered by business enterprise. Despite the publicity given to them in official reports, there is a surprising lack of information about the extent and the operation of industrial pension schemes. The inquiry undertaken by the Ministry of Labor for 1936, which was published in the Ministry of Labor Gazette in May, 1938, has never been followed up, and the statistics illustrating their growth are very sketchy. The Ministry of Labor inquiry for 1936 put the number of employed persons covered by privately administered pensions schemes and Life Office schemes (the distinction is considered below) at about 1,600,000. This total had risen to something like 5 million in 1952. About 40 percent of persons covered by schemes of this sort in 1936 were members of schemes to which only the employer contributed, and this percentage has now probably fallen to somewhere around 30 percent. In 1936, the numbers covered were equally divided between manual workers and clerical and administrative staff, and this percentage does not appear to have altered. the number of persons covered by statutory superannuation schemes, this is to say civil rvants and other Government employees, then in 1952 the total number of those covered by pensions schemes, quite apart from the national insurance scheme, was someworking population. Moreover, everything Points to continued growth in the number of schemes, so that by now the total numcovered may be appreciably more than this.

The reasons for this growth are diverse, but there seems little doubt that the principal one in this country has been the maintenance of full employment for something like 15 years. Employers have found pension achemes useful as methods of attracting and

Footnotes at end of speech.

holding a skilled labor force at a time when labor has been a scarce factor of production. Moreover, they have been encouraged to do so by the high rates of profits tax and income As their own contributions to schemes of this kind have been treated as a cost for tax purposes, they have in effect been subsidized by the inland revenue. While schemes of this sort were earlier regarded with suspicion by trade unions, as promo-ting a division of loyalties and providing an alternative to higher wages, they gained the support of these organizations in recent years. One of the most important factors influencing trade union support has been the operation of wage restraint in the Trade unions preearly years after the war. ferred wage increases in the form of additional pension rights rather than no increases at all, and employers readily granted them.

The few figures illustrating the growth of these schemes are sufficient to suggest that retirement provision of this scale must have important economic effects. This article is an attempt to analyze these effects, and to consider how far they conform or conflict with generally accepted objects of economic policy.

II. THE NATURE OF PENSION FUNDS

Methods of retirement provision vary greatly from one enterprise to another, as the result partly of historical accidents and partly of the particular circumstances of each business and the relationships between employer and employed. Besides the broad distinction already mentioned between con-tributory and noncontributory schemes, there are at least five other types of major differences. Noncontributory schemes can themselves be subdivided into the majority, where regular annual appropriations are paid into a fund on a scale actuarially sufficient to provide for future pensions, and the minority, where the employer merely charges direct to profit-and-loss account such pensions as he happens to be paying at the moment. A second difference, important for its effects on the mobility of labor, is between schemes where the employee loses all but the benefit of his own contributions (if any) if he resigns (except perhaps for reasons of health) or is dismissed before reaching retirement age, and those under which he can take his full rights with him, in some form, even if he resigns or is dismissed. Thirdly, from the point of view of taxation privileges, there is an important difference between schemes which confer pension rights only and those which give the beneficiary the option of taking a lump-sum payment. Fourthly, the recent heavy fall in the purchasing power of money has emphasized the difference between schemes where the benefits are fixed or depend on previous contributions, whether fixed or varying with salary, and those where they are based on retiring salary. And finally, from the point of view of the form of organization, there is the distinction between those schemes which are privately administered and those which are conducted through one of the life offices.

These differences are not, of course, wholly independent of one another. Schemes conducted through life offices must necessarily be conducted in accordance with actuarial principles. It also seems probable that schemes providing benefits based on retiring salary, which may involve the employer from time to time in large supplementary contributions, are more likely to be conducted privately, while schemes giving only such benefits as are covered by previous contributions are more suitable for conduct by life offices. It may well be also that life office schemes carry options to lump-sum payments and benefits which remain the property of the employee on resignation more frequently than do privately conducted schemes.

Of the two main types of organization, the commoner, especially for firms with large salaried staffs, is the privately administered scheme, and this is the most important financially. Under such a scheme, employees and employer pay contributions into a fund, which is administered as a trust. The general nature of the scheme is usually approved by both directors and the trade unions. The trustees are appointed by the directors of the firms, and usually employees are represented on the board of trustees.

The contributions and benefits will vary according to the nature of the enterprise and the objects of the scheme, but some degree of uniformity is detectable, largely because the schemes are influenced by the generous tax concessions given to pension schemes which provide benefits only in the form of an annual pension to those of retirement age, without the option of a lump-sum payment. Usually, the benefits and contributions are related directly or indirectly to salary, the general object being to reward the employee for his efficiency and length of service, subject to the condition of maintaining the solvency of the pension fund. Pensions of salaried employees, who are likely to achieve their peak in earnings at the end of their careers, are usually based on their final salaries, subject to some length of service condition, or upon their average salary over, say, the last 10 years of service, while contributions of both employer and employed are a fixed proportion of annual salary. relation, therefore, between contributions and benefits is indirect. Care has therefore to be exercised to keep the fund actuarially solvent, that is to say, to ensure that it is able to meet its obligations on the assumption of current conditions of retirement, contributions and benefits.

When an increase in the cost of living makes necessary a general rise in salary scales, and especially insofar as this affects those employees who are nearing retirement age, the fund accumulated out of past contributions and appropriations will no longer be large enough to meet the prospective demands upon it. As it is impossible to demand restrospective contributions from employees, the whole cost of making good the who will deficiency falls upon the employer, have to make special supplementary appropriations, in addition to a permanent increase in his regular appropriations in promagnitude of these special supplementary appropriations when salary scales are raised will depend partly on the size and distribution of the increases, partly on the age distribution of the staff, and partly on the number of years over which retiring salaries are averaged for the purpose of calculating pension rates. The longer this period, the larger the share of the loss due to the loss of purchasing power of former contributions which will be borne by the employee and the smaller the share borne by the employer; but unless salaries are averaged over the whole period of service (which is the same as making pensions dependent entirely on former appropriations and contributions) the employer will continue to bear some part of the risk. In practice, the period over which retiring salaries are averaged seems rarely, if ever, to exceed 10 years.

In a large firm, there may be different pension schemes to suit different classes of employees. Thus manual workers, whose average earnings may not vary greatly according to age, may receive a fixed pension laid down in advance and pay relatively little by way of contributions. At the other extreme are the high executives, for whom the tax concessions attracted by schemes of this sort are of great importance. Again, an elaborate pension scheme is obviously inappropriate where the rate of turnover of labor, usually female, is very high. It is common in such firms to institute provident fund

schemes with contributions by employee and employer.

Some large employers of labor prefer to operate schemes in which only the employer pays contributions, or in which the employer guarantees a pension on the fulfillment of the conditions of service which is met out of current receipts and not out of a seperately constituted fund. This type of provision obviously gives the employer more control over pension rights and more freedom in his distribution of rewards for service.

The second main type of organization, the so-called life office scheme, is commonly found in small firms with, say, 100 employees or less. Such firms cannot take advantage of the administrative economies of schemes which cover large numbers of employees and may not possess the financial expertise to devise and administer a private scheme. Instead, they pay over their own and their em-ployees' contributions to a life office, either in order to provide policies for individual employees for the joint premium, or in order to provide a blanket policy covering all the members of the scheme irrespective of the individual risks and contributions.

The existing system of tax exemptions weights the scales heavily in favor of private schemes as against the life office schemes. A suitably devised private scheme can obtain registration as a charity and so escape the payment of income tax on the interest earned on its invested funds, while a life office must pay tax on its interest earnings at the rate of 7s. 6d. in the pound. To compete with the alternative of a private fund, the life office must be able to show advantages in its (administrative organization and skill, and in its power of spreading risks, sufficient to offset the effects of discriminating taxation; and this it can usually do only for the smaller businesses.

III. THE TAX TREATMENT OF PENSION SCHEMES

In addition to the exemption from income tax on interest receipts granted to those pension funds which are registered as charities, pension schemes attract very considerable tax concessions on contributions-concessions which are undoubtedly one of the main reasons for these schemes' recent rapid growth. Tax legislation governing pensions provisions is complicated, but generally speaking it can be said to adopt the formula of exempting contributions from tax while taxing pensions as earned income. The general principle followed (although not altogether consistently applied) is that taxpayments are spread over the period of the consumption of income rather than over the period in which it is earned. Thus, subject to safeguards regarding the amount that can accumulated as provision for retirement, relief is afforded on premiums. The conditions which the schemes must fulfill in order to attract relief are laid down in a series of acts beginning with the Income Tax Act of 1918, subsequently modified in 1921 and 1947. The three main conditions are as follows:

(a) That the sole purpose of the fund is the provision of annuities on retirement for employed persons, or for their widows and dependents in the event of the death of the employee. (This criterion rules out any schemes under which the employee receives a lump sum on retirement, or has the option of commuting part or all of his pension into a lump-sum payment. If no tax has been paid on the contributions to such schemes, at least at the reduced rate appropriate to life-insurance premiums, the lump-sum payments are taxable as income in the year

in which they are received.)
(b) That the scheme is open to all employees of a defined category, e. g. all salaried

(c) That benefits are reasonable in relation to the employees' remuneration and length of service. (The test of "reasonable-ness" is provided by the statutory superannuation schemes for civil servants.)

Once a scheme receives the approval of the Internal Revenue, then in the case of trust funds the employer's contribution is ductible as an expense in determining profits tax and income-tax liability, the individual employee obtains tax relief on the whole of his contribution, and the interest income of the funds is exempt from tax. typical life office schemes, where the beneficiary retains a lump-sum option, the concessions are less generous. The employer's contribution is deductible as before, but the employee's contribution attracts only the normal concession for life-insurance miums, which is equivalent to two-fifths.

When an employee retires and begins to receive his pension, he is taxed as if he were receiving earned income, but if he leaves employment before the age of retirement either because he wishes to become self-employed or wishes to join another firm, then usually he receives back only his own contributions. The trust fund is then liable to pay tax on the surrendered contributions at 25 percent of the standard rate, which is claimed from the employee in question. If he moves to another enterprise which has a pension scheme of its own, and the trustees of the scheme operated by his new employer are prepared to offer him pension rights in return for the contributions in respect of his previous employment, then the employee may claim back the tax paid. However, this relief does not hold in the case of a person who chooses self-employment and wishes to buy, for example, a deferred annuity. Moreover, in most cases the individual who transfers employment or prefers self-employment sacthe benefits he would receive as rifices result of the employer's contribution, for the latter is rarely paid over as an addition to the paid-up contributions of the resigning employee.

A considerable part of the report of the Committee on the Taxation Treatment of Provisions for Retirement is devoted to the question of this discrimination in favor of employed persons. Although we are con-cerned here with the effects of pensions schemes and not their rationale, brief mention should be made of the recommendations of the report, because they would modify some of the economic effects of the schemes, were they to be embodied in our tax legislation. In general, the report endorses the present principles of exempting premiums from tax and of taxing benefits, although it recommends that up to onequarter of the total value of benefits due on retirement should be payable in tax-free lump sum form, subject to a maximum of £19,000. Its suggestions, however, include two for major changes, as well as a number for minor ones. The first of these is that life office schemes should be subject to the same tax treatment as those privately administered. The second major change proposed (subject to the reservations of two members of the committee) is that where comparable schemes can be set up for self-employed persons, either for individuals or for groups of persons (such as schemes operated by professional associations), contributions should attract full income tax and surtax relief. As in the case of the existing types of scheme, annuitles would be treated as earned income. and lump-sum retirement provision, subject to a maximum limit, would be free of tax.

Some observers, including Mr. Cater and Mr. Woodcock of the committee, think that price of consistency of treatment is too high. They consider that self-employed persons are, to quote their note of reservation, 'necessarily possessed of capital assets which of themselves provide in some degree retirement resources." Moreover, they argue that some of these assets, such as goodwill and real property, may exhibit capital appreciation, which is untaxed, and that it is much easier for self-employed members of a pro-fession to obtain deductions for expenses under schedule D than for members of the same profession who are employed persons. It is doubtful if the quoted statement is a fair appreciation of the situation, and even if it were it would be true of the past rather than the present. It ignores altogether the long-term effects of heavy income taxation and of death duties. It is also in essence an argument for the taxation of capital gains rather than an argument for differentiation in respect of tax treatment for retirement

However, what we are interested in here is the economic effects of such recommendations; for instance, in the effect of more consistent treatment on the relative attractiveness of being an employed person or selfemployed. We must now consider these effects in detail.

IV. THE ECONOMIC EFFECTS OF PENSION SCHEMES

1. Effects on savings and investment

The main concern of our economic policy at the moment is with the maintenance of high and rising level of productivity, not least because of the problems facing a country with an aging population. We can say without fear of contradiction that this object requires, among other things, first, the maintenance of an adequate volume of productive investment and, secondly, an adaptable and mobile labor force responsive to changing opportunities of employment due to changes in the pattern of demand, particularly of foreign demand, and therefore of investment. We can now consider each of these factors in turn.

To take the first point, the maintenance of an adequate volume of investment in conditions of high employment will depend on the provision of the requisite amount of saving to prevent consumption rising above the level where inflation begins to appear. In any given year, income receivers in aggregate receive pensions from industrial schemes which are part of their income receipts, and pay out contributions which represent part of personal saving. The Actuaries' report puts the 1952 level of contributions at £116 millions for employers and £52 millions for employees, representing an aggregate of £168 millions, out of total personal saving of £614 millions or about 27 percent. However, what we are really interested in for our purpose is the annual net saving brought about by schemes of this

The net saving is the difference between the current income and expenditure of these schemes. At present, according to the Actuaries' report, the ratio of pensioners to active members of schemes is about 11 percent, in the case of privately administered schemes and 3 percent, in the case of life office schemes. Accordingly, the expenditure on pensions is much lower than the income from contributions. Moreover, on ceipts side we must add in the interest income of the schemes, which, as we have pointed out, is tax free, and which, in the case of the privately administered schemes, represents a substantial portion of total receipts-above one-third. The total net saving of both forms of schemes amounted to about £140 millions in 1952.

The interesting question raised by this figure is how far it is possible to state what net saving would be were there no such schemes in operation. We have not sufficient confidence in the economic theory of distribution to state what alteration such a state of affairs would make to the relative rewards of the different factors of production, and all we can do is to consider alternative possibilities. If the total contribu-tion income were distributed in the form of wages and salaries, then the yield of profits taxes would not be affected, as the extra wages would be treated as a cost, just as the contributions were; but the yield of income tax would rise, both on account of the in-

Footnotes at end of speech.

crease in wages and on account of the disappearance of the tax concession granted on the employees' contributions. Other things being equal, therefore, government revenue would rise and with it, in the absence of budgetary changes, government saving. seems unlikely, however, that the difference between the increase in government saving and the present level of net saving would be made up by private saving on the part of wage and salary earners. If, alternatively, we assume that the employers' contribution swelled the total of profits, then both income tax and profits tax would rise and, by the same reasoning, so would government saving. The effect on private voluntary saving would depend on whether the residual amount accrued to dividend receivers or remained as part of undistributed profit. But so long as wage and salary earners received as wages part of the contributions which they would otherwise have paid (and this seems a reasonable assumption, given full employment), it seems likely that net saving would be reduced below the level attained under present arrangements.

For the present, therefore, it can be said that these schemes raise the level of aggregate saving above what it would otherwise have been. The employed persons of today not only build up claims against the future national product, but also promote its increase by releasing resources currently for investment. We cannot assume, however, that the present level of net saving through Pension funds will be maintained indefinitely. With the growth in the proportions of the population over retirement age and of the retired population in receipt of pensions, pension outgo is likely to increase considerably, while the size of the working population is unlikely to alter much. Accordingly, receipts are unlikely to increase to anything like the same extent as payments. With the Present number of retirement schemes and a constant level of wages and salaries, payments would gradually rise to approximately the same level as receipts, so that after a Period of time, which to judge by the actuaries' figures would be about 30 years, net saving through pension funds would become zero. In point of fact, of course, it is extremely unlikely that money wages and salaries will remain unchanged, if only because of a rising national real income, so that it is probable that existing schemes will continue indefinitely to show some surplus of receipts over payments, which the continued setting up of new schemes would increase. But it is also very probable that after some years the rate of growth of existing pension funds will show a marked decline.

The effects on the level of saving of a mature system of pension funds, as compared With their absence, is not easy to determine. If saving has risen during the period of the building-up of the funds, it is likely that the level of national income will be higher than the funds had never been created. On the other hand, it is probable that consumption by retired persons will also be higher, even though the fact that they are in receipt of private pensions may enable them to dispense with public assistance and also to consume less of their own capital. Even, however, with the level of pension funds no more than constant, there is no reason to believe that the increased consumption of retired persons would be greater than, or even as great as, the increase in the real national income generated by the earlier increases in national saving, provided that these have been wisely invested.

What exactly constitutes a wise investment is impossible to define with any precision, if only because the definition will depend in part on the political views of whoever sets it out; the wide disagreement over the amount of investment in housing and electricity as

compared with private industry bears witness to this. It is therefore difficult to relate the effects of pension schemes to the object of ensuring the "right" distribution of investment as between different projects. There however, a considerable consensus of opinion that there is an undesirable tend-ency for investors to "play safe", and that too little capital is being devoted to develop-ing new enterprises which might become the great industries of the next generation. Professor Titmuss, one of the first to draw attention to the importance of pension schemes, subscribes to this view when he makes the criticism that life offices and pension funds will favor "safe" investments, and that these schemes "signify a decreasing flow of risk investment and greater power to insurance institutions over industry in general." While, however, many people will agree with Professor Titmuss about the form of investment which he considers desirable, his views on the effects of the growth of pension schemes seem more disputable. It may very well be that the trustees of a pension fund are not so enterprising as a large private investor, especially when he is investing his current savings rather than his existing cap-

But the choice is not between the investment of new savings by pension funds and by large private investors. It is partly between investment by pension funds and investment by small savers (that is to say, mainly by institutional investors), by businesses and the government, and partly between investment by pension funds and no investment at all. Further, there is some reason to hope that, as the now discredited practice of investing trust funds exclusively in trustee securities fades from memory, trustees of pension funds, who in general have fairly wide powers, may be led by the fact that they pay no tax on their investment income to step, at least in part, into the empty shoes of the large private investor. There are two main types of risky investments-those which yield little or nothing at present but may conceivably yield something substantial at some future date, and those which give a high current yield but may cease to do so. The former, which give little or no current income but the chance of substantial capital appreciation, must be left to the surtax payer; but the second, with their high current yields and risk of capital depreciation are (provided that they are well spread) the ideal investment for charities, since these alone can amortize the risk out of gross income while taxpayers can do so only out of net. If, therefore, market prices of this type of secu-rities are such that they are regarded as reasonable by taxpaying investors, the net vield (after setting aside the risk premium) for a charity will be extremely high. For instance, a security giving a gross yield of 10 percent with a 4 percent risk of total loss gives a net yield of 1½ percent to an income taxpayer (and a negative yield to a surtax payer). while it gives a net 6 percent yield to a charity. It is such types of investments that private pension funds (and if the committee's recommendation is adopted, the funds of life office pension schemes) are far better able to hold than any taxpaying investor.

About the present assets structures of private pension funds there is very little information. Some cases are known where pension funds have been invested in the enterprises which have initiated the schemes, and even where they have become majority shareholders; but in general it seems likely that investment inside the business is relatively rare. On the whole it seems probable that trustees of private pension funds are still exploring only very cautiously the potentialities of tax-free investment, and that the

general pattern of their investments is still fairly similar to that of life offices in spite of the great difference which at present exists between their taxation treatment.

2. Effects on the distribution, size, and mobility of the working population

The aspect of pension schemes which is perhaps most open to attack is their effect on the distribution, size, and mobility of the labor force." This criticism takes three main forms. The first is that the existence of pension schemes in some occupations and not in others exercises an undesirable influence on the original choice of occupation. It is true, of course, that the existence of a pension scheme may exercise a very considerable attraction and divert some prospective workers away from occupations where no pensions are available. For instance, so long as professional men, such as architects, lawyers, and accountants, can qualify for pensions only by becoming employees, especially of public authorities, the attraction of these forms of employment, as compared with being self-employed, is very great. This is an argument commonly advanced by the professional associations involved; but while it is entitled to the utmost respect, it seems to us that it is possible to exaggerate it. In the long run, even in the professions, the laws of supply and demand work. Given relatively stable conditions of demand, an increase in the supply of those who enter employed positions must even-tually affect the price of their services. The risks of self-employment may be offset by a lower reward in safe jobs. This, however, is merely a caveat to the technical argument and not a justification of the status quo. In any case, this criticism will disappear if and when the recommendations of the committee are adopted on the taxation of superannuation provisions by the self-employed.

The criticism that pension schemes promote early retirement, and so deprive an aging population of part of the resources it have used and part of the real national income it might have enjoyed, also seems to have substance, though it too should not be exaggerated. One of the reasons for instituting schemes of this sort is that older persons can thereby be retired gracefully without fear of hardship and without damage to the conscience of the employer; and in this policy the employer usually has the enthusiastic support of younger employees, trade unions, and all who benefit from a scarcity of labor. Yet the system of retiring salaried workers on pension at an age when they are still capable of rendering useful service, though no doubt on balance it has an adverse effect on the national income, is not wholly wasteful. There must be many cases where an older man, though still capable of rendering useful service in some capacity, is no longer the best man for his present position, and where his replacement by a younger man opens the way for new and fruitful ideas and policies, the introduction of which might otherwise have been delayed. Nor are the services of a retired man, especially of a retired professional man, necessarily lost to the community altogether. Unlike national insurance tirement pensions, the receipt of a pension under a scheme does not normally prevent a retired man from seeking other work to supplement an income which, even under a generous pension scheme, has probably shown a substantial fall. In addition, there is a great deal of socially valuable unpaid work which in earlier decades was performed mainly by those with private means but for which in future the country will have to look largely to the older men, especially the older professional men, who have retired on pension.

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Footnotes at end of speech.

Most serious of all is the criticism that the existence of pension schemes, as at present organized, has an important adverse on the mobility of labor. In noncontributory schemes the employee normally sacrifices the whole of his pension rights if he moves from one occupation to another. while even under contributory schemes, except within Government or university employment, the most he can normally expect is to receive back his own past contributions with accrued interest, less deduction of income tax at a quarter of the standard rate. In seeking to move to other employment, a man, especially an older man, is therefore under one of two disadvantages. If his prospective new employer has no pension scheme, or a pension scheme based on past contributions or on number of years' service. the man who moves will sacrifice the bene-fit of the whole of his former employer's contributions. If, on the other hand, prospective employer gives pensions at a fixed rate, or at a rate based entirely on re-tiring salary without reference to number of years' service, he will be unwilling to engage an older man, to provide a pension for whom will entail abnormally high appropriations during his relatively short period of service. In the first case, the employee will be deterred from moving unless the other conditions of his new employment show a great improvement on the old; in the second, the new employer will be reluctant to engage him unless his qualifications are outstanding.

Thus his existing employer, by, in effect, deferring part of his salary and making its payment contingent on continuity of service, can impose a tie on an employee similar to that imposed on the shipper by shipping conferences under the deferred-rebate system. While the disadvantages of this limitation on competition for labor are clear, it is unlikely that they will be remedied voluntarily, for the reduction in the rate of labor turnover is usually one of the main objects of introducing a pension scheme. There re-mains the possibility of making tax privileges granted to pension funds conditional on their amendment in such a way as to eliminate their effect of tying workers to their existing occupations. Thus it would be possible to restrict the registration of pension funds as charities, or even the allowance of employers' contributions as expenses, to those schemes where the employee re-tained a full title to his share of the fund (including all employers' contributions) even after leaving his employment. The share either could be transferred to him in cash, as a surrender value, in which case he would be liable to tax on it unless he used it wholly as a subscription to another scheme, or could be used to purchase for him a deferred annuity to commence at retiring age. While such an alteration in the terms on which tax privileges are granted to pension schemes would hardly be popular with employers, it may be doubted whether, in view of their appeal to employees, it would lead to the discontinuance of many existing schemes, or even prevent the setting up of new ones; and it would go far to remove the principal economic objection to the schemes as they now exist.

'The Age of Pension (The Times, December 1953).

*See, for instance, the National Advisory Committee on the Employment of Older Men and Women, first report, October 1953 (Cmd. 8963/53).

New Vistas for International Development

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, it was my privilege this afternoon to speak before the National Workshop on World Economic and Social Development, at a meeting held in the Woodner Hotel.

I ask unanimous consent that my address on that occasion may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

New Vistas for International Development (Speech by Hon. Alexander Wiley, of Wisconsin)

It is a great pleasure to be with you today. International economic development is the most exciting undertaking of this generation. Of all the great events which we have seen in our lifetimes, none offers a greater challenge, nor a greater opportunity for creation of a world in which peace and prosperity will be accomplished facts instead of wistful dreams.

I think it is not too much to say that whether future generations live in a Communist world or a free world depends on how we, the American people, carry out our part in international development.

The words of Theodore Roosevelt, more than 40 years ago, are more than ever appropriate in this connection.

"The United States of America." he said, "has not the option as to whether it will or will not play a great part in the world. It must play a great part. All that it can decide is whether it will play that part well or badly."

Before this group, there is no need to belabor the set of facts which makes this so. You are all familiar with them. Three facts, however, are worth emphasizing.

The first is the great—and growing—disparity in levels of economic development between the United States and Western Europe, on the one hand, and most of the rest of the world on the other.

The second is the urge to develop which characterizes important segments of the underdeveloped world. These countries have glimpsed better things and are determined to have them.

The third is the increasing effort of the Soviet Union and Communist China to make it appear that communism offers the shortest road to economic development.

Most of the people, and a great many of the resources, of the world are in underdeveloped countries which in their present state are quite incapable by themselves of withstanding determined Communist aggression. If these underdeveloped countries were to go behind the Iron Curtain, the United States' problem of national survival would be greatly increased. Development of these areas is therefore in our interest in order to increase their capacity to defend themselves. It is also in our interest to provide an irrefutable demonstration to the skeptics in these nations that communism does not offer a short cut to conomic development but that, on the contrary, a free society produces richer rewards economically as well as spiritually.

We might as well recognize that the economic history of the Soviet Union since 1917 is attractive to some people in the underdeveloped countries. While there is considerable doubt that the average Russian has any more of the material things of life than he had under the Czars, the Soviet Union has nonetheless sprouted steel plants and tractor factories at a rate which, though not equal to the United States, is at least sufficient to impress some of those underdeveloped countries which want steel plants and tractor factories themselves.

But it is putting the case for international development on too narrow a base to state it solely in terms of a defensive measure against the threat of Communist aggression. Programs of assistance for international development would be in the self-interest of the United States if the Communist threat did not exist.

Defense is essentially negative, but international development is positive and constructive. It is our best long-term instrument for accomplishing our foreign policy objectives. These objectives, it seems to me, are too frequently stated in negative terms of resisting aggression. That is, of course, one of the fundamentals of our policy, but it is by no means the whole of our policy. It is, indeed, no more than an essential prerequisite to the accomplishment of our broader objective of an expanding economy in a free society. Programs of international development offer an opportunity for imaginative, constructive accomplishment in the highest traditions of enlightened statesmanship.

In the language of the scripture, "Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another." This is a Christian program, and we would not be true to our moral and spiritual heritage if we did nothing to lift up the hopes and minister to the needs of those who are less fortunate than ourselves. United States participation in international development can be justified on these grounds.

But it can also be justified on the basis of dollars and cents.

From the economic point of view, international development is in our interest because poor countries are poor customers and poor suppliers. The underdeveloped part of the world is an increasingly important source of the raw materials which American industry needs. It can also become an increasingly important market for the products of American industry. The bulk of our international trade is carried on with the more highly developed countries. As economic development progresses, trade increases—to the mutual benefit of all concerned.

These various reasons for United States participation in international development—the reasons for defense, of economics, and of morals—are not contradictory; they are complementary. When you put them together, they do not weaken the case for international development; they strengthen it.

We have been much too coy in making plain all our motives for carrying out our programs of economic development and technical assistance. The result of this coyness has been that the people who are receiving our help frequently do not understand why we are giving it. They are skeptical of the explanation that we are doing it in their interest and therefore search for some hidden motive which they believe must exist and must be so bad that we are ashamed of it. The Communists have ready at hand the explanation of imperialism, and this gains credence through our own lack of complete frankness.

¹ Command Paper No. 9063/54, hereinafter referred to as "the Report."

The Growth of Pension Rights and Their Impact on the National Economy.

In the national accounts, employers' contributions are treated as part of factor incomes, on the assumption, no doubt, that they represent payments which would otherwise be paid as wages and salaries. This follows the same line of reasoning as that which supports the view that the employers' contribution to national insurance is also a part factor incomes, on the grounds that it is a tax on labor.

The case for United States assistance for international economic development is so strong, on several counts, that we must be as careful not to attempt too much as not to attempt too little. When one considers the state of the underdeveloped parts of world, and particularly when one considers the Soviet threat, he feels a sense of urgency. And certainly the need is urgent. But this is a situation in which haste can best be made slowly.

What we can do is, of course, limited by our own resources. But it is more severely limited by shortages of skilled technicians and by the capacity of underdeveloped coun-

tries to absorb capital.

We can accomplish more by spending \$2 billion in 10 years, or even 20, than by spending the same amount in 1 or 2 years. sonally, I would rather see the United States undertake a long-term commitment, on a relatively modest annual basis, than a shortterm commitment on a large annual basis.

It takes time for economic-development projects to produce results, and it sometimes requires a high order of faith to persevere in these projects when no immediate results are apparent, but we must think in terms of decades, or even generations, instead of

2 or 3 or 4 years.

Despite the long history of economic de-Velopment in Western Europe and the United States, the process is as yet imperfectly understood. Indeed, there is a serious question as to the validity of the conclusions which we can draw from studying our own history when we attempt to apply those conclusions to the rest of the world. effect do cultural attitudes and social organization have on economic development? And what effect does economic development have on cultural attitudes and racial or-ganization? This is a field in which we have much too little information and to which we have given much too little attention.

In the United States, we have what I believe anthropologists call a future-ori-entered society. We like to try new things, simply because they are new. We adjust to technological change with relative ease. Witness, for example, the smoothness with which, in the space of scarcely more than a generation, we shifted the focus of our family life from the living room to the

automobile to the television set.

We have great faith in expertness. Veterinarian tells us that the cow and the calf will both be healthier-and that the farmer will have more milk-if the calf is weaned at an early age, the farmer may not understand the biological reasons why this is so, but you can bet that he will at least give it a try. Yet when a veterinarian in one of the underdeveloped countries told a group of farmers the same thing. they flatly refused to believe him because everybody knew that it had always been done differently. When the veterianarian gave what he thought was a convincing demonstration, his credibility was not increased at all; the people simply said that although it might work with his cattle, it certainly would not work with theirs.

I could tell you many similar stories; I am sure many of you are familiar with others of the same type. The point is that the receptivity of people to technical knowledge varies greatly, and the more underdeveloped their economies, the more highly resistant they are apt to be to improvement,

We make a great mistake when we do not take this into account. International development is not a program to remake the world in our own image. Humility, patience, tact, and understanding are more important than technical expertness. A paternalistic, do-it-this-way-daddy-knows-best not only foredooms a project to failure, but produces positive harmful results.

Economic development cannot be imposed from without. No matter how much capital investment or how much technical knowledge we may be able and willing to supply, it will not have the desired effectsindeed, it may even have negative effectsunless there exists in the recipient country the urge to develop.

This urge is a great deal more complicated than the simple desire for more food, or better housing, or better schools, or concrete highways, automobiles, and plants. If a country wants more food, is it willing to change its traditional, perhaps centuries-old, system of land tenure? it wants better schools, is It willing to step on the toes of vested interests who may be fearful of the power of an enlightened people? Is it, in other words, willing to break with the past?

This is basically a question of politics in the broadest sense of that word. The drive to independence among former colonial areas of the world is one of the most significant phenomena of the age in which we live, and it is directly related to the problem of inter-

national economic development.

An example from one of the newly independent Asian countries will illustrate what mean. A missionary in this particular country devoted most of his adult life to improving a single village. With the help of the local people, he made it into one of the cleanest, healthiest, most prosperous, and best educated villages in the Withal, it was a monument to what could be done with meager resources and tireless, dedicated work. Shortly before World War II, the missionary went home to retire, and within a year after he had left, the village had reverted to its previous condition of poverty and filth and was indistinguishable from all the other poor, dirty villages in the country. After World War II, this country gained its independence, and within a year thereafter, this particular village was once again a model of village improvement.

In this case, political independence had almost everything to do with the urge to develop. This urge did not exist until the people realized that, at long last, it was their country they were concerned with, that their

future was in their own hands.

One cannot be dogmatic about these things, because we are dealing with a field in which our ignorance still exceeds our knowledge, but there is evidence to suggest that economic development flourishes best in an atmosphere of political and social change. Change, of course, does not necessarily imply instability. But when political authority changes hands, old symbols of authority are torn down and the atmosphere is cleared for accompanying changes in social outlook and organization.

One could cite many examples. Certainly, the political changes in India and Pakistan from British rule to national independence have greatly improved the climate for economic development. A different kind of political change, but one with equally favorable results from the development point of view, has occurred in Egypt and also in We find similar evidence in the

history of our own country.

I would not want to deny categorically that this sort of change cannot be induced by outside pressures, but certainly in its most favorable form it is self-generating and comes from within. This is why, in addition to the legal reasons, we can carry out development assistance programs only on the invitation of the country we are trying

Much has been said about international development being a self-help program. But I sometimes fear we have fallen into the statistical trap of measuring self-help in terms of the number of dollars, or dollar equivalent, which the recipient government is willing to contribute to joint development

projects. This is a useful indicator, but it is no more than an indicator and it may be misleading. Equally important—perhaps more important—is the spirit of the people and the extent to which they are willing to give their labor, their time, and their effort. Contributions of this sort, as well as contributions in goods, are difficult to measure quantitatively, but they are important in-dices of how badly a people really want economic development.

It seems absurdly elemental to say that how we go about extending international assistance for economic development de-pends upon the state of development of the recipient country. Yet some of the assistance programs which I hear suggested from time to time lead me to believe that this elemental truth is too often overlooked. During World War II, we became so familiar with the complaint of "too little and too late" that many of us resolved we would never again ourselves to be put in that position. Americans are a pretty impatient race, anyhow, not given to waiting happily until next week for something we would like to have tomorrow.

But in this process of economic development, I suggest that the pitfalls of trying to do too much too soon are probably as great as those of once again being too late with too little.

The capacity of any economy—even that of the United States—to absorb capital is limited. The more underdeveloped the economy, the more limited is its absorptive capacity. This poses a dilemma. Develop-ment assistance would produce the greatest results in the countries which are in an intermediate stage of development. But, excepting the primitive tribes of Africa and the South Pacific, the countries which can absorb the least amount of assistance are precisely those where the need is greatest and most urgent.

I do not know the answer to this dilemma. I do know one thing which the answer is not.

It is fantasy to think of international assistance for economic development in terms of the European recovery program. When I hear people talk about a Marshall plan for Asia., I wonder if they have really thought about what they are saying. The Marshall plan, as its formal name implies, was a program of economic recovery, which is a great deal different from a program of economic development. The recovery of a highly developed, but war-devastated, economy can come about very quickly; economic development is an infinitely slower process.

There now appears on the horizon, however, a further aid to international development which may provide at least a partial answer to our dilemma. Certainly it has potentialities so vast that we as yet but dimly comprehend them. I refer to peace-

ful uses of atomic energy.

In the intermediate future, at any rate. this may turn out to be more important to underdeveloped than to highly developed countries. It may be possible for example, to generate electric power from atomic en-ergy at rates which are economically feasible in a country severely short of power before it is possible to do so in a country with well-developed hydroelectric or steam generating facilities.

The prospect of huge quantities of power from atomic generating plants in the underdeveloped parts of the world carries with it the most breahtaking implications. Food production could be greatly increased through the irrigation of vast areas of new lands. A wide variety of new manufacturing industries would become economically feasible for the first time. The whole countryside, as well as the whole lives of the people, could be transformed.

Here is a great new resource—a new tool for economic development-which may do even more for Asia than the invention of the cotton gin did for our own southland. Like the cotton gin and all other new technological developments, it will also carry with it, of course, social implications of the first magnitude.

Peaceful use of atomic energy on an international scale appears to be still some time in the future. Progress has been slow, and much yet remains to be done. But progress has been nonetheless real and encouraging. We have gotten off dead center, largely through the impetus of President Eisenhower's imaginative and statesman-like address to the United Nations in December 1953. Despite the filibustering of the Soviet Union, the free nations of When world have resolutely pushed ahead. the Soviets realized that they could not block the project, they came forward with offers of cooperation. It remains to be seen whether these offers are spurious or genuine. We hope they are genuine, but on the basis of bitter experience, we must reserve judgment until they are followed up with concrete actions.

In any event, an international conference on cooperation to promote the peaceful uses of atomic energy is scheduled to be held in Geneva in August. There are good grounds for encouragement that we are now somewhat more quickly approaching the day when the atom will come into its own as an instrument for peace and prosperity.

The atom has a habit of rendering preconceived notions obsolete. It may well render obsolete much that I have said here today. Let us hope it may also render obsolete hunger and poverty, misery and hope-

Administration Should Fill Judgeship Vacancies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, efforts have been made to ask the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States to address a joint session of Congress, in order that the problems of the Court, with particular reference to its clogged calendars, be made known. In that connection, permit me to submit a list of vacancies in judgeships in the Federal court, other than the Supreme Courts, which includes the time the vacancies have existed, as of January 11. 1955:

Location	Origin of vacancy	Date vacancy occurred
Circuit judgeships: 2d circuit 5th circuit Do District judgeships: California, southern Do Delaware New Jersey New York, southern North Dakota Do Oregon Pennsylvania, eastern Do Pennsylvania, western Do South Dakota Texas, northern	Elevation of Judge Fee. Resignation of Judge Bard New position do do do Retirement of Judge Atwell	Do.! Oct. 20, 1954 Aug. 20, 1954 Feb. 10, 1954 Apr. 30, 1954 2 July 16, 1952 Feb. 10, 1954 Do.! Do.! Do.! Do.! Do.! Do.!
Wisconsin, eastern Judgeship in U. S. Customs Court: Customs Court	New position	Mar. 1, 1953

Date of approval of Public Law 294, 83d Cong., 2d sess.
 Nomination made Mar. 29, 1954, but not confirmed.

Is it not high time that the administration filled these judgeships, instead of shouting from the housetops that it needs no less a person than Chief Justice Warren to demonstrate the needs of the

court. Let the President and the administration act, and act quickly to fill these

vacancies.

Pope Pius XII's Peace Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following newspaper article which appeared in the Catholic Messenger on December 23, 1954:

FOUR CORNERSTONES OF POPE PIUS XII'S PEACE PROGRAM—SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, SPIRITUAL REFORM NECESSARY POLITICAL,

(By Donald McDonald)

If one had to select a single word to describe Pope Pius XII's approach to the problem of achieving world peace, the word would surely be "realistic." Throughout his 15 annual Christmas messages, from 1939 to 1953, the Pope has consistently attacked the roots of war. He has consistently recognized that war, in the sense of actual armed conflict, is but the result of earlier failures which might have been averted at some point in the events leading to the final outbreak of hostilities.

Because he has so consistently attacked the causes of war and has so unerringly put his finger on the real causes, Pius XII easily ranks as one of the most creative of modern intellectuals concerned with the construction of a peaceful world order.

More than emotional

The Pope's abhorrence of war is more than a sentimental feeling which protests against pain and suffering, although he has a genuine sympathy for suffering peoples through-out the world. Perhaps his most eloquent expression of this sympathy is to be found in his 1952 Christmas message when he painted the desolate word picture of millions of destitute, uprooted, and homeless peoples. But what the Pope is primarily concerned with is the injustice in the world which lies at the roots of war and war's aftermath.

Neither is the Pope's abhorrence of war limited to a consideration of the material weapons of warfare today, although here, too, he has by no means ignored the necessity of disarmament. In 1951, he said: "We, too-and more than anyone else-deplore the monstrous cruelty of modern weapons. deplore them and do not cease to pray that they may never be employed." In that same 1951 message, the Pope noted that he had "always desired and begged for simultaneous and reciprocal reduction of armaments."

But, he asked, in his 1951 message, "is it not, perhaps, a kind of practical materialism and superficial sentimentality to make the existence and threat of these (modern) weapons the sole and principal consideration in the quest of peace, while no attention is paid to the absence of that Christian order

which is the true guaranty of peace?"
There is nothing wrong, to be sure, with our instinctive shrinking from the awful destructiveness of modern war with its thermonuclear, bacteriological, and chemical weapons. But there is nothing constructive of world peace in such a shrinking, either. It is merely an animal reflex to pain, leaving the human mind and spirit disengaged from any realistic consideration of the causes of the war which would bring us such pain.

Four basic points

A first reading of the Holy Father's 15 Christmas messages, or even the key parts which we have published this week pages 17 to 24), would seem to indicate that if the Pope has developed a program or a set of principles for world peace it is a highly complex program with a myriad of ramifications and subtle distinctions.

A second, more analytical reading, reveals. however, that the Pope's peace program can be summarized under four general points, or conditions of world peace.

1. Social justice, on a national and international scale, based of necessity on a true notion of man and society.

2. Economic equity between the peoples of the world—"the abolition of glaring inequalities in living standards.'

3. Political and juridical reform of the nternational order to achieve genuine "international solidarity," the "indissoluble union of peoples," and to protect the common good from individual aggressors.

4. Spiritual reform, a return to a Christian order in which hate, cupidity, and overweening lust for prestige would be abolished.

There is also a fifth point in the papal peace program which I would call the "wider extension of the democratic form of govern-ment in the world." Although the Holy Father devoted his entire 1944 Christmas message to a consideration of democratic government and an affirmation of its value, and although I shall comment on those remarks later, I have left it out of the above list of the Pope's basic conditions for world peace because it does not have the categoric assent which the Pope has given the other four points.

Other addresses

It must be remarked here-before we consider the cornerstones of the Pope's peace program—that his Christmas messages do not exhaust his thinking on the problem of world peace.

During his pontificants, the Holy Father has delivered many other addresses on the conditions of world peace. For example, in the matter of political and juridical reform of international life, the Pontiff has spoken out 3 times in the last 3 years on the need for world law, political federation of nations

and on the relationship of church to state Within a world government which he envisages as necessary for world peace.

But all the elements necessary for a realistic pattern for world peace are to be found in the Christmas messages themselves. And, unless otherwise noted, I shall confine this

Commentary to those messages.

It is most important, I believe, that as we consider the four basic conditions of world peace-social, economic, political, and spiritual reform—we understand that these conditions are interactive, that all of them must be realized if there is to be any effective guaranty of peace. One, two, or three of these conditions are insufficient guaranties by themselves. Spiritual reform, for example, without the corresponding political and social expression of virtue, will be ineffective. Likewise, social or economic reform without the correct spiritual principles and cut off from spiritual inspiration based on the true notion of man, will tend to become-as the Pope has repeatedly warnedbasely materialistic, scientific, and exclusively technological.

Positive, negative points

In his insistence on social justice as a fundamental of world peace, Pius XII has employed two approaches, a negative and a positive approach.

Negatively, he has continually and consistently condemned social injustices which not only provide fertile ground for the seeds of war but which disfigure human beings Who have been created in the image of God.

Positively, the Holy Father has outlinedparticularly in his 1942 Christmas messagethe true nature of the human person and human society. This positive definition of the human person and society is vital in view of the fatal error which seems to be gaining wider acceptance each year—the error of conceiving social justice as a goal Which can be reached by exclusively scientific, technological, and completely impersonal organization of society. In his 1952 message, and again in 1953, the Pope warned of this depersonalization of society which can only end by robbing man of all that makes him a free and responsible person.

I. PURPOSE OF SOCIETY

To get the full force of the Pope's denunclation of social justice, it might be well first to consider his observations in 1942 on

genuine social order.

The origin and the primary scope of Social life," said the Pope, "is the conservation, development, and perfection of the human person, helping him to realize accurately the demands and values of religion and culture set by the Creator for every man

and for all mankind."

Here we see how social, juridical, economic, and spiritual order interact, why each is indispensable for all. The Pope remarks that in order for social life to "attain its scope, such as God willed it, it needs a Juridical order to support it from without to defend and protect it." This is what we to defend and protect it." This is what we commonly call in America, the citizen's Protection of the law; and, as we know only too well, in international relations, there is no comparable protection because there is no comparable international law. As Mundelein Seminary's Msgr. Harry Koenig, a close student of international affairs, has re-markd: "We have today only international anarchy."

Social-economic relation

Also, if human society is to be not only a living together in order but also a living together in tranquility, there must be eco-nomic equity—again we see how social and economic reform interact organically.

There can be no tranquility when there is economic injustice leading to agitation and bitter conflict. If there is to be pacification of the community, then positive law must see to it that the worker who is or will be the father of a family is not condemned to an economic dependence and slavery which is irreconcilable with his rights as a person.

In a society marked by genuine order and tranquility certain fundamental personal rights are protected and nourished including the right to develop one's corporal, intellectual, and moral life, the right to worship God in private and public, the right to marry and achieve the aim of married life, the right to work as the indispensable means toward the maintenance of family life, the right to the use of material goods.

Such a society will also be characterized by its defense of social unity and especially of the family, its recognition of the dignity and prerogative of labor, the rehabilitation of the juridical order which will give to man's inalienable rights juridical security, and the Christian concept of the state which recognizes that the state and its power are at the service of human society.

False social reform

How far men have departed from the true notion of human society the Holy Father demonstrates in his last two Christmas messages of 1952 and 1953. In 1952 he devoted almost the entire message to the depersonalizing forces at work both within nations and between nations. In 1953 he scored the fallacy of relying exclusively on technological progress while ignoring the human person in society.

However, as early as 1939, the Pope was speaking of the real needs and just demands of nations and peoples as well as ethical minorities.

In 1941 the Pope again refers to the rights of minority peoples who must not be made to suffer open or occult oppression of their cultural and linguistic characteristics or the limitation or abolition of their natural fertility.

But it is in his 1952 Christmas message that Pius XII delivers his most terrible indictment of gigantic social organizations which no longer view people as human persons but as unit-factors in life. Perhaps the most flagrant example of this inhumanism, cited by the Pope, is the practice by certain nations which set arbitrary immigration quotas and decide from the sole standpoint of prophetic mathematics how many people may enter a particular country, disre-garding the needs, indeed the rights, of those peoples living in overpopulated countries to have access to land in other countries.

II. ECONOMIC REFORM

Now, economic reform is closely linked, one could say it is organically linked to social reform. Social order and social peace is impossible where there is economic injustice, poverty, and utter destitution.

In virtually every Christmas message, the Pope alludes to the need for economic equity between all the peoples of the world. speaks in 1940 of the need for genuine Christian solidarity of a legal and economic character which not only underlines the economic aspect of world peace but furnishes a foreshadowing of ever more explicit de-mands by the Pope for legal or juridical guarantees of peace.

In 1942 he declared that a normal, natural foundation of life is the private ownership of property, if possible by all. And he com-ments in the same message that "it is only through an intelligent and generous sharing of resources between the strong and the weak (nations) that it will be possible to effect a universal pacification."

Cause of world tension

In 1948 the Pope listed, among the chief causes of world tension, the economic inequity for some peoples suffering from a comparative scantiness of national territory and the want of raw materials.

He asks a number of questions in 1948: Instead of shipping food to starving peoples, why not transport the starving peoples to land areas where they can grow their own food; and instead of "setting up barriers to prevent one another's access to raw materials. why not make their use and exchange free of all unnecessary restrictions?"

"Bread," said the Pope in his 1946 message. "bread in the literal sense of the word is needed by entire populations, who because of its lack are becoming weak, worn out, enervated, the prey of diseases and pains, and dangerously aroused by the dull goad of hopeless rancor and deep-seated social re-

"Nothing is so well suited to create the indispensable spiritual requirements of peace as help liberally given by State to State, by a people to a people, without regard to na-tional boundaries. * * *"

International Solidarity

Once again, we can see how intimately bound together are the reforms of social, economic, political, and spiritual life. There cannot be economic equality unless there is international "solidarity."

In his 1952 Christmas Message, the Pope said that "although even the most perfect realization of international solidarity would hardly bring about perfect equality among nations, still there is an urgent need that this solidarity be put into practice at least enough to change perceptibly the present situation. * *

"In other words, solidarity among nations demands the abolition of glaring inequalities in living standards. *

III. POLITICAL-JURIDICAL REFORM

We came, now, to the political-juridical reform which Pius XII sees as being essen-tial to the realization of a peaceful world

The two primary effects of a just international political and juridical order are (1) the securing of the social and economic rights referred to above; and (2) the establishment of genuine union of the peoples of the world, "the family of nations" within which armaments for international war will "progressively reduced" and ultimately abolished and effective santions can be taken against would-be aggressors.

In an evident reference to the failure of the League of Nations, the Pope, in his 1939 message, speaks of the need for reconstructing international institutions which will not repeat the defective functioning of similar previous projects. He called for the establishment of juridical institutions which will guarantee the faithful carrying out of treaty terms between nations.

In 1940, he speaks of the new order in Europe which will be marked by a firm determination to establish a * * * just national and international order and which will be organically stronger than any past order.

To smother aggression

In 1941, the Pope says means must be found which will be appropriate, honorable, and efficacious in order that the norm-pacts must be observed-will once again enjoy its vital and moral function in the juridical relations between states.

In 1943, he speaks of the new spirit of world union. And in 1944, he declares that the decisions already published by international commissions permit one to conclude that an essential point in any future international arrangement would be the forma-tion of an organ for the maintenance of peace, of an organ invested by common consent with supreme power to whose office it would also pertain to smother in its germinal state any threat of isolated or collective aggression.

The Pope added, in 1944, that no one could hall—the above—development with greater joy than he who had long upheld the principle that the idea of war as an apt and proportionate means of solving international conflicts is now out of date.

No absolute sovereignty

In 1948, the Pontiff declared that a convinced Christian cannot confine himself within an easy and egotistical isolationism, when he witnesses the needs and the misery of his brothers. * * *

Then, in that same Christmas message, Pius XII delivered one of his most forthright affirmations of the need for genuine international union:

"The Catholic doctrine on the state and civil society has always been based on the principle that, in keeping with the will of God, the nations form together a community with a common aim and common duties. Even when the proclamation of this principle and its practical consequences gave rise to violent reactions, the church denied her assent to the erroneous concept of an absolutely autonomous sovereignty divested of all social obligations."

The obligation to defend another nation unjustly attacked is also affirmed in 1948: "All the more does the solidarity of the family of nations," said the Pope, "forbid others to behave as mere spectators in an attitude of apathetic neutrality."

For one thing, he goes on, such neutralism only encourages "authors and fomenters of aggression. * * " And: "Nations as a whole * * * have a duty not to abandon a nation that is attacked."

At this point we can see how remote from the Pope's thinking is the thought of some of our most articulate citizens in the United States who preach in season and out that the United States has no real obligation to defend other nations; that our immigration quotas are our own business; that our national sovereignty is an absolute; and that world law and world organization are but a snare and a delusion of the "one-worlders."

Indissoluble world union

Again, in 1950, Pope Pius XII emphasizes the need for a 'close union of all peoples who are masters of their own destiny * * *" as the "sole means for the defense of peace and the best guaranty of its reestablishment."

In the following year the Pope returns to his demand for a union of all peoples, this time in even more explicit language:

"The common good, the essential purpose of every state, cannot be attained or even imagined without this intrinsic relation of the states to the human race as a whole. Under this aspect the indissoluble union of states is demanded by nature. It is a fact which is imposed upon them. And in consent to it, although sometimes hesitantly, they answer the voice of Nature. This natural union they strive to embody in an external framework, an organization."

It should be noted at this point that earlier in the year of 1951—April 1951, to be exact—the Pope had delivered his historic address to the World Movement for Federal Government in which he had told the world federalist delegates meeting in Rome that "nothing was more in conformity with the traditional teaching of the church (than) an effective political organization of the world."

In his 1953 Christmas message, the Pope did not, of course, abandon any previous affirmations of the need for world federation of the nations. Indeed, on December 6 of that year, he had spoken out again on the need for world government.

But at Christmas, the Holy Father concentrated his attention on the need for Europe itself to form a "continental union of its peoples," noting that a "strong encouragement to such a union is the manifest failure of the contrary policy" of divided nationalisms and conflicting, patchwork, economic, and social relations between the European peoples.

Peace value of democracy

A word here about the Pontiff's monumental 1944 Christmas message in which he extolled the political and social virtues of genuinely democratic government wherein the citizens would have a truly effective voice in their government and by which they could control the actions of public authorities who might otherwise drag them into the "vortex of a disastrous war."

The Holy Father did not single out the democratic form of government as the only legitimate type of government, or as the one type which could secure the church's exclusive encouragement.

But he noted that, given the historical circumstances of the age, in which citizens are asked to make greater and greater sacrifices and in which the machinery of the state and government continues to grow more and more complex, "vast and decisive"—given such conditions, said the Pope, "the democratic form of government appears to many as a postulate of nature imposed by reason itself." It is significant, I believe, that the Pope does not disassociate himself from this viewpoint of democracy.

But even in this 1944 message devoted to a discussion of the democratic form of government and the contribution it can make to world peace, the Pope returns to his insistence on the need for a world juridical order in the "society of states" by which "chastisement (can be) inflicted on the aggressor * * * and so that war will always be subject to the stigma of proscription, always under surveillance, and liable to preventive measures. * * "

IV. SPIRITUAL REFORM

If we turn now to the fourth reform which Pope Plus XII considers a fundamental condition of world peace, spiritual reform, we note that the Pope, beginning in his 1939 Christmas message, adverts to this reform year after year.

And the Pontiff's advertence to spiritual reform is in no sense to be confused with a merely vague, hopeful wish that men will be better. On the contrary, he insists that moral virtue and spiritual vitality play an integral, constructive, and inspirational part in the establishment of world order and peace.

We have already seen, I believe, how futile it would be to hope for some of the indispensable deep-seated social reforms from a society of nations bereft of even the elemental awareness of the nature of man as a creature of God.

Not idle pietism

In his 1945 Christmas message, the Pope takes note of those who claim it is idealistic or pietistic to demand a return to the "order fixed by God * * * to a real Christianity within the state and among states." It is these, said the Pope, who are unrealistic.

"Let it not be said that this (return to the Christian order) is not realism in politics. Experience should have taught all that the policy guided by eternal truths and the laws of God is the most real and tangible of policies. Realistic politicians who think otherwise pile up only ruins. * *"

In his 1951 Christmas message, the Pope speaks of the spiritual anemia of the modern world and shows how it is those who are so afflicted in the spirit who fail to penetrate to the real heart of the causes of war and international misery. "A friend of peace," says the Pontiff, such a person "will always arrive too late to save it."

A reading of the 1942 Christmas message immediately makes clear how vital spiritual reform is in the establishment of a true social order geared to the good of each citizen viewed in his relationship to God as his origin and destiny. It is impossible to imagine how any genuine social order can be attained or any society long endure which progressively and practically denies the im-

mortal nature and consequent dignity of its citizens.

It is in his 1950 message that the Holy Father, who perhaps more than any other living man has seen more deeply into the sufferings of world peoples and who has recognized more clearly than any of his contemporaries the magnitude of the task of constructing a peaceful world order—it was in that message that he turned most poignantly to God for help: "The undertaking," he said, "is so great and merely human means so ineffective, that we turn our gaze to heaven and raise our hands in supplication to Him, who from the glory of the divinity came down to our level and became 'one of us.'"

What can we do?

At this point, American Catholics, who are fully aware of and assent to the cornerstone principles of Pope Pius XII's peace program, might well ask, with typically brisk American efficiency-mindedness: "Well, what can we do about it? The holy father's peace program makes sense. It is realistic. It is Christian. But what can we do to bring it closer to realization in the world?"

Well, I think we can do a great deal.

In the first place, American Catholics are of all the people in the world—most advantageously situated to do something big and constructive for world peace.

As Americans we are citizens of the most favored Nation on earth; most favored from the standpoint of civil liberty, personal freedom, natural resources and, partly because of our geographical location, we are relatively unhampered by all the traditional, petty, but deep-rooted, hates and fears and suspicions which make clear, objective thinking so difficult in Europe and other parts of the world.

Our Catholic leadership

As Catholics, we have had the brilliant intellectual and Christian leadership of our holy father. We have, also, the Catholic Association for International Peace, which is a member agency of the social action department of the American Catholic Bishops' National Catholic Welfare Conference.

In addition, we have native scholars of international political thought, including such luminaries as Jacques Maritain, Father E. A. Conway, S. J., Monsignor Koenig (referred to above), Msgr. George Higgins. Father William Lynch, S. J., editor of Thought, Bishop John J. Wright of Worcester; and others. What this means is that, as Catholics, we have had sufficient intellectual leadership for the formation of a sound public opinion on international relations in general and the problem of achieving world peace in particular.

This, then, is the first thing I believe we can do. We can develop a public opinion on world peace which will be vital, dynamic, constructive, rational; a public opinion which will be cleansed of all stains of bigotry, prejudice, emotionalism and that ultranationalism, which is contemptuous and callous concerning the common good of all the family of nations.

Those who oppose

In the formation of a strong public opinion for the Christian principles of world peace, it is inevitable that we shall collide with bitter opponents of those principles. people who preach the un-Christian and discredited doctrine of isolationism; people who say that all American aid to other nations is money down a rathole; people who, without regard to this country's ability to absorb refugees, would reduce the flow of immigrants to a trickle; people who want to sell American products abroad at handsome profits but who want high tariff walls at home to discourage even the modest profits which other nations must have in order to survive; people who form well-financed, highly

ticulate national committees whose announced purpose is to fight any form of world federalism; people who claim what the Holy Father has pointed out over and over cannot be claimed—absolute national sovereignty in the universal community of nations.

It seems to me that, given the above situation, it is necessary to combat these destructive counteropinions. And so, there is a negative aspect in what we can do about world peace. While we work, positively, to form a constructive public opinion on the problems of peace, we must also—insofar as it lies within our power—neutralize and reduce the destructive forces at work.

Sadly, and tragically, some of these very destructive forces are to be found in our own midst—we have a few strident Catholic editors and writers and their letter-writing counterparts who echo the leaders of un-Christian isolationism in this country despite the contrary thought of the Pope himself. Fortunately, these Catholics are few; unfortunately, they are noisy and seem to possess an unlimited ability to confuse sincere Catholics who are concerned about the problems of world peace and are looking for guidance.

Force of opinion

I believe we should not underestimate the effectiveness of public opinion in this country. There is a feeling among some that public opinion is, after all, only a weak, abstract sort of thing which doesn't really count in the area where decisions are made

and things happen politically.

This is perhaps not the place to develop a discussion of public cpinion, and space does not permit full development of that subject. But one illustration may prove the Power of public opinion. It is this: There is in the present Congress an estimated 25 to 30 percent of our Representatives and Senators who agree that some kind of limited world federal government—along the lines laid down by Plus XII—is absolutely essential if we are to have world order and world peace.

Yet these Congressmen do not voice their world federalist opinions in public. Why? Because they are afraid of the political consequences of such opinions. They are afraid they will be attacked by their political enemies and defeated when they seek relection. In a word, they are afraid to say publicly what they say privately about the need for world federalism because they fear there is not a sufficient public opinion in favor of federalism, that there is not enough popular foundation to support them if they should publicly express what their informed conscience tells them should be expressed.

Nor is this public silence the only consequence of a weak and misdirected public opinion. The percentage of our Congressmen who would begin to work toward federation of the nations would undoubtedly increase as public opinion in favor of federalism became more widespread. For withal their public silence, the 25 to 30 percent of our representatives who affirm the need for world law and government do, after all, constitute the courageous minority, the small group which dares to hold, even privately, opinions and convictions which are subject to such violent and savage attack by the isolationists and demagogs in the Nation.

Specific peace groups

A final suggestion: In addition to the formation of a sensitively Christian public opinion on world order and world peace, we can, and we should, work with all the specific organizations and committees which are striving to accomplish all the social, political, economic, and juridical imperatives urged by our Holy Father.

For example, there are civic and political organizations seeking to reduce the trade

barriers between our Nation and other nations who have goods to sell us. There are groups seeking to make the United Nations a juridical organization with sufficient power to smother, as Plus XII said, the threats of war and aggression in their germinal state. There are other groups which are seeking to adjust United States McCarran-Walter immigration law to make it more equitable, thus more Christian.

Three steps

In summary, then, we can (1) learn, through study, what constitutes the Christian principles of world peace; (2) help form a sound public opinion on world peace which will reflect those Christian principles; and (3) take an active interest in at least some of the specific city, State, regional, national, and international organizations which are trying to realize those Christian principles in practice.

As a help to accomplishing the first of the above three steps, the Catholic Messenger has published pertinent sections from all of the Pope's annual Christmas messages. They are complete this week in one section of the newspaper for handy and, we hope, continuing reference.

continuing reference.

Our Holy Father has spent himself to the point of exhaustion in his ceaseless efforts for world peace. It is long past time that we begin matching at least a fraction of his sacrifices.

Address by Hon. Thomas E. Martin, of Iowa, Before Ladies Auxiliary to Veterans of Foreign Wars

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, on January 26 last my colleague from Iowa [Mr. Martin] delivered a keynote address at the 1955 National Conference of the Ladies Auxiliary to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, in Washington, D. C. The address dealt, among other things, with the subject of national defense. I ask unanimous consent that the address delivered by my colleague be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KEYNOTE ADDRESS BY SENATOR THOMAS E. MARTIN, OF IOWA, AT THE 1955 NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE LADIES AUXILIARY TO THE VETERANS OF FOREIGN WARS AT THE HOTEL STATLER, WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 26, 1955.

It is a pleasure to meet with this distinguished group again. With the leaders you have selected and the program they have arranged I'm certain your stay in Washington will meet your every expectation. I know from past experience that your meetings are successful and worthwhile. Your kind invitation to be a part of the panel last year marked one of the high spots of a busy and eventful year for me. I sincerely hope that in the coming years in the Senate I can continue to merit your kind consideration and support.

As members of the Auxiliary to the Veterans of Foreign Wars, you fully realize that these times fill a precarious page of our history. During the lifetime of some of us we've seen our youth march off to three

wars. Billions of dollars and thousands of lives have been sacrificed in a battle that is not yet wholly won. Last year the guns of war were silent in the world for the first time in many years. Today, we hear the ominous rumblings of conflict that at any minute may blaze into the red hot fury of active fighting. Formosa and its outlying islands have become a point of severe tension. Just 2 days ago President Eisenhower sent to us in the Congress a message that drew the line of no return in the Pacific. The guns of war are aimed and loaded on several fronts. Whether we like it or not—whether we would change it or not—these are the conditions in the world today. To ignore them could be fatal.

Because of these world tensions the problem of our military manpower assumes an increasingly important role. I have a full awareness of the problem. As some of you know I had the privilege of serving in the Regular Army on the Mexican border and in World War I. I taught military science at the University of Iowa during the 1920's when it was not popular to believe that we should be prepared. Later, I was on the Armed Services Committee in the House of Representatives through the bitter years of the second and worst world war. These are experiences you don't easily forget.

Because of this background I take a special interest in the new military manpower program advanced by President Eisenhower. Certainly it is one of the most important messages to be sent to Congress from the White House. It attacks a difficult problem. It offers a constructive, affirmative answer. It is a characteristic Eisenhower message.

Before we discuss the important portions of this military suggestion might I take a moment to point up the thorny dilemma that confronts us. As a country we have to walk a delicate tight rope in constructing a fense programs. Russia and her satellites have a total population that exceeds a bil-We have 160 million. lion persons. have an estimated 4 million men in the their ground forces alone. Today, we have less than a million and a half. The training and maintenance of an active army is costly, almost beyond comprehension. It would be impossible for us to maintain a sufficiently strong standing armed force to be ever ready to oppose any belligerent move by these hordes of communism. To try to match, soldier for soldier, their active Army would be to threaten our own economy. Stated blunt-ly, we can't afford it. We must be constantly alert not to spend ourselves into economic exhaustion. From the Communist point of view a devastated American economy is as important as a crushing American defeat on the battlefield. In the language of my grandchildren, we would be cutting off our noses to spite our faces.

But this undeniable fact remains—we must be prepared. The Reds understand nothing but force. In my first week at the little country school in Iowa where I started my schooling I learned the characteristics of a bully. I learned that he will listen to reason, that he will talk things over—but only if he believes that you have the force to back up your demands. The lesson I learned on the dirt schoolyard in Iowa is equally valuable when applied to world conditions today. When we negotiate with the Reds we must do so from force, not weakness. We must offer no invitation to disaster.

A quick glance at history shows that we have never been prepared when war sought us out. That is a tragic indictment. But it is an accurate one. Think back to the first few months in 1942. Remember the tragedies of Bataan and the Rock. Hark back to July and August and September in 1950. Think of the sorry spectacle of American boys retreating down the Korean peninsula. Remember the stories we heard of our fighting men—grabbing, clawing, striving to hold on—paying in blood and tears the price

of inadequate equipment. This is what happened. This is what must not happen again. A 20th century war doesn't give you time to leisurely build up your fighting force. The devastation of war is upon you with the first blast of the first atomic bomb. The moment we forget that we have, by our omission, passed the death sentence on thousands of our sons. Like the bloodspots in Macbeth. it will come back to haunt us.

In the face of this problem of great magnitude President Eisenhower has offered a plan. It is a good plan. It offers, first, a well-trained, active Armed Force of sufficient proportions to act as the shock absorber for the first attack if it comes. It protects us to the maximum extent under the dictates

of economic necessity.

Secondly, the Presidential plan contemplates a reserve force sufficiently trained and organized so that it forms an alert backfield for the front line of the standing Armed Forces. This is a vital part of the new program. Its importance cannot be overstressed.

Thirdly, the proposal provides for an unorganized reserve pool that brings with it a fundamental training available for quick mobilization.

My friends, an adequate reserve force is not a luxury that we may forego if we wish. It is as essential to our preparedness as is the whole program to our future as a Nation. We must have a neffective National Guard: we must have a competent, modern Army, Air Force, and Navy; we must have an organized group of trained reserves for all branches of the Armed Forces-for the Air Force and Navy as well as the Army. In the Air Force the great need is for a trained reserve of ground force personnel. There must be no time lag between scientific development and Reserve training must military urage. modernized to keep pace with the giant

strides made by industry and science.

We must train ourselves to be trained.

We have no alternative other than

My friends, this is a program that requires participation and support of all of us. Make no mistake, this is not the easy way out. To ignore the real danger would be far easter. It would also be far more costly in the end. So many times I have visitors who come to Washington and say I have come to see how the Government works. I am always glad to see them, but somehow, I feel they should realize that I am only an elected official and that these people from Iowa-like you people out there-are the government. It is a two-way street. You have a responsibility, just as I have. This new program offers a challenge to you. It must have your active support.

Unless the reserve program is adopted in substantially the same form it was presented to Congress it will be the first real signal for our adversaries. Failure to adopt an adequate reserve program will be notice that we are allowing our waistlines to expand into complacency. It will be more than a sign that we will have no hard hitting reserve force available should an emergency arise. It will be more than a statement that we will not prepare ourselves. It will be the fivestar announcement that the proud American eagle is ready to assume the role of the sparrow.

My friends, even this morning we are engaged in battle. This is not the simple alignment of armies—it is a conflict of concepts-of ideologies. As Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway so accurately portrayed it: "The real issue is whether the rule of men who shoot their prisoners, enslave their citizens and deride the dignity of men shall displace the rule of those to whom the individual and his individual rights are sacred; whether we are to survive with God's hands to guide us and lead us, or to perish in the dead existence of a godless world."

It is wishful thinking for us to contemplate living today in a quiet world where quiet decisions are made. These times de-mand big decisions from big people. That is our role. We must accept it.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD - APPENDIX

Right-to-Work Laws

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two very significant articles from the February issue of the American Federationist on so-called right-to-work laws. One is by Dave Beck, president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, and the other by the Reverend Walter G. Muelder, dean of the school of theology of Boston University, in Boston, Mass.

These articles serve to show the hypocrisy and perils of the misnamed right-to-work statutes, one of which already has been partially declared to be unconstitutional by the courts of my State of Oregon.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RIGHT TO EXPLOIT

(By Dave Beck, president, International Brotherhood of Teamsters)

Seventeen States have outlawed union security through so-called right to work laws. Hiding behind a deceitful slogan, these laws deprive organized labor of one of its fundamental means of self-protection, the union shop.

State right-to-work laws constitute a menace to the trade-union movement. By seeking to weaken and undermine the stability of trade unions, they threaten the wages and working conditions of all union members. They deny to workers the right to protect their own organizations through the establishment of membership requirements. By establishing a compulsory nonunion open shop, they abridge the rights of workers to contract freely with their own employers for union-security clauses.

State right-to-work laws should be more honestly labeled as antiunion laws which turn back the clock of labor relations to the dark ages.

Let us examine this enticing and misleading phrase, the right to work. Every trade unionist believes in the democratic right to gainful socially necessary employment for all our citizens. In this sense, then, the only threat to the right to work of American working men and women is the haunting specter of mass unemployment. That is why the American labor movement consistently supports economic and social measures and policies to achieve full employment.

If business groups and others who support right-to-work laws mean what they say, why do they oppose full employment measures and the guaranteed annual wage? Why do they speak of "widening job opportuninonunion members, when unemployment actually has been increasing? Why do they speak of the untrammeled right to work, when employers set age limits on hiring—often as low as 35 and 40—and many other restrictions? Why do they oppose union proposals to ban discrimination in

hiring on account of race, religion and sex? The so-called right to work laws are not, as one might think, bills to guarantee every worker a job. Can any worker, union or not, walk into a plant or factory, state his right to work and declare himself on the payroll? What rights does a State right-to-work law give an unemployed worker?

The right to work which employers have so often been eager to defend for their nonunion employees has never in fact existed. Even where union security clauses are prohibited, the nonunion employee's right to work for an employer is not enhanced one bit. His hire and tenure still remain a matter of the employer's choice and control.

As Samuel Gompers pointed out 50 years ago in this magazine (February 1905, p.

"A man who must sell his labor upon such conditions as his employer may determine cannot by any form be regarded as either free or enjoying liberty." Every American citizen, under the Consti-

tution of these United States, has the right to work if the work is available and chooses to take it, and no State law is needed to guarantee a constitutional right. The real guardian of the worker's right to work is his own trade union and his fellow unionists throughout the country.

Those opposed to union security fundamentally have not accepted collective bargaining as a desirable part of the democratic process. They have not accepted the fact that strong unions are good, desirable and constructive forces in our society. They overlook or ignore the fact that union security provides stability to labor relations—which was the primary objective of Congress in enacting the Wagner and Taft-Hartley Acts.

Union security—the union shop—is a tangible symbol that management accepts the The union shop allows the employer full freedom to hire whom he will, but new employees who are not members of the union must join within a specified period—nor-mally, thirty days. Countless studies of industrial relations have shown that such acceptance is one of the causes of industrial peace under collective bargaining.1

Those who oppose any form of union se-curity do so very often in the name of democracy. It is undemocratic, they say, to require anyone to join a union. This sounds good-but it simply does not make sense.

Majority rule is in the American democratic tradition. It has made America strong and progressive. The union shop is an extension of this American precept of democracy. Our nation works for the com-mon good of all. Since the union also works for the common good of all within a plant, it is only fair that all should become

Without security of the union, individual security always is threatened. Only a strong union can adequately protect its members, and only a strong union which has the back-ing of all employes in the unit can bargain effectively for better wages and better working conditions.

American workers want and like the union shop because it is democratic majority rule in practice. In over 46,000 NLRB-conducted elections on union shop authorization, the union shop was authorized in 97.1 per cent of the cases, and 91.4 per cent of the voters voted in favor of the union shop. These polls clearly indicate how strongly workers favor the union shop.

State right-to-work laws impose greater restrictions on the activities of labor unions than our national labor policy. This prece-

National Planning Association, "Causes of Industrial Peace Under Collective Bargaining," Fundamentals of Labor Peace (1953).

dence of restrictive State law over a Federal act has no parallel in any other field.

Usually, the States may not pass laws which conflict with any Federal law regulating interstate commerce. In brief, the Federal power to regulate commerce and thereby labor relations affecting commerce is supreme, that is, paramount to that of the States

But the Taft-Hartley Act, in section 14 (b), not only permits but encourages States to destroy union security by the enactment of right-to-work laws—even though union shops are permitted under another section of Taft-Hartley (sec. 8 (a) (3)). Section 14 (b) not only runs counter to the entire concept of a national labor relations policy but it shows that the over-all design of Taft-Hartley was to saddle unions with the most restrictive union security provision that could be found, to the detriment of the welfare of wage earners and of the public interest.

The possibility of 48 separate and conflicting State laws on union security, resulting from section 14 (b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, creates serious practical difficulties in collective bargaining. Undoubtedly, this is what advocates of antiunion right-to-work laws desire.

Agreements in the trucking industry are often negotiated on a multi-State or regional basis, with one master agreement regulating the rates of pay, rules, and working conditions of employees in many States. The duties of many employees require the constant crossing of State lines. Under the present law the parties to the contract cannot write a single clause establishing the union security arrangements to cover all workers in these different States.

Many individual trucking firms operate across State lines. Because the permissible union-security arrangements vary from State to State, a firm dealing with the same union representing workers doing the same work negotiates a union-security provision with the union in one State and in the other State is prohibited from doing so. Yet it is generally recognized that good personnel practice requires uniformity in matters of labor relations.

Former Gov. Alf M. Landon emphasized this objection, among others, when he urged defeat of a right-to-work proposal in Kansas:

"I am of the opinion that legislation of this type might be something of a barrier to large industries considering Kansas for branch plants. Many corporations desire to settle their labor problems with a well-organized stable union. And most of them desire to do it on a nationwide basis where the negotiations can all be conducted at one time and place. The proposed 'right to Work' bill would, of course, bar that where the plants are located in Kansas."

Unlike the Taft-Hartley Act, the Railway Labor Act permits union-security agreements in the railroad and airline industries regardless of state laws to the contrary. If the result is desirable in the railroad industry, surely it is equally appropriate for the trucking industry and for other industries affecting interstate commerce.

The Reverend William J. Kelley, of Catholic University, Washington, D. C., who for more than 10 years was chairman of the New York State Labor Relations Board, states that union-security provisions "are proper moral matter for collective bargaining contracts"; that the objectives of "right to work" legislation "conflict with social morality"; and that "right to work' laws take away from man a necessary means to achieve and protect his God-given right of association."

Archbishop Rummel, of New Orleans, has described the Louisiana "right to work" statute as follows:

"It is insincere because while it pretends to guarantee the right to work, it actually frustrates that right, in effect exposing labor to the loss of security, a decent standard of living and humane working conditions. It makes a mockery of the constitutional right to organize for the common good and welfare. It invites continuing and recurring social strife and discontent. In a word, it is unfair and unsocial class legislation contrary to the common good."

Rabbi Israel Goldstein, president of the American Jewish Congress, has condemned such laws because they seek the destruction of the trade union movement, the abrogation of democratic rights which it has taken decades to secure and the undermining of one of the strongest pillars of American democracy. They do so by outlawing union-security arrangements which enable trade unions to enlist the widest moral and financial support for their policies, thus increasing their collective bargaining strength.

RIGHT TO WORK LAWS VICTIMIZE THE WORKER (By Rev. Dr. Walter G. Muelder, dean and professor of social ethics, School of Theology, Boston University)

The direct appeal to a right to work arouses a spontaneously warm response in the mind and heart of any sensitive person. In American society work has a high value. It represents productivity and self-respect. A person who is willing to work thereby signifies his sense of responsibility. An unemployed person who wants to work is well thought of and commands sympathy. Americans dislike unnecessary dependence on government. At a time when a few people have learned how to exploit the welfare of government, the demand for an individual opportunity to work seems to express personal integrity.

But for these very reasons it is important to give a realistic analysis of those legislative attempts under the slogan of "the right to work." For the slogan seems to assume that an obvious affirmative response to the right to work can be made and that the freedom of opportunity to work without union membership is a simple and self-evident moral fact. We shall see that the right to work is not self-evident.

In modern industrial society, personal and group relationships are highly complex. A long history lies behind the present structure of relative justice in industry. Each job relationship, whether of management or of workers, is surrounded by a firmament of understandings, social policies, and legal enactments which defy self-evident slogans.

The significant peace of our present industrial society has been made possible by organizational and institutional agreements entered into through collective bargaining. Tens of thousands of these agreements are involved in the warp and woof of the employment situation. Work is not individualistic; it is a network of conditions, responsibilities, and opportunities.

A recent writer has wisely pointed out that the relative justice of labor-management relations today is the product of understandings between two organized groups, industrial management and organized labor, in which both coexist and in which each retains institutional sovereignty, working together in reasonable harmony and in a climate of mutual respect and confidence

mutual respect and confidence.

Industrial peace and labor-management

Industrial peace and labor-management relations cannot be taken for granted. They must be positively striven for. They can be easily undermined where either party violates the assumptions on which the industrial peace exists. We must keep these factors in mind when we reflect on the efforts in numerous States to undermine through right-to-work legislation the basic security of organized labor. In the discussion which follows we will consider first the general

problem of rights and then relate it to this legislative situation.

All moral rights root in the worth of persons in community. This means that rights are claimed by persons in their relations to other persons. Both the principle of individual worth and the principle of social responsibility must be recognized. All persons in the community make claims against all other persons. No one right or claim is unconditional, but must prove itself in the light of all other claims.

In the last analysis, the standard of measuring the rights of man is the kind of person we ought to develop in society. The kinds of persons we need and can approve of in a democratic society are not the kinds that look out only for themselves, but who are responsible members of the community.

In the United States of America the principle of personal worth is recognized in many constitutional provisions and legal statutes. Among these an important milestone was section VI of the Clayton Act of 1914, which begins with these words:

"That the labor of a human being is not a commodity or article of commerce."

It has been one of the great contributions of organized labor to give effective implementation to this idea. It is not worthy of mankind that any individual be treated merely like a commodity in a free market.

Another milestone was the statement of national policy embodied in the Wagner Act of 1935 as follows:

"It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to (encourage) the practice and procedure of collective bargaining and (to protect) the exercise of workers of full freedom of association, self-organization, and designation of representatives of their own choosing, for the purpose of negotiating the terms and conditions of their employment or other mutual aid or protection."

This national policy of the United States expresses the truth that respect for worker personality is to be protected by and in appropriate and effective associations.

The previous history of labor-management relations had clearly demonstrated that the "right to work" as a moral demand could not be effectively implemented on an individualistic basis but needed both organized labor and the legalized policy of the Federal Government to be made effective.

What is a right? A right is the moral claim the person on the community for the satisfaction of needs which are indispensable for his fulfillment as a person. There are many rights which the community is not to fulfill. For example, in countries like India and China today the community is not able to fulfill the basic claim for enough food to prevent starvation for millions of people. The general moral claim persists as a mandate to the community to create the social conditions in which these basic needs can be satisfied. The claim and the responsibility are two sides of the same moral coin. The general moral claim does not produce the food. To produce enough food for all, many conditions of agricultural and industrial life must be fulfilled. It is a responsible, complex, and cooperative assignment. Likewise, the general "right to work" does not produce jobs nor the conditions of just and decent employment. It does not produce a specific claim to a specific job.

A legal right exists when moral rights have been defined and written into law and the appropriate institutional responsibilities have likewise been specified in law with appropriate sanctions. Legal claims do not exist in the abstract; they are part and parcel of developing social policy. They rest on moral claims, but they are not to be confused with general moral ideals. Legal rights define policies and practices in concrete historic situations. When a legal right has been established, a corresponding legal satisfaction enforceable in the courts has

also been established. Workers know these things because of legislation like the Wagner

Act and the Taft-Hartley law.

Is there a right to work? Work does not confront the average person so much as a right as it does as a necessity. Most of us must work, or else. When we are out of work we need to get a job, or else. The unem-ployed person has a general moral claim on the community for an opportunity to satisfy his need for a job.

This claim has been put in words by the National Council of Churches:

Every able-bodied adult has an obligation and the right to an opportunity to serve the community through work. He should take responsibility for supporting himself and his family."

In sum, no one gains in the long run and everyone loses. Democracy suffers from the

anarchy of union insecurity.

It is a most irresponsible social policy to destroy the integrity of labor unions under the guise of the so-called right to work. individual worker has no effective legal right to work under conditions worthy of human dignity where strong unions have been eliminated. Since collective bargaining is under present circumstances a proved condition of stable industrial relations, a worker has a moral obligation to accept his share of responsibility through membership in organized labor.

But what of the large portion of the labor force who do not belong to organized labor? Undoubtedly many of the benefits they experience are byproducts of the historical victories of the trade unions. They owe gratitude and support to the trade unions. They may not be in a poistion to join a bona fide trade union, but they ought to seek the extension of collective bargaining so as to expand the area of truly responsible industrial relations.

The right to work laws are a virtual conspiracy of the crafty, the ignorant, or the misguided to subvert industrial peace, exploit men's need to work and deluge the community with industrial irresponsibilities. Right to work laws do not create jobs; they only victimize the worker and make his organization ineffective.

Address by Douglas W. Hartman Before Rotary Club of Richmond, Va., on January 25, 1955

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, about 21/2 years ago a distinguished Wisconsinite was asked to become the head of an operation in New York City designed to register the holdings of German dollar bonds and to act on the validation of those legitimately held. His name is Douglas W. Hartman. He delivered an address before the Rotary Club of Richmond, Va., on January 25, 1955. Because of its illuminating character, I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

ADDRESS BY DOUGLAS W. HARTMAN BEFORE A LUNCHEON MEETING OF THE ROTARY CLUB OF RICHMOND, VA., ON JANUARY 25, 1955

Mr. President, members of Richmond Rotary, and friends, about 21/2 years ago I was asked if I would be interested in heading up an operation in New York City designed to register the holdings of German dollar bonds and to validate those legitimately held. I then learned that vast quantities of these bonds which had been sold in the United States during the 1920's had been repurchased by the German issuers for retirement purposes, but had never been canceled. These bonds had been stacked up in the vaults of the Reichsbank in Berlin, and remained there until the Russians overran the city in 1945. Many of you will remember the Dawes loan of 1925 and the Young loan Besides these many German state and municipal as well as corporate bondssuch as North German Lloyd, Hamburg America Line, German General Electric, Siemens & Halske, Vereinigte Stahlwerke, All of these issues are among the 92 our board must examine and either validate or invalidate.

It is estimated that about \$350,000,000 principal amount of these bonds in the Berlin banks fell into Russian hands at that time.

When the allied negotiators met with the Germans in London in 1952 to work out settlement agreements on Germany's prewar and postwar debts they realized that it be an utter impossibility to expect the German nation to make good all the prewar and postwar claims against it, to say nothing of any reparation for war damage, and still remain solvent. One of the main objectives of the conference was to put Germany back on a stable economic basis so that it could resume its place among Western nations and serve as bulwark against communism.

The allied negotiators also recognized that Germany's prewar debt was almost entirely a private debt and that the bankers of the world and private investors in German bonds would never again extend credits to German corporations or German governmental agencies if these old debts were not substantially honored.

The German negotiators agreed that these private debts should be honored by issuing new bonds with new maturity dates in the same principal dollar amount as the old ones. Interest rates on the new bonds, it was agreed, could be somewhat reduced and accrued unpaid interest was to be partially covered by 3 percent funding bonds.

When these understandings were reached the nations recognized that something would have to be done about all of the retired bonds which had fallen into Russian hands. machinery was set up to block exchange or payment of these looted bonds, all of them would certainly be presented for second payment and the Communists would be enriched by as much as half billion dollars. a law was drafted requiring the registration and validation of German foreign currency bonds before they were eligible for exchange or payment under the terms of the debt settlement agreement. This law was adopted by the German Bundestag in August 1952 and is the basic instrument under which the Validation Board in New York functions. A treaty, specifying that dollar bonds not validated, should be unenforceable, and recognizing the agreements, was ratified by the United States Senate on July 13, 1953.

The German member of the Board, Dr. Walther Reusch arrived in the United States late in April. We met at the Department of State on April 28, and started at once to lay our organizational plans.

Public notices appeared in the principal newspapers and financial magazines in the United States in August, requesting all holders of German dollar bonds to register

them with the Board in New York. Registration started on September end of 1954 \$130,626,200 principal amount been registered with the Board. Of this \$116,923,100 had been validated. Oyer \$400,000 worth of these were registered from Virginia.

After 16 months of registration, the Validation Board and the Finance Ministry in Germany have accounted for the existence and location of approximately \$200 million principal amount of these bonds in legitimate possession. We estimate that there are in legitimate possession approximately \$227 millions worth of these bonds. Since we know that the loss through the Berlin banks was approximately \$350 million, the estimate of the amount in legitimate possession approximately \$227 million and only \$200 million have been registered or accounted for it is certain that few of the bad bonds have come out of hiding.

We feel fully confident that less than \$1 million of the bad bonds have been registered with us. We have not as of this date ordered an invalidation of any bonds, but such action will probably be taken at a very

early date.

Now, after working closely with the 20 or more German men and women on our Board for nearly 2 years; having had very much contact with the German diplomatic representatives in Washington, D. C. and the Consulate General in New York; having met many of the principal officials of the Finance Ministry, and having spent almost a month in Germany where I visited many of the banks who act as examining agencies for us, where I met the directors of these institutions, I feel that I have had perhaps as close and as important a contact with these people as very few others in the United States have had, and I have made some observations which I think may be of interest at this time when so many of us are wondering whether we are making a mistake in rearming Germany.

There are those among us who fear that in rearming the German nation, we are again loosing a giant who will turn against Such fears are thoroughly understandable, for have we not twice during the lives of most of us here gone to war to stop aggression from that nation? But when we try to find in the character of the individual German something that sets him apart from us and indicates why we have been at war, we come face to face with an enigma. These people we find are in all respects, except their language, like us, and a great many of them speak English fluently. After having worked day after day for nearly 2 years with this group of people who went through the whole Nazi experience, who survived the terrific bombings of German cities and, having talked to all of the people I have mentioned before, I say the only conclusion you can fairly reach is that there isn't anything fundamentally different about us, so far as basic character is concerned.

The United States Senate's Judiciary Committee made a study (under S. Res. 137). entitled "Immigration and Naturalization Systems of the United States." This was This was published (on Rept. No. 1515 and dated) April 20, 1950. It says:

"While there were Germans among the early colonists of this country, the first typically German settlement was made in 1683 in Germantown, near Philadelphia. came the distributing center for the large and continuous stream of German immigrants many of whom crossed the Potomac and pressed farther south. Pennsylvania continues to be the State most thickly settled by the Germans who at one time numbered a third of its population. mans constituted about a tenth of the white population in the Thirteen Colonies in 1775."

John Fisk in his book Old Virginia and Her Neighbors, says: "German immigrants, mostly farmers, quickly followed the Scotch and the Scotch-Irish settling in 1730 into backwoods Virginia, particularly in the foothills of the Appalachians, and in the Shenandoah Valley. There they founded the towns of Strasburg and Hamburg, Spottswood, a great English landowner, brought a whole colony over from the Rhineland to make native Virginia wines." Charles Andrews in his book Colonial Period of American History says that Virginia's first colony, Jamestown, began to show a labor shortage not long after it was founded in the 17th century and the Virginia company imported many German artisans to fill the void.

I was born in Wisconsin of parents who were also born in Wisconsin, but whose parents in turn on my father's side arrived in the United States as children from Germany. I have no accurate knowledge of when or from where all of my forebears came to this country, but I know that as early as 1813 a branch of my mother's family arrived in the

United States from Germany.

The small town in Wisconsin where I spent my childhood was almost wholly populated by persons of German extraction. Many of our neighbors, more recent arrivals from Germany, still spoke German in their homes. I was sent to a German Methodist Sunday school and got my early religious education

in the German language.

My recollection of life in those childhood days is that these people were a happy people. There was always a lot of singing and I still remember from those days old songs Oh du lieber Augustin and Du Du

liegst mir im Herzen. When World War I broke out I was 11 Years old. I remember vividly the denunciations of the Kaiser among these people of German origin and the immediate voluntary response to the call for enlistment When the United States entered the war in The love for the freedom they enloyed in this blessed land and the deter-mination to do their part in suppressing despotism was here unmistakable. People had come to the United States for the most part during the middle part of the 19th century and were part of that tremendous German migration to this Nation from 1845 to 1890 which included Carl Schurz who arrived in the United States in 1852.

A very large number of men and women of German parentage played important parts in our own national development. All of you will recognize these. In engineering, Charles Steinmetz, George Westinghouse, Bausch and Lombe, Mergenthaler; in auto-mobiles, Chrysler, Studebaker; in steel, Charles Schwab; photography, Alfred Stieg-litz (the father of photo art in America); literature, H. L. Mencken, Steinbeck, Dreiser, Untermeyer, Thomas Mann, and did you know that Thomas Nast, the artist who created the Republican elephant, the Demo-cratic donkey, and the Tammany tiger, was a German?

Henry Villard, a German, pushed his rail-

roads to the Pacific.

Practically all of our planos are made by companies started by Germans—Steinway, Knabe, Wurlitzer, Stieff; and who makes our beer? beer? Schlitz, Pabst, Anheiser-Busch, Blatz, Ruppert, Schaeffer, Gunther, Heurich—all Germans.

The kindergarten is a German educational invention-introduced by the wife of Carl Schurz in Watertown, Wis.

Gen. Frederick Wilhelm Steuben has al-Ways been given credit for welding the courageous but unorganized guerrilla troops of 1776 into a disciplined, well drilled army. Congress honored him by placing a statue in Lafayette Park in grateful recognition of his services to the American people in their struggle for liberty.

General de Kalb also of Revolutionary fame was a German.

John J. Pershing in World War I was of German descent and curiously enough the military leaders who headed the branches of our armed services during World War II were all of German descent. Our now President Dwight D. Eisenhower, Chester Nimmitz, and Carl A. Spaatz.

My authority for these names is Francis Brown's book entitled "One America" pub-

lished in 1952.

During the months of April and May of I spent 24 days in Germany visited 10 of the principal German cities, saw much of the terrible bombing they endured and the remarkable reconstruction. I sat in conference with groups of bankers in every one of these cities and was everywhere most cordially and courteously received. At almost every one of these meetings, at least one of the Germans present expressed gratitude to me for the remarkable thing the United States had done in making their recovery possible. Honestly, gentlemen, I never got the slightest feeling of bitterness from any of the contacts I made in Germany during the 24 days I was in that country. On the other hand, there was a remarkable warmth of feeling toward the United States that was true, not only in the circles of bankers, but also with the industrial people and with the government people that I met.

A touching incident occurred one day last fall with one of the German Government officials in New York City. He had come to America on a special assignment which lasted several months and during that period I had occasion to see him a number of times. Toward the end of his visit we were walking down Broad Street in New York City one noon and as we looked up at the large American flag hanging over the entrance to the Chase National Bank this man commented 'wouldn't it be wonderful, Mr. Hartman, if Germany could someday be a star in that flag." Perhaps not all Germans feel as cordial to our country as this man, but so as the basic nature of the German individual is concerned, it responds to and accepts the democratic idea quickly, eagerly.

I think the arrogance that Hitler brought out in some of these people, and the bill of goods he sold them that they possess a peculiar superiority to all other races and nations on earth, that they are the supermen has almost entirely disappeared. Among all of the Germans I had contact with in Germany, I detected objectionable arrogance very rarely. On the other hand, humility in many of them was marked. A German I met in Hamburg made the statement to me that, of course, they regretted the terrific bombing and the destruction of their cities but he said "we asked for it."

I have tried profoundly to understand what it has been that has led to the situations which brought about the two World Wars and I believe confidently that those causes were entirely economic not due to any fundamental fault in German character. I believe confidently that it will be a very long time before another mesmeric spellbinder like Hitler will be able to fool any important number of the German people of today. Some probably but not many. a purging of soul such as the German went through in 1944 and 1945 he won't quickly follow leadership like that again. Believe me, my friends, Germany took punishment in World War II. Those cities were plastered. and I mean plastered. President Heintze of the Securities Settlement Office for German Foreign Debts took me to a hill overlooking the famous old city of Freiburg-only a few miles from the Rhine and from Switzerland. He pointed out what happened in 20 minutes one night late in the war. A swath was cut right through the center of that famous old city and 20,000 persons lost their lives. The rebuilding has progressed well but you could

still see the path where the bombs from our planes fell.

Other cities like Bremen, Hamburg, and Berlin were bombed repeatedly and the ruins there are still tremendous. No people could emerge from such an ordeal without refine-

But the human mind is the same the world over. Unless men can be sure of a measure of economic security and they have a fair chance of selling what they have or can make so they can buy the things they do not have but need, they will resort to forceful action to make adjustments-and such action always leads to excesses and to the play of emotion above reason.

German cities appear in most respects like our own. The bulldings where they have not been bombed are older but the shop windows display the same kind of wares in the same neatly arranged displays as in the shop windows on Broad Street. The people dress like we do, they eat foods of a very similar nature, and they look like we do. These people are for the most part a very kindly people, good natured, helpful, even sentimental. They respond instantly to kindness and praise. They are a very intelligent people. Some unfortunately make a pettish of predigious memory and become intellectually self-important.

Those with whom I am working in New York are a particularly fine group. are undoubtedly above average in intelligence and balance. The German member of the Board, Dr. Walther Reusch, and his of the Board, Dr. Waither Skaupy and Dr. two deputies, Dr. Walther Skaupy and Dr. Walter Clemens are all lawyers. They express the very highest sense of fairness and human kindness. All of the business of the Board since its inception has been conducted in harmony. It would be impossible to desire more courtesy or a more objective approach to problems than that which has been expressed by these three Germans. have had dozens of registrations by individuals in the United States who have been unable to present documentary evidence to prove that their bonds were outside of Germany on January 1, 1945, but in almost all of these cases, the holdings were in very small amounts, perhaps only 1 or 2 or 3 bonds. Generally the holder was either the

child or the wife of the one who bought the bonds during the 1920's. Here the Germans might have taken advantage of the technicalities and could have refused to validate such securities with less than absolute proof. They could very well have objected to validation and made things generally difficult. but they saw the absurdity in these cases in contending that such bonds could have passed through Communist hands so they agreed with me to accept the affidavit of the registrant as supported by banking or character references.

The very fact that so many of these bonds were stored in the Berlin bank vaults without any special identifying marks testifies to the high regard of the German bankers for the terms of contract.

The trustees in almost all of the 92 issues involved were United States banks and the indentures in these bonds provided that only this trustee could cancel or cremate bond. Accordingly, being unable to ship these bonds to New York for several reasons they stacked them up waiting to send them to New York after the war. Now, of course, many of these bonds were

repurchased under questionable circumstances at substantial discounts, discounts brought about by the manipulations of the Nazi government. The Schacht administration refused to permit the export of dollars to pay the interest on these bonds and, accordingly, the value of the securities on the market fell substantially and as the prices fell they used the dollars which should have been used for interest payments to buy up more bonds. But here again the contrast between the gangsters who gained control of Germany and the rank-and-file bankers shows up. Had the same ruthless thinking governed these bankers, does it seem likely that the terms of a contractual agreement in a bond would have deterred their destruction or, at least, their mutilation.

While in Europe last spring I had opportunity to visit many of our Foreign Service outposts and in some cases renew acquaintances made during the period I served the State Department in 1923-28. My impres-

sion was a wholesome one.

I have always held our Foreign Service In high regard and deplore very much the tendency to use the Service as a whippingboy; for political purposes. The need for establishing our outposts abroad in such a way as to make service in them a mark of highest prestige cannot be overemphasized. The United States is undoubtedly the leader among nations today. We are, I think, exercising our leadership well, but in proportion as the men who represent us abroad are wise, patient men who express an affection for mankind without patronizing or flattering, I think we will gain the deepseated respect of all people and do the maximum possible to create in our world the environment in which men of good will can unite on objectives and live together in economic order and excellent fellowship.

I believe very profoundly that we are not misplacing confidence in trusting the Germans to cooperate with us. One thing, however, we must never forget, the German people are the next door neighbors of the Russians. Also that they live in a divided country. The first concern of any German Government must almost certainly be the reunification of the nation. Should we hear that the Germans are making deals with or concessions to the Russians let us remember that these people are looking into the muzzles of Russian guns. The price the German nation will be willing to pay for the reunification of the East and West is the uncertain

factor.

We know that the price of neutralization and of complete subordination to communism is too high, for they have already refused to pay those prices. The personal experiences of such a very large percentage of the German population has instilled the whole population with a dread of Russian domination, which leads me to feel very confident that the Federal Republic will never sell out to the Russians. The extent of the concessions which they may feel obliged to make, no one can foretell. Undoubtedly, however, they will consult and work with the West in any such decision.

I think that as we continue to help them shape their economy more and more in line with our own that the German nation will stand stanchly beside us. Then along with the British and let us hope, the French, we will indeed build a world where there is (1) freedom of speech everywhere in the world; (2) freedom of religion everywhere in the world; (3) freedom from want everywhere in the world; and (4) freedom from fear everywhere in the world.

The Publication of the United States Statutes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EUGENE J. KEOGH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. KEOGH. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Dr. Charles J. Zinn, law revision counsel to the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives, which appeared in the Brooklyn Barrister of November 1954:

THE PUBLICATION OF THE UNITED STATES

(By Charles J. Zinn)

A law, according to the philosophers, is a rule of conduct dictated by reason, enacted by competent authority, prescribing or forbidding some action in view of the common welfare, and made known to those who are to be bound thereby. It is with the last element of that definition, the publication of the law, as it relates to the statutes enacted by the Congress of the United States, that this paper is concerned. Obviously a secret statute can have no binding effect upon an unaware and unsuspecting public. Publication is the sine qua non of the aphorism that every man is presumed to know the law of the land. The ancient Romans, from whom we seem to have borrowed more than a few of our principles of legislation, clearly recognized the necessity for publication by their requirement that the law be posted in a public square "where it could be easily read from the ground."

In the United States the requirement of promulgation is satisfied by two principal methods of publishing: (1) In the United States Statute at Large; 1 and (2) in the

United States Code.

A proper understanding of the functions of these two publications and the differences between them require some knowledge of the legislative process in general and of the form of enactments by the Congress in particular.

Under the Constitution a bill (or joint resolution) that has passed both the House of Representatives and the Senate in precisely the same form becomes a law only after the happening of 1 of the 3 following events:

1. It is approved (signed) by the President within 10 days (Sundays excepted) after having been presented to him.

 Ten days (Sundays excepted) have elapsed after it was presented to the President, the Congress being still in session, and he has not signed it.

 It has been repassed by two-thirds of both Houses after having been returned with the President's objections to the House in which it originated.

In the first instance the original enrolled bill signed by the President is transmitted by the White House to the Administrator of

General Services pursuant to law.

In the second instance, which rarely occurs, the enrolled bill is usually transmitted by the President to the Administrator of General Services although there is no constitutional or statutory provision requiring him to do so.

In the third instance the Clerk of the House of Representatives or the Secretary of the Senate (depending upon which body originated the proposal) transmits to the Administrator of General Services the enrolled bill with a certificate attesting to the repassage of the legislation by the requisite two-thirds affirmative vote in each body.

PRINTING PRIOR TO ENACTMENT

Inasmuch as this paper is concerned with the printing of laws, it may be of interest to describe briefly the various printing stages of a bill before it becomes law.

Immediately after a bill has been introduced (usually in typewritten or holographic form) it is printed for reference to the standing committee having jurisdiction of the subject matter of the proposal. This, known as the introduced print, is set in 12-point

Footnotes at end of speech.

type and contains about 24 printed lines to the page.

After consideration by the committee, at the time of being reported to the House, the bill is reprinted in type of the same size, with the committee amendments indicated in italics and stricken-through type. This is known as the reported print.

When the bill has passed the House one copy is printed on blue paper in the precise form to which the House has agreed. This is known as the engrossed bill and is signed by the Clerk of the House attesting to the action of that body. It is then sent to the Senate with a formal message requesting the concurrence of the Senate and is reprinted and referred to a committee of that body. This is known as the act print.

When reported by the Senate committee it is reprinted showing committee amendments, if any, in italics and stricken-through type—

the Senate reported print.

Upon being passed by the Senate, if there are no amendments requiring House concurrence, the bill is reprinted, this time in 10-point type, as soon as it is returned to the House. This is known as the enrolled bill and is signed by the Speaker and the President of the Senate together with a certificate signed by the Clerk of the House attesting that the bill originated in that body. The original enrolled bill is then presented to the President for his action.

PUBLICATION UPON ENACTMENT Slip-Laws

As soon as a bill becomes law as a result of 1 of the 3 forms of Presidential action outlined above, it is assigned a public (or private) law number and a chapter number by the laws section of the General Services Administration; which also prepares marginal notes of various kinds as guides to assist the reader. These notes, of course, are not part of the law.

The public-law (and private-law) numbers run consecutively through the Congress regardless of the number of sessions, starting with the number 1 at the beginning of each Congress. Public laws are numbered in one series and private laws in another. The chapter numbers, on the other hand, run consecutively only through one session starting with the number 1 at the beginning of each session, and comprehend both public and private laws. For example, at the beginning of the first session of a Congress, chapter 1 may be Public Law 1, and chapter 2 may be Private Law 1. In the second session the sequence in numbering by the public-law and private-law designation continues whereas the chapter number designation starts anew.

The same type that was used for the printing of the enrolled bill is used again for the first printing of the law—in pamphlet form These familiar "slip-laws" constitute the official compliance with the requirement of publication called for in the definition of \$\sqrt{s}\$ law.

Unless a law contains a provision prescribing a different effective date it becomes effective on the date on which it is approved by the President. Usually 2 or 3 days' time are required thereafter for the printing of the slip-law, with the result that a law may have a binding effect upon the public for a brief period before being officially published or promulgated. Whether or not that situation requires a remedy is not within the purview of this article.

STATUTES AT LARGE

At the close of each regular session of the Congress the laws section of the General Services Administration publishes a bound volume containing the laws of the session in a chronological and numerical sequence. This is known as the Statutes at Large. In

Footnotes at end of speech.

recent years the volume and page number of the Statutes at Large are indicated also in the margin of the slip-laws prior to the publication of the bound volume, more or less on the same principle as the practice with respect to advance sheets of law reports.

By the terms of a statute originally enacted in 1895 the Statutes at Large are legal evidence of the laws contained therein and are accepted as proof of those laws in any court in the United States.

Although the Statutes at Large contain a comprehensive-index and table of contents in each volume, together with many helpful post and ante marginal notes, the volumes are solely a chronological arrangement of the laws in the exact form in which they were enacted. They are not intended as a consolidation or codification of the laws. In order to determine the present status of any law it is necessary to consult a code.

THE UNITED STATES CODE

The official United States Code contains a consolidation and codification of the general and permanent laws of the United States arranged according to subject-matter in fifty titles. The first six titles comprehend what may be termed political matters—the Congress, the President, the seat of the Government and the executive departments and officers and employees generally. The remaining 44 titles are arranged in alphabetical order ranging from Agriculture to War and State of the St

and National Defense.

The purpose of the United States Code is to show the present status of the laws, as amended, without requiring recourse to the scores of volumes of the Statutes at Large containing the original enactments and later amendments or superseding statutes. The effect of amendments on earlier laws is set out without repeating all the text of the amendatory acts.

The code is prepared by the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives. The current edition, known as the 1952 edition consists of six volumes and a second cumulative supplement containing the new laws and changes enacted during the 83d Congress is in preparation. New

editions are published every 6 years. When the first code was adopted in 1926 it was provided by law that it be prima facie evidence of the laws contained in it. During the last 10 years a program is being carried out to enact the code into laws, title by title. At the present time 11 titles have been so enacted, including title 18, Crimes and Criminal Procedure, title 28, Judiciary and Judicial Procedure, and Title 35, patents, all of which constituted substantive revisions as well as codifications. Each such codified title must, of course, be enacted by the Congress. The existing laws upon which it is based are specifically repealed and rearranged and simplified. The title may thereafter be amended directly without reference to the individual prior enactments of which it is composed.

The task of enacting all 50 titles into law—and then keeping them up to date by direct amendment is a gigantic one but one of great importance to the average lawyer who, day by day, is becoming more concerned with Federal statutes.

¹The initial printing, as a slip-law, is discussed infra.

A proposal that is amended after it has passed one House must be returned to that House for agreement to such amendment before being sent to the President.

³ For the purposes of this article, a bill originating in the House of Representatives is the subject of the process discussed.

Every Day Is Ladies Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BURR P. HARRISON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from the Democratic Digest for February 1955:

IN WASHINGTON, VA., EVERY DAY IS LADIES DAY

How does a lady get into politics? How does she go about running for public office?

It has been 34 years since the 19th amendment gave women the right to vote, but there are still many people around who think the ladies must follow a special set of rules to succeed in politics.

The story of the lady mayor of Washington, Va., and her all-lady government is a contradiction to this general belief.

Four years ago, Dorothy Davis, a young and pretty housewife, born and reared in Washington, Va., felt that she had a full-time job keeping house for her husband, George, a Government attorney, and raising their three children—aged 4, 7, and 10.

Today, she manages to do all this, as well as her public housekeeping job as mayor, attend national mayors' conferences, make speeches before civic and political groups, run a motel, escort foreign visitors around the Virginia countryside, and have a happy family life along with it.

Before the election of the all-lady government in 1950, Washington, Va., county seat for Rappahannock County, was just another of the little towns on the highway into the South. Surrounded by the magnificent Blue Ridge Mountains, its 245 residents, like those of so many towns, were reluctant to criticize its narrow main street, its dimly lighted side streets, and its historic buildings falling into a state of disrepair. These were familiar landmarks with which they had grown up, and few seemed to notice the gradual decay, or the need for any change.

But in 1950, Trial Justice B. M. Miller, a civic-minded native of Washington, surveyed his town with a critical eye and decided that something had to be done about it. As an incorporated town, Washington had its own mayor and city council, elected every 2 years. For a long time, it had become a routine affair, with little campaign activity on the part of the candidates, and even less activity on their part after they took office. It was time for action, decided Justice Miller, and the way to wake up the townspeople called for a startling idea-an all-lady slate of candidates in the upcoming election. His attitude, Dorothy Davis recalls, when he first approached her to run for mayor, was that women can't do any worse than the men had in the past, and they just possibly might do better. She agreed to run.

Justice Miller then persuaded a representative group of ladies to run for the council—Miss Ruby Jenkins, the county agent's secretary; Mrs. Louise Price, a school teacher; Miss Elizabeth Racer, a beautician; and three housewives, Mrs. Achsah Miller, Mrs. Dorothy Hawkins, and Mrs. Bobby Critager

Although the ladies give much credit for their first election to the campaign by Justice Miller on their behalf, today they stand on their own record. What 4 years of alllady government has meant is clearly dis-

cernible to the residents of this pleasant valley town.

The historic Confederate monument in front of the court house has been restored and the lawn around the old court house New street ets. Tarred building is neat and green. lights blaze on the side streets. shoulders on the pavement enable residents to park without fear of getting stuck in the mud, or obstructing other cars. Stop signs prevent travelers from speeding through the main street and offer some protection to New trash cans on the street pedestrians. corners aid in keeping the town clean and neat. A playground, the gift of an anonymous donor in admiration for the women's industry in sprucing up the town, provides safe recreation for the children.

After their first term, Mayor Davis recalls, "we felt we had to run again just to prove to ourselves that we were able to do it. I talked to people on the streets and went from door to door, asking people to vote for me," she added. "But in 1954 we did not even campaign." In a sense, that is true. But every new street light and every improvement in the town was a kind of campaign activity. The fenced playground, for example, was a constant reminder of what the mayor and council had accomplished.

In 1954, however, the all-lady government modestly stood aside and refused to file for reelection in order to give the men another chance. The voters, however, marched to the polls and wrote names on the ballots—all of them women—for a third term of office which began on September 1. Mayor Davis and four of the original council members, Miss Jenkins, Mrs. Price, Mrs. Hawkins, and Mrs. Critzer, with two new council members, Mrs. Alice Verner and Mrs. Christine Johnston, will govern Washington for another 2 years.

Although the ladies had no special rules on how to run for office or how to get into politics, they did have a set of rules for running the town that were different from the former male administration.

"It's all a matter of housekeeping," says vivacious Mayor Davis, "plus legal responsibility."

Mayor Davis explained it this way: "Since I didn't know anything about being mayor, my husband got me a copy of the Virginia Code on Municipalities, and I learned from that." For example, the young mayor learned that you can't run an incorporated town without a budget. It's illegal. And you can't levy taxes unless your budget exceeds your income. And you call a town meeting before you vote on the budget.

Then there is the matter of organization. This they didn't get from a book. In best housewifely fashion, the ladies organized into four "housekeeping" committees—the committee on streets and highways, committee on street lights, committee on weed cutting, and the committee in charge of trash removal. The budget-conscious ladies got contracts for weed cutting and trash removal, instead of hiring men by the hour as in former years. Much cheaper, and more efficient, leaving more money for other things. And the mayor candidly admits that she did "nag" a bit to get the highway department working on the roads.

Ruby Jenkins, only unmarried member of the council, also claims that she made no campaign for election in 1954. But as the county agent's secretary, Ruby is campaigning all year round without knowing it. For Ruby is the farmer's friend who helps him to get penicillin for his sick calf and does a hundred other things for her neighbors. She knows just where to get the best ham in the county. And she'll be only too glad to let you know when there's a good

antique sale coming up.

All of the ladies are conscientious about their jobs and attend the regular council

Most European nations publish regularly an official gazette in which statutes are set out, with an effective date some time subsequent to such publication.

meetings every Tuesday, at which Mayor Davis presides and votes in case of a tie. The fact that a tie vote happened only once, is an indication of the general agreement among the council members. In that instance, it was over the question of keeping licensed pets tied up—a question raised by some of the townspeople. Mayor Davis consulted the county board of supervisors on this problem and, on their advice, voted to give licensed pets their freedom.

As a result of the nationwide publicity given to the all-lady government, many visitors have come to the pleasant valley town. Mayor Davis' attendance at the annual conference of mayors, her talks before civic and political groups, stimulated interest in her government and brought an influx of visitors. In addition, there were official visitors including a delegation of Japanese men sponsored by the United States State Department, and a group of Government exchange students sent down by the United States Department of Labor, to observe a rather unusual example of democracy on Main Street, U. S. A.

With no hotel to accommodate the visitors

With no hotel to accommodate the visitors, the Davises took it upon themselves to build an attractive motel on the main highway, bulldozed out a lake for swimming, and installed an outdoor fireplace, which has developed into a pleasant tourist stopover in the scenic Blue Ridge Valley as well as a pleasant recreational spot for the Davis family themselves.

It would not be quite accurate to credit all the joys of living in Washington, Va., to the all-lady government, but certainly they have added to the pleasures.

And it would seem from their story that the answer to those perennial questions about how women can get into politics and public office is very simple: just get yourselves drafted by the men.

Social Security for Lawyers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article from the Bar Bulletin issued by the Boston Bar Association, January 1955, which I feel warrants the attention of the Members of Congress:

Social Security for Lawyers (By Henry A. Malkasian)

The recent amendments to title II of the Social Security Act conferred a distinction upon the professions of law, dentistry, medicine, and related medical fields. Individual practitioners, including partners, in these fields now remain with very few exceptions the only self-employed persons to be excluded from the old-age and survivors insurance (OASI) provisions of the Social Security Act. Indeed, with very few exceptions, every other breadwinner in our economy, whether he be an employee or self-employed, is by law includable in a Government-administered retirement system.

With OASI embracing such an extensive group of jobs and job holders, it would seem that compelling reasons should exist to justify the exclusion of a few professions, including the legal profession which is necessarily our prime concern. However, when the reasons pro and con are weighed, the arguments advanced by the proponents of

exclusion seem to be so far from compelling that they are not even convincing when compared to the reasons for inclusion. Nevertheless, due mostly to the general apathy of the legal profession as a whole, the spokesmen for exclusion were successful in having the Senate Finance Committee remove lawyer coverage from the bill as passed by the House.

I am not sure whether I can accurately summarize arguments proffered by the proponents of the exclusion of lawyers when such arguments seem to be confused and often self-contradictory. The prime argument, however, seems to be that OASI is a charity proposition, involving a Government handout, and consequently that it would degrade the profession to participate. This argument betrays an ignorance of the intent and operation of OASI. A succinct explanation of the operation, intent, and place in our national life of OASI was provided by President Eisenhower, who stated:

"Under old age and survivors insurance (OASI), the worker during his productive years and his employer both contribute to the system in proportion to the worker's earnings. A self-employed person also contributes a percentage of his earnings. In return, when these breadwinners retire after reaching the age of 65, or if they die. they or their families become entitled to income related in amount to their previous earnings. The system is not intended as a substitute for private savings, pension plans, and insurance protection. It is, rather, intended as the foundation upon which these other forms of protection can be soundly built. Thus the individual's own work, his planning, and his thrift will bring him a higher standard of living upon his retirement, or his family a higher standard of living in the event of his death than would otherwise be the case. Hence the system both encourages thrift and self-reliance, and helps to prevent destitution in our national life."

The provision for OASI is found in title II of the Social Security Act. Under section 201 thereof, a trust fund is created of the amounts paid in by those covered and by their employers in the case of covered employees. It is 100-percent contributory on part of the participants and their employers, and to my knowledge the Government has not contributed one dollar to the fund. This is entirely different from State old-age assistance, which is given to needy individuals who meet certain requirements. Under OASI, need of an individual or the amount of his wealth or that of his estate are not determining factors in either his or his family's entitlement to benefits or the amount thereof. Nor are the monthly benefits a uniform amount for all recipients. Individual benefits range from a minimum of \$30 a month to a maximum of \$108.50.

The argument that lawver inclusion would degrade the profession displays an unwarranted arrogance toward the vast majority of other professions, as well as for the many members of the legal profession itself who are covered. All members of the legal staffs of business corporations, all lawyers who are in the employ of other lawyers or of law firms (exclusive of partners), and all lawyers who receive corporate directors fees (in an annual amount exceeding \$400), are covered by OASI, and of course, most lawyers who are in Government employment are covered by a retirement plan. Have they degraded our profession by their inclusion in a Government-administered retirement plan? Have executive officers of corporations, bankers, professors, architects, engineers, and clergymen become degraded or lost dignity by being covered under OASI? seems self-evident. It is difficult for me to see how the dignity of the profession is aided the fact that lawyers' widows and minor children may be the only persons in their

particular situation who may suffer economically because lawyers are not covered.

The proponents of exclusion shift from the philosophical to the practical with their next argument. To put it simply, they say that lawyers don't retire at 65 and consequently it would be merely a costly waste of a lawyer's money to have him pay into the OASI retirement fund. The contradiction in the two positions is self-evident—How can a Government handout, or charity, be a bad bargain financially for the recipient? To partially answer the argument, however, maybe many more lawyers would retire if they had a pension from OASI to add to income from their own resources. Let us also bear in mind the many lawyers who are physically disabled and who cannot or should not be practicing after the age of 65. Further, whether a lawyer retires or not, he may some day leave a widow who would also be entitled to rights under OASI, or minor children who would be so entitled.

In any event, why not at least give each self-employed lawyer the option as to whether or not he wants to be covered? Such an option is provided for clergymen under the new law. Surely, if an individual clergyman is credited with enough sense, sagacity, and business acumen to be able to decide whether OASI coverage is advantageous to him, the spokesmen for exclusion of lawyers should at the very least concede that individual lawyers also are capable of exercising this same discretion. To hold otherwise is to lower that very dignity of the profession the maintenance of which is the keystone to their opposition to coverage.

Because the amount of benefits to be received upon retirement, and the time of enjoyment of the same, depend in each case upon the age of the individual, and his earnings, and indeed upon his survival (or the survival of his wife and minor children), it is difficult to generalize as to whether coverage would be a bargain or not. However, one is buying protection for himself and his family, and the only useful yardstick as to whether the investment is a good one pricewise is the comparative one. No insurance company, to my knowledge, sells any retirement policy, the terms and conditions of which are comparable to the terms and conditions of OASI, for premiums which are even close to the amount of premiums required by OASI. It certainly is the cheapest protection of its kind to be found today.

To illustrate, an accountant who became newly covered under OASI on January 1. 1955, becomes fully insured on July 1, 1956. Assuming that our accountant has attained the age of at least 65 years at that time, and that his annual earnings amounted to at least \$4,200 in the year 1955, and \$2,100 through the first 6 months of 1956, he can on July 1, 1955, retire and receive monthly benefits of \$108.50 each month for the rest of his life. If his wife is also 65 years old, or when she reaches such age, she will receive \$54.25 each month also. The total premium which he will have paid for such benefits will have been \$189, a remarkable rate of return. Of course, this favors newly covered persons who are close to or have already exceeded the age of 65 years. Younger persons will have to pay in for a longer period of time before becoming entitled to retirement benefits.

The attraction of coverage to the young members of the profession lies, or should lie, in the extremely valuable survivors benefits provided by OASI. By his coverage under OASI, not only is a person building rights to a pension for himself and his wife when he and she reach the age of 65, but in the meantime he is insuring his life for the protection of his wife and minor children or dependent parents. This aspect of OASI never seems to be mentioned by the proponents of exclusion nor is it alluded to by lawyers with whom I have discussed this subject matter. The insurance protection granted to the younger

participants by OASI is the same protection which a younger lawyer either cannot afford to purchase elsewhere or, if he has purchased it, he is probably groaning under the payments therefor. To these lawyers who can't afford to die, or who (because of insurance-premium poverty) can't afford to live, or to those who are uninsurable due to physical ailments, OASI coverage would be of incalculable value.

To illustrate once again with our accountant friend: If he earns \$4,200 in the year 1955, and \$2,100 in the first θ months of the year 1956, and if he should die after July 1, 1956, leaving a widow and 2 children under 18 years of age, his widow and children will receive \$200 a month until the oldest child reaches the age of 18 years. A reduction will be made at that time in such monthly benefits, and all benefits will cease when the youngest child reaches the age of 18, to be resumed when the widow reaches the age of 65 years. All this will have been bought with a total premium payment of \$183.

The argument advanced that lawyers do not retire at 65 and therefore that they would be throwing away their money by contributing to OASI seems rather unconvincing when one considers the insurance benefits provided to a covered person's widow and minor children. The financial welfare of his family after his death is just as much a legitimate concern of lawyers as it is of other husbands and parents.

It is true that under OASI certain contributors will contribute without ever receiving any benefits. If a covered person does not survive to age 65 and leaves no widow, minor children, or dependent parents, there will be no benefits; or if a widow remarries, she loses her benefits. However, this is no different from fire insurance, casualty insurance, or automobile liability insurance. OASI is similarly insurance which is payable upon the happening of certain contingencies such as that of reaching age 65, of having a wife reach age 65, or of dying leaving children under age 18. Are these contingencies of sufficient importance to the self-employed lawyer to insure against? The proponents of exclusion apparently think

I urge every self-employed lawyer to immediately familiarize himself with the provision of OASI. Only those provisions are referred to in this article as were deemed to be of general importance. He then will be enabled to make an intelligent decision as to whether the exclusion of lawyers from OASI is in the best interests of himself, his family, and the profession. Such a reading of the act will at least provide an informed body of opinion among those to whom this matter is of overriding importance when lawyer coverage is reconsidered in the Congress, as it surely will be. Valuable rights may be lost when too few speak for too many.

Liberation and Self-Determination

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ALBERT H. BOSCH

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. BOSCH. Mr. Speaker, we have heard much recently about the policy of liberation as an alternative both to appeasement of aggressive communism and to preventive war. I join with those of my colleagues who advocate the policy of liberation for enslaved and expelled peoples.

It is important, however, that we give some thought to what liberation requires in terms of specific foreign policy objectives and propaganda policies. To this end, I have asked unanimous consent to insert in the Appendix of the Record an article by Dr. Kurt Glaser, which appeared in the Ukrainian Quarterly, autumn 1954. Dr. Glaser is the executive secretary of Overseas Research, Inc., which is performing valuable work in the field of central European affairs and psychological warfare.

The article follows:

LIBERATION AND SELF-DETERMINATION

(By Kurt Glaser)

Americans in charge of radio output to Communist-controlled areas, faced with criticism, have tended to take refuge in reaction analyses, associational correlations, and other devices offered by psychologists to improve the technical quality of propaganda. Recently, however, there has been increasing awareness of a simple fact: Good communication begins with having something to say.

The "campaign of truth," however well staged, has limited appeal. It does not offer the victims of the Soviet power machine concrete hope for their personal futures. Representatives of the enslaved peoples, and Americans who are not content to leave them enslaved, call for greater positive content in American propaganda.

Positive propaganda implies concrete policy. The only meaningful statement which Americans can make to enslaved peoples are statements of American aims concerning their homeland. And if exiles are brought to the microphone, American endorsement of their statements is at least implied.

We can no longer choose whether or not to have a policy concerning nations now governed by the Communists. We have chosen: By beaming our broadcasts to enslaved nations over the heads of the puppet governments and by encouraging the political activity of anti-Communist exiles, we have committed ourselves to the need for policy. The only choice left is whether that policy shall be coherent, consistent, and in accord with American interests or the confused result of conflicting special-interest pressures.

Enslaved peoples have troubles beyond the mere fact of Communist control. All too often, political and economic struggles made their countries vulnerable to communism in the first place. Effective policy—and hence effective propaganda—must therefore go beyond the simple proposition of throwing out the present Bolshevist dictatorship. It must say something about the national aspirations of enslaved peoples.

Here, however, policymakers must overcome the existing disunity of anti-Communist forces. Many people feel that conflicts
within and among the enslaved nations cannot be settled before liberation and that it
is futile to try. Those who hold this opinion, but who nevertheless realize the need
for-concrete form and meaning in American
policy, have sought agreement on certain
basic principles. While these principles may
not apply themselves automatically after
liberation, it is hoped that they will provide
at least a basis for mediation or adjudication.

A doctrine accepted generally by those who think seriously about the problems of liberation is that of national self-determination on the basis of equality of large and small nations. This concept has the following to commend it:

- (a) It expresses the moral foundation of American political tradition;
- (b) It recognizes the national communities as political realities which, in the pres-

ent stage of human society, are stronger and more permanent than any government; (c) It mobilizes, within each enslaved na-

(c) It mobilizes, within each enslaved nation, powerful emotional forces of identification and loyalty, needed to give strength and cohesion to the anti-Communist movement;

(d) It is accepted by almost all political exiles and Americans with origins in the enslaved countries, however much they may disagree on other matters.

One reason why few object to self-determination is that, unless further defined, it may be stretched to mean very different things. A great Russian imperialist, for example, may argue that Ukrainians are Russians and that the Russian people as a unit should exercise self-determination. Ergo: it is wrong for the United States to support Ukrainian independence. Conversely, the principle could be applied to isolated settlements so as to justify German exclaves in Hungary and Rumania. When coupled with the concept of no-predetermination, self-determination may degenerate into a slogan for postponing rather than facing vital national issues. In this case, our mental processes dictate an unconscious presumption in favor of maintaining the status quo. Unless the question of the Russian Imperium is brought out in the open and subjected to a clear decision, policy will automatically become directed to liberating the Soviet Union as a unit and then deciding whether the non-Russian peoples are to be assisted toward independence.

Since the middle of the 19th century, self-determination as a moral and ideological force has led to the establishment of national states. This fact suggests that the principle commits the United States to encouraging nationalist ideologies as an anti-dote to communism. But is the national state the only proper expression of self-determination? Granted that the majority of Ukrainians want an independent Ukraine, it is equally obvious that very few Czechs advocate a national state of "Czechia." Some Czechs wish to perpetuate a unitary "Czechoelovakia," while others propose to federate with the Sudeten Germans, the Slovaks, and other peoples of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire. Either solution involves the self-determination of several nationalities.

Self-determination can lead to quite different results when exercised by different nations. It often affects the welfare of neighboring nations, national minorities and the population of mixed border areas. Thus, a liberation policy, to have meaning as propaganda and as a basis for post-liberation planning, must undertake to state how self-determination is to be applied in specific areas. Since we cannot consult the public in Communist-occupied countries, Americans must accept the unpleasant task of passing judgment upon the arguments and proposals of the various exile groups and on the personalities and motives of the exiles themselves. Whatever decision is made will provoke bitter criticism.

Even those agencies which proclaim most loudly that they do not judge or predetermine do so nevertheless when they select certain extles and reject others for employment in their radio stations and research projects. The extle with a well-paid professional job has money and time for politics and propaganda, whereas his confrere who drives a taxi or washes dishes is practically excluded from these activities. Every personnel decision involving an extle is in fact a choice affecting the shape of post-liberation Europe. Either we choose deliberately and with thought for the future, or we pick exiles with nice manners, who speak good English and "know the right people," and accept uncritically whatever policies they choose to serve up.

There is, of course, a danger that the attempt to apply self-determination to specific problems may degenerate into mere expedi-

ency which renders the principle itself meaningless. To avoid this contingency, it is necessary to examine the concept for its moral essence.

Civilization is by nature complex, and complex ideas are hard to explain. Mental laziness leads us to refer to the sum total of civilized values by the shorthand symbol "anticommunism." This sloppiness of thought permits even convinced collectivists to call themselves anti-Communists. Such concentration on what we are fighting against rather than for is not only bad propaganda: It deadens the philosophical processes which are the beginning of effective statesmanship.

In spite of its diversity in ideas, customs, languages, and interests, Western civilization stands or falls on one central doctrine: The absolute value of human personality. Agnostic and atheistic humanists have secularized the idea of personality as an ultimate value in itself. Such philosophies are, however, derivative and truncated. Because they cannot explain why the individual is valuable, they are ineffective against the more consistent Marxist materialism. In the main body of Western thought, each personality is valuable because individually created by a loving God, to whom each of us is responsible for what he does with his life.

The free society is based upon a central religious idea. Once human personality is accepted as of a supernatural value, the social problem is that of arranging the natural world so that human beings enjoy their God-given rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Some institutions, such as the family and the church, have a sacramental foundation. Others, such as the state, may and should support religious values, but are essentially secular in themselves.

Free government is based upon the self-determination of the individual within a divinely determined moral order. The tribe, the city-state, the medieval empires, and the modern nation-state are secular institutions. If they achieve moral worth as values and symbols, it is because they serve the development and expression of the human personalities which compose them.

In pre-Christian Europe, the only forms of social organization higher than the family were the clan and the tribe. The emperors and kings of the Middle Ages converted the Germanic, Slavic, and other peoples of Central Europe and organized them into dynastic monarchies. The local lords often shifted allegience from one monarch to another, so that boundaries were in a constant state of flux. Nobles and knights felt no repugnance against monarchs of other language or tribal orgin, and they were equally ready to fight against their closer ethnic relatives.

Nations as we know them today did not appear until early modern times. Only after the French Revolution did the idea take hold that each nation should have its own independent state. Since Central and Eastern Europe had been settled and organized on a tribal and dynastic basis, modern nationalism provoked a century of conflict culminating in two world wars.

Today, the nations of Europe have become genuine social organisms which express the personalities of their members. Since most Europeans are nationally conscious and treasure their national languages, cultures and traditions, the liberation of Central and Eastern Europe means the liberation of nations. The nations have a positive and important value for American policy, but this value is not necessarily absolute or eternal.

The "life, liberty and happiness" which the enslaved peoples of Europe seek are importantly but not entirely related to their national communities. Cultural and civic interests are national: Europeans want to use their own languages and follow their own customs at home, in the school and church, and in community life. They want to be fully qualified citizens and not members of minorities subjected to discrimination or forced assimilation. In short, they want to be themselves. These objections can best be realized through self-government of national communities.

But Europeans also want a higher standard of living: greater quantity and variety of food, better housing and clothing and wider cultural opportunities. They want to use their skills and resources to best advantage through access to raw materials and markets. They want to share in the life of the larger European community, they do not like to feel "isolated" or "provincial." Finally, they want military and political security against possible future aggression.

Whether both types of objectives can be fulfilled by national states depends on the facts in the individual case. To establish an independent state which is politically and economically viable, a nation must inhabit a compact and well defined territory. It must be large enough to function as a unit in the modern economic and military world, and it must come to terms with other ethnic groups within its borders. If such states are to enjoy peace over the years, they should not contain irridentist areas the people of which desire annexation to other states. Nor can border problems be solved successfully by expelling or forcibly resettling populations.

The Ukraine presents clearly the conditions for a successful national state. Experience indicates that the Ukrainian people cannot enjoy free development as a nation under political union with Russia. Geography as well as history tells us that the Ukraine is more than adequate as a political, economic and military unit. While there are areas of mixed population and divergent economic orientation along its borders, the Ukraine does not present any specially difficult boundary problems.

specially difficult boundary problems. In the Danube Valley of Central Europe the situation is quite different. Here, the multinational Austro-Hungarian empire had been an efficient economic and military unit. A certain German predominance remained as a relic from dynastic times, but the Austrian Government had made noteworthy strides toward assuring the rights of nationalities in the Austrian half of the empire.

When Austria-Hungary was carved up in the name of "self-determination," the successor national states of Austria and Hungary were too small to exist as economic units. They fell into a perpetual depression from which they never recovered. Masaryk Benes knew that an independent 'Czechla" would be an absurdity, and so they persuaded the Slovaks and forced the Sudeten Germans to join the new multi-national state of Czechoslovakia. The Prague Government tried to administer this artificial structure as though it were a Czech national state, with the result that Czechoslovakia fell to pieces when subjected to external pressure.

The nationalities of the Danube Valley are settled in such irregular patterns and so intermixed that national-state boundaries, however they are drawn, are certain to cause conflict. Any division into national states with resulting "minorities" would deny large population groups their rights of self-determination. Economically, the valley cannot prosper unless it is unified. Czech and Hungarian farmers and miners are natural suppliers and customers for the

factory workers of Vienna. The consumergoods industries of German Bohemia need Austrian and Hungarian markets. Politically, only a consolidated Danube state would be strong enough to prevent eventual domination of the valley by the Reich or to support a free Ukraine against a possible aggressive move by Russia.

An institute to study problems of Danubian Federation is already functioning in Salzburg with Austrian, Czech, Hungarian, Slovak, and Sudeten German support. Major attention is given to assuring equal rights to all nationalities regardless of national boundaries (e. g. Czechs in and Bratislava, Slovaks in central Hungary, Germans in Prague and Brno). Federationists feel that with advance agreement on this point, the boundaries themselves will dwindle in importance. Conversely, if discussions of ethnic and federal relations were to be postponed as in 1918 until after the liberation of national states, boundary and minority disputes might so poison the atmosphere that federation would be difficult or impossible.

It is argued that what exiles and Americans say and do may be of little importance; that after liberation, "homegrown" political leadership will make its own decisions. Actually, political exiles (for instance Lenin, Masaryk, Benes, Sforza) often have been successful in assuming or returning to power. It is quite conceivable that after a Soviet collapse an American military government may have to call the shots in any case.

Self-determination cannot be exercised until after political discussion, and today such discussion is possible only in the free world. There is much opposition to Communism and Russian imperialism behind the Iron Curtain, but it is largely inarticulate. Although the enslaved peoples will ultimately have to make their own decisions, American and other free radio stations have an important role in preparing them for doing so. It is essential that public opinion be molded in such a way that the forces of freedom all pull in the same direction.

Since states are means for achieving the free society rather than ends in themselves, Americans must be discriminating in drawing upon nationalism as an ideology to set against Communist propaganda. Nationalism is, no doubt, an explosive force, but will it explode in the right direction? It was, for instance, Czech nationalism, expressed in the desire to outmaneuver the Slovaks and the Sudeten Germans at all costs which led President Benes and his London exile government to sell out Czechoslovakia to Soviet Russia. Both German and Polish nationalisms were at fault in the dispute which set off World War II, and only Polish-German cooperation can secure unity of free forces today and peace in Northeastern Europe tomorrow.

In policy planning for Central and Eastern Europe, and in the selection of exiles to speak over American radio stations, encouragement should be given to that type of nationalism which seeks free development of national character and culture, and which recognizes the equal rights of other nations. The kind of nationalism which demands expansion of territory and power at the expense of others should be just as strongly discouraged.

Liberation is much more than merely driving out the present Communist dictators. It is the creation of a moral order without which true freedom is impossible. The specific measures required for this objective may be quite different in various areas—here a national state, there a federation and perhaps somewhere else an international district.

Americans are not infallible, but if we want to win this fight, we must accept the task of leadership which has been thrust

¹ For a detailed study of the growth of productivity and consumption in Austria-Hungary before 1918 and economic decline in the successor states after that date, see Frederick Hertz, The Economic Problem of the Danubian States. London, 1947, Gollancz, 223 pages.

upon us. To give American policy and propaganda positive content, we should take the initiative. We should sit down with our exile and expellee friends and work out provisional solutions to Central and Eastern problems which seem fairest to all concerned, and then bend our efforts to securing maximum support for this program.

A National Scholarship Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, I introduced a bill, H. R. 2211, on January 13, 1955, "to establish a program of financial aid to students in higher education." This bill was first developed by the United States Office of Education about 2 years ago in cooperation with some 30 national organizations in the field of education.

It provides a program of Federal aid by two methods, scholarship stipends administered by State commissions, and student loan insurance administered by colleges

Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert herewith an article which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 27, 1955, which treats with my bill. The writer is Miss Malvina Lindsay, one of the keenest observers of the American scene writing in Washington today. Her gentle wit and grasp of any subject with which she deals has earned her a solid reputation and a deservedly large following.

The article follows:

TUTELAGE OF THOSE WHO'LL RUN THINGS (By Malvina Lindsay)

The new educational regime of 17-yearold Prince Don Carlos of Bourbon, who may some day be dictator of Spain, Generalissimo Franco willing, may seem a formidable one to many a college freshman.

He's getting geometry, trigonometry, and in addition what is vaguely called "mathematics" all in one dose, also geography (general and Spanish), economics, international law, social sciences, gymnastics every day, and preparatory military studies. He already speaks five languages. Later he'll go 2 years to a military academy, 1 to a naval academy, and wind up with air force training.

and wind up with air force training.

There's no mention of history, literature, philosophy. They will be needed, as will also a very large dose of social science if he expects to rule wisely, or even hold his prospec-

tive job in the world ahead.

Other young royal students of Europe, including Princess Beatrix of the Netherlands, now 17, and Princess Margarethe of Denmark, now 15, prospective rulers of constitutional monarchies, are now tackling the tougher phases of their education for their responsibilities.

In the United States, where tomorrow's leaders are as yet unveiled, there can be no special education of any selected person or Persons for important tasks ahead. Hence, as many as possible of those who have potential talent for public life—as well as for eclentific achievement—need the chance to go to college

go to college. •

How to provide this has long been widely discussed, but has resulted in little action.

President Eisenhower, in his budget message, pointed out the need for highly qualified scientists. The cry for engineers and technologists is a familiar one. But there is even greater need for leaders on many levels to understand the social and economic rumblings now shaking the world.

Those counted on to take the helm—or rather helms—in this country can do best, it is generally felt, if left free to find their

talents and to develop them.

An extensive private system of scholarships now opens educational opportunities to many bright students, but not to a sufficient number. Chief reason is the scholarship grants have too many restrictions.

Many of them are regional, others are available only to certain groups, still others are confined to certain colleges and certain studies. Often they are awarded on the basis of competitive examinations, which means they frequently go to students who would have gone to college anyway. Probably their main handicap is their financial limitation. In 1946-47 the average private grant was \$187.

A plan for an unrestricted system of scholarships, which would make college education available to a much wider range of promising students, is embodied in a bill introduced in the House by Representative Frank Thompson, Jr., of New Jersey. This was developed 2 years ago by the United States Office of Education in cooperation with about 30 national organizations in the field of education.

It provides a program of Federal aid by two methods, scholarship stipends administered by State commissions, and student loan insurance administered by colleges. Scholarships would go only to promising students unable to pay for higher education. No stipend would exceed \$800 annually and amounts would be granted according to need.

While even the highest stipend granted would not pay the full cost of a year at college, it would make the difference to many a bright student between staying on in college and falling out. It would enable many a talented high-school graduate to go on to college with some help from parents or from his own efforts. The loan insurance program would eventually be self-financing.

The top two-fifths of high-school graduates, as ranked by grades and intelligence scores, are regarded as especially desirable college material. In this group there are currently about 342,000 high-school graduates, according to the recent report, America's Resources of Specialized Talent, of the Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training. Of these about 51 percent, or 174,000, enroll in college; 168,000 do not.

The will and ambition of students as well as their IQ's must be considered in any scholarship program. But it is estimated by educators that under a broader scholarship program the proportion of the top two-fifths who would seek to multiply their talents rather than bury them would be raised at least from one-half to three-fourths. Even that increase has great implications for the Nation's future supply of leadership and trained talent.

Suspension of the Copper Import Duty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, a bill, H. R. 3202, I have introduced today extends until June 30, 1958, the suspension of the present import tax on

copper. The present suspension will expire on June 30 of this year.

The bill provides for a 3-year extension rather than a 2-year extension. Otherwise, it is identical with the bill which I introduced last year. It is confined strictly to copper and should not be confused with the import tax on lead or zinc or any other mineral or metal. It is confined strictly to copper because the copper situation in this country is in a class by itself, with problems peculiar to that industry.

This bill, in continuing the law which expires on June 30, also provides the same appropriate safeguards to our domestic producers by requiring the termination of the suspension in the event the price of copper should fall below 24 cents per pound and remain at that level for a period of 1 month.

Last year I said:

America's high standard of living is, in part, dependent upon an adequate supply of copper. Similarly, our national security demands that copper be available for the manufacture of the implements which help to guarantee that security. Employment of millions of industrial workers is bound up with copper. More than half of the free world's supply of copper is consumed in the United States. Our strategic metals stockpling program also depends upon an adequate supply of copper.

There is not only no reason for medifying these observations, but, if anything, the world situation today emphasizes the validity of my remarks. Despite the fact that efforts are continually being made to expand domestic production, the additional tonnage being achieved will still leave a wide gap between domestic mine output and our requirements. The simple fact is that the domestic supply deficit—the difference between domestic crude production and deliveries-has been continuous since 1940 and averages one-third of our copper requirements. This deficit must be compensated for by imports, 85 percent of which come from the Western Hemisphere. If anything, the supply of copper is tighter today than when we last acted on similar legislation.

I have reason to believe that the continuation of the suspension has the support of the administration and of the overwhelming majority of the industry.

Research: A Great National Asset

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, an article in the current issue of the Wisconsin Alumnus magazine describes the amazing variety of research work which is being carried on at the University of Wisconsin. Twenty percent of the total budget of that great institution is dedicated to research of all types.

It has long been my opinion that research in both the social and physical sciences is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the American way of life, and one of the most important contributing factors to our success as a nation. There at Madison, the effectiveness of research is being demonstrated throughout the entire year, as university scholars and scientists advance the frontiers of man's knowledge.

I ask unanimous consent that the text of this article be printed in the Ap-

pendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ROLE OF RESEARCH

The average Wisconsin student, as an undergraduate, is likely to be little concerned with one of the university's major functions—the uncovering of new knowledge through research.

Not directly concerned, that is.

For his professors are active in research and scholarly effort. They have to be, just to keep up with their fields.

And with a constantly freshened outlook, teachers engaged in research can bring to their students a depth of teaching that is

invaluable to both.

It may even be said that some of our average student's best professors are teaching at Wisconsin largely because of the research freedom that's offered to them. The drawing and holding power of this intangible, together with availability of such research facilities as libraries and laboratories, is often as instrumental in keeping top professors contented as are the practical considerations of salary scale and housing conditions.

Probably the undergraduate's unfamiliarity with the wide scope of research activity at the University of Wisconsin is shared by most of the State's citizens. Certainly as this committee approached its task, it viewed research work in many fields as something of a rather nebulous nature. But we discovered many unsuspected things in our tour of university research facilities and in interviews with research people ranging from

deans to graduate assistants.

WHAT IS RESEARCH?

Research has been defined simply as "an effort to do things better and not be caught asleep at the switch." That's probably an apt definition, and translated into Wisconsin research it means such things as-

Successful identification and isolation by university blochemists of a substance in floral sweetpeas that causes a disease when eaten by humans or animals-a project instigated at the request of medical men who now see in the discovery the makings of an attack on arthritis and hardening of the arteries:

Development of a new natural cheese, procured with almost no hand labor and therefore will be cheaper for the housewife;

A new legal code for the State emerging from a cooperative effort among State government, bar association, and university research workers;

Greater efficiency in school administration

and in teaching techniques;

More chance of winning the battle against cancer; Wisconsin has the third largest cancer study center in the world; or

Better understanding of the reasons behind political and economic trends in Wis-

Research is often broken down into two types-basic research and applied research. It's the job of basic research to establish the basic facts of nature and human behavior that may be used as a launching platform for the more spectacular and more easily evaluated applied research.

Often there is but a thin line between basic research and that called applied. Not

only is the former fundamental to applied research; many practical discoveries are made by scientists with no definite inten-tion of finding anything of the sort at all. (Scientists have a name for this art of finding things one is not looking for-serendip-Some folks possess the art to a greater extent than others.)

In the university exists a further break-down of research. There is budgeted research, supported specifically by funds from State appropriations, gifts, Federal aids, and contracts. Most of this is scientific in nature.

Then there is related research, which the university expects of all its teachers . Funds for these projects (all closely related to their teaching function) are not reflected in the research budget, but are a part of the in-struction budget. By far the greatest per-centage of this is basic research or scholarly

Yet there is often a relationship between budgeted and this so-called related research, particularly in the natural sciences. fessor spending his allotment of related research time may be engaged in work similar to that which he is following in budget research.

WHY RESEARCH?

While the university feels strongly that good research pays off in good teaching, there are other strong arguments the university offers to point up the importance of research.

Probably it's not even necessary here to elaborate on the vast contributions that organized research has made to technological progress and our American way of living. was research, for example, that brought down the price of penicillin so that \$100 worth in 1943 would cost only a nickel today. As a matter of fact, it was hours and years of pure research that in the first place made it possible to discover the beneficial effects of that drug.

The State of Wisconsin has long recognized the importance of research and, by statute, Wisconsin specifically designates research as one of the functions of the university. It has gone further than this, and since 1919 has consistently appropriated money for general unspecified university research. The university declares that these appropriations (\$2 million in all) have been largely instrumental in building up a research tradition at the institution and in attracting more funds in the form of gifts and grants.

The university feels, too, that in order to carry on an informed mission of public service in agriculture and in other areas, continuing research is necessary to solve the prac-tical problems facing the people of the -not only through its own extension services but through other State agencies and private practitioners in various fields.

THE HOW OF RESEARCH

Research at the university doesn't "just happen." This is becoming more and more evident as research projects become more complicated and call for assistance knowledge from workers in various fields. The value of the close physical relationship between various colleges on the Wisconsin campus became apparent to this committee as it studied the interchange of resources among specialists in various fields-a process the university calls cross-fertilization.

Of course, there does have to be a starting place for research—the idea. After this comes an investigation-for while duplication in research effort is commonly supposed by the public to occur, upon analysis it's clear there's little to be gained by any investigator in repeating work done by others, except where duplication for checking purposes is desired. So the research worker maintains close ties with other workers in the field, through technical journals, meetings, and personal correspondence.

There are further questions: Is time available for investigating this new idea? money? How does it stack up against other ideas in apparent importance? If these first questions each get a "yes," the answers are still only tentative, because the project must be reviewed by department heads and deans if appropriations are needed. If no cash outlay is required, the chain is not so long.

It is the dean's task to pass judgment on the various requests and he then tries to keep his own fund requests at a reasonable level—that being defined as the most he can expect to get. What he actually gets, of course, is up to the university president, the board of regents, and the legislature.

Probably most budgeted research funds go toward salaries of research assistants, who offer minds as well as hands in providing the equivalent of the technical assistants used in industrial research. Some technical assistants are employed in the university, too, where the work is routine and not particulariy associated with a learning experience. It is possible, university officials say, that more money spent on stenographic help one form of technical assistance-would be of considerable value in relieving professors of routine detail.

In some instances, equipment costs represent a major outlay in a series of research projects. In many cases, however, researchers use joint facilities like the election microscope, the Numerical Analysis Laboratory, or farm plots. The university feels that the availability of these general-use facilities represents an important saving.

Ordinarily the university's role in research stops short of the development stage-that's left to commercial agencies. The true to a large extent in diagnostic work; there is no particular desire on the part of the university to compete with private

agencies. No single individual or group solely benefits from university research. All research findings-regardless of the source of supporting funds—are public property (excepting, of course, certain classified work undertaken for the Federal Government). are given as wide distribution as possiblethrough the University News Service and over the State broadcasting service stations and on WHA-TV, as well as in professional tournals and at meetings. Occasionally they find an outlet in books published by the

University of Wisconsin Press. As far as the individual professor is con-cerned, there's not much gold in the hills of It's usually not worth the effort research. of a scientist to take out a patent on a discovery; he would have to worry about establishing it legally, selling it, and waging a constant struggle to keep it from being infringed upon. And for what? Only 4 or 5 out of more than 50 Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation (WARF) patents have brought in substantial sums, and only a dozen more have broken even with patent and developmental costs, The research worker also is aware that any development probably has been made almost entirely on State time. Occasionally, WARF assumes a patent, and allows the researcher, or research team, about 15 percent of net returns—if any. With all this, it has become traditional at Wisconsin that discoveries should be made public and no individual patents be taken out.

The average faculty member is much more apt to make some extra money as a consultant to some commercial firm than as an inventor. The university takes the position that a man's recreational time is his ownand if he wants to spend some of it in work, that's all right as long as it doesn't interfere with his university work. The whole subject, however, is considered a constant problem all over the Nation and an American Association of Universities committee is presently studying it (under the chairmanship of President E. B. Fred). University officials declare that

"the Wisconsin faculty has shown remarkable restraint in consultative work."

It is understandable why the university

feels it's at a disadvantage in ruling on extra income sources; in many cases, professors are making considerable financial sacrifices remain in teaching and research. And it is natural that usually the best staff members receive the most opportunities to do private consulting.

RESEARCH MONEY

About \$222 million is spent in this country every year to finance research in institutions of higher education. Of this amount, the Federal Government supplies on the average of 60 percent of the funds (and earmarks 95 percent of this for developmental research).

At the University of Wisconsin, the ratio of Federal support of research is considerably less than the national average, standing at 25 percent. University officials see two main

disadvantages to Federal support:
1. Federal support could easily turn into Federal control—there is less danger when reliance is placed on a variety of fund sources; and

2. Should national legislative policy drastically reduce research appropriations, a federally supported research program would be

left high and dry.
So at Wisconsin less than one-half of budgeted research funds is State appropriated (75 percent of these funds go into agricultural research). The other half comes from gifts and grants.

One-half of these gifts and grants funds earmarked for research comes from Federal One-fourth comes from the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation, and the

balance comes from other gifts and grants.

The grand total for all budgeted research in 1952-53 was \$5,595,694.

Since 1928 the Wisconsin Alumni Research Foundation has given more than \$8 million to the university, of which nearly \$6 million has gone directly into natural science research. (The other \$2 million has been used for special equipment, building amortization, fellowships, and the support of symposia.) Most WARF income has come from the vitamin D discoveries of Dr. Harry Steenbock, but the foundation also administers and develops other patents and conducts product testing. It would be difficult to overestimate the important part WARF has played in developing the university's research program.

Regardless of the source of research gifts and grants, professorial salaries are rarely paid from these funds. If the university is to have control over the research, it feels it must pay the salary of the principal investi-gator. There is also the chance that cutting off of any substantial amount of gift and grant funds would mean a very difficult adjustment in the faculty.

THE FUTURE OF RESEARCH

Indications are that the stockpile of basic knowledge is running low. The need for this country to keep up with the rest of the world in discovering this knowledge is Obvious. Traditionally, and successfully, the universities of this country—both private and public—have played a vital role in the Overall research pattern. Now, of all times, Wisconsin, and other States, will have to share the burden, or the Federal Govern-ment will be forced to step in to fill the

A large percentage of Wisconsin research, of course, is directed at problems of par-ticular consequence to this State. The university is pushing ahead steadily, and once in a while dramatically, in such fields as milk marketing, cranberry processing, statu-tory code revision, educational counseling, and sewage disposal. The list of research projects now underway runs into the hundreds.

In most fields research is becoming more complex than ever. In medical research,

for instance, it requires a team of scientists to make any substantial progress in the treatment of heart disease. The Enzyme Institute (which is financed almost entirely from gifts and grants) is proving valuable as a site for training scientists even beyond the doctoral level. There is every indication that post-doctorate training of this type will become increasingly important as time goes on. While the university estimates it can continue to conduct this post-doctorate training and allied research from gifts and the Institution feels it important that the State should give at least tacit approval to expansion in this area.

Need for expansion of research effort in the social sciences and humanities, too, is a conviction of the university. The logic here seems evident upon considering that many of the world's problems are of social rather than technological nature. Fortunately, social science research techniques probably will become more efficient—al-though more expensive—with more use of electronic machines and other mechanical

TOO MITCH OF TOO LITTLE?

Presently about 20 percent of the university's total budget is used for research, The administration considers this a good balance from the point of view of stimulating instruction, and would like to have this ratio maintained-even in the face of a great increase in undergraduate enrollment. The point, it says, is this:

"It's easy to say 'transfer funds from re-search to instruction' but that takes into account neither the financial structure of research, the need for the development of basic knowledge, the close relationship between research and teaching, nor the detrimental effect on the future standing of the university.

The Late Erland H. Hedrick

SPEECH OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRD. I yield to the gentleman from Pennsylvania.

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, it is fitting and proper that this solemn and dignified ceremony take place in this great form of democracy as a tribute from this body to the life and memory of one of West Virginia's most distinguished sons.

Not only do I extend my heartfelt sympathy to the people of the congression district represented for so many years, and so ably, by Dr. Hedrick, but I extend that expression of sympathy to the entire Nation. For while it is true. his home town, his constituency and his State lost a good neighbor, a firm friend, and outstanding public servant," the United States lost a great American.

As many of my colleagues know, Mr. Speaker, in this distinguished body some Members become more close friends than others. I shall always be proud to declare that Dr. Hedrick was one of my close and personal friends. I often wondered why Congressman Hedrick, a learned practitioner of the ancient and noble calling of medicine, entered the rough and tumble arena of politics. By

knowing the good doctor as I did, and as long and as well as I did, I know from his great heart and from his practice of medicine and from his knowledge and love of his fellow men, there sprang this desire to bring his understanding and feelings to public service.

In performance of our duties in our great Committee on Appropriations of the House, year after year, in moments of great stress of soul searching in matters dealing with the lives and fortunes of America, and therefore, the world, I saw Dr. Hedrick stand firm in his belief in his God and country to always do the right thing.

I have had occasion, in the performance of our official duties, to visit various countries of Western Europe in company with the distinguished Dr. Hedrick. His charm and great sense of humor and deep appreciation of other people and other problems, gave us an ambassador of good will to these other people at a time that they and we needed understanding more than any other

I enjoyed the visits made by me to the home of the good doctor and his gracious wife. Accompanied by my wife, who I am pleased to say is a dear and close friend of Mrs. Hedrick, both in Washington during our years there and since, the warmth and pleasantness of hospitality for which West Virginia is famous, was another cause for increasing endearment of our friendship.

And so today, with this solemnity in the fullness of my heart, Mr. Speaker, I can look toward the heaven and say to my good friend Congressman Hedrick in the words of the poet, which so well typifies your service to the people and your country:

So live, that when thy summons comes to leave that shore, which never yet has seen the image of a homeward sail, may perfect peace be yours, and where you lie dreaming know that you have not lived and have not died in vain.

A National Academy of Diplomacy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include a letter from Paul Harvey and an excerpt from his news of August 29, 1954:

RIVER FOREST, ILL., January 24, 1955. The Honorable J. ARTHUR YOUNGER, House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C. DEAR MR. YOUNGER: Congratulations on your effort to get the Academy of Diplomacy off the ground. This must come if we are

to match wits with the world. I will be most honored if the enclosed con-

tribution is of any value to you in this effort.

Let me know if there is anything more I can do.

Sincerely.

PAUL HARVEY.

Now the rest of the story. Twenty years ago they warned us of global war. They were right. Today we are being warned of global suicide. Every peace treaty has been nothing but an option on a bigger war. What's the matter? We can whip anybody outdoors. But every indoor bout we get beat. Our warriors can fight to the Elbe River. But our diplomats stop them there. Our soldiers can slug their way from Pusan to the Yalu. But our statesmen retreat to the 38th parallel. GI Joe American drags himself on his belly all over the bloody map of Asia while some Simple Simon in striped pants is giving it away over a cup of pink tea. We are entitled to a National Academy of Diplomacy. The men we train to die for our country are dead for nothing unless we have other men trained to win the peace for our country. If we can afford to put men through West Point and Annapolis and the Air Force Academy so we'll have capable officers to lead us in war, then we owe them an academy to qualify Americans to lead us to peace.

Listen to these honored names in our military history: Concord, Valley Forge, San Juan Hill, Argonne and Belleau Wood, Dakar, Normandy, Guadalcanal, Iwo Jima, Inchon and Pusan and Seoul. We won every one. Proud names. Names to make an American's

Listen to these names from our recent dip-Iomatic past: Yalta, Potsdam, Tehran, Quebec, Dumbarton Oaks. Places where we divided Berlin, sold out Poland, picked Tito over Mihailovich. Places where we forced repatriation, demanded unconditional surrender. Places where our President sat with a lean young traitor at his elbow and par-

celed out the world to our paper allies.

Ever since we recognized the bloody-rag flag of Red Russia in 1933 we've been spending our sons and winning wars and losing ground anyway. Every time one of our mag nificent military men got our enemies on the ropes, some compromising civilian policymaker has pulled the rug out from under him. Mind you, we should have a terrible feeling about people of this sort. Every time a Wedemeyer or a MacArthur, a Patton, a Van Fleet, or a Clark, or a Lawton has started to chase our enemies back home where they belong, somebody benched the winning pitcher. So we've lost a hundred million additional friends every year to communism since the war.

We need skilled diplomats. We desperately need capable, loyal, cagey, all-American diplomats. The kind who can go to the conference table with a poker face and a marked deck and an ace up each sleeve. kind of diplomat who would be as American as Churchill is British. And, mind you, I respect him for it. I'm proud of Winnie when he looks out for his people first. Now I'd like to see a few American statesmen

unafraid to wave the American flag.

Did you know that through the darkest days of World War II in the Pacific the Stars and Stripes were flying over the enemyoccupied Philippines? Because way up there in the jungle fastness of the Zambales Mountains of Luzon a handful of cavalrymen never gave up. They knew they'd die if they were caught, but they sweated it out. And on sunshiny days when the mountain passes were free of the enemy these American boys would unfurl Old Glory and let her fly in the breeze, lying there by the hour feasting on In 3 long years of enemy occupation of this territory the colors of our 26th Cavalry were never hauled down. Why, when Manila was being liberated and those boys made their way back through the enemy lines to present that flag to Gen. Douglas MacArthur it shook every man present to the marrow of his bones. Don't you promiscuous internationalists tell those lads not to wave our flag. I say if we'd had a handful like 'em running our diplomatic corps we'd never

have had to face that ignominious Good Friday at Panmunjom, where American lives were spent for nothing while our courage was left on base in New Mexico.

We need an academy of diplomacy now. We're alone and we're outnumbered. If you march Chinese, double-time, past a given spot four abreast and kill them all as they come kill them off 4 by 4 and every second, they'd still keep coming forever. We can't match that production. We don't breed fast enough. We're outnumbered and still we're scattering our strength when we should be concentrating it. Our sons are ordered to march in every direction while our diplomats advance to the rear. We need a national academy of diplomacy, which would select young men the way the FBI selects them—for qualifications suited to their assignments—not egg-head intellec-tuals of mongrel allegiance. Weed them out right at the beginning. Weed out the rum pots and the blabbermouths before they are assigned to the State Department, not after; and staff this institution with a faculty of tested and proved career Americans. Borrow for 2 years some of the capable, loyal, civilian professors and instructors now at West Point and Annapolis. Salvage the experience of that large number of retired military officers who have seen diplomacy at work and had to fight when it falled. But don't leave the faculty selection up to the politicians or we'll be right back where we are now. We need taint-free diplomats, not some ward-heeling puppet who has sold 150 percent of himself like a broken-down boxer.

At the national convention of the American Legion in Washington this coming week. Minnesota National Commander L. J. Willett is going to ask the American Legion's endorsement of a national academy of diplomacy. Maybe this is a start. If you have a delegate there, urge him to support this reso-

lution.

Back in my native Oklahoma, the Osage used to say, "White man fool Indian once, shame on white man. White man fool Indian twice, shame on Indian."

American Joe has been fooled too many times into fighting in too many jungles and rice paddies, in too much mud and up too many mountains, trying to win the very things his uncertain civilian leaders were giving away. It would be funny if it were not so terribly tragic.

So they shoot down our planes and imprison our citizens and ignore our protests. The right diplomacy could convict them for murder, but ours can't even get an indict-

Then when our disillusioned friends turn on us, we try to put out the fire by piling

on paper money.

In the three-and-a-half thousand years of recorded history, 8,000 peace treaties have been broken. Yet we continue to sell out our tangible resources and our irreplacable young sons in exchange for these worthless scraps of paper. Let's siphon off just one of those billions we're giving our friends and give our own next generation a break.

Give our own children a chance to be represented at the bargaining table by someone who knows what he's doing and who's doing it for us. Let's groom some Americans who know that red is more than a color and Hiss is more than a sound. Let's get our diplomats out of those little tweed panties and into some blue serge. And then him grow into them before we turn him loose to wage peace. Let's train and equip some solid, flag-waving fundamental Americans who are of one definite sex and one permanent allegiance. Men who will fight only to defend our national honor and our national security and then fight with every weapon in the newspapers to win.

United States of Americans have been smart enough to split the atom. To force matter itself to give up its secrets. But the

Kremlin's tyrants were enough smarter to pick our pockets of our secrets and talk us out of our warships. Remember Hitler lost with all his cannons. What Goebbels took with his typewriter. The strongest arms won't open a catsup bottle. But any housewife with know-how can.

What I'm saying is if we stay strong and get smart we can survive. Listen. There are 15 million Soviet citizens in slave camps. Fifteen million. That's 1 in every Russian family. The Soviet peoples are being forced to live under their own military occupla-tions. They're going to get mad. They're going to change management one of these days. Dictatorships always do. They die because they are rotten to the core. Remember that. Dictatorships are always most vulnerable deep within their borders. heaven's name let's quit attacking them on their fringes where they are strongest.

We need a National Academy of Diplomacy With only 100 percent Americans qualified to teach or to enroll. For only a total American is a fit opponent for a total Communist. We need men groomed to give our enemies some straight talk and us some straight

It's getting dark fast. We're close to the edge. Down there and just one step away from here is a super chamber of horrors Right in front of us and just one step. We can't feel our way any longer. We need lead-ers who are schooled, trained, who know their way around. History's pen is in your hand, Americans. You must write the rest of the story.

The National Legion of Greek American War Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, on October 1, 1954, I was very much privileged and highly honored to address a meeting of the National Legion of Greek American War Veterans at the 71st Regiment Armory in New York City. I am indebted to this outstanding organization of war veterans of Greek-American descent because at this meeting. I was honored with an award of the Cross of Merit of the Greek Legion.

In attendance were the national officers of the Greek Legion, National Commander Denys K. Zongos, Adjutant General Perry Voultsos, and members of Greek Legion Posts 1 and 3 of New York City and Ladies Auxiliary Post 2. Special guests included Col. K. Stefan Pomierski, the Very Rev. Canon John Malinowski, Commander Gust Zapnukayas of Post 1, and Mrs. Elizabeth Contogeorge, commander of Ladies Auxiliary Post 2.

Lt. Col. Perry Voultsos, adjutant general of the National Legion of Greek American War Veterans, made the presentation of the Cross of Merit and under unanimous consent, I include his remarks in the RECORD:

As a fitting reward for your concrete friendship and championship of the Greek cause wherever needed, for your everlasting moral support and undying affection for the Hellenic people, it is my sincere pleasure and proud privilege to present you, Congressman PHILIP J. PHILBIN, with the Cross of Merit of the Greek Legion, with the assurance that your name has been hewn in golden letters on the centuries-old granite of Grecian history along with the names of many other American Phil-Hellenes who championed the cause of Hellas, such as Daniel Webster, Howe, and Clay.

Mr. Speaker, I also include in the REC-ORD the text of my remarks at this memorable meeting of the Greek Legion:

REMARKS IN PART OF HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN, OF MASSACHUSETTS, ACKNOWLEDGING RE-CEIPT OF AWARD AT CEREMONIES OF GREEK AMERICAN WAR VETERANS, NEW YORK CITY, OCTOBER 1, 1954

Colonel Voultsos, Canon Malinowski, Mr. Pomierski, distinguished guests, and members of this outstanding pro-American organization, it is very difficult for me indeed adequately to express my appreciation for the great honor you have conferred upon me, but I want you Colonel Voultsos, and all your associates and members, to know of my undying gratitude for your kindness, confidence and esteem. You may be sure that I accept this honor with fullest humility and with the recognition that it carries with it not only your approval of my contributions to the veterans and to the Nation and to all your people, but also a very high responsibility to continue to stand loyally and unflinchingly in the Congress for those great causes of government and humanity In which we are mutually interested, and which are of such moment to the cause of free government.

It is not my purpose tonight to burden you with extended speech. But really if I were Demosthenes I could not possibly impress upon you the very deep feelings of appreciation and the renewed sense of dedication which your most distinguished award has prompted within every ounce of my being.

Your organization, and its superb leadership is serving a very high purpose for this Nation. It has grown out of devoted service and unselfish sacrifice. It is based upon a demonstrated loyalty to our beloved country which will ever serve as an inspiration to all our citizens. It aims to serve in peace just as its members have served in war with fullest concern for the well-being, the safety, the security of this Nation and for the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

We live in a time of greatest peril. We are beset by an evil worldwide conspiracy that seeks the destruction of human liberty and aims to impose a thralldom and slavery upon free men and women everywhere. cannot be too vigilant in ferreting out the active agents of this conspiracy within our own Nation. We cannot be too determined in a standing up bravely, courageously and militantly before the great dangers which this conspiracy has caused throughout the world. It is a time for Americans to recap ture something of the fine spirit and noble patriotism and firm resolution which enabled you and your comrades to defeat angreat tyranny which was afflicting mankind and visiting our Nation with the threat of destruction.

You of Greek blood have a great and mighty heritage. Americans all, who have stood the acid test of the highest demands of Americanism with courage, valor, and devotion, you are descendants of one of the greatest races of all history, a race, a nation, and a people that has been mighty in arms, mighty in spirit, mighty in learning, mighty in its democratic orientation, mighty in its democratic orientation, mighty in its immeasurable contributions to civilization. Above all, you spring from a people whose inspiring family life, whose loyalty to spiritual values, whose love of religion and belief in God, which has been practiced for

centuries, typify a truly great and truly outstanding nation. For the Greeks have feit, as civilized

For the Greeks have felt, as civilized Americans have felt and still feel, that worthwhile human progress and belief in God Almighty are inseparable. The doctrine that without faith in the Divine Master no nation can long survive is a basic feature of Greek civilization—a doctrine which must be recognized more fully by all peoples of the earth if communism is to be successfully fought.

The achievements of the Greek people ring down through the ages with clarion sound of glory and grandeur. Pericles and the Golden Age, perhaps one of the few periods in all time when the fine arts, cultural life, and individual development in political and artistic values flowed in such a favorable climate.

The famed Acropolis, an historic monument which symbolizes a great culture, which has profoundly influenced human beings throughout the ages, a place of refuge and the inspirational center of glorious olden Greece, the place where Christianity took new and vigorous root, a place which still inspires the Greek people and the free world.

And Aphrodite, the goddess of beauty, typifying the magnificent art of the Greeks, not only beauty in the physical sense, but beauty of the soul, beauty of ideals, beauty of thought and culture.

And if time permitted, I could go on ad infinitum enumerating the monumental accomplishments of the Greeks, and I think that these glories should be recited frequently not only by your own people but by all true lovers of liberty and culture, because they exemplify so appropriately and beautifully the long successful struggle of man from the cave to the culture and civilization we enjoy at the present moment.

And let me remind you, my friends, that prophecy in the world did not die with the Delphic oracle. Faith in high ideals and undying determination to uphold them did not die when the Golden Age passed into history. We have visible signs, even unto the present hour and in contemporary times, in the heroic fight-an incomparable uphill fight characterized by bitter struggle and bloodshed—the heroic fight of presentday Greece and the present-day Greek people against communism which recently has electrified and inspired the free world. And like the Delphic oracle of the past, the success of that fight is a prophecy and a prediction and an assurance that in the future, just as the Greeks have done, all democratic-minded, liberty-loving, God-fearing peoples in the world following the leadership and example of our own great Nation and joining in a great human brotherhood embracing all those who believe in the true dignity of man and the sanctity of the individual soul will militantly defend and preserve our equaled, our unparalleled, our incomparable institutions of democracy and justice.

Yes, my friends; I could tell a long story of the glories and the grandeurs of Greece, of the sacrifices and devotion and indomitable spirit of your forbears, the Greek pecple-a story of war and a story of peace, a story of invincible progress through bloody struggle, a story of peerless culture shaped by statesmen, warriors, orators, sculptors, artists, writers, musicians, the drama, the stage, the harp, and lyre, which sounded in the past a song of hope, strength, and cour--which united the Greeks of ancient times and now sound again, here and elsewhere throughout the world, to defy the unspeakable enemies of freedom and to rally true lovers of liberty to do battle against its enemies, to liberate the enslaved, to give new hope and inspiration to subject peoples struggling and suffering under the pall of persecution and exploitation and abominable discrimination that debases the dignity of man and disgraces modern civilization.

There is another side to Greek culture as it has influenced our own great country and that is its scholarship. The logic, the rhetoric and the aesthetics of Aristotle are as realistic and vital and meaningful today as when first written. The ideals of Plato still beckon to those who are pledged to scholarship and freedom of thought. In fact, if you should subtract Greek culture from civilization, there would be no civilization as we know it today because it is a primary cornerstone of our modern political, social and ethical life.

It is pertinent to note in connection with present trends in our own Nation which so greatly disturb us that the Greeks of old were not materialists. They were profoundly spiritual in their approach. They did not embrace mechanistic, sordid philosophies of the jungle which consign human beings to the status of the beast, of which we hear and see so much today. They were idealists, they had their feet on the ground and their gaze turned towards the heavens and for that reason, despite their many contributions to the material world, their greatest triumphs will be found, not in the world of matter or of substance, but in the world of thought and the world of thought and the world of thought and the world of the spirit.

Realizing these things, my friends, it is easy for any of us, except of course the Maxists Communists with their evil designs on personal liberty, to understand why with unquenchable purpose the modern Greeks against powerful revolutionary subversion have gallantly and successfully potected their free way of life. And we of America, greatest free Nation in history, may well be proud that our culture is enriched, ennobled and perfected by the presence and loyalty of so mony devoted industrialists, inspired American citizens of Greek heritage. of all our country is fortunate and blessed indeed to have men like you and the members of your organization and stanch Americans of every race, color, and creed who are fired with the patriotism, the loyalty and devotion to stand by our country in time of peril and need. With God's guidance, with wise statesmanship, with renewed dedication to the great principles of America, let us go forward to grapple with the problems of the present without fear, compromise or appeasement, confident that in time through adherence to our ideals and unselfish service to our Nation and interest in the common problems of humanity, loyally united to those of common bonds, we will find a way, not only to protect the security of our own beloved land, but to usher in an era of prosperity, security and peace for ourselves and all mankind.

Colonel Coultsos, I thank you one and all. Keep up the good work for the cause of Greece—a Greece again reunited with historic Cyprus and your invaluable work for America, our own great country and its cherished ideals of freedom, democracy and justice.

Veterans' Educational Benefits Should Be Extended

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, I desire to include at this time the statement I presented before the House Veterans' Affairs Committee on January 25, at the public hearings being held on H. R. 587.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF HON. HAROLD D. DONOHUE, OF MASSACHUSETTS, BEFORE HOUSE VETERANS' AFFAIRS COMMITTEE ON H. R. 587

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, I want to thank the chairman and the committee for the courtesy extended to me and congratulate you upon the expediency with which you are acting to deal with a problem affecting the lives of so many of our military personnel and veterans. Of course, I would expect nothing less from the committee on which I have had the high honor of serving for several years and therefore know so well the industry and competency of its individual members. I have the happlest recollections of my membership here, particularly under the spirited leadership of the acknowledged champion of veterans' welfare, my distinguished colleague from Massachusetts, the beloved Mrs.

Knowing the arduous schedule of this committee, as well as the multiple personal duties resting heavily upon each member, I have no intention of transgressing long upon

your valued time.

I am here to urge you to promptly consider and approve, I hope unanimously, this bill to provide that persons serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955, may continue to accrue educational benefits under the Veterans Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952.

I think everyone will substantially agree to the need and the merit of this measure which, to my mind, affords but simple justice to the patriotic men and women who are now in the service, or will be by the end of this month. Any action to suddenly cut off these educational benefits is practically a violation of an unwritten understanding and virtual promise by the Government that persons going into the armed services in this period would have the privilege of pursuing their educational ambitions with Government assistance upon the termination of their enlistments.

Not the least of the aims of this bill is to remove any doubts in the minds of the persons affected and to make the extent of their entitlements quite clear, and unquestionably it will serve to do just that. It will, therefore, lift the morale of these young patriots and assure them the Congress has no intention of summarily taking away any of the benefits to which they understood they had a right. I submit that it is vitally important, more especially in the light of recent unfortunate developments in the Far East, that the morale of our military personnel, their families, and dependents be encouraged to a high level, and this proposal is designed to accomplish that objective.

We all understand that the need of prompt action on this measure by the Congress is great. I shall not, then, attempt to complicate consideration of this bill by introducing any discussion about granting educational benefits to those who enter mili-tary service in the future. I think that serious thought should be given to the extended projection of such benefits and I earnestly hope the committee will devote its attention to that subject in the near future. If, by any chance, such provision was included during the coming House action on this bill, I would be inclined to favor it on the basic ground that no one, not even the President, dares try to foretell what will develop from the dangerous venture upon which we are now embarked in the Far East waters and islands. I trust, therefore, we will have an opportunity to imple-ment this legislation before too long, if the majority of the membership feels such action would be essential.

I realize full well that this committee will conscientiously act upon this proposal, and I earnestly trust you will determine to favorably report it to the House without extended delay, because it is most impressively meritorious and just on its face value.

My thanks again to you all for your kindness and courtesy.

Gen. Douglas MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Mr. Speaker, it was fitting that yesterday the American people and the Congress should pause to pay tribute to one of the greatest military commanders the Western Hemisphere has ever produced. Gen. Douglas MacArthur. General MacArthur did not serve in one war, but in a series of wars. He fought for his country during a long period of national crises.

Space will permit me today to mention only a few of his great achievements. It would take many volumes to enumerate them all. General MacArthur made a great contribution to the security of America when he was Chief of Staff of our Army in the early 1930's. By his personality, tact in dealing with Congress, and his foresight, he was able to maintain through those lean years the nucleus of an Army, an Army and Officer Corps around which was built the invincible war machine of World War II. Few men could have obtained the appropriations necessary to maintain even that small nucleus during those days of economic distress.

General MacArthur's brilliant stand in the Philippines gave assurance and renewed confidence to the free world in 1942 when everything seemed to be going against us. General MacArthur, as commander in chief of the Pacific, never received over a small fraction of American manpower, nor did he ever receive any more than a very small portion of the industrial output of this great arsenal of Democracy. Notwithstanding this fact, he was able, by superb strategy, to defeat one of the greatest military machines of all history. When the war closed in Europe, General MacArthur and his valiant men had defeated Japan under the most adverse of circumstances. We will ever be indebted to him and his commanders for saving many lives by their miraculous efforts in the Pacific.

In command of our occupation forces in Japan following the war, General MacArthur rendered no less a service to the cause of human freedom. He would permit no joint occupation of Japan by the Communists. This policy was a marked contrast to the policy as followed in Germany. General MacArthur forestalled communism in Japan.

General MacArthur's leadership during the Korean campaign is unsurpassed in military history. My only regret is that he was not permitted to destroy the armies and supply bases of the Red Chinese. Under his command we could have stopped, for this generation at least, aggression in the Far East. We

would have bolstered the hope of a chaotic and depressed world. There would have been no Indochina and no Formosa emergency today.

Since his service in Korea, General MacArthur ably brought to the attention of the American people the significance of the Far East in world strategy. For the first time, the American people began to realize that the Far East is the key to Europe and possibly to the whole world situation. The Communists will not dare move in Europe until they secure their Asiatic flank.

By passing the resolution on Formosa this week in this House, I believe the foresight of General Douglas MacArthur has been vindicated. I wish for him many more very pleasant and happy birthdays. I believe that as time rolls by, the true worth of General Douglas MacArthur to the whole cause of world freedom will be more and more evident.

Mr. Speaker, I commend to the House the following article by Constantine Brown which appeared sometime ago in the Washington Evening Star:

MACARTHUR'S ACTION DEFENDED—BOOK BY GENERAL WILLOUGHBY DOCUMENTS THE REAL STORY OF THE FRUSTRATIONS WHICH PLAGUED THE GENERAL

(By Constantine Brown)

At the time of former President Truman's abrupt and preemptory removal of America's great military leader, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, from command of United States and United Nations forces in the Far East, public opinion in the main was too shocked and confused to see clearly the basic considerations involved.

Charges and countercharges, attacks on and defense of the departing general came so thick and fast that the purveyors of clarity and truth had a difficult time making themselves heard, and the easily self-evident facts of the controversy were obscured in a smoke screen of politics.

But the truth has gradually made itself known, and the incredible situation of "war without victory" has been underlined by the humiliating armistice signed last year with the Chinese Reds at Panmunjom. Through the fog of distortion and misrepresentation, General MacArthur has kept his own counsel. He made his position plain on his return to the United States from Japan, giving the Congress and the people the benefit of the facts he alone knew best.

Now, some 3 years later, comes an authoritative book crammed with revelations on the Korean war certain to be a bombshell to those Americans who subscribed to the "wrong war at the wrong time in the wrong place" theory. The book, soon to be released, is MacArthur, 1941-51, by Maj. Gen. Charles A. Willoughby, General MacArthur's chief of intelligence during those years, and John Chamberlain. Publication date is to be September 29 by McGraw-Hill.

Here, in documented, cold, clear type, is the real story of the futility, the frustration, the unbelievable vaciliation and timidity in high places that our foremost field commander had to face in his determined attempt to carry out the duties of his office and win the war his political masters had handed him.

Here is the irrefutable proof to set at rest for all time the constantly repeated charge that General MacArthur crossed the 38th parallel after the capture of Seoul in wiliful and reckless defiance of his orders. The vote of the U. N. on October 6 giving the general the explicit approval for the move is noted, and the orders of the Joint Chiefs of Staff in Washington are quoted.

But of more dramatic interest are the staff notes taken at the time of General MacArthur's flying visit to Wake Island, in response to a Truman summons in the fall of 1950 before the Chinese Reds had intervened in force in Korea. Here another favorite canard of the MacArthur haters is exposed for what it is. The facts behind the well-publicized and completely false report that General MacArthur pooh-poohed the possibility of Red Chinese intervention, and pledged the return of American troops from Korea before Christmas are revealed in these notes to be at best the product of a brisk imagination.

The record shows all too clearly that General MacArthur's headquarters had warned Washington and the U. N. repeatedly and consistently that the Chinese Reds were massing troops north of the Yalu. Clinching evidence on the wariness of the supreme commander on this point is to be found in his instructions to the 8th Army on its advance north of the 38th parallel—that it was to be a reconnaissance-in-force with provision made at all times for an orderly and prompt withdrawal should the Chinese intervene.

Americans perplexed to know the reasons why our Nation fought a war with a hand tied behind its back will be sharply amazed to know, too, how well tied that hand was. The unbelievable spectacle of a great nation fighting an all-out war with its military forces strictly enjoined against taking any measures to blast the enemy's bases, with no reinforcements available, and with constant preoccupation with the prejudices and purely national interests of its allies acting as a prohibition against truly effective action, is not a pretty one. It is safe to say no other such war has ever been fought in the history of mankind.

Not only was General MacArthur forbidden by the JCS to bomb the Yalu River bridges a ross which poured the Chinese Reds in numbers affording them overwhelming odds against the battered American and South Korean armies, but the presence of Chiang Kal-shek's 5 million men in Formosa was neutralized by the Truman neutrality order which, in effect, guaranteed the Peiping Reds that Chiang would not annoy them. Two entire Red armies were thereby released from duty on the mainland opposite Formosa and promptly dispatched to the Yelu for war on American troops.

That General MacArthur was able, in the face of these fantastic impediments, to conduct the Korean operations at all was little short of a miracle. But the record in the book shows that he not only conducted them despite all the obstructionism and defeatism from his own side, but conducted them in the superbly skillful manner displayed in his masterful tactics and strategy of the Pacific in World War II.

If the facts are known, Americans everywhere should have no difficulty in correctly appraising the world Communist conspiracy and the steps so obviously needed to meet it. In the record of General MacArthur's conduct of the Korean war can be found, in startling detail, all the facts we need.

Postal Financial Balance a Theory

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MICHAEL A. FEIGHAN

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 6, 1955

Mr. FEIGHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-

ORD, I wish to include the following editorial which appeared in the January 25 issue of the Cleveland News, entitled "Postal Financial Balance a Theory":

Postal employees of Cleveland, through their national union chapter, protest any philosophy of hitching postal pay to the prospects of a self-supporting Post Office Department, and they have a good point.

partment, and they have a good point.

Despite some reforming of rates and financing to be credited to Postmaster General Summerfield and Congress, the Post Office operation remains in a condition of considerable imbalance. The practical reason is that to raise rates on second, third, and fourth class mail to the point of making them pay their separate ways would be to raise rates so high as to destroy the usefulness of these promotional classes to millions who use, and benefit by them. They can be raised, but not to a support level.

To hitch postal pay to these half-intentional useful debits would be an injustice to one of the best organizations of workers in

the world's history.

Not only that, but postal workers are committed by the law to non-post-office Federal work for which there is little or no postal remuneration—such as alien registrations, civil-service staffing, pursuit of lost military veterans, information service for every Government department, even service as treasurers and collectors for semipublic-welfare drives.

It is to the post office's credit that effective this winter, it begun to charge other Federal departments for frank-mail usage and to raise some rates. We are heartily for Postmaster General Summerfield's valiant attempt to make the post office financial balance closer than it has been during decades of abuse and imposition on the post office by all of us. We are for President Elsenhower's purpose of getting Congress to raise rates to take care of at least part of projected pay raises. That is only good business.

But if there is a class of workers who should be protected from injustice because of their general public-service spirit, it is the postal worker class. The News does not intend to advise that their salaries rest on a profit-and-loss accounting.

Rescue at Sea

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GORDON CANFIELD

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. CANFIELD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an article appearing in the Washington Post and Times Herald, January 27, 1955, concerning another Coast Guard rescue at sea:

FUEL LOW, PLANE BATTLES STORM AT SEA FOR 2 HOURS, DITCHES BY RESCUE CUTTER

New York, January 26.—In a delicately tricky maneuver, a crippled four-engine military plane covered hundreds of miles of stormy mid-Atlantic today, then ditched near a Coast Guard cutter. Eight aboard were picked up safely.

were picked up safely.

For an agonizing 2 hours and 21 minutes, the plane groped through storm and gathering dusk toward the Coast Guard cutter Coos Bay, a tiny speck on the vast, turbulent

Then, minutes before nightfall, the plane found its target. The pilot brought his craft down expertly on the heaving, gale-swept sea. Waves ran as much as 13 feet high, the

wind was at 40 knots. Lifeboats plowed to its side and the survivors were whisked to safety, 15 minutes after the landing.

Radio was the thin thread that brought plane and cutter together. The plane, bound from the Azores to Bermuda, lost 350 gallons of gasoline when a lever was accidentally thrown. Short of fuel and 1,000 miles east of Bermuda, there was no hope of making a landfall.

The pilot radioed Bermuda, said he was bucking vicious headwinds and despaired of reaching land.

The cutter, informed immediately, changed course to intercept the plane, meanwhile guiding the pilot in its direction by radio.

Then, in a race against darkness, the two converged across hundreds of miles of angry ocean.

The plane came within an eyelash of losing its race, for total darkness would have made a rescue all but impossible in such heavy seas.

The Coos Bay skipper is Comdr. R. W. Vaughan.

Aboard the plane, a Military Air Transport Service craft, were Capt. Paul S. Evans, its commander, of Jackson Heights, Long Island, N. Y.; 1st Lt. Jack W. Suggs, San Anselmo, Calif.; Capt. Edward L. Cobb, Cincinnati; T. Sgt. William H. Brooks, Jr., Sapulpa, Okla.; Alc Robert P. Hodge, Chicago; A2c Timothy R. Braun, Visalia, Calif.; Jenkins Elliot, a crewman; and Navy Lt. J. G. Bowen, a passenger.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Speaker, the centuries-old struggle for freedom and independence on the part of the Ukrainian nation constitutes an impressive chapter in the annals of human history. indomitable will for national freedom clearly crystallized itself in the old Ukrainian Kievan state from the 9th to the 14th century, in the Ukrainian Kozak state from 1648 to 1783, and more recently in the Ukrainian National Republic from 1917 to 1920. As one of the first victims of Soviet imperialism, Ukraine, since the very inception of alien Bolshevik tyranny, has proved to be the Achilles heel of the Soviet Union. The destruction of its national churches, the horrible man-made famine of 1932-33, the mass murder at Vinnitsia in 1937-39. and the vast purges and deportations decreed by Moscow have failed to exterminate the spiritual and moral resources for national freedom in Ukraine. The historic capital of Kiev, with centuries of rich tradition and culture conserved in its vaults, still symbolizes today the indestructible hope and passion of a nation destined to be sovereign, free, and independent.

During the Second World War millions of Ukrainian patriots seized the short-lived opportunity of the German invasion to realize once again this hope, only to be frustrated in their valiant efforts by the scourge of another imperial-

ism. But this unbending will continues to be strong and powerful in the epic struggle of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army-UPA-against the evil forces of Soviet imperialism, and in the resistance

of the Ukrainian people.

As a nation of over 40 million peoplethe largest non-Russian nation behind the European Iron Curtain-Ukraine stands as one of our most important and natural aliles in the eventual defeat of Soviet imperialism. Its historic claim to national freedom and independence cannot be ignored. Its place as a sovereign and equal partner in the mutual construction of the free Europe of tomorrow must be assured, if the foundation of permanent peace among freedomloving nations is to be impregnable.

The Late Burnet R. Maybank

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. W. J. BRYAN DORN

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. DORN of South Carolina. Speaker, I have never before seen the State of South Carolina so shocked and saddened when they learned of the untimely death of our senior Senator, Burnet R. Maybank. Senator Maybank dedicated his life to the service of the American people. It is true that he represented the State of South Carolina, but his leadership and ability was felt in every State of the American Union and by the entire free world. Senator Maybank was a casualty of overwork and service beyond the call of duty, the same as many of our gallant soldiers in time of war. He worked long and hard on the floor of the Senate and in the committees for the people he loved.

After military service in World War I with the Navy, Senator Maybank began his political career as alderman in South Carolina's chief city, historic old Charleston. He subsequently became one of the youngest and ablest mayors of that great city. While serving as mayor of Charleston he ran for the governorship of the State of South Carolina at the age of 38. He was elected over a host of aspirants for the governorship, several of whom had a strong statewide political following. During Senator Maybank's administration as Governor, the miraculous modern-day progress of South Carolina was inaugurated. His leadership as Governor greatly contributed to that progress. 1941 he was elected to the United States Senate to succeed his friend, James F. Byrnes, who was appointed to the United States Supreme Court. Burnet Maybank was reelected to the United States Senate in 1942. In 1948 he was elected on the first ballot over four opponents. As one of the candidates in that race. I came in contact with the splendid sportsmanship and fine spirit of our senior Senator. After this experience, I had a higher regard for Senator Maybank than ever before. In 1954 Senator

Maybank was elected without opposition. This was the first time in the modern history of South Carolina that a United States Senator had been reelected without any opposition whatever in the primary. Senator Maybank was one of the few men since the War Between the States to be Governor and Senator.

As United States Senator, Burnet Maybank fought, among many other things, for preparedness. He worked untiringly for a great Air Force, Army, and Navy. He believed that the only road to peace was for America to be strong militarily. He ably represented the farmers and the textile industry of the South.

Space will not permit even a mention of his many accomplishments for our country. It would take volumes to cover his career and service to his people. Senator Maybank had a pleasing personality and was liked by people in every walk of life. The people of South Carolina had the utmost-confidence in his honesty, integrity, and ability. He will be greatly missed in Washington and in South Carolina as time goes on. We formed a warm personal friendship and I miss him greatly in my work here in Washington. Our friendship began when I served as State representative and State senator while he was governor.

Senator Maybank reared a splendid son and two fine daughters. He was a devoted father and husband. He left his family a great heritage and tradition of service that will inspire them. Senator Maybank told me upon one occasion in the cloakroom of the Senate, "That it matters not whether you won or lost, but how you played the game." This was the philosophy of Senator Burnet Rhett Maybank. My deepest sympathy always to his wonderful wife and loyal family.

H. R. 1601, Regulating Practice of Lawyers and Others Before Internal Revenue Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I have reintroduced in the present Congress a bill which I first offered last summer to clarify and extend the authority of the Treasury Department to regulate the practice of lawyers, certified public accountants, and others who assist the public in the determination of Federal tax liabilities, preparation of tax returns, and in the settlement of cases in dispute with the Internal Revenue Service. The new bill is H. R. 1601. The need for it was explained in my statement in the Congressional Record of August 4, 1954.

Apparently there has been some misunderstanding about the nature and purpose of this bill. It would not change anything. It would merely clarify and reaffirm what is actually going on, and has been going on for 40 years, in the field of Federal tax practice. Such clarification and reaffirmation are necessary only because local courts have attempted to change the established practice by holding that certain phases of Federal income-tax practice, which have normally been handled by accountants, should now become the exclusive property of lawyers.

The principal purpose of my bill is to affirm the authority of the Secretary of the Treasury to regulate Federal tax practice. The bill would also reaffirm the intent of Congress, as expressed in the Revenue Act of 1942, that Federal tax practice should not be restricted to the members of any single calling or profession. This policy is as sound to-

day as it was 13 years ago.

The proposed legislation would not grant to anyone any rights or privileges he does not have today. But its enactment should help to clarify a situation which has become needlessly confused in recent years.

National Commander in Chief of Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States Makes Nationwide Broadcast of Organization's National Beliefs-In This We Believe

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I am pleased to present the text of an address delivered by Merton B. Tice, commander in chief, Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States, over the Mutual Broadcasting System on the evening of January 26, 1955.

In accepting the invitation to present this text in this manner, I am advised that permission was granted by the national headquarters, Veterans of Foreign Wars, for use of any or all of the script by any person representing the organization who is called upon for addresses during National VFW Week which commenced January 23 and expires January

Mr. Speaker, I am sure that the history of this great patriotic organization, commonly and affectionately called VFW, is so well-known to all the Members of this great legislative body that it is unnecessary for me to say anything about it. With honor and pleasure, therefore, I present the distinguished national commander in chief's words as given on the nationwide broadcast during this significant National VFW Week:

IN THIS WE BELIEVE

It is a time-honored custom for civilized mankind each year to take stock, to formulate new plans. For organizations, as well as individuals, a new year provides a time for inventory, and a point of reference for the formulation of new objectives, with reten-

tion of the best of the old.

With this procedure in mind, the Veterans of Foreign Wars of the United States desighates the week of January 23-29 as a time to invite attention to that part of its new Plans that are believed to be in the national interest.

And at the top-legislative wise-were Placed the objectives of our organization in the vital field of national security.

This, because we are keenly aware of the Pitfalls and the perils of this fateful era in Which we "co-exist" in the cold war. Many areas—both in the Occident and the Orient are veritable tinder boxes that could spark the world to dreadful flame overnight.

Never in our national history has it been more necessary for America to be alert. And never has the strength and protection of our Armed Forces been of higher value to the Nation. The forces of the free world and hydrogen bombs comprise the major deter-

rent to open war.

We are told that an "atomic deadlock" may be expected in 5 or 6 years. Now what does this mean? It means—with but slight stretch of the imagination—that the United States and the Soviet Union could destroy each other-this in ultimate devastation, irrespective of which nation drops the first bomb, or fires the first shot.

And neither a slight superiority by either nation in bombs or manpower would—in the event of an "atomic deadlock"—affect the destructive result. These are awesome

facts-but they must be faced.

Only by maintenance of armed might with bombs and planes in readiness-will the catastrophe be deterred or averted. A wise man once said: "War breaks out overnight-but peace never does."

Robert Lovett, when Secretary of Defense, Put it this way: "We must make an effort to get the only insurance that works— strength." And he added: "We tried peace through weakness for generations, and it didn't work."

Because of the ever-present danger of national apathy in the critical field of national defense, the Veterans of Foreign Wars themed its 1955 program to the security of

the United States.

We submit, that: Without adequate security, all other American values-including representative government, individual freedom, social benefits, and economic resources—would be jeopardized. As citizens and taxpayers, we shall insist upon intelligent economy in the operation of gov-ernment, but will oppose "pinch-penny" economy at the expense of security for the United States, and reasonable care for those who have borne the brunt of battle, and their widows and orphans.

After serious study of our present defense Posture, and a consideration of measures proposed to strengthen it, we are agreed to favor strongly a system of Universal Military Training, or, in lieu thereof, a workable reserve program enacted by amendments to present present laws. The VFW, along with other major veterans' organizations, has been familiar with-and favored in general-the triple-barreled manpower plan and program recently submitted by President Eisenhower

to the Congress.

The creation, for the first time in our history, of a large combat-ready reserve is one of the most realistic steps ever taken for equitably sharing—in a democratic way the citizens' responsibility for the defense of the Union. Too often in the past we have bought time with the lives of men.

We favor the maintenance of the most Powerful offensive-and-defensive Air Force in the world, together with an adequate Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and merchant marine. We consider the National Guard Plan for defense against enemy sneak air attack well thought out and feasible. We

urge all veterans to do their utmost for civil defense. And have made our plans accordingly.

It may surprise you to learn that there are about 21 million veterans in the United States. Fundamentally, we base veterans' rights on recognition of their service to the past security and maintenance of the Nation.

Many are aged and ill. Therefore, in this category we shall urge the maintenance and expansion of the Veterans' Administration hospital and medical program in order to insure to the veterans of all wars adequate hospital care and medical treatment.

As an organization we hope that plans will be developed for the educational and vocational training of the dependent children of deceased combat veterans. (We support such a program by our VFW home at Eaton Rapids, Mich.) All such training of youth will greatly enhance the value of these young people to our Nation.

The decreased value of the dollar compels serious consideration be given to increased rates of compensation and pensions—with a liberalization of pension eligibility require-

ments.

We believe the housing loan program should be liberalized and its regulations more

effectively protected.

As overseas veterans we shall never forget what we learned in our military service. We all found out early that adequate and competent personnel-with good morale-promotes national security to a high degree. order to achieve this end now, we advocate laws that will restore fringe benefits previously granted members of the Armed Forces, and the expansion of hospital and medical care for their dependents.

It is the bounden duty of the Government to protect the rights of our fighting men in every reasonable way. For this reason, we believe that the most drastic action—short of war-should be taken, if required, to secure the release of all American prisoners of

war held by the Communists.

Yes, this is a critical juncture in our relations with the fanatical Communist world. However, don't you agree that the 11 United States airmen prisoners in Red China should be returned, and an explanation given of the 900 other Americans missing in Korea who have never been accounted for?

They who created this Nation were not

cowards-shall we be appeasers?

Furthermore, it is of contemporary relevance that we strongly oppose the admis-sion of Red China to the United Nations. In fact, many of us feel that United States prisoners in China are being held for the ransom price of admission to a seat in the United Nations. This is the way international gangsters do business.

As an organization, the Veterans of Foreign Wars has always supported the United Nations. On the other hand, it is felt that the sovereignty of the United States can be maintained only by a determined resolve to oppose all efforts to convert the United Nations into some form of utopian world gov-

ernment or Atlantic Union.

The time has not arrived in the history of nations when its most powerful and democratic state can safely delegate its vital state affairs to other nations—no, not even to those who profess to be our friends. Aid, advise, protect, and defend within the framework of our commitments, but let us do all this under the provisions of our Constitution-and at our direction. Our immediate defense problems must definitely be kept in our own hands.

In order to provide a time for thought on our national sovereignty, our Constitution, and the many freedoms it gives us, the VFW sponsors each year on May 1, Loyalty Day. Congress has been asked to designate it as such. It is a day of rededication to that which has made our country great—a time when free men and women may pause to give thought to a major American convic-

tion, denied by the Communists, that God gave us the right to freedom.

But one should also ponder-he did not guarantee it.

That poses the question, How may you and I maintain those libertles which it seems each generation must struggle for? On the collective action taken, on the collective answer of the people, depends our survivaland that of western civilization.

As Secretary Dulles said recently: "This struggle for peace cannot be won by pacifism, or by neutralism, or by weakness." And it could be added that inadequate prep-

aration means failure to survive.

A word as to the home front. A salient feature of our democratic system-and much commented upon by foreign visitors-is our zealous concern in the way of aid, care, and support of the aged, the unfortunate, the sick, and underprivileged. No nation in his-tory has ever done more for its people. There is still much to do.

We are generally agreed that in the field of community service there is room for allindividually, and particularly organizationally. Our highly effective community service program has grown through the years. In fact, it, and the loyalty day program, have won several top honors from freedoms foundation at Valley Forge. Basically, it is a program predicated on a citizen's responsibility to his neighbor and fellow man.

This duty of man to man has seldom been more practically exemplified than by the 80year-old Dr. Albert Schweitzer, the Alsatian born philosopher, theologian, and medical missionary to French Equatorial Africa. Nobel Prize winner—called the universal man of the 20th century—wrote:

"Whatever you have received more than others in health, in talents, in ability, in success, in a pleasant childhood, in harmonious conditions of home life, all this you must not take to yourself as a matter of course. You must pay a price for it. You must render in turn an unusually great sacrifice of your life for other life."

The great Schweitzer is proof of man's

kinship to God.

His work is the ultimate in community service and democratic endeavor.

He is a high exemplar of practical religion and the Golden Rule.

In this present death struggle between Christianity and communism-between all religions and Marxism-few will deny the all-powerful spiritual factor. As Americans, we believe in a world under God. We know that our Founding Fathers traced rights—called by them "unalienable"—directly to our Creator. We believe that the religions and ethics of Protestant, Catholic, and Jew lead directly to the altar of the One God.

The message of Christ was: "Love the Lord, thy God, with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself." The message of Marx was: "Divide and conquer. Religion is for fools. Sow the seeds of hate."

It is because of the doctrines of Marx, Lenin, and Stalin that free men confront the most formidable challenge of modern history. Only force-in being-and the knowledge of great potential force, can stay the hand of international communism. Next, we believe, a spiritual revival, the force of vital religion, the faith of our fathers, will comprise the strongest vanguard against the spread of communism-while the memory of those who died for the country will inspire the living to maximum efforts to retain what our heroes have perished for.

The memory of those who fell at Lexington, Gettysburg, Chateau Thierry, in Africa, Europe, and those who died on distant isles and in the far wastes of the Pacific, will What an enormous debt we owe them. May their devotion to freedom's cause forever be enshrined in the warm heart of

America.

They, and such immortals as Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln, gained and preserved the sublime spirit of liberty that underlies our Constitution—things beyond price: freedom of press and civic policy, freedom of speech and assembly, freedom of religion and conscience, and freedom of political life and individual convictions.

For these incomparable jewels, the product of untold sacrifices—my heritage and yours—every true American will fight to maintain and preserve—yes, even though it requires the pledge of life, fortune, and sacred honor.

It is a question of everything or nothing.

"For what avail the plow or sail, Or land, or life, if freedom fall."

Short of War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF.

HON. PHILIP J. PHILBIN

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. PHILBIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include therein a very thoughtful and forceful editorial from the New Bedford (Mass.) Standard-Times entitled "Short of War," and urging a strong policy regarding our efforts to secure the release of the American airmen and presumably others imprisoned in Red China on trumped-up spy charges.

It is certain that a strong policy and a strong attitude is required if we are to protect properly our own fighting men and our own American citizens against the tyranny and oppression of Red dictators and to maintain our prestige among the nations of the Orient, indeed among all the nations of the world.

The imprisonment of American fighting men and others on fictitious charges and contrary to the specific provisions of the Korean pact constitutes, not only a breach of the agreement, but also it is a definitely unfriendly and inhumane act toward this Nation and toward humanity. It should be noted, however, that it is but one of several such acts in recent months, demonstrating an aggressive, belligerent spirit and an unfriendly pur-

All Americans recall with indignation the unwarranted shooting down of our planes while engaged in a legitimate peacetime mission. Such outrages show a studied contempt for this Nation and its armed services and is aimed purposely at demonstrating to Asian nations that Russia and her satellites eagerly embrace every opportunity to insult and commit unlawful, belligerent acts against the United States. What are we going to do about it? How long will it be possible to live in so-called peaceful coexistence with such international gangsterism openly flouting and violating the sacred code of men and nations?

The American people want our American airmen released and they want indemnity for their illegal capture and imprisonment. If they are not released. this Nation cannot afford to overlook the fact. We must act speedily and decisively, diplomatically, economically, and in every other necessary way short of war to free these fighting men, to redress the grievance which has been pointed up by the calloused illegal treatment that has been meted out to them.

There must be no further appeasement of international brigandage. insist upon the recognition by the Soviets, their puppets, and all other nations, of the rights of American nationals and especially the rights of American fighting men.

I hope the executive department of the Government will continue to press in the United Nations, and in every other way, for appropriate redress in these cases.

The New Bedford Standard-Times editorial follows:

SHORT OF WAR

President Eisenhower has told the Chinese Communists what they wanted to hear: that the United States will not consider war to obtain the release of the 13 Americans im-prisoned in Red China on "spy" charges, even if all efforts short of war should fail.

Mr. Eisenhower has pledged that the United States Government will take every step "humanly possible within peaceful means" to free the Americans. While he intended his words to offer assurance to the families of the imprisoned Americans, the statement gave assurance to the Chinese Communists instead.

The President has tipped off the Peiping government that the United States will not use the one measure the Chinese Reds fear: war. By showing his hand, Mr. Eisenhower destroyed whatever effect formal protests and threats of reprisal might have had. words of the United States have been stripped of their strength because the President has said that these words would not be backed

by armed force.
This is not to advocate that the United States declare war on China because 13 Americans have been imprisoned. The point is, if the President had not made his illadvised statement, the threat of war, rather than war itself, might well have been suf-ficient to win the release of the Americans.

If the United States Government could convince the Chinese Communists that the American people are angry enough and courageous enough to fight, if necessary, to win the release of the 13 prisoners, they would be set free without a fight. Obviously, threats are of no value when the Chinese know the will sanction only President means."

There was a time when Mr. Eisenhower was not so hesitant to give unqualified support to Americans in the Far East. During the presidential election campaign of 1952 the publisher of The Standard-Times, Basil Brewer, sent a telegram to Mr. Eisenhower questioning whether it would be wise for the United States to "take the chance of withdrawing from Korea" and whether the Korean war would be brought to an end by Eisenhower "with the American boys still in Communist prison camps." In a letter of reply to Mr. Brewer, dated Oct. 24, 1952, Mr. Eisenhower said, "We are not going to withdraw from Korea and leave our boys in Communist prison camps."

The facts of the matter are, we are withdrawing from Korea and we are leaving our boys in Communist prison camps.

On July 26, 1953, President Eisenhower halled the Korean armistice with these words: "In this struggle we have seen the United Nations meet the challenge of aggression, not with pathetic words of protest but with deeds of decisive purpose."

Now that the Chinese Communists defiantly have broken the Korean truce terms by refusing to free American prisoners of war, the President has reverted to "pathetic words of protest."

There are men in America today who still favor "deeds of decisive purpose," but they get no encouragement from the White House. Senator Knowland, of California, called for a blockade of the China coast as a means of

forcing the Reds to release the Americans. Congressman Lane, of Massachusetts, suggested Chiang Kai-shek and his Nationalist forces be encouraged to step up raids on the Chinese mainland if the prisoners are not freed. Other Members of Congress are op-posed to following a policy of "piecemeal appeasement," as Senator BUTLER, of Maryland, described it.

The military might of the United States can be an effective force for peace only if it is feared by our enemies as a potential force for war. Words of protest have no strength in themselves; they must derive their strength from men, guns, ships, and planes which stand ready to back them up-President Eisenhower, by ruling out the use of armed force in behalf of the 13 imprisoned Americans, has reduced this Nation's formal protest to an empty, meaningless gesture.

The Late Erland Harold Hedrick

SPEECH

OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. BYRD. I yield to the distin-guished gentleman from Masscahusetts.

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, just as the hearts of many are filled with sadness today, so is mine. In the passing of Erland Harold Hedrick, I lost a personal friend, the State of West Virginia lost a great son, and the Nation lost one of its most distinguished citizens.

Dr. Hedrick was a man who had many friends, irrespective of political party, and irrespective of station in life. No words but kind words were ever spoken by him or of him. He was a fine public servant devoted to the interests of his people. We will all miss him, but the memory of him will live unblemished, untarnished, and unstained.

Mrs. McCormack and I wish to join with the gentleman from West Virginia who has so eloquently spoken in extending regrets to Mrs. Hedrick and the family.

THE ROSE STILL GROWS BEYOND THE WALL Near a shady wall a rose once grew,

Budded and blossomed in God's free light, Watered and fed by morning dew, Shedding its sweetness day and night.

As it grew and blossomed fair and tall, Slowly rising to loftler height, It came to a crevice in the wall,

Through which there shone a beam of

Onward it crept with added strength, With never a thought of fear or pride, It followed the light through the crevice's

And unfolded itself on the other side.

The light, the dew, the broadening view Were found the same as they were before; And it lost itself in beauties new, Breathing its fragrance more and more.

Shall claim of death cause us to grieve, And make our courage faint or fail? Nay! Let us faith and hope receive: The rose still grows beyond the wall.

Scattering fragrance far and wide. Just as it did in the days of yore, Just as it did on the other side, Just as it will for evermore.

Sky No Longer Limit, Savants Predict in 30-Year Air Forecasts

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, one of the largest of the many great business activities which are located in the heart of America, Kansas City, Mo., is TWA-Trans World Airlines.

In connection with the 30-years-ofservice anniversary which TWA celebrates this year, TWA recently held a very interesting symposium which is described in the statement which follows: SKY NO LONGER LIMIT, SAVANTS PREDICT IN 30-YEAR AIR FORECAST

Passenger airliners 30 years from now will fly 2,000 miles an hour at altitudes above 15 miles and may be powered with nuclear energy, according to a symposium of leading aeronautical and astronautical scientists sponsored by Trans World Airlines at the Hayden Planetarium last night.

With Ralph S. Damon, TWA president, in the role of moderator, the symposium endeavored to raise the curtain for a 30-year look into the future as foreseen by Dr. Werhner von Braun, Chief of the Guided Missiles Division at the United States Army's Red Stone Arsenal; Dr. Fred L. Whipple, Chairman of the department of astronomy, Harvard University, and Hall Hibbard, vice President of engineering, Lockheed Aircraft

Referring to the 30-years-of-service anniversary which TWA celebrates this year, Mr. Damon emphasized his company's interest in the progress of the next 30 years and announced a \$100,000 prize competition intended to stimulate advanced thinking in

aircraft design.

TWA will offer a grand prize of \$50,000 to the person, his heirs or assigns, who this year submits the most accurate description of commercial aviation 30 years from now, Mr. Damon said. All entries will be micro-filmed and placed in a sealed repository at the dedication of the new TWA maintenance base in Kansas City, Mo. The repository Will be opened in 1985.

A second phase of the competition will offer \$50,000 in prizes for a 30-word sentence on airline service today, providing an ag-gregate \$100,000 awards in TWA's cosmic contest, which opened January 26 on a Worldwide basis and will close July 31, 1955.

Some of the forecasts at the Hayden Planetarium Tuesday night exceeded the role of commercial aviation and touched upon the possibilities of manned space stations, robot-like rocket ships, and freedom from gravitational attraction.

Dr. von Braun's predictions, included a statement that the 1985 commercial air-liner will probably not differ greatly in size from today's Super Constellation, but that the overall design will be quite different. The rocket expert does not believe that the airliners of 1985 will be powered by rocket motors, however. Instead, he suggests novel

types of jet engines such as the ram-jet. Dr. Whipple, on the other hand, expects the commercial airliner of the future to be much bigger, and possibly to accommodate Passengers in the wings rather than in the body of the plane. He sees jet propulsion as the motivating force, but adds that "the Power will be derived from some sort or nuclear conversion plant-in other words, a marriage between atomic energy and jet

propulsion." Dr. Whipple also envisions converter-type aircraft capable of rising directly off the ground like today's helicopters.

Mr. Hibbard, while cutting Dr. von Braun's estimated speed to 1,500 miles per hour, adds some 20,000 feet of altitude. He foresees vertical-rising aircraft, particularly on local service airlines. And he suggests that low operating costs of turbo-propeller cargo planes may mean that freight and cargo will eclipse passengers as a source of revenue for the airlines. "All mail and parcel post," he predicted, "will be carried by air."

At the same time TWO released statements by a number of other leading figures in the aircraft industry, relating to avia-tion 30 years from now. Among those whose statements were released were officials of Boeing Airplane Co., Canadair Ltd. of Mon-United Aircraft Corp., Douglas Aircraft Co., Convair, General Dynamics Corp., Glenn L. Martin Co., and Vickers-Armstrong Ltd., aircraft division. A pioneer airplane designer, Mr. William B. Stout, who designed the first all-metal aircraft, also contributed a statement.

Highlight of some of the statements fol-

"The next decade * * * will see jet transports widely accepted on airline routes of the world. * * * The piston engine will still play an important role and the turboprop will find its proper place in the efficient transportation of passengers and cargo at medium high speeds." (Mr. Edward C. Wells, vice president of engineering, Boeing

"Traffic volume on the world's airlines (will) grow * * * to about 500 billion passenger miles per year * * * to be handled by a fleet of aircraft 3 times the size of the present * * * all of these aircraft to be turbine powered." (Mr. J. Geoffrey Notman, president and general manager of Canadair Ltd., of Montreal.)

"The volume of traffic, especially in coach and cargo categories, will be multiplied sev eral times over. There will not be much growth in size of aircraft but there will be much more frequent schedules and many new routes." (Mr. Arthur E. Raymond, vice president, engineering, Douglas Aircraft Co.)

"In the short-range, high-density traffic, intercity category, some form of helicopter or convertiplane vill surely be in successful operation." (Gen. Joseph T. McNarney, president of Convair, a division of General Dynamics Corp.)

"Engines may be gas turbines, or even atomic, and there may well be some direct-lift devices incorporated." (Mr. George R. Edwards, managing director, Vickers-Arm-strong, Ltd., Surrey, England.)

"Essentially all commercial transportation in 1985 will be via air in vehicles operating on principles not yet conceived." (Mr. G. S. Trimble, vice president, advanced design, Glenn L. Martin Co.)

Yes, There Is a Farm in Brooklyn

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, until just a few days ago it was my impression that there was just a tree growing in Brooklyn, but now I have discovered with some surprise that we also have a farm in our great borough. Of course, we have

many wonderful youngsters who grow up to be fine and respectable citizens, but that kind of a crop would hardly come under the label of "farming"

I believe I am the first Member of Congress from the city of New York to serve on the House Agriculture Committee. Notwitstanding the fact that we have only one farm in Brooklyn, a tree and some flower-pot farmers, the citizens of my borough are extremely interested in agricultural affairs as consumers I hope to be of service to them and to others living in our great urban areas by bringing consumer problems into closer relationship with agricultural problems.

Mr. Speaker, I should like to insert into the RECORD a brief article carried by United Press earlier this week. The following article appeared in the Miami Herald on January 25, 1955:

THERE'S A FARM IN BROOKLYN, TOO-NEW YORK CITY CONGRESSMAN IS SURPRISED BY REVELATION

New York .- A New York City Congressman recently named to the House agriculture committee learned with amazement Monday there is a farm deep in the heart of his home borough of Brooklyn.

The farmer, who travels to the city on Saturday nights aboard a BMT subway, was just as surprised to find that after 40 years of tilling Brooklyn's fertile soil he at last has someone to listen to his troubles sympathetically.

The Congressman is Representative Victor L. ANFUSO, a Democratic lawyer, of New York's Eighth District, covering the densely populated Williamsburg and Greenpoint sections of Brooklyn.

There isn't a farm in his whole district. In fact, there is only one licensed farm in the whole borough, which has a population of more than 2,795,000, including the Brooklyn Dodgers.

The farm, in the Canarsie section, is owned by Italian-born Alfonso Fiero, who started out with 60 acres 40 years ago and now has only a little more than 10 acres of tomatoes, peas, beans, spinach, and other truck crops.

On a clear day, Fiero can pause at his work, look into the west and get a fine view of the Empire State Building.

"It's news to me that there are any farms

in Brooklyn," Anguso said.

Fiero doesn't know how long it will be before the Nation's biggest city swallows up his farm. Several factories are nearby and houses almost encircle his patch of land.

He employs 5 farmhands and has 3 greenhouses, a 3-family farmhouse, a summer kitchen, and a barn for his plow, seeder, duster, cultivator, weeder, and other equipment.

He has no water worries; his crops are irrigated by turning on an aluminum sprinkler system connected to a city water main. And he has only a few blocks to drive to take his harvest to the Brooklyn terminal market, situated on land he once owned.

But there are problems to farming in the city, and he wants Anguso's help in solving them. The biggest difficulty is price com-

petition.

ANFUSO said small farmers all over the State made the same complaint to him and he is going to do what he can about the situation.

Mrs. Fiero is spared much of the kitchen work of most farm housewives, for she goes shopping at the neighborhood supermarket,

On Saturday, when farmers all over the country are driving long distances to town for a weekly outing, the Fieros just hop on the subway, ride to Times Square, and go to a movie or a Broadway play.

A Report on South Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to commend to the attention of my colleagues an article written by Mr. Joseph Buttinger, and appearing in the current issue of the Reporter.

In view of our deep interest in the fate of southeast Asia, I believe that Mr. Buttinger's personal observations on the conditions in south Vietnam warrant careful consideration. These are, of course, the observations of one American who visited Vietnam recently; other observers may have arrived at different opinions. Some press reports, for instance, would lead one to believe that the situation in south Vietnam is not as encouraging as Mr. Buttinger asserts.

Nevertheless, I feel that Mr. Buttinger's observations and comments contain some food for thought and will prove of interest to the membership of this body.

The article follows:

AN EYEWITNESS REPORT ON VIETNAM

(By Joseph Buttinger)

If you started out to visit a man who was reported to be dying and met him on his way to work, you could not be more sur-prised than I was last October when I visited south Vietnam, a country supposedly on the verge of collapse as a result of Communist infiltration.

Before leaving the United States, I had come to accept the unanimous verdict of our newspapers and magazines, and thought of my trip as a tragic opportunity to see an Asian country just before it was taken over by communism. That is how I felt when I went to Saigon on behalf of the Interna tional Rescue Committee to set up a relief operation for refugee intellectuals from the Communist northern half of Vietnam.

Among the politically sophisticated, the idea that communism in Asia can be stopped by other than drastic military means has long been abandoned as wishful thinking. corollary is that because we are unwilling to go to war for Vietnam, the southern half of the country will follow the north

into the Communist Camp.

Once in Vietnam, it did not take me long to feel that I had been grossly misinformed, and the longer I stayed there the more this feeling was borne out by the facts I learned. I came to realize that the information about the hopelessness of the Vietnamese situation was of French origin. For different reasons, before and after Geneva, the French have had a vested interest in maintaining that there wasn't much chance for an independent Vietnam. Like a doctor who has failed repeatedly in the treatment of a patient, the French have some reason for being dismayed at every evidence of the patient's vitality.

Yet this evidence exists. It has been said repeatedly in the United States press that the Premier of Vietnam, Ngo Dien Diem, is politically inexperienced. Actually some of the old French colonialists call Mr. Diem an American puppet, which is strange considering that they know through their own experience that for once they are dealing with nobody's pawn. Because he is firm, he is called "rigid"; because he is honest, he is called "politically inexperienced"; because he does not advertise himself, it is said he cannot win popular support; and because he is the first Vietnamese Premier who dares disobey the weakening French, it is said he is "unable to compromise."

SHOOTING DOWN CANARDS

Now let us look at the record:

As to the army, the dismissal of General Nguyen Van Hinh as chief of staff of the Vietnamese Army points up more than a dozen cases that could be cited. Not one of our correspondents saw that the fight between the premier and General Hinh pivoted around the most important political issue in Vietnam since the shooting stopped. They saw only a personal quarrel between two ambitious men. They did not understand that for the Vietnamese this was the test of whether their new independence would be genuine and permanent or merely another colonialist maneuver.

General Hinh was no doubt well liked by many foreigners, but with the Vietnamese people and the army General Hinh was about as popular in 1954 as Pierre Laval was with the French in 1944. Support for the premier has been growing ever since he proved, by winning out against General Hinh, that he is a stronger man than any of his French-supported predecessors and all the remaining puppets of the colonialists in his army and administration.

Some correspondents continue to report that the armed politico-religious sects of South Vietnam are proof of disunity and their frequent clashes signs of serious dis-order in the country. Anyone familiar with recent Vietnamese history knows that the present administration has inherited them from the colonial regime. These sects are the Hoa Hao, the Cao Dai, and the Binh Xuyen. On Christmas Eve, Defense Minister Ho Thong Minh announced a cease-fire with the Hoa Hao after a sharp fight had resulted in the defeat of its forces by government troops at Longxuven.

According to a January 10 dispatch from Homer Bigart to the New York Herald Tribune, Gen. Trinh Minh The, a former Cao Dai leader, had earlier placed his anti-French, anti-Communist guerrilla army of 5,000 men at the disposal of Premier Diem.

The third sect, the Binh Xuyen, operates the houses of prostitution and gambling establishments in Saigon and also controls the local police. Mr. Diem has issued a cease-and-desist order to its leader, Gen. Le Van Vien. The closing of the brothels would drastically reduce the revenue not only of the Binh Xuyen but also of quite a few French-sponsored high personalities, who have made fortunes on gambling and prostitution.

Another feather in Mr. Diem's cap is the impressive and successful refugee evacuation from the north. According to the latest figures some 600,000 have now come south.

The Premier's recent creation of a propaganda campaign at the village level and the recruitment of 10,000 Vietnamese to do the job is an adroit move-particularly for a man who has been criticized for his lack of public-relations sense. The effort is in-tended, of course, to counteract earlier successes scored by Communist Vietminh propa-

French critics of Mr. Diem have said that a Communist underground administration controls about half the territory of South Vietnam, and that an election would give the Vietminh 80 percent of the vote. A recent 70 mile trip by the premier through the villages of central Vietnam gave the lie to Mr. Diem attracted great crowds of enthusiastic demonstrators, and foreign correspondents accompanying him reflected their surprise in numerous dispatches.

Other hopeful signs are defections from the north. The latest of these, which occurred early in January, was that of the mayor of Hanoi and his associate, a member of the Vietminh delegation to Geneva.

POSITION NOT POWER

There is one big question that no American reporter in Vietnam has failed to ask: Why didn't the Premier use the power he was given 6 months ago to clean out corruption, to establish the authority of his government over the whole territory of the south, and to combat Communist infiltration? The simple answer is that he was not given power but merely an exalted position when he was appointed by Bao Dai.

Whatever power Mr. Diem had the day he took office consisted of his popularity as the only outstanding nationalist leader who had never agreed to become a puppet either of the colonialists, the Japanese, or the Vietminh, all of whom had wooed and subsequently maligned him for his refusal to serve causes that were not his country's. During its first months, the government of a nominally independent state had control neither of the army nor of the police. Both were commanded and controlled by Frenchsponsored officials of doubtful personal and political reputation. It is a testimony to the Premier's skill and strength that he has been slowly acquiring the power that he should have been given 6 months ago and that the story of his short term in office has finally become one of progress and consolidation.

THE ISSUE: INDEPENDENCE

The real issue of Vietnam-misunderstood, neglected, or purposely left out of the pie-ture—has never been communism but nationalism. Indochina's fight for national independence made the Communist Vietminh strong. Its power and its victory in the north stemmed from the French refusal of independence for Vietnam. The Vietminh uses no Communist slogans; its propaganda is all concerned with the fight for national independence. Even today the Communist line does not mention any specific social or economic issue. Communist propaganda lives on the presence of the French in Indochina.

What Vietnam needs is not millions of dollars but thousands of experts. It needs technical advice and aid. It needs political support. It needs our help in free-ing itself from the remnants of a decaying colonialism. We should send there an am-bassador with sympathy for the people's national aspirations, an understanding of their social and political problems, and the authority and strength required for a difficult political job.

It may be said that there is no time for this, for elections are supposed to take place next year. But if the present rate of progress in south Vietnam continues, then the United States and the free world have a right to ask that free elections be held in the country as a whole-though it is difficult to see how elections in the Communistdominated north can be free. If elections are to be free, we must reconsider the Geneva agreement, which did not insist on U. N. supervision or any other guaranty. Time would be needed for that, but time is exactly what the consolidation of freedom and the firm establishment of a democratic order would require.

WHAT LECLERC SAID

The French Army has lost a war against a people determined to fight for its national independence. It will lose again if the struggle for Indochina should once more become a military struggle. Only the people of south Vietnam can wage and win a war against Communist infiltration and aggression. May the leaders of the French Nation soon learn what one of their generals-Leclerc-understood as long as 8 years ago: "Anticommu-nism will be a useless tool as long as the problem of nationalism remains unresolved."

Appendix

One Hundred Years of Spiritual Blessing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an inspiring sermon entitled "One Hundred Years of Spiritual Blessing," delivered by the Reverend John F. Streng, D. D., pastor of St. John American Lutheran Church in Beatrice, Nebr. Dr. Streng delivered his sermon on Sunday morning, September 5, 1954, at the opening of the annual Nebraska State Fair in Lincoln; and the sermon has been appropriately referred to as Nebraska's centennial sermon. What Dr. Streng said should be read by every American.

There being no objection, the sermon was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ONE HUNDRED YEARS OF SPIRITUAL BLESSING

SERMON POINTS FOR DISCUSSION

I. The rise and fall of any nation can be traced without fall to its attitude toward God and man.

II. From the hilltops of history we may

now review an inspiring pageant of progress.
III. No subversive movement to overthrow

God or government can succeed except the people serve false gods.

IV. Wars cannot deplete a nation's industry as quickly as indifference and greed of

the citizens.

Deuteronomy 11: 7-12: "But your eyes have seen all the great acts of the Lord which He did. Therefore shall ye keep all the Commandments of the Lord which I command you this day; and you will be atrong and go in and possess the land, whither ye go up to possess it. And that you may prolong the days in the land which the Lord swore to your fathers to give them and their seed, a land that floweth with milk and honey. For the land that thou goest to possess is not as the land of Egypt from whence you came out, where you sowed your seed and watered it with your foot as a garden of herbs; but the land you go to possess is a land of hills and valleys, and drinks water of the rain of heaven. A land which the Lord thy God cares for. The eyes of the Lord shall always be upon it, from the beginning of the year."

This is a glorious Sunday morning. It wahers in an historic hour in the centennial celebration of our beloved Nebraska. Millions of citizens in America and abroad have read about our current century of progress.

From time immemorial, clans, tribes, nations, empires, have been inwardly impelled to rally fellowmen and foreigners, freeman and faithful, in spontaneous celebrations commemorating significant events. All such demonstrations are designed to impress God and man.

One scripture text from the Book of Deuteronomy is such an ancient preamble of dedication. It calls upon an infant nation to sing its national anthem of joy over odds of the past and fatth in the future. It was not the first or foremost call, to worship the God of heaven and earth, who rules with truth and grace. Adam and Eve, first on earth, received God's mandate to institute the family and subdue the created world of plenty. It was a divine directive that the family unit shall be fundamental to the Nation. God urged them to set aside seasons of gratitude, during which all would gather, to offer first-fruits and other thankoffering, and invoke future divine pleasure.

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History shows that the rise or fall of any nation can be traced without fail to its attitude toward God and man. The first of the Ten Commandments: "Thou shalt have no other gods before Me," and the gist of the Golden Rule: "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you," are history's most reliable barometer for measuring a nation's poverty or prosperity. Our beloved America, settled by Pilgrim fathers, exhausted from oppression and persecution for conscience sake has always been a haven of refuge, All who desired liberty for themselves and posterity have been welcome.

American pioneers courageously confessed their belief in God and good government. And this conviction was everywhere impressed upon American life. Our national anthem declares: "And this be our motto: In God is our trust." Our national perfect prayer pleads: "Our Father's God, to Thee, author of liberty, to Thee I sing." Both our American coins, coveted and cherished as a universal symbol of progress, and millions of letters and packages, franked with 3-cent stamps, proclaim a ringing challenge of courage and faith to all the world, namely: "In God we trust."

Even the revised standard version of our Pledge of Allegiance states that, under God, ours shall be a Nation, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. These few examples show how inseparably interwoven American life is with the Christian religion. We, the people, have inherited a grave responsibility to maintain this high and holy standard.

And now Nebraska has reached a significant milestone. On May 30, 1854, President Franklin Pierce signed the Kansas-Nebraska bill. A single stroke of a powerful pen opened 5 million acres of Indian territory to settlement by the white man. The trinity Omaha, Otoe, and Missouri Indians, through Chief Logan Fontanelle, had ceded homestead rights to the United States Government as public domain. Hundreds of future farmers and fortune hunters poured across the mighty Missouri River to stake claims. Local government centered in claim clubs from which the idea of the free homestead movement was born. And when in the course of human events and human nature, claims and counterclaims caused feeling to run high, President Abraham Lincoln signed the act on May 20, 1862; and today, down Beatrice way, the site of the first homestead has been preserved.

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From the hilltops of history we may now review an inspiring pageant of progress. Nebraska's saga of settlement has been emphasized all this year in story and song. Today's centennial State fair, through colorful historical pageant, will pay tribute to sturdy pioneers. Their undaunted courage to most danger is an inspiring challenge to us today. No frontier has yet been closed to exploration and exploitation. It would take volumes to sing the praises of the Cornhusker State. Political, military, religious, and industrial leaders have generously broadcast the story of the white spot of the Nation. Poet and peasant have contributed applause and appreciation. Nebraska's 11lustrious sons and daughters from every walk of life have received citations of merit.

Factual and fanciful experiences of the past remind us of our text. Moses, man of God, leader of a migratory tribe of international fame and fortune, had brought his people to the border of a new land. He submits to them three fundamental terms of public interest: (1) Remember the sweat, blood, and toil of your forefathers; (2) recall the vast and valuable inheritance now before you; (3) reimburse God Almighty for his divine leadership and love. Surrounding their heroic Commander in Chief, the 12 tribes of Israel listen to the reading of a new charter of freedom and an original bill of rights which promises priority over all nations.

Its ringing challenge is still evident. We and our children have inherited a land whose possibilities of perpetual prosperity are even now beyond human concept or calculation. How deeply humble and grateful we need to be to prove worthy of such fabulous reward. Engraved in stone over the enchanting entrance to our State capitol, are these words: "The safety of the State lies in the watchfulness of the citizen." We honor the forthright faith and fortitude of all who uphold this principle. Most of us remember that it was laid down in God's word from the beginning of time.

What Moses told his people has proved to be the wisdom of ages. His audience was composed of many tribes; so Nebraska's river-coast line was settled by a diversity of persecuted, privileged, and prejudiced people. From Peter Sarpy, squawman and carpet trader, to the Honorable William Jennings Bryan, Gilbert M. Hitchcock, and other lilustrious heroes, from Mother Moses Merrill to the late lamented Bess Streeter Aldrich and similar heroines, an unbroken chain of builders add dignity and noblity to Nebraska's history. Only a sprinkling of the 2,732 persons recorded in the 1854 census had a vague opinion of the magnitude of the task of developing virgin soil. The shortsighted saw only the fleeting fortunes of their day; the stouthearted dreamed of a great empire.

A hundred years have passed. Today, several million strong, from western Nebraska plains, noted for hospitality and harvest, to the eastern empire famed for industry and institutions, we gather together to ask the Lord's blessing. Cross-country covered wagon furrows, eroded and erased by time and tide, cannot obliterate our hall of fame, Nebraska's roll of honor includes a long line of men and women serving church and State. Their names have been carefully and correctly inscribed upon the archives of our State Historical Society records. There should somehow be a mandate that every Nebraskan shall spend some time among those

halls to receive added strength and poise for the future.

Thank God for the chaste, colorful Constitution of our United States. Therein the Almgihty Creator find not mere mention but as author of liberty, is given rightful rec-What a masterpiece of clear ognition. thinking to insist that all men are created equal and endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights. What a glorious proclamation to tell the world that no government may bestow or remove inherent birthrights. Let us carefully guard these fundamentals in the thorough education of our children from the little one-room schoolhouse to the spacious halls of the university. Let us this day lift united hands and hearts to God in thanksgiving, and forget not to honor those who laid down their life on the battlefield, that we might enjoy a safe shelter and shrine of freedom. Let neither jealousy nor hatred divide our people. There is no room in our Constitution or country for those who scheme to depose Almighty God, or deny liberty and justice to the outnumbered, or seek to overthrow our Government deliberately. Today's complex life and problems can easily be solved by a sane return to the simple suggestions of Jesus Christ, Saviour of man. Nineteen hundred years ago he was hung on the Cross on Calvary, because he refused to conform, because He defended rights and responsibili-ties of the individual. He died to make men holy, and He died to make men free, a truth which He advocated. And when again learn to place moral over material obligations, three-fourths of our national fear and frustration will miraculously disappear.

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Let church and state in all their departments emphasize anew and again that no subversive movement to overthrow God or Government will succeed except the people themselves serve false gods. Among voices, from the President of the United States to the parent in the home, there is a passionate plea to preserve our God-given heritage with might and main. Chaplain John Donnelly, now stationed at Tempelhof, Germany, writes in a recent issue of the Con-GRESSIONAL RECORD: "Today the world is in a state of emergency surpassing any in history. Back of all this ferment of nations is the great conflict. While in 2,000 years the religion of Jesus Christ has brought under its sway some 500 million, in one generation the anti-christ religion of communism has brought under its absolute control 800 million behind an Iron Curtain and many more in every continent.

Arms and ammunition cannot destroy godless forces that bore within the human soul. We need to demonstrate a worthy patriotism and a united front against any evil combination. Let our homes remain bulwarks of Christian examples and influence. Let our schools stand as frontiers of good citizenship. Let our churches be citadels of brave-hearted, faithful children of God. Let our State and National leaders show the way to the Prince of Peace and His passion for service. No people in history have been so highly favored as we. Nebraska's youth is inheriting a rich land. Unlimited sources and resources of mine, water, field, and forest becken for development. What will we do with God's generous gifts? Will you help build a world based on honesty and integ-rity? Will you remember the law and love of God as did your forefathers in shaping a new nation?

The Mayflower Compact, the Pilgrim's Chorus, Declaration of Independence, and other sacred citizenship documents point the way we must go that it may be well with us. Please listen to this postcript to our Declaration of Independence: "For the support of this declaration and with firm reliance on the protection of divine providence,

we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor." Are you willing to pledge your life that America might live? Will you give generously and gratefully of your fortune that our institutions may remain and our Government keep watch o'er the ramparts of the world? Do we have any sacred honor left today, that our children may see that it is really an un-American activity merely to eat, drink, and be merry?

The seal of the great State of Nebraska declares: "Equality before the law." Is that still our standard of judgment? The constitutional debates of 1787 inspired Father Washington to exclaim: "Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair; the event is in the hand of God." Are we willing to subscribe to this declaration? What is our standard today? Morals or just money? Selfishness or service? Honesty or discretion? Courage or fear? May God give us men and women who place honor above profit, God above gold, Jesus Christ above the prophets of doom and gloom, virtue above vice.

IV

Wars and rumors of wars cannot deplete a nation's integrity in a century as swiftly as indifference, greed, and selfishness can in a decade. Moral righteousness is a matter of the human heart. Let righteousness be in the people, of the people, and for the people. "Our Father, to whose sleepless eye the past and future stand on an open page, like babes we cling to Thy protecting hand; change, sorrow, death are naught to us if we may safely bow beneath the shadow of Thy throne a hundred years from now." (Mary A. Ford, in a Hundred Years From Now.)

So let us conserve soil and soul that God may visit us with His goodness. So let us teach our children and children's children that they may hearken unto the voice of God and government. Then another century of unlimited prosperity and peace will God grant to those who do His will. Amen.

The Federal Reserve System

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES H. DUFF

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. DUFF. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address on the subject The Federal Reserve System Is Unique, delivered at Syracuse, N. Y., on January 18, 1955, by C. Canby Balderston, a member of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FEDERAL RESERVE SYSTEM IS UNIQUE

(Address of C. Canby Balderston, member, Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System, at Syracuse, N. Y., on Tuesday, January 18, 1955)

Why is the Federal Reserve System unique? As to its basic aims, it is not peculiar in the sense of being markedly different from the central banks of other countries. Its aims, however, are different from those of a commercial bank. This may explain why commercial bankers sometimes find its workings as difficult to comprehend as do nonbankers,

The importance of a central bank stems primarily from the influence that it can exert over the money supply. The importance of this function has been sensed ever since the establishment of the Federal Reserve System in 1913, although the particular problems and emphasis have changed. When, prior to 1913, the National Monetary Commission studied the need of this country for a central bank, it was particularly concerned with averting the financial panics which had occurred every few years because of the inflexibility of the then existing monetary system. It was also concerned with the development of one which would be more responsive to the needs of trade, Specifically, it wished to give the country an elastic currency, to facilitate the discounting of commercial paper, and to improve the supervision of banking.

Since then, the basic economic and financial changes have taken place; old problems have been solved, and new ones have developed. Concern with the monetary sup-ply has remained, however, even though there have been changes in emphasis. More attention has come to be placed on influenc ing the volume of demand deposits than of currency. No longer is a close relationship supposed to exist between fluctuations in the volume of commercial paper and in the volume of money. Central banking has come to be recognized as more than an aid in averting panics; it can make a positive contribution toward a healthy economic growth and a stable dollar. Related to these goals are such cherished aims as a rising standard of consumption; sustained high employment for the breadwinner; stable values for widows who live on savings, and for those who do the saving.

The problems of assisting to control the supply, availability, and cost of credit are highly intricate. In dealing with them, our central banking system has the tremendous responsibility of so influencing money and credit conditions as to assist in promoting economic stability and growth. By stability I do not connote a dead level of economic activity, but one that moves steadily into higher and higher ground. The supply of money, now of course consisting mainly of bank deposits, is a more potent factor in our economy than a century ago when house holds were more self-sufficient, and barter was a bigger factor in commerce. Today money passes from person to person and from institution to institution in accordance with millions of decisions to buy or to sell-If the supply of money becomes excessive in relation to the goods and services available, prices tend to rise; if the converse is true, prices tend to fall. Therefore, if the value of money is to be stable and to assist the economy to move steadily upward, its supply must be harmonized with the flow of goods.

The impact of the general supply of money upon the economy and upon nearly all citizens is so great as to make it a matter of pub lic concern. Thus, supervision and control by the Government is required. The apportionment of credit among individual borrowers, however, is not a matter for Govern ment, but for private lenders. To determine, on the basis of intimate knowledge, which businessmen and which firms are good risks is one of the important contributions of an independent, private, commercial banking system. It is the responsibility of the central bank to exert an influence over the total amount of money, but the selection of the particular customers to whom loans are to be made is, and should be, left to the discretion of commercial banks. The role of the Federal Reserve is potent and indispensable. but it operates indirectly through relatively free and uncontrolled markets, so that there will be a minimum of interference with our essential freedoms.

Let me emphasize here that the quality of loans is as important, and of as great

concern, as is the quantity. The Federal Reserve influences the general availability of money, but the competitive forces of the market largely determine the extent and manner of its use. Although the initial responsibility for soundness rests with the makers of individual loans, it is of interest to the system, also, that the use of credit be sound and productive.

I turn now to the philosophy that pervades the Federal Reserve and guides its methods.
The point has been made by Chairman Martin that its philosophy may be likened to the concept of trusteeship. Trusteeship involves Obligations that extend beyond mere legality. It involves the highest ethical and moral standards in the carrying out of the mandate Issued to the trustee. While that mandate is in force, it implies the courage to take actions, however unpopular they may be at the moment, that the trustee believes to be best for the country and its economy. Naturally, the trust indenture of which we are speaking, that is, the Federal Reserve Act, is not irrevocable, because it may be changed at the will of the Congress.

In bringing about this trustee arrangement to deal with the highly complex problems faced by a central banking system, the Congress is to be credited with foresight in the degree of independence with which it has surrounded the system. The nuances of has surrounded the system. independence are not easily spelled out. They involve an opportunity, like that of the Judiciary, to act objectively without favor and without fear, free of private pressures on the one side and partisan political pressures on the other. Such objective action re-Quires full recognition of the real needs and interests of all concerned, along with recoghition of their important roles in a properly

functioning economy.

The Federal Reserve as a central banking system has a combination of public and private elements in its organizational structure. Through long decades, different countries have experimented with the relation that the central bank should have to Government and to private enterprise. Once the Bank of England was owned privately. George Washington is said to have owned some of its shares. Now, its shares are all owned by the British Government. The Bank of France is also nationalized, as are all of the central banks of Russian-dominated Eastern Europe. In Belgium, the state owns one half of the national bank. Indeed, Mr. Roger Auboin, Director General of the Bank for International Settlements, has observed recently that the number of state-owned central banks in the world is greater than those not so owned. Whatever its form of ownership, a central bank must obviously be operated for the public good. And to be so operated, it should be independent of both political and financial interests.

The Federal Reserve Act provides for a unique combination of public and private elements which is peculiarly adapted to the altuation in this country. It provides for a Board of Governors in Washington which has an Independent status in the Government structure and reports directly to Congress. In order to prevent the inflexibility and lack or local knowledge that usually goes with Overly centralized authority, it provides for a structure of 12 district banks, 24 branches, and some 250 directors. There is also a Pederal Open Market Committee, which is composed of both Board members and Re-

serve bank representatives.

This structure may seem cumbersome, but it provides a mechanism by which decentralization of functions can be combined with such coordination as is essential to unity of action in the matters that require it. Within it, functions that can best be carried out locally are performed by the Reserve banks and their branches, while policy decisions on a national scale are made by the Board of Governors, and by the Open Market Committee

The Board of Governors is composed of 7 members appointed by the President, and confirmed by the Senate. It has authority to establish the reserve requirements of member banks, within limits set by statute, and to establish margin requirements for purchasing and carrying stocks. It has the authorto review and determine changes in discount rates proposed by the Reserve banks, to approve the appointment of their chief officers, and to appoint three members of each of their boards of directors.

The Federal Open Market Committee is composed of the 7 members of the Board of Governors, together with the presidents of 5 Reserve banks. The 5 Reserve bank posi-tions are rotated among the banks, except that the president of the New York bank is always a member. This Committee makes all decisions concerning System open-market operations, which influence the level of un-

borrowed bank reserves.

The district banks and their branches perform numerous operations that can be done best at the local level through personnel in close touch with local conditions. They administer the discount function, and their directors customarily initiate discount-rate changes. The district banks and branches comprise an immense network of economic intelligence through which the System is kept informed as to the changing problems and conditions in business, and within the commercial banks themselves.

The local directors, most of whom are businessmen and bankers who tend to abhor waste and inefficiency, provide an effective check upon the operating performance of the reserve banks. Six of the directors of each reserve bank are elected by member banks, which own all the stock. Such ownership is often viewed as a compulsory contribution by member banks to the capital funds of their reserve banks, rather than as proprietorship in the strict sense. Nevertheless, member banks tend to keep in closer touch with their reserve bank because of their stock ownership, and their representation on its board of directors.

The banks in each district are divided into three size groups, each of which elects one banker and one representative of commerce, industry, or agriculture. Three directors, including the chairman, are appointed by the Board of Governors. All of these directors must be free from banking connections. The directors, both those elected by the commercial banks and those appointed by the Board of Governors, bring to Federal Reserve problems a variety of experience. It must be emphasized, however, that although they have different backgrounds, their function as directors is not to represent special interests, but to serve the public.

President Woodrow Wilson, Senator Carter Glass, Paul M. Warburg, and the others responsible for the founding of the System were sensitive to the delicate balance needed between public control, and domination that would destroy the rights of individuals under our free-enterprise system. Accordingly, they contrived a system whose structure is distinctive in central banking. It is partly governmental, partly private.

The Federal Reserve reflects in its design a touch of genius. Its founders recognized that the United States had a heterogeneous population, tremendous variety in its industry, commerce and agriculture, and a banking system that contained thousands of different units. Some of these were national banks, some not. Had the United States been as small as England, with just a few private banks whose heads could be brought quickly into conference around the same table, the solution contrived by the designers of the Federal Reserve would have been different. But just as problems of size and mass are reflected in the structural design of the short-legged hippopotamus and the long-legged giraffe, so are the problems of this country's banks and commerce reflected in the Reserve System. There is a legend in Africa that the giraffe was designed by a committee. So, in effect, was the Federal Reserve, except that the result has more symmetry.

Among the freedoms that American citizens enjoy is the freedom of enterprise. Like the former Chairman of our Board, Mr. Thomas B. McCabe, I look on the Federal Reserve System as one of its great bulwarks. It is my view that business executives have a particular responsibility to see that the various aspects of that freedom are defended. Mere lip service is scarcely adequate.

If borrowers had not enjoyed it for so long as to take it for granted, they would place great store upon freedom of choice in the securing of credit. If an entrepreneur could get a loan only by applying at the office of some government agency, or if there were only one private banking institution to which he could turn, he would suspect that considerations other than his ability to repay were taken into accounts. Freedom to choose one's bank was not among the freedoms listed in the Atlantic Charter, but this freedom would seem very significant indeed if it had to be rewon.

Then, there is the freedom that we associate with the choice of a job. Job opportunities have been so abundant during the past decade as to provide wide election to men and women entering the labor market. During the first half of this decade, about 700,000 new workers had to be absorbed each year. In the first half of the 1960's, however, it will be necessary to provide job opportunities each year to 1.2 million youngsters. That will be the period during which the war babies will be seeking employment. To enable young people to choose the jobs best suited to their respective tastes and abilities will call for a high level of employment, and the full use of our productive resources and facilities

And then there is the freedom to buy what one chooses. Consumers who have the requisite buying power now enjoy a selection of products neither known, nor imagined, when I was a boy. This abundance is to be credited chiefly to the spectacular advances in technology. As Dr. Kenneth Mees has pointed out, the rate of technological advance has been increasing at a rate that has itself been increasing. But the point that is appropriate here is that the ability of businessmen to manufacture and sell new things has been aided by their ability to secure the requisite funds. In the main, these funds have come from private sources.

And so, there are certain economic free-doms in addition to the traditional freedoms of speech, religion, and conscience. preservation of these freedoms, infinitely precious to all citizens, is a particular responsibility of those who are part of the business community.

Tribute to Robert H. (Sam) Baldock, of

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, Robert H. (Sam) Baldock, of Oregon, is one of the great highway engineers of the Nation. Many of the road-building reforms instituted under his leadership have spread to the rest of the Nation for example, rural freeways which are not saddled with tolls.

Mr. Baldock celebrated his selection as Oregon's engineer of the year only recently, and I should like to ask that there be included in the Appendix of the Record an article in tribute to this unique public servant. The article was written by Ann Sullivan, and published in the Oregonian of January 23, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

BALDOCK MOVES METHODICALLY, WHETHER AT WORK OF AT PLAY

(By Ann Sullivan)

There is no compromise with fact and truth in one of Oregon's most conscientious citizens, Robert Hugh (Sam) Baldock, veteran chief highway engineer.

Baldock, boss man under the highway commission of the expenditure of some \$50 million a year on Oregon's highways, Saturday was named "engineer of the year" at an annual dinner meeting of the Professional Engineers of Oregon at Portland's Columbia Athletic Club.

A framed certificate, presented by H. Loren Thompson, president of the engineers, honored Baldock for his lifetime of outstanding service to his State and to the profession of highway engineers.

highway engineers.

"As State highway engineer, he has pioneered in research and the principles of highway design and construction," the certificate

Commissioner William A. Bowles brought greetings to Baldock from the city of Portland.

This recipient of many professional honors, known nationally and internationally for his pioneering work in highway design, building, and financing, faithfully tackles almost everything he does with a scientific, analytical mind.

That goes not only for engineering problems, but the bridge he plays well, the monthly poker game, the Saturday golf games (rain or shine), his reading and thinking habits.

GOOD JOE TO FRIENDS

Yet there is wry, good humor, and kindliness behind his almost-tight mouth and his rimless glasses (for nearsightedness). And his friends—of which there are many—call him not only a gentleman, fine consistent golfer, admirable companion, and good sportsman, but a good Joe.

White-haired Sam Baldock was born July 6, 1889, in Trinidad, Colo., a cattle and coalmining town on the old Santa Fe Trail. He was 1 of 2 children (a sister, Ruth, died at 14 from scarlet fever). His father was a cattleman.

The son attended Trinidad High School for 3 years, then New Mexico Military Institute for 2, obtaining a little college credit there.

He almost made it through the University of Colorado in 3 years, but was short about 10 percent of his course. He was supposed to be a member of the 1914 class, but actually received his bachelor of science degree from the University of Oregon in 1938 after some correspondence work.

HONORARY DEGREE CONFERRED

The following year he wrote a thesis and obtained his civil engineering degree. In 1946 the university conferred on him the honorary degree of doctor of science.

Coming west to get a job (after his marrying Austa Marshant in Colorado in 1913, she died in 1946), he came first to Idaho.

Most of his undergraduate work was in mining and railroad engineering.

He took a job there that summer as inspector and instrument man on the building of a dam, powerhouse, and transmission lines. Later in the year he came to Portland, taking a job for 6 months as a transitman for the Northwestern Electric Co.

Then to Astoria, where the port commission was building docks in bid to make its city leading port of this State. In 1915 he took a job with the State highway commission, still a transitman—the surveyor who reads the angles.

He remembers well that first job, and

He remembers well that first job, and thinks of it every time he whizzes over the swooping four-lane Pacific Highway across the same spot—about 7 miles south of Cottage Grove.

It was in Pass Creek Canyon, a mile of highway costing \$5,000, and it was one of the big jobs in the State at the time. This 20-foot-wide roadway was built with horses and scrapers and wasn't even graveled until quite a bit later.

It carried all of maybe 30 vehicles a day, most of them horse drawn.

Said Baldock with a twinkle, "Yes, you could drive from Portland to the California line in those days at an average of 10 to 15 miles an hour, it was so rough."

DEPARTMENT STARTS SMALL

There were about 50 people employed by the highway department then. Today the department has 3,000. Yearly highway expenditures now are about \$50 million. In 1915, what Baldock recalls was "a heavy construction year," total outlay was \$600,000.

Baldock lived all over the State in those days, wherever the jobs were. He was a transitman until 1916, when he became locating engineer, in charge of making the location of new roads. He laid out almost all of U. S. 30 from Arlington to Ontario.

In 1919 he became division engineer, in charge of the eastern Oregon division. In 1925 he became maintenance engineer; in 1930, assistant State highway engineer, and in 1932 was elevated to the top post, when Roy A. Klein went to the Bureau of Public Roads.

TOP LAYMAN IN CHURCH

He is a member of the New York Academy of Science, the Highway Research Board, Washington, D. C., the University Club in Portland, is a Scottish rite mason, and a member of the board of vestry of St. Paul's Episcopal Church in Salem, where he is past senior warden, top layman's job.

Baldock is a member, also, of the Newcomen Society of England, Tau Beta Pi, the American Society of Civil Engineers, and the American Association of State Highway Officials.

He is listed in the international blue book of world notables. Probably his top award was received in 1950, the George S. Bartlett award for distinguished contributions to highway progress.

In 1939 he was invited to read a paper at the International Road Congress at The Hague. He could not go but did send his paper, a report on the nonskid features and the light-reflecting properties of paved-road surfaces.

TAKES TO AIR OFTEN

He travels widely and is a member of United Air Lines 100,000-mile club. In fact, he has already passed his 200,000-mile mark in air travel.

In 1939 he was chosen by the Department of State to attend the Third Pan-American Highway Conference in Santiago, Chile.

Possibility the four highway accomplishments for which he is best known are these:

1. He originated the technique of oiling roads, beginning experimentally in 1923 in eastern Oregon when he was division engineer there. It is national practice now. 2. He pioneered in geometric highway design.

In order to correlate all the factors of design to one standard, he said by way of explanation, "we selected as a standard, the speed at which motor vehicles could operate safely. That standard was adopted in Oregon in 1936. The Nation adopted it in 1946, a decade later."

WEIGHT TAX AUTHOR

3. He is author of the weight-mile tax for trucks, devising it in 1937. The legislature adopted it in 1947.

4. The highway department's system of study of highway economics, believed to be one of the first in the Nation to do so. We keep an account of every highway, determine its earnings, measure its present worth, and keep track of its depreciation.

and keep track of its depreciation.
Somewhat of an innovation, too, is the Oregon Highway Department's use of scale models of highways and highway projects. Baldock said they were developed because few laymen could read blueprints.

In order to sell our ideas, our artists first drew sketches, then finally the scale models were adopted (first: the new Columbia River highway) which not only helped the public to understand but helped the engineers themselves.

Oregon is one of the first States to build rural freeways without tolls, and of these Baldock is extraordinarily proud, particularly the new Wilsonville cutoff between Portland and Salem, where wide, planted center strips break glare of oncoming lights.

About all of his engineering decisions Baldock is a firm taskmaster, studying carefully first with scientific approach and then staying with his findings in spite of outside pressure.

"An official," he explains his system. "should search for the truth and make his decision based on fact and truth and not be swayed therefrom except when additional facts may point to an error in the first decision. There should be no compromise with essentials. A decision should be made on the basis of affording the greatest good to the greatest number at the lowest cost."

And he stuck ever so tightly for two bitter years to the need for Salem's one-way grid system, finally adopted and finally liked even though some of his best friends were inconvenienced.

BOSS SETS EXAMPLE

Two department rules he enforces strict! fare no drinking on the job and no families traveling in State cars. Employees who don't follow suit get fired. He obeys them himself to the letter.

His main floor office in the shining white highway department building is in the Center and East Summer Streets corner, a big room with a huge relief map of Oregon, attractive colored photographs of many of the State's natural assets, a conference table, desk, and neat bookcases.

Baldock usually eats lunch at home, which is catty-corner through the building across the street at the Royal Court Apartments. He and the present Mrs. Baldock (Verona Lehmer, whom he married in 1947—she was a widow of an engineer; the families had been friends) live there in a pleasant, small-

ish double apartment.

Lunch is usually light (favorite, crab au gratin) and is often followed by a couple of hands of cribbage, with Mrs. Baldock getting pretty good now at knowing his system with fives.

Baldock has three children by his first marriage, Robert M., Bonnie, and Dorothy. Bonnie is now Mrs. Perry Andrews, of Los Angeles. The son, an engineer for the Forest Service, has two children, Robert Hugh. 14, and Janet, 10.

Mrs. Baldock has one daughter and two granddaughters of her own.

Baldock, wearing mostly grays and blues, is a neat, almost natty dresser, liking conservative ties and Homburg hats—and he has

a special rain outfit for golf.

His good friend and golfing partner (others of the foursome are frequently William Rector, a private accountant, and Col. Leonard Hicks, who operates an accessory business) is Rev. George Swift, rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church.

TWO MEET ON COURSE

Reverend Swift merrily remembers the first time he met Baldock. It was on the Salem Golf Club course. Said the rector:

"He was having some trouble with his putting, and he expressed himself * * vigorously, as befitted the occasion.

Then he said, 'Young man, what is your business?' I said I was rector of St. Paul's Episcopal Church. This was the only time in our 25 years of golfing together that Mr. Baldock seemed at a loss to express himself.

"He's an interesting man, whether he's talking about his impressions of a great book he has just finished, the solutions to a complex engineering problem, or just how he made an eagle that time on the No. 14 hole on the Salem golf course."

Norman P. Mason

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. IRVING M. IVES

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a highly informative and interesting article on the career of the present Federal Housing Administrator, Norman P. Mason. This article, which appeared in the December 19, 1954, issue of the newspaper Il Progresso, highlights Mr. Mason's qualifications for his important position.

There being no objection, the article Was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

N. P. MASON, FEDERAL HOUSING COMMISSIONER, TACKLES HOT POST WITH BUILDING INDUS-TRY FULLY BACKING HIM TO DO A GREAT

(By Carl Soresi)

Washington, D. C.—One of President Eisenhower's most troublesome problems Elsenhower's most troublesome problems earlier this year was a cleansing of the wide-ly publicized windfall scandal that was brought to light in the Federal Housing Administration. Profiteering builders had made millions during World War II out of PHA insured loans. The Nation, Eisenhower felt, demanded rectification.

After lengthy consultation to seek the man he felt could do the job, the President named 58-year-old Norman P. Mason—a man widely respected in building trade organizations and one whom Eisenhower felt could muster the big hand needed to help get the FHA back in its honored place. From the job that quiet-spoken, shrewd "Yankee" Mason has been doing to date, President Elsenhower is not regretting his choice. On the contrary, he considers Mason one of the brightest recruitments of his administration.

Mr. Mason is no novice to the building industry—and one might safely say he has been in it since he was a baby. He was born in the little town of Willsboro, N. Y., in 1896, where his father had been sent by the New York. York & Pennsylvania Co. to build a wood

pulp mill. Logging and lumber mills were the Mason table talk.

In 1910, father Mason moved to Plattsburg, N. Y., to establish his own builder's hardware business. There, young Mason finished high school at the age of 15 cum laude and won over his father to let him work in the store. Soon Mason could talk intelligently with builders about the recondite items in the world-from butt the latest in hinges to the advantages of steel mitre boxes.

In the evenings he would turn to his hobby, amateur radio, working far into the night on his 1-KW set. Came World War I and Mason enlisted in the Navy aboard a troop transport as a radioman, where he stayed until 10 months after the war's end ferrying United States troops back home

from the European front.

Mason got back into the building business, but this time determine to help foster new techniques in the burgeoning building trades. He was 27 when he moved to Chelmsford, Mass, to operate the Wm. P. Proctor Co., dealing with saw mills, lumber yards, and a box manufacturing concern. Mr. Mason's son, David, today carries on the family business.

One of the west ways to serve the building business. Mason felt, was to take leadership in the trade organizations which were then becoming major operations. Mr. Mason has risen to the top in these organizations in

the intervening years.

One of his early ventures was the Cooperative Reserve Supply Co., a cooperative ware-house of lumber dealers. Later he served with the National Retail Lumber Dealers' sociation, rising to the presidency of that

major trade organization.

In his unending attempts to develop and foster new techniques in the building trades, Mason encouraged technical research being done at the Building Research Institute, where he is chairman of the Board of Governors of the National Academy of Sciences. From new methods of securing a hip roof, to fuller uses of laminated wood arches in churches and warehouses can be traced back to men such as Mason who have uncovered new avenues in the construction world.

Prior to his FHA commission. Mason became known in Washington as one of the top men in the building trade organizations-and enlarged his circle of friends in the industry through his work as a leader

in the field.

One of his major contributions was as a member of the President's Advisory Committee on Housing, which made the recommendations last December that served as the basis for the new FHA mortage law that has brought vast relief in an otherwise cautions mortgage market. Optimism in the field, expressed in liberalized loan regulations, has

been justified.

Mr. Mason is an avid student of economics, constantly inviting his friends (he is a prolific letterwriter) to give their views on the Nation's economic conditions. From these private surveys, Mason says he would surprised to see 1,400,000 new houses started next year in the United States.

During World War II, Mason served as a much sought after consultant in the building trades to a variety of wartime Government agencies, among them the National Housing Agency, Office of Price Administration, and the National Production Administration.

Mr. Mason is a director of the United States Chamber of Commerce, serving for the past 4 years as chairman of the chamconstruction and civic development committee.

Experienced executives both inside and outside the Government's interest in the building trade concede that Mason has been doing a bangup job cleaning out the title 6 inequities in the FHA-which led to the recently exposed windfall profits scandals.

Mason is for new ideas and more liberal policies to help enlarge the building of United States homes—but all, as he puts it, within a respectable framework.

He is an avid Eisenhower man, reciprocating the President's loyalty 100 percent. gears his work as FHA Commissioner on a threefold principle: adequate housing, modernization, and house rehabilitation. In his latest job, Mr. Mason assumes leadership of 20-year-old institution that has insured \$26 billion in building loans, and this year has chalked up a 31-percent increase in loans over last year, thanks to the new FHA law in which he played a major role.

At home, Mr. Mason likes to spend time with his charming New England wife, Helen, charting new trails to go hiking on and better skiing conditions in their native Ver-mont-Massachusetts area. He is an accomplished photographer, and loves to give illustrated travel talks, which can be gained without too much prompting.

Building better houses in America is more than a responsibility in our economy," says "It is also a big part of our way of

"If, by any regrettable action, we should be letting down the growing business of building better houses for our citizens," he adds, "we are clearly letting down our Na-

Senator George and the Formosa Resolution Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EARLE C. CLEMENTS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an excellent article entitled "George's Dramatic Moment," written by Doris Fleeson, and published in the Washington Evening Star for today.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

GEORGE'S DRAMATIC MOMENT-GEORGIA DEMO-CRAT ACCEPTS PRESIDENT'S PATRIOTISM IN THE GREAT TRADITION OF THE LATE SENATOR VANDENBERG

(By Doris Fleeson)

Senate debate on the Eisenhower resolution was wrapped up in one dramatic minute when a measured promise came from the lips of the revered Walter F. George, of Georgia.

"Not Chiang Kai-shek, not Chinese Nationalist officials, no admiral and no officer of the line will decide how we shall protect Formosa," intoned the chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. "It will be a personal decision of the President of the United States."

Senator George then stated the thesis on which doubting Members of Congress-and there are many, many of them from both parties and all factions—hang all their hopes.

"I believe the President of the United States is a good man, dedicated to a peaceful world. I believe what he says.'

Senator George had been called from the joint session in honor of President Magloire of Haiti to hear read on the telephone the statement the White House proposed to make. A copy of it was in his hand as he took the floor.

In it, the President reserved to himself the decision to use United States forces for anything other than "immediate self-defense or in direct defense" for Formosa, Democrat GEORGE accepted and defended it in the great tradition of the late Senator Vandenberg, Republican, which assumes the veracity and patriotism of the President of the United States

Mr. Eisenhower had earlier called into conference his Cabinet, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the National Security Council. He had been stirred by a complex of reasons.

The testimony of General Ridgway, Army Chief of Staff, before the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees was in the headlines. Testifying with reserve in deference to the President, General Ridgway he was not consulted when Joint Chiefs discussed the President's Far Eastern plans as he was away and his deputy was not authorized to speak for him. (Admiral Radford, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman, who had been quoted by a House committee as saying the Joint Chiefs of Staff were unanimous, agreed this was so.)

He believed that strikes against the mainland or in defense of Quemoy by air or sea power would draw in ground troops. He said the Army was overextended already and did not have the nearly half a million troops needed to win a mainland foothold.

The same headlines showed Secretary of Defense Wilson characterizing the Formosa situation as "just a ripple" and saying there

were no plans to increase the Army.

All this would be dynamite if Admiral Radford should be proved wrong in his estimates that only sea and air power were neces-Senators, praising Admiral Radford's intellectual integrity, point out Admiral Radford refused to rule out the use of ground

The President also faced senatorial anxiety over the question of who would have the power to order United States task forces to attack Red China. Several Senators had bluntly said Chiang wanted to go back to the mainland on the backs of American doughboys.

These doubts have great political potential at home and abroad. One shrewd Senator has said that the easiest thing to do politiwas to vote against the resolution. The President, he argued, can do what he wants anyway and if something goes wrongas well it might—then the no-sayers can say "I told you so."

Senator George's efforts have carried the day and the outcome is not in doubt. But Senators who raised the issue believe that they have helped to force the President to harden his position with respect to the Chinese Nationalists and the military who would risk war.

New Year's Day, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PRESCOTT BUSH

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. BUSH. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a very illuminating and beautiful New Year's Day statement which was made and distributed by a fine citizen of the State of Connecticut, and my good friend, Frank S. Brainard.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEW YEAR'S DAY, 1955

Two years ago, when the present administration assumed the functions of our Federal Government, it was generally accepted that infinite patience on the part of our citizens would be needed if economic collapse or international eruntion were to be avoided. To our surprise, the President himself has led the way in this respect, by setting an example for the Nation. A feeling of relief attended the display of firm patience with which this famous warrior has matched the sword-rattlers, at home and abroad, and his dignified self-control in the face of adverse criticism has revealed a concept of Presidential decorum unknown to the White House for years.

On this first day of the year of our Lord, 1955, and the independence of the United States the 179th, therefore, I commend to you the resolve to continue support of this man who, as Supreme Commander of the Allied armies of the world, consumated the mightiest armed assault of all time and how now, mindful of the sacrifices of fellow Christians from Calvary to Korea, is engaged in waging the greatest struggle of his career, in the cause of peace. Sincerely,

FRANK S. BRAINARD.

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

War Against Nixon Hits Social Graces

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, under the heading "United States Politics Too Rough?" a recent edition of the Long Beach Press-Telegram carried a story by Washington Columnist Walter T. Ridder which should cause those waging the attack against Mr. Nixon to pause and reflect. Here are Mr. Ridder's observations:

WASHINGTON .- Are American politics getting too rough? The question has been much in the public print in recent days largely because of the speech of which Senator RICHARD NEUBERGER divested himself bitterly castigating by implication Vice President Nixon for his campaign speeches.

The question arose at a dinner here the other night. A prominent Democrat who for the past 6 years or so has been sojourning abroad returned to his Washington home. An old friend called him to welcome him back to the United States of America and to invite him to a small dinner. The gentleman accepted with alacrity.

"Before you accept too hastily," said the prospective host, "I want to tell you that Vice President Nixon will attend and perhaps you won't want to come.'

The gentleman assured the host that he would most certainly attend the dinner, but, as he said later, it started him wondering what had happened in the United States that the presence of the Vice President forces a host to fly warning signals before he asked

people to his house for dinner. "Have we gotten to the point," he inquired, "where everyone in Washington reads off the guest list before allowing people to accept a dinner invitation?" He was assured that such was not the case, yet there was just enough meat to the question to

make the answerer pause.

American politics have, of course, always been rough. One is reminded of Senator

Henry Clay walking a plank which in his days covered Washington's muddy paths and encountering one of his political enemies. coming in the opposite direction. One or the other had to step down.

"I never," said Clay's opponent, "step out of the way for a cur."

Without blinking an eye, Clay replied:
"I always do," and promptly got out of the

In the past, the tendency has been to slam hard and often in the political arena but, in general, act as relatively civilized persons on social occasions.

The Legislative Organization and the Processes and Procedures of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, as a combody I have gained a growing admiration for the legislative organization and the processes and procedures of Congress. I think all Members will agree. however, that in certain respects, due to the vast area of legislative jurisdiction and the complicated structure of our Government, there has developed on the paratively new Member of this great one hand some duplication of committee effort, and on the other hand, preemption by some committees of the functions and responsibilities of others

It was gratifying recently to learn of the new policy of more clearly defining the investigative powers of committees to avoid duplication. It seems to me it would be appropriate also to give attention to transgression in committee jurisdiction. I have in mind the experience in this body of attempts, some of them successful, to legislate by appropriation.

Let me cite a case which points up this inherent weakness whereby the Appropriations Committee could indirectly influence the entire policy of our vital defense program. Obviously the Armed Services Committee is continuously studying our defense needs. In all frankness, the members of the Armed Services are the only Members of this body, on the basis of their studies and information, particularly in closed hearings, to competently deal with certain vital matters of policy as they apply to national security. Much information is given the Armed Services Committee which cannot be repeated in the public debates in the House. In military affairs the rest of us have to pretty well go by their recommendations.

Recently the chairman of the Appropriations Committee was quoted by the press as having said he was against the aircraft carrier construction program. The danger I see is that the views of the distinguished gentleman from Missouri. sincere as I have no doubt they are, might result in legislation of defense policy through an appropriation bill.

In other words, the opinion of the very informed and respected chairman of the Armed Services Committee, the gentleman from Georgia, and members of his committee, on a subject like this certainly is the one we should follow.

Let me just quote four paragraphs from the testimony of the Secretary of Defense before the House Armed Services Committee on January 26, 1955:

I would now like to discuss our retaliatory capabilities. We have provided in our military program very powerful retaliatory forces in the Strategic Air Command of the Air Force. In addition, a great retaliatory capability exists in the carrier striking forces of the Navy, and in the tactical air units of the Air Force and the Marine Corps. Our policy calls for flexibility and versatility in the employment of existing forces. We are prepared to use our total resources in the most effective manner appropriate to the particular situation.

The buildup of the Strategic Air Command of the Air Force is continuing. This part of our retaliatory force will increase in numbers, but more importantly in quality as the remaining reciprocating engine bombers are replaced by modern jet aircraft. The B-36, long the mainstay of the long-range strategic forces, will be replaced by the B-52, the new long-range jet bomber. The longrange strategic fighter units in the Strategic Air Command forces are scheduled to be reequipped with supersonic fighters possessing a nuclear capability. These forces are being maintained in a high degree of readiness. Some of these forces are capable of operating directly from the continental United States; all are capable of operating from bases scattered around the globe. Local air defense for bases in areas outside the continental air defense system is being improved.

The carrier striking forces will be augmented by 1 additional carrier and 1 carrier air group this year. More importantly, both the carriers and the aircraft are being rapidly modernized, the carriers both through the conversion of existing carriers and the construction of new carriers, and the aircraft through the replacement of old models with the new aircraft now in production.

the new aircraft now in production.

I am sure you are all familiar with the new Forrestal class carriers, the first of which was launched about a month ago. These new carriers, as well as other carriers that are being modernized, will be equipped with newly developed aircraft with improved nuclear capabilities, such as the A3D and A4D, and very high speed fighters such as F9F9, FJ4, and F3H. Our carrier-based airpower increases the flexibility and dispersion of our retaliatory power.

The chairman of the House Appropriations Committee was quoted in the press recently as charging that the Navy's proposed new superaircraft carrier is outmoded and as urging Congress to scuttle it.

On the other hand, the chairman of the Armed Services Committee, following the testimony of the Secretary of Defense before it, commented:

I am glad that you have noted that our carrier striking forces will be augmented by 1 additional carrier and 1 carrier air group this year. And in that connection I want to say that I am glad to note that the budget contains funds for the construction of a new carrier capable of carrying modern aircraft that can deliver our most modern weapons.

So we find a divergent viewpoint between two committee chairmen. In the course of events, I think it is safe to predict that the full Armed Services Committee will sustain the President and the Defense Department recommendation. Just for the sake of argument, assume for the moment that the Appropriations

Committee follows its chairman and takes a different view. Therein, it seems to me, would be a case of legislation on national policy by failure to appropriate.

The House could, and I am sure would, in an instance like this, resolve the argument in favor of the proper committee—the Committee on Armed Services. But the danger lies in the natural tendency of Members of the House to support a committee on any measure reported by it.

In other words, unwittingly we might scuttle our aircraft carrier program and our national defense policy. I am sure we will not; but we might. All of which points up a possible weakness in our jurisdictional organization to which Members of Congress, it seems to me, should be ever alert.

The Formosa Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to make clear my position on House Joint Resolution 159.

The President has asked that the Congress join the administration in affirming the readiness of the American people to flight, if necessary, to prevent the invasion of Formosa. Since we have the ability to defend Formosa, and since it is important that Formosa's 10 million human beings and its strategic real estate do not fall into Communist hands, I support the resolution.

But I would be happier if the President, who has moved with admirable speed so far as Congress is concerned, had taken equally speedy steps to invoke the United Nations as the shield behind which the forces of the free world may rally.

The President's message recognized that the security of Formosa is properly a matter for the United Nations, and says, "We would welcome assumption of such jurisdiction by that body." But the administration has so far failed to place the Formosa question before the United Nations

The President, in yesterday's message, has shown that he knows how to invoke the jurisdiction, such as it is, of the Congress. There is, in fact, a much more precisely established method of invoking the jurisdiction of the United Nations. Under the uniting-for-peace resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 3, 1950:

If the Security Council, because of lack of unanimity of the permanent members, falls to exercise its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security in any case where there appears to be a threat to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, the General Assembly shall consider the matter immediately with a view to making appropriate recommendations to members for collective measures, including in the case of a breach of the

peace or act of aggression the use of armed force when necessary, to maintain or restore international peace and security. If not in session at the time, the General Assembly may meet in emergency special session within 24 hours of the request therefor. Such emergency special session shall be called if requested by the Security Council on the vote of any seven members, or by a majority of the members of the United Nations.

The prerequisites of General Assembly jurisdiction have been satisfied. That there is a threat to the peace, the President's message abundantly establishes. That the Security Council, because of the U. S. S. R.'s intransigence, is falling to exercise its responsibility to secure Formosa against aggression is equally apparent. Although the General Assembly is not now in session, an emergency special session may be called on 24 hours' notice.

Under the uniting-for-peace procedure of the United Nations, the General Assembly may recommend to members exactly the kind of action designed to resist aggression which the President has asked that he be empowered to untartake on behalf of this country. It may call for a cease-fire, or ask its members to meet aggression with armed resistance.

To fail to take steps to use the uniting-for-peace procedure lays us open to the charge that we are trying to go it alone. So long as we let the unitingfor-peace procedure lie dormant, we are not doing our best to marshal the forces of the free world to our side.

Daily Prayer for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CHARLES S. GUBSER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. GUBSER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include the following Dally Prayer for Peace, written by Mr. Robert B. O'Boyle, of San Jose, Calif. I commend this prayer to the attention of my colleagues.

DAILY PRAYER FOR PEACE

(By Robert B. O'Boyle)

My dear Father in Heaven and Saviour of mankind, as this day begins, I offer my prayer to Thee, seeking divine guidance and succor in all my undertakings throughout this day. Help me to be strong and great in the fear of God and in the love of right-eousness.

Make me strong spiritually, mentally and physically. Throw Thine arms of protection around all of Thy children everywhere. Go with them and with us, dear Father, all of the way.

Lead us. Thou omnipotent Ruler of the universe in all of the things we do that they may be pleasing in Thy sight.

Grant us eternal peace and may this supplication, so reverently offered to Thee, be heard and answered in Thine own way, with the assurance that peace will be everlasting.

We also pray that when our work which Thou hast planned for us to do here upon earth, has been completed, that Thou will call us home to be with Thee and Thy host forevermore.

This is my daily prayer. Amen,

Let's Not Waste Our Fighting Manpower

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK E. SMITH

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 10, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following article by Lt. Gen. Robert W. Harper, United States Air Force, retired, as told to Hodding Carter. This is worthy of the attention of all Members of Congress as we approach the problem of legislation in regard to military personnel. The article follows:

[From the Saturday Evening Post of December 11, 1954]

LET'S NOT WASTE OUR FIGHTING MANPOWER (By Lt. Gen. Robert W. Harper, USAF, retired, as told to Hodding Carter)

(Lt. Gen. Robert W. Harper, the dean of military educators, was commander of the Air Training Command when he retired last summer, after 30 years in the Armed Forces. Twenty-nine of those years were served in the Army Air Corps and its successor, the United States Air Force. World War II and its aftermath brought him one top job after another-Assistant Chief of Air Staff for Training; director of the Air Force Division Military Government in occupied Germany; and commanding general of the Air Transport Command. In the spring of 1948 he assumed command of the Air University at Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. There he drew up the plans for the long-needed Air Academy, which is to be located at Colorado Springs. That fall he took over the Air Training Command. A graduate of West Point, class of 1924, General Harper is rated a command pilot. His decorations include the Distinguished Service Medal with Oak Leaf Cluster and the Legion of Merit. He is now practicing law in Harlingen, Tex.-THE EDITORS.)

I'll begin with three stories, true stories about angry people. One concerns a row between top-ranking Russian officers and myself in Berlin. Another has to do with an American citizen whose home, built 150 years ago by his forebears, is situated near an airbase. The third is about a newly enlisted Air Force cadet.

The Russian story goes back to 1945, when I was director of the Air Force Division in our military government setup in Germany. That wa sthe year the Russians told us we couldn't have free access to Berlin by air. Yet we had to have air corridors; the ground approaches to the German capital were in Russian control.

The Russian officers were acting under orders. So was I when I met with them. I told them we needed those corridors. I said we were going to get them. Toward the end, angered as I'd never been in my whole life, I was pounding the desk with my fist. Well, we got three air corridors, and when the Russians blockaded Berlin in 1948 it was a good thing we had them.

Don't think the Russians backed down because I pounded a desk and talked tough. They gave in because they decided we meant what we said; that we were prepared to go to any necessary lengths to get the corridors.

And most important of all, they were convinced that we had the military strength and the will to act. So much for the first story.

I didn't get angry with the American of the second story, nor did any of my officers. But he got mad at us, plenty. His lovely ante bellum home lay near one of our southern airfields, which had been used during World War II for basic flight training. The propeller-driven planes in use then didn't make enough noise to disturb the house-holder and his family. When the field was converted to jet training, however, and the runways extended toward his home, the noise was often deafening. Sometimes it seemed to the family that the jets were coming right through the roof.

The owner demanded that new runways be built in another direction, even that the field be closed down to abate the nuisance. After all, he said, his folks had been there a long time before we came. The base commander explained that neither the field nor the runways could be whisked away.

This only made the man angrier. He felt that the Air Force was trampling on his rights as an American. Finally, the base commander spoke up to him. Sure the noise was bad, he said, but it was a friendly noise. Without those jet trainers and the young men in them, we might all be hearing hostile planes whose pilots didn't care what any Americans thought about anything. I think that softened our neighbor, even though he may still dislike the noise.

The third story is about a cadet who turned up at headquarters at Waco, Tex., where cadets are first sent after joining up. He, too, was angry, and he got permission to see the commanding officer to tell him why. I was there on an inspection trip and sat in on their meeting. The cadet said that he had been in the Air Force less than a week, that he had been sold a bill of goods by a recruiting team, and that he wanted out. We had been having trouble with overzealous recruiters, and we knew that if this boy wanted to get out, he'd deliberately wash out later. Some of them do. So we told him that we'd see that he was released to the draft.

A few days later, the CO of the base ran into him. The youngster was trimly uniformed, and jaunty. The CO asked him whether he still planned to get out of the Air Force. The boy took off his cap, exposing to view an extremely butch haircut. He'd been trimmed down to quarter-inch bristles.

"Guess I'll stay in, sir," he said, grinning.
"I'd be ashamed to go home with a haircut like this."

And he did stay in. He's still in the Air Force, and he's a fine officer; and all of us know that the haircut had nothing to do with his decision.

What do these stories add up to? Well, there's the enemy who limits his aggressions when faced by an opponent's strength and determination. Then there's the independent American citizen, and so many like him, more aware of his rights in a free country than of the enemy threats to crush those rights. And there's the cocky, wisecracking young American, perhaps home-spoiled and undisciplined, but potentially the best fighting man and the most intelligent anywhere, the boy who stands between the enemy and the irate householder.

Because that enemy is strong and dangerous, our Air Force has to be the best in the world. The year it becomes second best is the year the United States can expect to be attacked. My job as commander of the Air Training Command was to see that we never became second best. But the efforts of professional military men aren't enough to guarantee air supremacy. We must have backing from average citizens and above-average youngsters.

When I won my wings 30 years ago, oldline generals and admirals were laughing at military aviation and hampering its prog-

ress. Our Air Corps had Just begun to use photo-reconnaissance planes—60 years after a civilian balloonist had proved to the Union Army in the Civil War the value of aerial observation. Military pilots of the early twenties were still flying wire-braced biplanes. In basic design they showed few improvements over the Wright brothers' first flying machine of 1903.

And in 1925, the year I entered the Air Corps, Gen. Billy Mitchell had been court-martialed and convicted of "conduct to the prejudice of good order and military discipline" because he had rightly accused the Army and Navy of incompetency and criminal neglect in their attitude toward air-power.

That was how it was when I started flying. Less than 25 years later, when I took command of the Air Training Command, we were in the jet age. For the next 6 years my assignment kept me away from my home and family more than two-thirds of the time. Except on Sundays, my rising hour

was 5 a. m. or earlier; we were just that busy. I had no complaint about my schedule. But I did object to the instability of purpose with which we entered the jet age, and to the indecisiveness of our Government's plans for the Air Force. In the briefcase that I carried all the time were plans for every size Air Force from 48 wings to 137. I needed a variety of plans because congressional and military opinions on the proper size of the Air Force sometimes changed between the time I left my head-quarters for Washington to review new programs with the Chief of Air Staff and the time I got there.

This uncertainty was bad enough. But equally serious and more long-lasting problems faced the Air Training Command when we entered the jet age. One of them still confronts us. For the first time in this half century of intermittent war, we and our probable allies are far outnumbered by the combined forces of our probable enemies. Their warmaking resources and production are expanding constantly in a steady approach to our own level. Since we can no longer count on turning out the most of everything, our goal now is to produce the best of everything, in men and material.

It was sheer quality which gave our Air Force superiority in the Korean conflict. To win those air battles, we had to train men for jet-age combat far faster than we wanted to or thought possible, and this was done with no lowering of standards. The Air Training Command takes pride in an air victory won against a numerically superior enemy, at a time of governmental indecision as to the Air Force's proper role and required size.

Of the men now on duty with the Air Force, 95 in every 100 have gone through one or more of the Air Training Command's schools. Thirty percent of our airmen are enrolled in the Air Training Command at any given time; so are hundreds of fliers and technicians from friendly nations. It's the biggest school in the Nation, perhaps in the entire world.

These youngsters have to learn jet flying, air-borne electronics, cryptography, radar operation, and score of other complex skills. Two hundred thousand airmen were trained last year in 40 career specialties. Enrolled in the Command's 42 bases, they attended a combined total of 270 courses—airmen whose average age is 19 and whose average education is 11th grade, and cadets who need have only a high-school education to qualify for pilot training. In World War II the minimum requirement was 2 years in college.

First of all we have had to teach these unmilitary-minded boys the military facts of life; the most important fact being the reason they're being trained. I think we've done a better than fair job of teaching in

the past 6 years. If we hadn't, I doubt that we'd be strong enough today to keep our freedom.

I know that the men we've turned out at Waco, at Biloxi, at Randolph, and everywhere else in the command are superior to any They proved it in other pilots and airmen. Korea against heavy odds. They've passed most thorough physical, mental, and aptitude test given to Air Force men any-where in the world. We wish they had a higher average education, but it's already higher than the average for any other nation's airmen. It's the best Air Force anywhere, and the safest. In fact, it's provable that the boys in the Air Force are a lot safer than their civilian friends.

But we can't get enough young men or keep enough of them in the Air Force. Airmen are volunteers, and the present rate of volunteer reenlistment is low. As the Air Force builds toward the 137-wing goal, we are constantly short of trained manpower. Flying in the jet age calls for skills which take at least 2 years to learn. The volunteer is in for only 4 years. If he won't reenlist, we have to start afresh with his green replacement. Why can't we get all the airmen we want? And why can't we keep them when we get them?

First of all, our pilot requirements are stiff, as they must be if our Air Force is to excel. Of every 400 boys who seek to become flying cadets, only 100 get past the physical, mental, and psychological barriers. Of these 100, only 65 come through as flyers. Among the 35 failures are some who wash out deliberately, boys who find out that they are afraid to fly or who discover an overmaster-

ing dislike of military service.

There is a shortage of cadet applicants, and this is in great contrast to World War II. when would-be pilots volunteered in swarms. One trouble is that we have oversold the jet age, fostering an absurd belief that the jet flier has to be a sort of super-

Many potential cadets, having been sold on the superman nonsense, feel that jet flying is beyond their ability. This supposition has is beyond their ability. This supposition has been clearly disproved since we lowered our education requirements for cadets. Highschool graduates are handling today's complex machines with no more trouble than college graduates had with the relatively simple airplanes of World War II.

Another handicap to enlistment, and reenlistment, is the half-war, half-peace existence we are leading. The young airman, in training to fight for his country, meets too many civilians who treat him shabbily. Too often they gouge him, espe-cially in rents. A couple of years ago 7 sergeants at 1 of our bases got fed up with mistreatment by some of the townspeople, particularly the landlords. They converged on the directors of the local chamber commerce and cited their grievances. The community's newspaper played up the story, and it was widely printed throughout the Nation. Some reforms followed immediately. Everyone on the base was proud of those sergeants for speaking up like American citizens, and the upshot was that morale on the base and military relations with the townspeople have been excellent ever since.

There are other reasons for our enlistmentreenlistment problem. American voungsters know that our pilots accomplished prodigles in Korea, against odds as high as 10 to 1, but too few know that the odds wouldn't be so one-sided today. Then there are boys who assume that guided missiles will soon make pilots obsolete; they may prefer a technical civilian education to fit themselves for push-button war. But that kind of war isn't going to happen for a long, long time.

Cadets resent difficulties about marriage; so do airmen in the lower grades. A cadet can't marry while he's a cadet. An airman below the rank of staff sergeant has a tough time supporting a wife, because his married man's allowance is woefully inadequate. This helps explain why only 1 airman in 4 reenlists. How can we keep air superiority with a turnover rate like that?

Some of our most intelligent boys won't reenlist because they want to finish their interrupted education under the GI bill of The educational advantages under this bill are far greater than anything we can offer for reenlistment. Others are lured away by the aircraft and electronics industries, which can pay the ex-airman much more than the Air Force can for the skills which the Air Force taught him at great expense.

In a 3-year period ending last fall, the Technical Training Air Force, a part of the Air Training Command, graduated its mil-lionth airman. Half of them were replacements for men who didn't reenlist, and each man's training cost the Nation \$14,000.

The financial inducements of civil life seem doubly attractive to young men who doubt that military life offers a stable future. Their young wives object to financial hardships imposed on today's career soldiers by legislative blindness or the military's zeal to economize. We're all in favor of real economy. But I doubt that the Nation has benefited financially through the nibbling away of such fringe benefits as the post exchanges, the commissaries, and adequate medical care for dependents.

The men in the Air Force-and the Army and Navy, too-feel that they are being dis-criminated against by congressional acts which have taken away minor benefits they once enjoyed. If those benefits aren't restored, the rate of enlistment and reenlistment is going to drop further, dragging down with it our ability to defend ourselves.

The problem of attracting volunteers is complicated further by psychological factors. If most of our people were acutely aware of the urgent need to maintain the best Air Force, our young men would react as Americans always have in time of national danger. But too few of our boys recognize our peril or understand the obligations of citizenship. Many of our recruits are burdened with doubts and cynicism which handicap the Air Force, the Nation, and the boys themselves. The cynicism is mostly directed against our political leaders; the doubt arises from ignorance of the reasons behind political and military decisions.

The work of informing and indoctrinating young airmen has become the heart of the Air Force training mission. The American soldier, being a free man, must understand what he is fighting for, and why, to be animated by a sense of purpose. But the Armed Forces are having to do too much teaching of values which should have been taught in the family, the school, and the church. aren't at fault; their elders are. On this point my views coincide with opinions of chaplains, psychologists, and medical officers in the Air Training Command. These are the men who come closest to discovering an airman's mental and moral outlook.

Our young men are better physical specimens than their fathers were, and they are better able to handle the tools of the machine age. But many of those who come to us betray a lack of instruction and moral discipline at home. Too many of them are ignorant of the implacable nature of communism and its threat to our freedom. Chaplains have told me that boys who seek their counsel often complain that they were not given, either at home or in school, a meaningful concept of duty to country or any familiarity with words like honor and responsibility. These lacks, I know, are especially marked in boys who come from broken homes.

Certainly I am no pessimist, but 6 years of Air Force schoolmastering has convinced me that we must recognize our problems

and our mistakes. We have recognized most of them in the Air Force itself, and we are trying to do something about them.

We know we must give the airman pride in his unit and in the military profession. We can do it through devices as old as the history of arms-the military band, the dress uniform, the distinctive unit insignia, and all the colorful reminders of past glory and present esprit de corps. Now that we achieved stability in the proposed size of the Air Force-no change in the 137-wing goal is likely for a long time-we can also offer reasonable security and a future to the man who enlists and the Reserves hesitating to remain in the service.

Within the military organization itself we can provide more off-hour optional schooling, giving enlisted men and cadets much of the education which they now quit the services to seek. We can give ample reenlistment inducements, including cash bonuses, which not only benefit the airman but also save the high cost of replacement training.

The Air Force continuously tries to bring the public and the Military Establishment closer together. To this end I established, a little over a year ago, the Air Training Command Advisory Board. It is a group of 24 leaders in science, education, personnel management, technical training, flying training, public relations and business administration. think their advice can be of great benefit to the Air Force and to the Nation.

We Americans should remember that we were the first people to achieve powered flight and the first to develop power from the atom. Some of us seem to have lost faith in our technological progress, our unity, and the rightfulness of our cause. Some of us see only disaster and doom in each new scientific development, instead of rejoicing over these reinforcements to our strength.

We should remember how strong we are, and remember, too, the great roots of our strength—our climate, our mineral resources, our access to sea and air lanes, our ability to produce food in great surplus.

Add to those advantages our industrial and technological superiority, the size and nature of our population, our political philosophy and freedom and high level of education. And now, having achieved military preparedness, we have the happiest aggregation of factors for national security of any people anywhere.

When I say this, I am thinking again of the Russians I faced in Berlin. They know, perhaps better than we, that the United States cannot be second best, either in the air or in our hearts.

Decent Housing for Low-Income Families

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, with great interest I have read the address of the Commissioner of the Public Housing Administration, Charles E. Slusser, at the dedication of Concord Homes, of Beaumont, Tex., on January 21, 1955. By unanimous consent I am extending my remarks to include the full text of Commissioner Slusser's remarks.

I commend its careful reading to my colleagues, especially those who reside in communities of smaller population and have not the help of personal experiences in understanding the problems of the larger urban centers. I trust that in the 84th Congress there will be greater understanding of these problems and an earnest cooperation in furnishing the answers.

Decent housing for families in low-income brackets remains a challenge which we in the 84th Congress will meet. In the past there has been bitter controversy which I sincerely hope will not continue into this Congress when after reexaminations and reappraisals entered into with open minds we should be able to enact a housing act neglecting no segment of our population.

Commissioner Slusser's address fol-

Speaking at dedications such as this is a task I welcome. This is not because I relish the sound of my own voice—I can name quite a few others to whom I would rather listen—but because I enjoy talking about low-rent public housing and what it does for its tenants and the communities of which it becomes an integral part.

As Public Housing Commissioner, I draw quite a few of these assignments. That comes with this job. And given the same subject and, basically, the same facts, it is hard to avoid a similarity in approach.

We pay tribute—as we should—to those who have given of their time and effort; we cite the need for structures such as these, as we should; and we dwell on our hopes for the continuance of the program.

This performance has danger in it. Boredom and routine would inevitably creep into it. And they would do this, despite the dedicated efforts of many of us, because of the sameness of our message, were it not for one thing.

one thing.

The United States Public Housing Commissioner is not granted the boon of temporary blindness.

He cannot drive through your cities and turn his eyes away from the slums and what they contain. It is his duty to observe, and then do his best to correct, change, and help remove the eyesores that afflict this Nation and replace them with the modest, but livable and attractive quarters such as you see about you.

If there is one man in this country who has been forced to look upon the worst of his country, it is I—even as it was with my predecessors. When a distinguished citizen comes to town, he is usually shown the best business section, the finest residential areas, the gayest amusement centers. The Public Housing Commissioner goes on a tour of the slum areas. He may see the best, but he always sees the worst.

It is as if the friends of public housing fear the occupants of the Public Housing Commission's chair would lose the incentive to do battle in the name of our lowest income group. It seems perhaps to our friends that they are compelled to keep constantly before us a picture of the homes that have fallen into disrepair and ruln in many of our great cities.

I can understand this thinking. Our public housing units are numbered in the thousands—our substandard homes in the millions. Yes, there is much left to be done.

It is because of the immensity of the task before us that I welcome the opportunity to speak on such occasions as this. It is for precisely the same reason that I deplore the cold war, that for some lack of logic must be carried on between the advocates of public housing and certain members of the real-estate fraternity. It is time we faced not each other, but instead confronted a few of the more salient housing facts, and—to borrow a phrase from the more international of our columnists—tried a little of the theory of peaceful coexistence.

There are more than 8 million substandard homes in this country. I would like to see them all replaced by private enterprise, but that is just not coming to pass. Today the construction industry is producing at a rate of a million and more new homes each year, but most of these are going up in the suburbs and the outlying regions. The 8 million substandard homes, the slums, the blighted areas, the breeders of disease, crime, juvenile delinquency and horrendous municipal expense are not being eliminated except by governmental action, such as public housing brings.

Now I place no blame for this on the homebuilders. Their profits must be quick and tangible, where public housings are long range and not easily apparent. The private builder's ability to clear a slum site, construct, and derive a profit from the very lowincome class served by public housing is slim, indeed. He does not have the power of condemnation, the financial resources, nor most important, the moral duty that is the Government's.

Yet, because of this, should we tolerate the continued existence of slums of these revenue producers for rapacious landlords? I think not

There are those who think the problem can be solved in terms of easy credit and guaranties against risk. All the perils of inflation and socialism that we have been warned against for 100 years lie down that road. The Federal Housing Administration is a businessman's venture. The more we get the Government into the act, the more we invite Government to take over, the more abuses we contract for, and the more trouble we make for ourselves.

ble we make for ourselves.

I think it is time that we marked out a few spheres of influence and stayed within them. Our average public housing tenant has an income of around \$2,000, far below the amount necessary to afford even the cheapest standard housing. For these slum dwellers, the Government should work toward providing the decent, safe, sanitary homes that public housing offers to further enrich the city that uses it. That should be its province, because within that income limit the only profits to be had are those derived from human misery.

Having drawn that line, let us then get on with our new concept of urban renewal—and more power to private enterprise for whatever it can reclaim from the encroaching slums. But where that is impossible, where time and neglect have gutted a structure and left it an inviting menace for fire to consume and with it human lives—before that happens—let me and the other friends of public housing wield the public housing sledgehammer—before time runs out on us and into newspaper headlines.

There are enough substandard homes, enough slums, to keep public housing, private enterprise, urban conservationists, and anyone else who wants to get into the act, busy for the next decade and more. Let us parcel out the jobs to whomever can do them best. I am not bragging when I say public housing is best at clearing slums. We have moved in on hundreds of them.

I have crisscrossed this country since becoming Public Housing Commissioner, and I tell you the progress of America is truly a wonder to behold. But sometimes we are so intent upon the future that we overlook today unintentionally. We must not permit the gittering skylines, the superexpressways, and the fine residential subdivisions to overshadow the less attractive side of the municipal scene. We cannot afford to ignore the slums or the people who live there—no less our neighbors than those who live in penthouses or in the brandnew suburbs.

I think we have made significant progress in rehousing the ill-housed. Perhaps here in Beaumont you know the pros and cons of public housing. I understand you received a thorough indoctrination in the subject a

few years ago in preparing for a referendum vote on the continuation of your own lowrent housing program.

But there is still more to be said. The national story of low-rent public housing needs telling, but not so much as the local story.

It's only human nature to say "No" to something new—something unfamiliar. There are always the youngsters who, when offered asparagus for the first time, decline politely but firmly, saying: "I never ate it, but I don't like it."

We have a responsibility for letting our neighbors know the purpose and value of low-rent public housing. I try to tell the story as often as I can, but it is your job too, just as it is the job of the hundreds of local housing authorities throughout the country.

For some time, our opponents have raised the cry of subsidy against us. This has been muted somewhat of late since we began listing other governmental subsidies which have widespread approval and dwarf that of public housing. Now the cry is that public housing does not pay taxes, and you can expect to hear more of it.

Our opponents are splitting a hair there. If public housing does not pay taxes, it makes payments in lieu of taxes. And these are invariably more than the taxes collected from the slum properties which we replaced. So our opponents say that the payments are not enough—that private enterprise would be forced to pay more. Perhaps, but the point is we are building where private enterprise is not, returning to the municipalities on the average three times what they once received from private enterprise. We pay up a lot of back taxes, too.

I do not like the idea of the Government renting houses. But I like less the fact that too many of the people of our great cities are living in slums and under conditions that call for municipal services out of all proportion to their numbers. When you write and talk of subsidized homes, think also of how you are doing it with your taxes. Are you paying a little—the average man less than the price of a package of cigarettes in a year's time—so that a million and quarter of your fellow citizens can trade the living hell of a slum for a decent, sanitary, home? Or are you paying a lot that is expended in the extra police, fire, hospital, and social welfare calls that a slum area inevitably makes?

Subsidy? Which would you rather subsidize—a slum or a decent home?

As for grouping public-housing units, I would rather build individual units cut to individual needs, but you cannot construct honesysuckle cottages on the isle of Manhattan. Neither can you produce them for Chicago's teeming millions, nor in your own rapidly expanding metropolis. We are not perfect, however, and working with private enterprise, I have hopes that this program can, in the not too distant future, be turned more closely to the path of individual initiative and progress and at less cost to the Gov-To that end, I have approved work ernment. on a couple of experimental projects, both of which may, in the not-too distant future, prove of value. Until they, and whatever other plans we develop for better housing and fewer slums, become operative, I ask of you citizens, of your congresstional representatives, the opportunity of sending the public-housing legions into battle against

Beaumont is fortunate in that it has the unselfish services of a group of public-spirited and farsighted citizens who recognize the position of public housing in the municipal structure for what it is and what it should be. I am speaking of such men as the late J. S. Edwards, your first chairman; the late K. C. Withers, also a board chairman—and Charles Smith, who is among us. All have carried the torch of enlightenment.

We are dedicating Concord Homes tonight because of what they have done.

I want to pay tribute to your present board of commissioners: Kirby McGown, O. B. Archer, H. H. Matthews, R. L. Hooker, and your master of ceremonies, Carl Levy. The majority of these men have served you since the housing authority was first organized in 1941. They have served you faithfully, as has Kelly Smith, your executive director.

Concord Homes would gladden the heart of the late Congressman J. M. Combs, a man whose career in Congress from this district was marked by support of this program in all its phases. It is from the records of such men as he that I draw the inspiration for the thoughts I have expressed here today.

I do not know what action the new Congress will take with respect to low-rent public housing. But we do know that President Eisenhower in his January state of the Union message to the 84th Congress once again recognized the need for more low-rent housing. I feel certain that he will continue to recognize that need as long as we have slums.

I think his intention is to give private enterprise every opportunity to move against the blight and despair that stalk our cities like a tiger. But I think there is more to the picture than that.

President Eisenhower is a man who lives close to the heart of America. No one in government is more burdened with doing what must be done. It is his lot to cast up his accounts, the good with the bad, and make the tough decisions. Like the Public Housing Commissioner, the President cannot close his eyes to the bad side of our housing picture, our slums. So I cannot see him neglecting the public housing weapon as the best eradicator yet produced.

We Are United on Defense of Formosa

SPEECH

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the world witnessed a remarkable display of American unity this past week.

It crystallized suddenly in support of a bold stroke in foreign policy that had heretofore been weakened by confusion, indecision, and appearement.

It was the true spirit of America speaking up for what is right and just.

Serving a clear warning to the Chinese Communists that if they persist in disturbing the peace by seeking to conquer Formosa and the Pescadores, they will be treated as outlaws against the world community, and will suffer a disastrous defeat

Although there may be some difference of opinion concerning our right to prevent the Communists from taking over the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, there is none whatever concerning Formosa and the Pescadores to which the Reds have no claim whatsoever.

Both international law and strategic necessity justify our defense of Formosa and the Pescadores,

This stand will hearten anti-Communist forces throughout Asia; will restore the prestige of the United States; and will place justice above expediency in the settlement of international disputes.

We are pleased that the President sought the endorsement of Congress.

It demonstrated our unity to the world, and it will give a psychological boost to every human being who longs for peace, and security against aggressors.

The Communists have suffered a serious setback.

Proving that whenever the United States is true to its fundamental conscience and its courage it wins the support of freedom-loving people everywhere and raises the hopes of Chinese and Russians who long for the day when they will be liberated from the Communist yoke.

The Power of a Positive American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLARENCE CANNON

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. CANNON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include a very timely and interesting address delivered by Miss Georgia Jackman, a member of the editorial staff of the Troy Free Press, before the Business and Professional Women's Club of that city as follows:

THE POWER OF A POSITIVE AMERICAN
(By Georgia Jackman)

"Are we missing the boat in our presentation of the fight in national security?" was my thought one night in early November as I sat in a meeting of the national security committee at the home of Helen Erdsiek, the chairman. Helen and her group were preparing the program which they have presented tonight—the things to do should there be an atom or hydrogen attack. This is very important information for all of us.

However, I kept feeling that there should be another phase to our national security which would be something we could all be doing now—not just some time in the future if and when there was a bomb dropped.

Then came the thought: We hear so much about communism and how to recognize it; but how about us, you and me? Are we the kind of Americans we should be, the "positive" kind of Americans, who have faith in our country, who make the Golden Rule the measuring stick for our feelings toward our fellowmen at home and abroad, citizens who live our American way of life in such a manner that people all over the world will know that we are a nation of individuals bound together for a single purpose, that of being a democracy which leads people to fame and teaches us to think for ourselves? (It is amazing how much material comes your way when you begin to think along new lines.)

We are members of a system of government based on the dignity and freedom of the individual. This system was created 178 years ago by the men who wrote our great Constitution of the United States, incorporating into it the Bill of Rights among the many other measures of great foresight. There is no other like it and there never has been. Let's not forget this, for it (our democracy) will work only as long as we make it operate successfully.

Senator Stuart Symington, junior Senator from Missouri to the United States Senate, wrote in his creed in 1952: "We Americans are not only characters in the living book of democracy; we are also its authors. And so it falls upon us to decide whether the chapters that are to come will tell a story of retreat or continued advance."

How are we going to meet this challenge? Are we going to sit by criticizing what others are trying to do without making any effort ourselves to make this a better America?

It was my privilege to attend the luncheon meeting on Saturday during the annual meeting of the Missouri Association held last November in St. Louis and to hear Dr. R. C. S. Young speak on Why I am an American. Dr. Young, at present director of admissions, Atlanta division, University of Georgia, is a Scotchman by birth and came to America—the land of opportunity for him—2 years after World War I. He was 19 years of age at the time and had served in the English Army during the war.

Dr. Young urged us to conserve our way of life, saying that we have lost a lot we will never get back. We have many in America who do not really appreciate our way of life—we have just grown up with so much of which other peoples know nothing.

We take our freedoms, our possessions, our luxuries as a matter of course. Our Constitution emphasizes our right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Much of our happiness is gained in helping others—we are a nation of Christian people, believing in the brotherhood of man. We are most in the brotherhood of man. We are most willing to help people help themselves, but many of us are getting tired of helping those who don't seem to want to help themselves. but want to help the enemy. There is but one way to teach Americanism, and that is to live it. You can talk forever on this theme of democracy as it is in America, but people in other lands-and some people right here in our midst, enjoying our privileges and freedoms-do not seem to comprehend You have to live peace, security, and all of the heritages we have to be real Americans-positive Americans.

Our Nation came into existence proclaiming it a philosophy of life, a philosophy which believes that institutions exist for men and not men for institutions, and that the happiness of the poor and humble is of as much importance as the happiness of the great and the proud.

We Americans are a people who have come from many nations and from many parts of the world. The blood which flows in our veins courses down through the ages, from many different races. Our cultural background, our religious life, and the customs of our people are many and varied. Many of us are directly from another country—some of one, two, or many generations from our overseas parentage—but now we are all Americans. Let us be positive in our loyalty to and our thinking of our country—let's not be hyphenated Americans.

Dr. Young says that Americans have never asked for nor wanted anything but the opportunity to work and to live; that we have taken America and built the only aristocracy of people in the world who are willing and want to work. "In America we never move horizontally, but always vertically," he said. "We don't follow blindly in our fathers' way; we go our own way, always upward." He knows from his own experience that the will to work is the key which opens every door in America, and maintains that we are "the democracy of a people with a vision." He feels that we have been selling America short and that it is time to wake up—to give our people the American ideal: reboost America.

In building a better America, in selling our people on the American idea, we are building a rampart on which to stand against one of the greatest threats to our way of life—communism.

The Communists have their books which contain the doctrines and the blueprints on which the totalitarian regimes of Soviet Russia and its satellites are based. They describe in precise detail what people must do, think, and believe under the Communist system.

David Sarnoff once wrote, "Dictatorship is brutal because it is brittle. It cannot bend; it can only be broken. It cannot lead its people; it can only drive them." Yet there are many who would have us live under a dictatorship—communism. In contrast to life under communism, Mr. Sarnoff continued: "Democracy, on the other hand, is resilient. It bends without breaking. It sways to the left and to the right, it returns to the point of normal balance. It calls for leaders, not for drivers. A free people can be led a greater distance and to greater heights than a slave people can be driven."

Have you given much thought to this menace—this Communist threat which comes from within our country today? Some of it is prevalent in our own community, whether you may know it or not. Frequently, mail coming into our offices under bulk mailing, throwaways, etc., contain decidedly pink propaganda, which we would recognize if we took the time to read it before giving it a toss into the wastebasket.

In a Memorial Day address in St. Louis last May 31, Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Ja., senior Senator from Missouri to the United States Senate, warned us of this menace, when he said that the threats upon our liberty at home, the violation of our cherished freedoms in the name of patriotism are deplorable evidences that we still have a long way to go. Far from cementing our people in the bonds of fellowship, they are building up an atmosphere of fear, suspicion, distrust, and hysteria.

A fear is growing up in us, fostered by the very menace spoken of by Senator Hennings. Its chief purpose is to weaken our thinking. It is a corrosive element being introduced to destroy the very precious ingredients of the freedom we are pledged to maintain.

It is only through constant vigilance that we can protect our ideals—protect our integrity as a nation. Senator Hennings, in an address at Valley Forge on June 13, 1954, had this to say: "Our very greatness has lulled us into a complacency—into a carelessness, if you please—that could leave us an easy prey to the machinations of a would-be Hitler."

Conclusive evidence has been presented, too. via radio, television, and newspapers, that within our own borders communism is a grave danger. We have learned that communism has its paid agents among us and that there are persons of American citizenship now serving the cause of subversion for the regime of the Kremlin.

I agree most heartily with Senator Symington when he said, "America cannot shut its eyes to the fact that fear has become rampant in our country; not only the fear of communism, but also fear of some of those engaged in searching out and uncovering Communists." He continued, to warn us that: "There is no room in this country for dictatorial power, whether it be exercised by a legislator, a Government official, or a ruler. There is no place in our democracy for a grand inquisitor. In my opinion," he said, "there is no place for one-man investigations, or for peremptory summons to inquisition. We can and we must search out communism and fight it to its death, but we must do this with the weapon of democracy, democratically applied."

One our our greatest weapons against communism, I feel, is Christianity in all of its strength and power and glory. We are a Christian Nation now, but how long will we be able to hold this line of defense. We

need to keep our faith in God, do our utmost to help Him build a kingdom which will leave no place for the isms of the world, of which communism is the greatest at present.

When George Washington left the Presidency of these United States, he spoke to his people of many things dear to his heart, urging that all should remember that it is the duty of every individual to obey the established Government. Nowhere in his address did he suggest that some individuals might set themselves above established governments and with impunity flout the laws of our land.

Shall we continue to live as Americans, a prosperous Nation, full of opportunities for everyone who has the will and desire to work? Or are we going to become a Nation full of fears, allowing subversive groups and individuals to take it over?

You will have to make the decision—freedom in America or slavery under communism. It isn't a pretty picture, is it? but it is the only choice left to us. We are going to have to demonstrate by our conduct at home and abroad that we are capable of leadership, but most of all, that we are worthy of leadership. We must show how Americans are thankful for their blessings—thankful for our opportunities—that we are indeed "one nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." Only when we have fully demonstrated our American way of life and our worthiness of leadership can we hope to truly become the leader of the world and take our place among the great nations of the universe.

It is up to you and me to help make this come about. Our country can only be as strong as our weakest citizen. Only through our constant help in this job of reselling America to ourselves and the world, will we be able to make democracy live and let communism fall by the wayside.

Think courageously, act courageously. Be positive in your thinking and doing, in your presentation of being an American to your neighbors. The power of such positive Americans will be without measure. Be one of the best.

Calls 1040 Worst Income Tax Form of Any Administration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, Dr. George M. McBean, who offices at 25 East Washington Street, Chicago, Ill., and resides at 6935 South Chappel Avenue in the district which I have the honor to represent, sends me a letter which I am extending my remarks to insert in the Record for the reading by my colleagues. The letter follows:

Today's Time magazine, page 18, has an editorial concerning income tax, taken from Milwaukee Journal. It's worth reading. I am 80 years old living on small income from my own savings. I have a small annuity purchased when I was 65—pays \$320 per year. Now I will bet you \$1 United States currency that neither you nor any of your assistants can figure out how to estimate the tax on that.

The article in the January 31, 1955, issue of Time to which Dr. McBean refers, follows:

INCOME TAX FORM THE WORST EVER—THE MILWAUKEE JOURNAL

This should be a great year for the tax consultants. It could be a great year for psychiatrists, too. The taxpayer who gets to work on that new "simplified" tax form No. 1040 is going to need one or the other—and probably both. Last year, Congress rewrote the tax laws, in part to simplify them. The Internal Revenue Bureau proudly said that it was going to make things much easier for the taxpayer to make his report by issuing new and "simplified" forms. The final product? Form 1040. Save us from simplicity.

Form 1040 not only contains the normal gobbledygook of tax forms, it has added some more, among which that of schedule J, "Exclusion and credit for dividends received from qualifying domestic (United States) corporations," is a beaut. This isn't a tax form. It's a maze that keeps you jumping from page to page, column to column (even double columns), line to line, and back again. The Government ought to pay prizes for solving it. This year the Ides of March becomes the Ides of April; the tax laws allow 30 more days for filing your tax. It isn't enough. If you have to use form 1040, the deadline ought to be at least the Ides of July. It is the worst income-tax form ever put out by any administration.

Death of James G. Thimmes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. HUMPHREY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial from the CIO News of January 24, 1955, mourning the death of a great American and a good friend of mine, Mr. James G. Thimmes, the vice president of the CIO and of the CIO Steel Workers of America.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

JIM THIMMES

James G. Thimmes, a vice president of the CIO and of the CIO Steelworkers, a staunch trade unionist and our warm friend, is dead.

All in the CIO who knew and loved Jim Thimmes mourn his death, for we can ill afford a loss as great as this. Jim Thimmes was a worker's worker * * * a trade unionist from the tips of his toes.

He fought always for equality and justice and that "ray of God's sunshine" of which his old friend Philip Murray so eloquently spoke. He fought for his ideals at the collective bargaining table, in the halls of Congress, and of State legislatures, and on the picket line when the going was toughest.

Jim Thimmes was a big man, but his voice was soft and all of his instincts were warm, human, and genuine. He believed so completely in the justice of the labor movement that he devoted his entire life and all of his energies to the cause of labor.

The United Steelworkers, the union he loved the most, quite naturally mourns him most. But all the men and women of the CIO, whom he aided in his years of service in Chicago and California, prior to his election as a vice president of the USA-CIO—and all the thousands whom he assisted in

the years since his elevation to high union office-share that sorrow.

For they all know him as a stanch disciple of democratic trade unionism, a fighter, worker, and a good American.

Jim Thimmes was stricken on Christmas, during a few days of relaxation with his family. In their hour of grief, his wife and his five children, have our sympathy; for their grief is our grief.

Jim Thimmes is dead. But his spirit will live on in the Steelworkers Union, in the CIO, and wherever union men and women gather.

The Situation in Formosa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, January 28, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD two fine articles which appeared in the press Within the last 2 or 3 days. The first is by the distinguished columnist and author, Thomas L. Stokes. It is entitled "Morse Spreads His Conscience," and Was published in the Washington Evening Star of January 27, 1955.

The other article is entitled "Two Faces East," and was written by the distinguished columnist Miss Doris Fleeson, and was published in the New York Post of January 27, 1955.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> [From the Washington Star of January 27, 1955]

MORSE SPREADS HIS CONSCIENCE - HE MAY HAVE TO WAIT FOR HISTORY TO PROVE WHAT HE SEES AS THE FOLLY OF DEFENDING ISLAND FAR FROM FORMOSA

(By Thomas L. Stokes)

Senator WAYNE Morse, Oregon Independent, was thinking out loud for a great many of us when he posed to the Senate, as it began debate on Formosa, the dilemma of Widening the defense of that Island to Quemoy and the Matsus along the mainland.

He bespoke the worries that plague many of us when he showed how we ourselves might be hailed as aggressors, contrary to international law, should our military leaders interpret the vague language of the Eisenhower policy resolution as authority to strike at the mainland and thus involve us in an Asian continental war .

It may turn out to have been a historic speech.

Of its courage there is no doubt, if you appreciate the tension now in this city. The Senator spoke up boldly where so many of us let our desire to conform silence us, and that last seems to be true, in fact, of many Members of the House who went along quietly to pass the resolution, as well as of the Senate.

It was quite an experience to sit in the Senate gallery and listen to the slender, earnest Oregon Senator. For he was giving voice to the anxieties in your own mind He was saying what you had thought as you looked at a map and saw how close to the great body of China cling the islands which how are in all our headlines. You tried to imagine yourself way over there on that other side of the world, and wondered what you would think if you had always lived on that continent, on the other side of the Pacific Ocean, about the intentions of another great nation far across that ocean which now had its warships deployed along

Maybe this is heresy in these trying times, just the idle thoughts of a human being. Yet they come, and we might as well be honest about them, and honest, too, about making it plain that we recognize this is no simple problem, but a complex one, involving the ambitions of ruthless men in China who so often do not act like human beings at all. So it's wise not to speak up and express any doubts.

But there is a man down there below doing that, a Senator, and as we watch and listen we see ourselves in him. He, too, has looked at a map. In fact, he has brought one into the Senate Chamber. It sets there on a rack back of the rows of seats. As he talks he gets earnest attention from an unusually large number of Senators, including Senator KNOWLAND, of California, the Republican leader, for whom the new Eisenhower policy is a victory. The California Senator is just as solemn in victory as at any other time.

Senator Morse is trying to give us a reasonable, rational course in a complicated

and dangerous situation.

He makes the case for the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores Islands just offshore of Formosa-the defense until the United Nations can be induced to move in, as it should, and as President Eisenhower has invited it to do. As a matter of fact, we long ago assumed responsibility for the defense of Formosa which, when Japan gave it up at the end of World War II, was left in an unsettled state as to where and to whom it belonged. Formerly it belonged to China until it went to Japan after her victory in the Sino-Japanese War toward the end of the last century.

Another look at the map shows us that Formosa, lying not far from the Philippines, about the distance from here to New York, would be dangerous in the hands of a potential aggressor, which Red China has shown herself to be, and so it must be maintained in the chain of defense, including Japan and the Philippines to stop an aggressor and preserve the peace of the world. That is sound logic, and was the case of Senator

MORSE.

But, says he, there is no logic and no support in international law for us to move under any circumstances upon Quemoy, the island which is just a short, 3-inch gun pitch from the mainland and from the port of Amoy, nor upon the Matsu Island. he said, are clearly China's. As such they are now in controversy between the two war-ring parts of China, Red China and Nationalist China. We would be invading China's sovereignty if we moved into that area of conflict and also involving ourselves in a civil war and running the danger of getting ourselves into a war on the mainland, which likewise, is the fear of Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Army Chief of Staff, as he explained it to the Senate Foreign Relations and Armed Services Committees. He does not have enough troops for such a war. Senator Morse said a continental Asian war would not be a matter of a month, or a year, or perhaps even 10 years, and reminded the Senate that no one ever has conquered China.

Thus the Senator opened the argument for amendments to exclude Quemoy Matsu specifically from our defense sphere. Two such, sponsored by Senators Kefauver. of Tennessee, and HUMPHREY, of Minnesota, both Democrats, were voted down by the two committees before the resolution was reported.

The man with the map who bespoke our fears and tried to express our best instincts, may be bowled over in the melee-but we are glad he spoke up, even if he has to wait for history to mark his act and raise a memorial.

[From the New York Post of January 27, 19551

> TWO FACES EAST (By Doris Fleeson)

Washington.—The Eisenhower resolution on Formosa is 3 days old and it is already crystal clear that it is a medal showing a different face to each of the opposing forces in the struggle over United States policy.

It draws a defense line at Formosa and the Pescadores and it seeks a cease-fire under United Nations auspices between the Chinese Nationalists and the Communist government of Peiping. This side of the medal is for our anxious allies and for those who fear that the objective of Chiang Kai-shek is allout war with United States participation to regain the China mainland.

The other side of the medal invokes for Chinese Nationalists and their powerful political friends here a picture not just of a safeguarded Formosa and Pescadores but such protection and related positions and territories as may seem vital to the President who will of course be advised by the

military.
When it is realized that the present Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is Adm. Arthur Radford, an avowed apostle of a naval blockade of Red China and the bombing of mainland installations, the pull of the pro-Nationalist side of the medal is readily apparent.

Senate debate has already proved that the pro-Nationalists like what they think they see in the resolution more than the Senators, who are determined to protect but to neutralize Formosa, care for the picture shown to them.

When Senator Morse, Independent, Oregon, had concluded an impressive review of his apprehensions regarding the resolution, Republican Senate Leader KNOWLAND jumped to his feet and attacked him for "misleading Peiping" and "endangering the security of the country." This line is calculated to discourage Morse's probing.

It was Knowland's first public utterance, when ordinarily he does not mind denouncing a Presidential position on foreign policy almost before it is spoken. His smiling silence indeed, has been perhaps the most significant aspect of the situation. It signified consent—and Knowland has never hitherto given consent to anything that did not represent unflinching support for Chiang and all Chiang's works.

It is said privately by responsible sources that the President himself is committed to the cease-fire, that he will never consent to be drawn into war on the mainland of China. The question is: Does Senator KNOWLAND know this and is it all right with

Senate debate will be directed toward clearing up what Morse has called "the alarming implications and broad scope" the Eisenhower resolution. It will be en-lightening to watch both the Knowland faction and the extent to which Eisenhower spokesmen explain the President's own attitude.

The technique of the medal with two attractive but different faces is distinctively John Foster Dulles'. The Secretary of State in his career here has been adept at putting something for everybody in his foreign policy moves to hide or smooth over the deep divisions in his party on that issue.

This time, however, the sharp legal brain of Morse and the intuitive political insight of Senator Humphrey, Democrat, Minnesota, sniff war in the Dulles technique. They will try to get plain answers which will explain the true goals of the administration.



Appendix

Joint Resolution To Provide for a Commission on Communism

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced in the House a joint resolution to provide for a commission to make available information as to the basic differences between the theories and practices of the American way of life and the theories and practices of atheistic communism which reads as follows: Joint resolution to provide for a Commission

to make available information as to the basic differences between the theories and practices of the American way of life and the theories and practices of atheistic

communism

Resolved etc -

ESTABLISHMENT OF THE COMMISSION

SECTION 1. (a) There is hereby established a Commission to be known as the Commission To Make Available Information as to the Basic Differences Between the Theories and Practices of the American Way of Life and the Theories and Practices of Atheistic Communism (in this joint resolution referred to as the "Commission").

(b) The Commission shall be composed of

11 members as follows:
(1) Two Members from the Senate of the United States, appointed by the President of the Senate;

(2) Two Members from the House of Representatives, appointed by the Speaker of

the House:

(3) Three members appointed by the President from among individuals each of whom is a member of the standing committee on American citizenship of the American Bar Association, and who have been nominated by the board of governors of the American Bar Association:

(4) Three members appointed by the President from among individuals each of whom is a member of the Association of American Colleges or the American Council of Education, and who have been nominated by the respective governing boards of those organigations: and

(5) One member appointed by the President from private life, to be Chairman of

the Commission.

(c) Any vacancy in the Commission shall not affect its powers, but shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION

Sec. 2. The Commission-

(1) shall make a study of the testimony relating to the theories and practices of atheistic communism which, since the end of World War II, has been taken under oath by the Internal Security Subcommittee of the Senate Judiciary Committee, the House Committee on Un-American Activities, the House Select Committee to Conduct an Investigation of the Facts, Evidence, and Circumstances of the Katyn Forest Massacre. the House Select Committee To Investigate Communist Aggression and the Forced Incorporation of the Baltic States Into the U. S. S. R., and by any other standing committee of the Senate or House of Representatives, and by any agency in the executive branch of the United States Government; and on the basis of its study, shall prepare material for a book, incorporating only testimony taken under oath by the committees and agencies referred to above, selections as to give the fullest possible information as to the theories and practices of atheistic communism: and

(2) shall prepare suggested curricula of studies, suitable for us in the teaching of courses in schools, colleges, and universities, which will make clear the basic differences between the theories and practices of the American way of life and the theories and practices of atheistic communism, and for this purpose it shall be the duty of the Commission to review all pertinent data available to it.

QUORUM

SEC. 3. Six members of the Commission shall constitute a quorum.

COMPENSATION OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 4. (a) Members of Congress who are members of the Commission shall serve without compensation in addition to that received for their services as Members of Congress: but they shall be reimbursed for travel, subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of the duties vested in the Commission.

(b) The members from private life shall each receive \$50 per diem when engaged in the actual performance of duties vested in the Commission, plus reimbursement for travel. subsistence, and other necessary expenses incurred by them in the performance of such

STAFF OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 5. The Commission shall have power to appoint and fix the compensation of such personnel as it deems advisable, without regard to the provisions of the civil-service laws and the Classification Act of 1949, as amended.

EXPENSES OF THE COMMISSION

SEC. 6. There is hereby authorized to be appropriated, out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, so much as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this joint resolution.

AVAILABILITY OF RECORDS AND DATA

SEC. 7. To the extent necessary in order to enable the Commission to carry out the purposes of this joint resolution, the Commission shall be permitted to have access to the records and data of committees and agencies referred to in section 2.

APPLICABILITY OF CERTAIN LAWS

SEC. 8. Service of an individual as a member of the Commission or employment of an individual by the Commission as an attorney or expert in any business or professional field, on a part-time or full-time basis, with or without compensation, shall not be considered as service or employment bringing such individual within the provisions of section 281, 283, 284, 434, or 1914 of title 18 of the United States Code, or section 190 of the Revised Statutes (5 U.S. C. 99).

REPORTS

SEC. 9. Upon completion of its work, but not later than December 31, 1955, the Com-mission shall submit to the President a report containing the textbook and curricula of studies referred to in section 2. Not later than March 1, 1956, the President shall submit the Commission's report to the Congress, together with such comments and recommendations as he deems advisable.

TERMINATION OF COMMISSION

SEC. 10. The Commission shall cease to exist on the 30th day following the date on which the President submits the Commission's report to the Congress.

Mr. Speaker, this is the answer to communism.

There is absolutely nothing in this resolution which will in any way interfere with the local administration of the educational systems of the United States. The proponent of this resolution firmly believes that our educational systems belong on the State and local level and not in the Federal Government. The proposed Commission is to function as a purely advisory body to the Congress of the United States. The work of this Commission is to be made available for future action by the Congress if deemed advisable. Let it be understood that the proponent of this resolution states that he emphatically believes that the Federal Government must not interfere with our educational systems as established in this country.

TEACHING THE PRACTICES OF ATHEISTIC COMMU-NISM-DILEMMA

Today the United States of America finds itself suspended on the horns of what appears to be an impossible dilemma-atheistic communism as one horn and organized confusion the other horn. Every right-thinking person admits the existing danger to the free world in the armed atheistic communism marching throughout the world, but they are at a loss as to how to combat the menace. Thus we have organized confusion as to what our youth should be taught concerning atheistic communism. The people are completely confused and befuddled because of the many nebulous newspaper headlines of the past 3 or 4 years. They question the purpose and validity of many writers on the subject of communism. Yet the fathers and mothers of the youth who are going to be the real fighters against atheistic communism want the facts taught to their children. At the present time it is admitted that no textbook acceptable to all the people is available, but such a textbook can be made available without the Government interfering in any way with our educational system.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE MINDS OF YOUTH

Much has been published in recent years concerning the atheistic Communist system forcibly taking the children

from their parents at an early age and placing them in state-controlled schools. Older people know the reason for this inhuman practice, but do our children understand this destruction of the family. This practice is diametrically opposed to our way of life, but this system must be explained to our youth. Transportation facilities have caused the world to shrink and the aggressiveness of atheistic communism forces the United States of America to maintain a farflung Military Establishment which must be manned by our youth. We all appreciate that youth wants to know the cold, hard facts of atheistic communism, but it must be based on unimpeachable testimony. The leaders in education and legal professions have a mandatory duty to make available to our youth the truth about the practices of atheistic communism in order to better equip them to fight it, not only physically but mentally as well. There is one saying we all understand: "We never fear anything we know." Thus our youth will be better prepared to withstand the cruel and inhuman treatment they can expect to receive at the hands of their captors if they should become prisoners of war. Testimony verifying such treatment has been recorded by a Senate committee from survivors of POW camps in Korea. The newspapers have carried headlines of this cruel and inhuman treatment, but they have not given the detailed and accurate account so necessary for the youth who must face this possible situation. It is not enough to say, "Let the military teach them."

CAN YOU ANSWER THIS QUESTION?

Every speaker on the subject of communism sooner or later is faced with this question from the youth in his audience. "Why is everybody against communism or the Russians?" Can you answer that question from the floor in a few wellchosen sentences within the time allocation or would you have to spend hours in reply to satisfy the inquisitive mind of youth? Youth must see and hear in order to believe. We all know that theory is required but it is what is put into effect or practiced that counts. Atheistic communism and its practices cannot stand the light of truth, but this light must be lit with the torch of facts not fancy or The Congressmen who have stood before public audiences telling the truth they have learned from their investigations into atheistic communism are always asked these questions, "Why haven't we heard about this work of your committee before-this is the real thing." 'Why aren't these facts as you have given them tonight taught in our schools?" These are concrete, hard-hitting questions which the Congressmen find almost impossible to answer.

WHO IS TO BLAME?

No one person, group, Government agency, or congressional committee can be blamed for this incoherent situation concerning atheistic communism which exists today. The fact is that this inherent danger from atheistic communism has been ever present and known by many people, but in recent years it has suddenly burst on all the people and our leaders have not known how to cope

with the problem. Yes, aggressive action has been taken by a great many different individuals and agencies with the result that we have created a muddled chaotic situation which permits those dedicated to the cause of atheistic communism to skillfully continue their nefarious methods to divide the people of America. We have all the necessary tools and instruments to thwart them but no basic plan of concerted action. Because of our own failure to think clearly and unemotionally are we going to stand by and allow others to keep us in a state of chaos and permit to rise in this country a system of fear and suspicion which the enemy has so successfully used throughout the world. To put it simply, are we going to let the system we are fighting destroy us from within by turning our people against each other without just cause and not in accordance with our own system of justice. The answer lies in pulling together documented facts concerning the practices of atheistic communism-facts which are irrefutable and already proved before the bar of public opinion. There are those among us who will question these facts, but then the burden of proof will shift to their shoul-

NATIONALISM ON THE RISE

During World War II American GI's visited in many foreign lands and mingled with people who had never seen or heard about America. These GI's were typically normal, individual Americans with an appreciation of freedom which is theirs under the American system of selfgovernment. These people had never seen such freedom in action, if in fact they had ever heard of such freedom. In their countries such liberty and prosperity was never heard of or permitted. Thus the American GI's left these people in a state of wonderment and dazed condition to return to their homes and ask, "Why can't we be like that?" Who asks such questions?-naturally the youth of those countries.

Then in the wake of departing American GI's the merchants of propaganda and deceit move in as agents for atheistic communism. They fan the imagination of the youth in those countries with promises never to be fulfilled but still very effective in their appeal. Subversion becomes rampant and mob psychology among the youth prevails with telling effect in country after country. All the strings being carefully and skillfully manipulated by subversive agents of atheistic communism appealing to the youth of the country. If you doubt this statement, look at the record in Indochina and what happened while the free world slept. Thus, America has a duty to make available to the world the cold, hard facts concerning the practices of atheistic communism and this can be done by congressional action now.

THE FUTURE

It is self-evident that America must maintain a strong military establishment for years to come and this can only be done by the training of our youth. During the course of military duty most of our young men will have to serve overseas at one of our 49 bases on foreign soil. This tour of duty will necessarily place them in direct contact with the natives of the country where the bases are located. America has now discovered with deep chagrin one glaring defect in our educational system, namely, the proper method of teaching foreign languages. Great strides have been made toward correcting this defect, but let us not forget that our young men also need a good knowledge of the practices of atheistic communism. In many lands the natives are uncertain and hesitant about the form of government they want. Therefore, it is only fitting that our young ambassadors of the American way be prepared to discuss the merits of selfgovernment as practiced in the United States and intelligently point out the fallacies in the so-called self-government as practiced in the U.S.S.R. and its satellites. The same result will be obtained at home as well as abroad if irrefutable proof is presented to our youth during their formative years. Much has . been said about our so-called materialism-well let us get real material and present the facts in approved concrete form that cannot be denied.

ACTION OF THE AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION

May it be said to the everlasting credit of the Pennsylvania Bar Association which resolved this problem at its 1954 session and the American Bar Association through its standing committee on American citizenship they have come face to face with the problem. Last August before the 77th annual meeting of the American Bar Association this standing committee presented a recommendation as amended by a suggestion of the board of governors which is as follows:

Whereas the American Bar Association believes that enlightened citizenship requires intelligent understanding of world problems, free discussion and courageous thinking: Be it

Resolved, That there be adequate teaching of the principles of the Constitution of the United States and the facts of the theory and practices of our Government thereunder in all educational institutions of each State; and be it further Resolved. That students at appropriate

Resolved, That students at appropriate levels of education in educational institutions of each State be made acquainted with the theory and practice of communism in order to demonstrate its inherent fallacies and its threat to the privileges and liberties of free peoples; and be it further

Resolved. That the Association stands ready to implement the purposes of this resolution by alding in the preparation of suitable material and otherwise through its standing committee on American citizenship.

This matter was ably handled there by the Honorable Walter M. Bastian, circuit judge of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia. A number of amendments were proposed, including one which was also acceptable to the committee using the exact language of a comparable resolution adopted by the Pennsylvania Bar Association. After much debate the resolution and proposed amendment were laid on the table.

What action will the House take? Some action should and must be taken due to the present day world conditions which show no sign of abatement on the part of the apologists for atheistic communism. I raise this question of

teaching the practices of atheistic communism in our schools, therefore, I propose a solution or plan. Is there a solution or plan? The answer is "Yes,"

definitely and unequivocally.

Since the end of World War II the Congress of the United States has conducted numerous hearings and investigations concerning the practices of atheistic communism. The major portion of this evidence and testimony has been taken under oath. The hearings have been held not only in the United States but also in London, Frankfort, Munich, and Berlin. The testimony of witnesses has been taken in public before audiences and in a legal atmosphere.

This data on the practices of atheistic communism was meticuously compiled and taken many times at great personal risk for the witnesses' lives or those of his relatives or loved ones still behind the Iron Curtain. Many of these witnesses were recognized and reputable leaders in their own countries before they were forced to leave the aggressive action of atheistic Communists. These men know the facts, their testimony cannot be denied.

There are thousands of Americans who are unaware of the painstaking and careful task their Representatives in Congress have performed in recent years. Furthermore, the money used to record this evidence was furnished by the American taxpayer. Thus, the taxpayer should receive a return on his investment to his children in our educational institutions.

Many Americans are rightly concerned about who is sponsoring what in this field of atheistic communism: They are also concerned about what material their children should read and study on this subject.

No one who believes in the American system of self-government and fair play can possibly object to having the sworn testimony of witnesses who have lived under atheistic communism presented to their children in textbook form. What is more, any tendency or attempt to discredit such testimony on the part of any teacher would result in the students asking, "How do you know—were you there—these men have lived under atheistic communism?"

Last year Congress outlawed the Communist Party in the United States. How many educators or lawyers can cite clearly and concisely the chain of events that led to such a law? Is there a book available today which traces a course of history begining with the Smith Act? The youth must be told the reasons for this action on the part of Congress and what better way than to reproduce word for word the sworn testimony of men who have lived under atheistic communism.

Actually if Congress were to create a Commission to provide the necessary funds for the compilation of a textbook on the practices of atheistic communism, they would be doing their duty and the people would be receiving the facts that they paid for gathering in the first instance.

In addition, everyone in the United States would know the source material of such a textbook—who, where, when and how it was compiled and could object before its publication. The Congress of the United States would have to vote on such a textbook before it could be made available to our educational institutions.

Mr. Speaker, I urge the adoption of the resolution.

Parade With Brass

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted by the House, I am including an impressive sermon delivered by Louis Evans, D. D., LL. D., former pastor of the Hollywood Presbyterian Church, and presently representing the Presbyterian Church on a nationwide basis. I believe Members of Congress and others who read the Congressional Record will be deeply impressed by this splendid message. This sermon was delivered at the National Presbyterian Church, Washington, D. C., on August 22, 1954.

Our text is found in 1st Kings, 14th chapter, verses 25 to 27:

"And it came to pass in the fifth year of King Rehoboam that Shishak, King of Egypt, came up against Jerusalem; he took away the treasures of the house of the Lord and the treasures of the King's house; he even took away all; he took away all the shields of gold that Solomon had made. King Rehoboam made in their stead shields of brass and committed them to the hands of the captain of the guards who kept the King's house. And it was so that as oft as the King went into the house of the Lord the guard bear them and brought them back into the guard's chamber."

It would be interesting to know who was the first clergyman who discovered these three verses couched in the maze of historical record. I am quite sure every preacher has preached on that subject since then. This matter of making the best out of hard ways. It is strange that this incident should find its way into the sacred, scarce pages of Holy Writ. What has metallurgy to do with spiritual life? What is God saying to us

You remember the story. Solomon had died. His reign had been one of unprecedented prosperity, luxury, power, statecraft, and war. His treasuries were full and his armies were strong.

Then Solomon died and depression settled in the land. Rehoboam lost half of his followers; 10 of his tribes had deserted him, and only Judah and Benjamin were left, who were still loyal to him. Probably sensing this disunity, Shishak, the Egyptian Pharoah, came down like a wolf on the fold, depleted his forces, and the nation fell. Egypt made off with the treasures. They carried off the shields of gold that had once been carried in the kingly parade, and with these shields went all their precious metals. Now what would Rehoboam do? The shields of gold were gone. How he had come down in the world. Was it worth while to parade and march at all? He said, "Gentlemen, we shall take these brass shields and shine them up; we shall give Judah as much splendor as we can"; and they preserved the royal

dignity of the realm: they did the best they could—they paraded with brass.

Is the historian making light of him? I hope not, for there is nothing more commendable in the human race than this gift of making the best of it when things are difficult.

Our sermon today is more of a personal nature. At least, it would seem so at first until we remember the strategy of how we feel as individuals. "U. S." spells "us." When a car goes to pieces, it goes to pieces part by part; when a nation goes to pieces, it goes to pieces unit by unit. Nations and cars are built up in the same way. If you are at peace, then you contribute to the peace of the world; if your heart is in chaos, then you contribute to the chaos of the world; there is no better contribution that you and I can make to the whole of the cosmos than to be brave and to be faithful in particular.

So let us look today at the glory of making the best of unfortunate circumstances. This is an important subject, since there will come a day to all of us when the shields of gold will be gone. The Shishak of life will bear down upon every life at some hour and carry away our shields of gold, and we will wonder then whether it is worth while to parade along with Benjamin and Judah. You and I are living in the days of Egyptian invasion. That is inevitable. Along beside every mountain there lies the necessary valwith every light there goes the necessary shadow; the clouds must come with the rain: Napoleon had his Austerlitz and he had his Waterloo; Jesus Christ had His triumphal entry and He had His Golgotha; you and I have our weddings and our funerals: that is life

We saw it in business during the depression: The Shishak of Egypt swooped down upon our Nation in the throes of a terrible depression, and the savings and business of many were swept away and their coffers became empty. For many, the shields of gold were gone. We saw the dreams of men and their financial castles destroyed in a single day. They turned the keys in the office doors their establishments and left them forever. Men suffered defeat and emptiness, and yet we say them going to work and coming home with courageous hearts, living on slaughtered rations, parading with the shields of brass and courage, nobility and joy. This, to us, was the miracle of the hour. Hadfield, the English psychologist, once said: "The increasing pressure of modern life, with all its anxieties and cares, constitutes an ever augmenting tax upon our strength. It is hardly surprising that nervous breakdowns are common and that nerve fatigue is the disease of the age, yet we are called upon to witness exhibitions of power which fill us with wonder." That is true particularly when God is on the inside.

He was an aged man, successful in business, who had saved up a considerable amount for his old age. As his pastor was visiting with him in his parlor he was suddenly called to the phone. In standing there, his pastor heard him say: "What? All of it's gone; all of it? All right, I will see you in the morning." All his fortune had been swept away by a crash of the market, but, tossing back his fine gray head, he said to his pastor: "Well, God knows where my treasures are." That is the test of life, after all. If the atomic bomb should explode now, if the market should fall, and all the shields of gold be gone, what would you and I have left in the things of the spirit? This is our true worth.

We also see the brass parade in many a home.

When you step into some homes, into some single rooms, you see that the material glory is partially departed. You see a piece of bric-a-brac here and there; you see a teak table that is quite out of place in its present environment; you see an oil of assimilated

prosperity and a greater day, and yet here they are; the heads held high and the hearts full of singing, though they might have missed the mortgage by a single payment.

That is true in marriage. Many a young couple has started out under the happiest auspices, parading with shields of gold. She saw in him a tower of strength as she gazed up at him. He seemed to sum up all the virtues which she desired in a man. She dreamed of a great career for him; visions of him as prince in whom she would find chivalry, thoughtfulness, and idealism. Then she discovered as the years passed that she had been mated to quite an ordinary fellow, and the practical phases of life sort of suffered the loss of the festival. She suffered great delusions, and the regal march was ended. She realized she had married quite an ordinary soul. She had but seen him through a lover's eyes, and the shields of gold were gone.

Or, on the other hand, he thought he saw in her first a shrine at which he could worship, a woman full of tenderness, thoughtfulness, God, idealism, as he looked at her through the golden screen of love. Then he found her to be a rather heartless worldling, shallow, thoughtless. He had married a mediocrity, and the adoration had died out and the gold had gone. Shishak with all his hosts of the mediocre had swept down and the shields of the gold of romance had departed. Now what should they do—desert the kingdom? No, Benjamin and Judah were still left, and they could parade with the baser metals of patience, long suffering, love, faith, forebearing, and tolerance, and the world would never guess that Shishak had visited their home, as they paraded with brass, although the glory had departed from Judah.

A woman came into my office sometime ago; her little fists were clenched in despair. And she said, "Dr. Evans, I can't go on with it any longer. I can't stand his bloated drunken kiss upon my lips; the children are afraid of him, and he isn't even trying. I can't go on any longer." I said, "Let's talk to God about it." We had a word of prayer and I said, "Will you try it for 1 month more?" She said, "All right, sir." As I bade more?" She said, "All rights, sil. "Goodby, her goodby at the office door, I said, "Goodby, "Goodby," "Goodby," sir," she said, and went out. But I did not have to wait for a month; she called up within a week and said with ecstatic voice, "Dr. Evans, it happened. Christ found him and everything is happy as a marriage bell and the children are happy, too." That did it. I have met many women who said to me. "Dr. Evans, if I'd only waited a little longer." I have never heard a woman who said to me, I walked out." "I waited too long before She had paraded with shields of brass and God had changed the brass back to gold again. This is sometimes a reward of the faithful.

Sometimes we see the brass parade in the realm of service.

Is it worthwhile for Rehoboam to parade with simply 2 ruling nations when he might have had 12? Many a great play upon the stage has falled because those who played the bit and extra parts did not realize the importance of what they were doing. They all wanted to play Othello, Romeo, Caesar, and they forgot the unseen stars that make up the Milky Way.

I have seen many a man in business who because he lost a certain job or did not attain the one to which he had aspired began to

pout because the glory was gone.

Some men are constantly decrying the fact that they have had insufficient education and cannot make good with the shields of brass. D. L. Moody had not been beyond the third grade in grammar school; he never had a great command of the English language. One day, in the Crystal Palace in London, in the loge were sitting the King and Queen

of England and several noblemen. He began to read his text, "And to none was the prophet sent, save unto the widow Zerapheth," but he could not proounce it. He said "Unto but he could not pronounce it. He said "Unto none was Elijah sent save to the widow Zera—." Mr. Sankey, sitting behind him, said, "Zerapheth, Mr. Moody, Zerapheth." He tried again, but failed, Finally, he lifted up his eyes to heaven and said, "Dear God, have mercy upon a man who can't even speak his own language." The type of man who had only shields of brass, shone them up and shook all England that day in a great parade.

There must be times, too, women wonder if it is worthwhile as you labor in the home without benefit of parade, missing the gold and glitter of public The splendor gone, no songs in acclaim. the air, sharing the burdens of others, humoring tired hearts, no Solomonic processions, no banners, no buntings, no banquets, nobody at the station when you leave for the trip and no crowds to greet you when you come home, save a few faithful pairs of arms around your neck, missing undoubtedly at times the golden chalices of the unusual drinking from the brass cups of a word of kindness here and there, and laboring for the smile of God, the wellspring of your beautiful duty.

She was standing at the sink, was a high school girl, washing dishes with her mother. As she gazed at the greasy water on her hands, she said, "O mother, how can you stand to wash greasy dishes three times a day?" To this her mother answered, "My dear, I'm not washing dishes, I'm building a home."

She saw the power of the gold in the brazen duties.

Do you so look upon your unadorned task? The typewriter as you type your brisk monotonies, do you not realize how necessary you are to the wheels of industry, to the making of the laws of this land, and to the march of progress?

As you preside there at the counter in the department store, where a customer always pretends to be right, do you not realize that there is where people are clothed, there is where they are fed, where a toy brings joy to a child's heart?

As you stand there in the drugstore and putter among the shelves, do you not realize that you are handing out sleep for the restless and health for the sick?

When you are down there in that mine, do you not realize that as you are streaming with sweat that that perspiration is incense poured out to God in holy service, that you are the right honorable collier, partner of God in giving warmth to the world?

In that hospital amid the smell and odor of sickness and dying, remember that you are hurling yourself between humanity and death.

He was visiting a tugboat and he noticed that a colored boy with a rag in his hand had shined up an old tugboat engine until it was practically glistening. All the while he was humming a happy song. He said to the colored boy, "Sam, what are you so happy about?" The colored boy, looking down at the machine, said, smilingly, "You see, sir, I got a glory." So the visitor wrote these lines:

"Oh, you gotta get a glory in the work you do A Hallelujah Chorus in the heart of you Paint or tell a story, sing, or shovel coal, But you gotta get a glory, or your job lacks soul."

We must allow Christ to take our seeming job of brass and change it into a calling of gold. It was said of Christ, "Who for the joy set before Him endured the cross." It did not say, "For the fun set before Him." It is no fun to be crucified, but it was a joy even to endure that pain because it helped

and saved humanity. He took the cross, a brazen instrument of torture, and changed it into a symbol of the gold of love. Do that with your job; make it into a calling of God.

The same thing is true of old age. How many let their shields tarnish with the years for lack of activity? Saul, more aged now, hears them calling in the streets, "Saul has slain his thousands, but David his ten thousands," and then jealousy sets up. Do not sit down and stop parading. Do not sit there waiting for eternity—work for eternity. I was addressing a congregation in a certain State a summer or two ago, and they all seemed over 60 or 65. The man sitting next to me said, "You can't do much with can you?" I said, "Certainly. They can do a great deal." As I rose to my feet, I said, "Remember a lot of baseball games have been won in the last inning, and a lot of touchdowns on the football field have been made in the last quarter." You and I cannot rest until the whistle blows-we must serve Him forever, and then we go on serving Him in His temple.

"God, keep my heart atune to laughter when youth is done;

When all the days are grey days coming after the warmth, the sun.

Keep me, then, from bitterness, from grieving, when life seems cold,

Keep me always serving, loving, believing, as I grow old."

But this duty of brass—how brazen it is. "All I hear about is duty—to my wife, chlidren, husband, society, vows, responsibilities, business, this and that—the brass of duty, duty."

"Are there not times when I have the right to evade duty, when I have a right to rattle my chains and curse the things that bind me, why should I be shackled? Why is my life not my own? Why should I be held down? Why do not I have the freedom I crave? But this day, after day, month after month, year after year, parading with brazen duty till death ends it all."

But my friend, you are not at your best when you talk like that. It was Dr. James Stuart, of Scotland, who said, "Take your pen and a sheet of paper and write down at the top the order of the value of things that challenge you to be your best at different times. At the top of course, is the grace of God, then come duty and love; bracket them together." That was true, wasn't it? Things would have gone to pieces a dozen times if it had not been for duty, would they not?

In the 19th century there were a lot of women whose lives had been touched by scarlet sin, outcasts of society who were very grateful that Josephine Butler once lived, as others were grateful for Florence Crittenton later on. It happened Josephine Butler was a woman of considerable social parts and wealth, too. She had a daughter, golden haired, who was the joy of her life. As she was driving into her estate by way of the circular driveway, in her coach and four, her daughter was watching her from the balastrade of the balcony and ecstatically, she waved at her mother, lost her balance, and fell to the pavement below. When Josephine Butler stepped from her carriage, it was to look down at the dying form the greatest treasure she had. Her daughter died, and the gold was gone. Could she parade with brass now? Stricken, she went to a nearby neighbor, a Quaker woman, who said this to her, "God hath taken to Himself her whom thou didst love, but there are many forelorn hearts who need that mother love of thine. Go to —— Street, number —, and knock." She went and there she met 40 girls, once lost and in peril, being cared for in Christian sympathy and understanding, and into that labor Josephine Butler threw herself. When her ship was about to go down thus was she rescued by duty.

When she thought that the parade was over, the king was dead and the kingdom had vanished, it was duty that steadled her, and what a parade when she bore before her the shields of brazen duty, polished with love,

when the gold was gone.

My friend, when Shishak's invasion strikes you, whatever his soldiers are with their sharp spears, when they divest you of whatever was your treasure and of whatever kind, do something better than give yourself to brooding and introspection. Take the shields of dutiful toil and march with them, and if your house is empty of things held dear, "don't let the seven devils come in and indwell it"-fill it up with service to God and men.

This is true in times of bereavement. went to see the Taj Mahal in India some years ago, that beautiful white marble or alabaster monument a man erected to his wife. He had inscribed upon her tomb where she lies these word, "The light of my palace has gone out." There was an underground passage by which he went from his throne room to kneel at her cataphalque day after day and eat out his heart, but the world seldom guessed it, for they only saw him going about his realm, seemingly lighthearted and brave, healing and helping, sustaining and comforting his people. He had polished the brass of loneliness and kept it burnished with wholehearted service. You must do the same.

We congratulate those now who have suffered bereavement and walk alone bravely. Somehow that pain and sorrow, grief have given them a clairvoyant sensitivity which enables them to help another out of his or her sorrow, their particular morass of despondencies. Sorrow has become an ally in-

stead of an enemy.

It is so with the brazen nations. Not for a hundred years have we American known what it is collectively to bear the burden of a domestic war and march with the brass of bankruptcy, bombed cities, and rubbled homes. God give us the understanding to know how difficult it is for some nations to parade with the brass.

There is Belgium-that brave little country—her beautiful boulevards ground to powder by the march of military brutes; bombs destroyed her galleries of beauty, and her cathedrals that took generations to build, are gutted and her hearthsides are in ashes. Was it worth while to parade again, to rebuild their cities and stand strong?

Someone has pictured civilization as an old woman sitting atop a pile of rubble in a bombed city, quietly unraveling the knitting it had taken her 200 years to make. How easily we destroy what we build up at great

cost-that is war.

And there is Korea, once tranquil, faithful; revivals had swept men on to God. Then Shishak and war and the Red hordes, and starvation, hunger, massacre, and death.

Now we see her bravely rising to parade with brass amid the debris. Four times as many young men are entering the seminaries of Korea for the Christian ministry than ever before in history and now she is rising to march again; and there is America sending her the "brass of necessity" and, better yet, handing her the white cloth of Christian fellowship, and helping her shine up her shields as they march with God in another brave day.

O God, give us the grace to understand without suffering equally. I hope that these words are not altogether true, the words by Laurence Binyon:

"Only when we are hurt with all the hurt

untold.

In us the thirst, the hunger, and ours the helpless hands,

The palsied effort vain, the darkness and the coldThen, only then, the spirit knows and understands

And finds in every sigh of brotherhood out beneath the sun

The human heart that makes us infinitely one

Dear God, do not make it necessary for us to see the passing of all our gold to understand how hard it is to parade with brass.

Then there was Germany. She drank too deeply of the wine of nazism, became drunk with power. Her progress was in gadgets rather than in God, in inventions rather than in spiritual intentions. Then Shishak came and sent Germany reeling, bankrupt, her industries gone, her cities rubbled, her art no more. The judgments of God. Was it worth building again? "What is the use?" Germany well could say.

But we understood in part, I think, even the heart of those whom we fought for we, too, had been partially truant. So an allied soldier, after he had seen the German prisoner, his uniform stained with red of blood, march into prison camp, wrote:

"When I first saw you in the curious street Like some platoon of soldier-ghosts in grey, My mad impulse was all to smite and slay.

To spit upon you-tread you 'neath my feet. But when I saw how each sad soul did greet My gaze with no sign of defiant brown, how out from tired eyes looked spirits broken down.

How each face showed the pale flag of defeat,

And doubt, despair and disillusionment, And how were grievous wounds on many a head.

And on your garb red-faced, was other red; And how you stooped as men whose strength was spent,

I knew that we had suffered each as other, And could have grasped your hand and cried 'my brother.'"

-Joseph Johnston Lee.

Thank God for America. Gentle giant, big brother, with the golden shields of prosperity stooping like a Good Samaritan over a tired and wounded world; going to those lands, where Shishak has marched, with understanding, with Marshall plan checks like white linen cloths of mercy to polish up the shields of brass. Hurling down from the airlift route the brass of necessity upon a stricken Judea. God bless the world and the brass parade.

Financial Aid to Higher Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, in my extension of remarks, I include the following timely, challenging, and effective editorial, the third of a series written by the McGraw-Hill Publishing Co., Inc., relating to the situation confronting many of the Nation's private higher institutions of learning:

FINANCIAL AID TO HIGHER EDUCATION: BUSI-NESS AID FOR OUR COLLEGES-VOLUNTARY OR INVOLUNTARY?

Previous editorials in this series have shown that:

As a group the Nation's independent, privately endowed colleges and universities are in grave financial trouble, and

There are many different means by which business firms can extend a helping hand to these institutions.

This editorial, one of a series devoted to the financial problems of higher education, submits this proposition: If business firms do not voluntarily go to the financial aid of higher education, there is every prospect that they will soon be providing more financial support for higher education involuntarily, through taxation.

If this prospect materializes, one of the basic elements of a well-balanced system of higher education-a strong array of independent colleges and universities-may well be dangerously weakened if not destroyed. And in the process a potentially crucial bulwark for freedom of enterprise in the United States-that same strong array of independent colleges and universities-will be under-

Acceptance of these propositions implies absolutely no disparagement of tax-supported colleges and universities. These have an indispensable role in the total system of higher education in the United States. Leaders of these institutions would be among the first to agree that their position is strengthened by a strong system of independent institutions, supported privately rather than by political agencies.

What is the evidence that in one way or another, voluntarily or involuntarily, business will be giving more financial support to higher education? One impressive part of this evidence is provided by the recent rapid increase in the proportion of college and unistudents attending tax-supported versity

institutions.

RAPID SHIFT IN ENROLLMENT

In the fall of 1952 tax-supported colleges and universities enrolled about 7.5 percent more students than the independent institutions. In 1953 this percentage was doubled. And in 1954 the tax-supported institutions enrolled 26 percent more students.

In the case of students entering college for the first time the relative growth of the tax-supported institutions recently has been even more striking. In 1952 the number of beginning students in the tax-supported schools, as reported by the United States Office of Education, exceeded those in the independent colleges and universities by 35 percent. In 1954, just 2 years later, this figure jumped to 49 percent.

Why has the proportion of students attending tax-supported colleges and universities been increasing so rapidly? There are many reasons. But a dominant reason is that, in order to keep going at all, the inde-pendent institutions have been forced to make large increases in the prices they charge for instruction. The purchasing power of their endowment funds has been cut in half by price inflation. The capacity of the wealthy to supplement their endowments by gifts, as they have done in the past, has been greatly reduced by high taxes. As a result these schools have been forced to rely increasingly on higher prices for instruction (tuition as it is called in academic circles) to make both ends meet.

Since 1940, the independent colleges and universities have raised their tuition fees by an average of about 60 percent. This is considerably less than the increase of about 100 percent in prices generally since 1940. And it is nowhere near enough to prevent the faculty members of the independent colleges from faring miserably in terms of salaries, a major national importance to matter of which we shall return in this series. But the increase in tuition fees of the independent colleges has been much greater than the increase in the fees charged by the taxsupported schools. And that price differential increasingly tends to shunt students into the schools which are supported chiefly by taxes. Independent colleges now charge, on the average, about \$580 per year for a full course of instruction while the tax-supported institutions charge, on the average, about \$240.

BIGGER TAX BILL IN PROSPECT

A large increase in the total enrollment in our colleges and universities during the next decade is in prospect, particularly when the great increase in births during World War II is reflected in the number of young men and women of college age. With a total of 2.5 million students at present enrolled in our institutions of higher learning, it is estimated that the total will be over 3 million by 1960.

If this trend continues most of the anticipated increase in college and university enrollment will be concentrated in tax-supported institutions. Indeed, if the shift toward tax-supported institutions that has occurred in the last 3 years were to continue over the next 6 years at the same rate, about 2 million of the 3 million students anticipated in 1960 would be in tax-supported colleges and universities and 1 million in independent schools. In 1950 there was a 50-50 division in enrollment. This shift would mean, of course, a corresponding increase in the tax bill for tax-supported education. And of this bill, we can be sure that an ample share would be assessed against business firms.

NO EASY SOLUTION

The best way, of course, to put a brake on a soaring tax bill for higher education is to help the independent institutions get in shape financially to carry a larger share of the student load. For most companies the development of a mutually satisfactory program of financial aid for higher education is a complicated process. In fact, it is so complicated that some companies with an initial disposition to provide financial help are inclined to despair of working out a mutually constructive plan.

If, however, the leaders of business will contemplate seriously the only available alternative to their extending voluntary help to our independent colleges and universities, their determination to work out a plan will be strengthened. For that alternative involves a grave weakening of our system of higher education, together with an involuntary increase in the financial support of higher education by business. The increase would come through higher taxes. Contemplation of such an alternative should, if necessary, toughen the will of business firms generally to do everything possible to extend financial help to our independent colleges and universities.

Time To Take a Position

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL C. JONES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Agriculture will soon begin consideration of legislation proposing to restore fixed price supports at a level of 90 percent of parity on the basic commodities.

It has been stated that farmers cannot hope that much in the way of constructive or even helpful legislation will come from this Congress. I am certain there are many individuals, including some leaders in the Republican Party, and certainly the top officials in the Department of Agriculture who hope that Congress will do nothing in the way of amending Public Law 690 of the 83d Congress, which took away from the farmers of America some of the supports to which agriculture is entitled.

I am not disposed to believe that the restoration of the 90-percent supports would be approved by the President, who, in all probability, would go along with the recommendations of his Secretary of Agriculture, whose advice he has followed in the past, and I think there is grave doubt that any bill benefiting the farmer and approved by Congress would receive the approval of President Eisenhower and become a law. Certainly I am not so naive as to believe there is sufficient support to pass such a law over a Presidental veto.

However, I do believe that now, and the sooner the better, is the time for Congress to act. Now is the time for the responsibility to be fixed. I, for one, do not want anyone to be pointing out at any time in the future that Congress, through its inaction, is willing to accept and endorse the present law.

Mr. Speaker, I hope our Committee on Agriculture will quickly approve legislation which would restore to the American farmer the same equitable treatment that is extended to the other segments of our economy.

I hope that every Member of Congress will take time to read the message addressed to them in the current—February 1955—issue of the Progressive Farmer, and take the advice offered in the editorial, About Farm Prices: Congress Should Act Quickly, which is, under leave granted to extend my remarks, herewith reproduced:

ABOUT FARM PRICES: CONGRESS SHOULD ACT QUICKLY

To our E-nators and Representatives from the Southern States:

DEAR FRIENDS: As the 84th Congress gets underway, what is the very first major economic subject that should have your attention?

Unquestionably, in our opinion, it is the serious situation caused by low farm prices. And the worsened situation that exists because of (1) the relatively low prices the farmer gets for what he sells and (2) the relatively high prices he must pay for what he buys.

Nor is this a case where we are simply giving you somebody's opinion, theory, hearsay, or belief. Please study on this page an authoritative chart based on the official figures of the United States Department of Agriculture itself. As compared with the official 1910–14 base, "prices received" by farmers now stand at only 239 percent, while "prices paid" (including interest, taxes, and hired labor) are 279 percent. And while the overall farm parity ratio on December 15, 1953, was 91 percent, by December 15, 1954, it had dropped to 86 percent.

In view of this bad and worsening situation, can you Senātors and Representatives, chosen from primarily rural States, afford to look on with complacency? Or can you afford to be unconcerned if you turned to the recent "1955 Forecast" issue of one of America's leading publications concerned

with economic trends, the U. S. News & World Report, and noted on page 67 a table headed "The Climb in 'Real' Income''? (Average weekly pay, after Federal taxes, with adjustments for increases in living costs since 1950, first year of Korean war.)

Then followed a table prepared after long and careful study by economic experts. It shows net weekly earnings or "weekly buying power" of 20 lending classes of employed people in the United States in 1950, 1954, and their "estimated income for 1955." Here are figures for one dozen of the most important of these 20 occupations:

	Buying power in 1950	Buying power in 1954	Estimated 1955 buy- ing power
Average factory worker	\$57.19	\$59.70	\$61.37
Auto worker	69.01	71.54	72.84
Steelworker	64.18	68, 14	71.32
Soft-coal miner	66. 44	66, 84	69, 26
Machinery-manufacturing			
employee	63, 92	67, 15	67, 82
Farm-implement worker	61.61	64. 36	65: 50
Railroad worker	58, 16	62, 27	64. 41
Schoolteacher	56, 63	61.28	64. 25
Federal employee	60.74	60.87	63, 60
Textile worker:	48. 22	45, 59	46, 62
Clothing worker	43.02	41.91	43.03
Farm owner	42.10	39, 52	37. 24

What are the two most remarkable things developed by these statistics about 20 different occupations?

1. For all 20 occupations, income increased from 1953 to 1954—with only 3 exceptions, the farmer being one.

2. For all 20 occupations, income is expected to increase in 1955 with only one exception. What is that one? Again the farmer.

And why is the farmer suffering? Is it because he is less industrious, less efficient? Is he falling down on his job of feeding and clothing America? Not at all. On the contrary, all this is happening when the American farmer is reaching a degree of efficiency unprecedented in his own occupation—and hardly equaled by workers in any of the other occupations in America. In 1910 one farm worker produced only enough farm products for himself and 6 others; in 1953, enough for himself and 17 others. In other words, in 1910 it took 35 Americans out of each 100 to produce crops and livestock to feed and clothe America; in 1930, only 25; in 1945, only 18; and in 1954, only 14.

Under such conditions, is it not high time for all five agencies that might do something about this matter to hear "the firebell at night," and do something about it? And what five agencies do we mean? Here is our list:

1. The President of the United States.

2. The United States Senate.

3. The House of Representatives.

4. Our farm organizations—Farm Bureau, Grange, and Farmers Union.

5. The Secretary of Agriculture.

We are not passing on the justice of their complaint, but many farmers now say this—that many to whom they looked for help have seemed more concerned about reducing price safeguards for farmers than about checking this terrible price-squeeze that is bringing trouble to hearly all small farmers and many large farmers as well. And right here we might add two other agencies that farmers are watching—and have a right to watch—with real concern and purposefulness. What are these two? Here they are:

6. The Democratic Party.

7. The Republican Party.

What did the Republican presidential nominee of 1952, and present President of the United States, say about farm prices in 1952? Let's see:

At Brookings, S. Dak., on October 4, he said: "The Republican Party is pledged to the sustaining of the 90 percent parity price support and it is pledged even more than that to helping the farmer obtain his full parity, 100 percent parity, with the guarantee in the price supports of 90."

At Kasson, Minn., on September 6, he said: "As provided in the Republican platform, the nonperishable crops so important to the diversified farmer—crops such as oats, barley, rye, and soybeans—should be given the same protection as available to the major

cash crops."

Not only did the Republican nominee say these things, but the Democratic nominee said: "The Republican nominee has climbed on my platform." The Democrats promised in 1952—and again in 1954, "We'll do better by farmers than the Republicans have ever done."

Well, now the Democrats have Congress and the Republicans have the administration and farmers are ready to hold both parties responsible for what they do or fail to do right now—in 1955.

The National Planning Association has already predicted that unemployment will rise this year and thereafter unless Government and industry act to increase consumer buying power and industrial production. What terribly disappoints us is that the President is trying to increase consumer buying power only by increasing hourly wages for labor, while proposing nothing important about the more desperately needed increase in consumer purchasing on American farms.

WHAT IS JUST PARITY PERCENTAGE?

More and more a radically new attitude toward this whole problem of parity seems absolutely necessary if farmers are ever to get out of the terrible financial squeeze in which they are now caught as shown by the chart on this page. Somehow or other our city people and the city press (alded, alas, by some in our own Department of Agriculture and some agricultural leaders) have spread abroad the notion that full 100 percent parity prices would mean inexcusable prosperity for farmers—a sort of all-thisand-heaven-too situation where farmers would be carried to the skies on flowery beds of ease. This is not only not true but it is the absolute reverse of truth as proved by these demonstrated statistical facts which the Progressive Farmers has more than once mentioned:

 In 1949 farm prices stood at 99 percent of parity—and yet the average net income per farm person was only one-half that of the average nonfarm person.

2. In 1951 farm price were 107 percent of partity—and yet the average net income of farm workers and industrial workers compared as follows:

For farm workers_______ \$1.718
For industrial workers______ 3,416

Plainly, therefore, 100 percent parity will not give farmers real prosperity, but only a fairly decent income. They should never be content with anything less than 100 percent. On products for which any variable price-support formula is set up, it should be at 85 to 95 percent of parity—not 75 to 90. And where farmers are willing to provide their own production control and reduce their acreages or other production factors in order to make production fit expected demand, then we believe price supports should be guaronteed at 95 percent of parity instead of the 90 percent which has proved unequal to the task of giving farmers the decent income to which their efficiency entitles them. To restore 90 percent price supports may be all that is expedient as to this Congress, but who can say farmers do not honestly earn the definitely larger percentages just suggested?

California's Natural-Gas Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HARRY R. SHEPPARD

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. SHEPPARD. Mr. Speaker, I am deeply disturbed by reports from southern California that a recent cold snap there caused a serious shortage of natural gas, which required emergency measures to keep our industrial plants functioning and our citizens comfortable in such highly unusual California weather.

Shut-in storage wells had to be put on production at Goleta. The Southern California Gas Co. withdrew about 100 million cubic feet of gas from storage daily. Industrial consumers were cut off from their normal supply and were forced to fall back on standby fuel—which, fortunately, was available in the form of fuel oil.

Meanwhile, householders who rely on propane, or other liquefied petroleum gases, to heat their homes, were faced with an even more acute problem. I am happy to say that, after considerable effort on the part of the LPG companies, as they are called, they were tided over the cold spell. But, it was touch and go.

Now this was just a temporary cold front, seldom encountered in southern California. However, it has serious overtones for the future, for California, although a large producer of natural gas, has recently become dependent on other States for just about half of its natural gas supply. As late as 1946, we were able to produce all our natural gas needs. But, because of our tremendous population growth and the increasing popularity of this fuel, only 7 years later we were forced to import 41½ percent of our supply.

Only a year later, that figure was 49.7 percent, an increase of 8 percent in just 1 year, and it is still climbing.

These and other vitally important statistics on California's natural gas situation explain why the people of southern California are genuinely concerned with this problem.

Many representative groups in California have recently adopted resolutions calling upon this Congress to amend the Natural Gas Act and thus help to preserve that part of our supply which reaches us from other These great institutions, as well as some of the States' leading newspapers, are reflecting the great concern of the people of California when they call upon us for action, for they know that if the Federal Power Commission is permitted to clamp price controls on the production of natural gas it can mean only that the supply of this fuel available to California will shrink dangerously and rapidly while at the same time the demand for it is skyrocketing. For, Mr. Speaker, they know that the hard fact is that price controls of whatever kind have never created plenty; they always have created and always will create scarcity. And scarcity can only mean higher and higher prices.

It costs an average of \$100,000 to drill a well, and who is going to gamble that much money in such a risky undertaking if Uncle Sam is going to place a low ceiling on his profit? Only recently, in California, the Ohio Oil Co. abandoned as a failure a well

which had been drilled to 21,482 feet at a cost of \$21/4 million.

In my State both household users and industrial users have a large stake in seeing to it that an abundant supply of this fuel is available. The number of gas customers in California, for example, jumped more than 50 percent between 1946 and 1953—from 2,210,000 to 3,326,-000.

It is also a vital factor in our supply of electricity, for the Los Angeles Department of Water and Power estimates that in the next 30 years about 50 percent of its fuel needs will come from natural gas.

Those who are interested in the industrial development of southern California—and, indeed, in industrial development everywhere—must be concerned with what is happening right now in Oklahoma. There has come to my attention an attractive leaflet published by the Oklahoma Development Council, 135 Northwest Second Street, Oklahoma City, Okla. Here are three important paragraphs from this booklet:

A new situation is diverting billions of cubic feet of unsold natural gas from prospective interstate markets and making it available for use only within Oklahoma.

Formerly, there were plans to sell much of these huge, uncommitted underground supplies of gas for use outside the State. But because of the recent imposition of Federal regulation over gas produced for interstate sales, producers are abandoning this market in making new contracts for gas sales. They now plan to hold this gas for use within the State.

Locate your new plant in Oklahoma where you will not be faced with dwindling supplies of natural gas as a result of Federal regulation. With ample gas available for long-term contracts free of Federal regulation, Oklahoma offers the ideal location for industrial expansion.

Thus, the people of California know that the absence of corrective legislation gives them pause for many reasons. Federal price controls on production will eat into California's source of supply from two sides—it will destroy the explorer's incentive and it will keep at home in Texas, Oklahoma, and elsewhere, supplies of gas which, we have seen, are sorely needed in California.

United Nations Division of Narcotic Drugs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to do so I herewith include in the RECORD a resolution adopted by the Wood River unit of the Illinois Woman's Christian Temperance Union.

The Wood River unit calls upon the United Nations to disapprove the recommendation of the Third Committee to remove the United Nations Division of

Narcotic Drugs to Geneva. I wholeheartedly endorse this resolution. The resolution follows:

Wood River, Ill.
The Honorable Melvin Price, of Illinois,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR MR. PRICE: By the unanimous request of the Wood River unit of the Illinois Woman's Christian Temperance Union, I am requesting you to contact Secretary of State John Foster Dulles and our Ambassador to the United Nations, Henry Cabot Lodge, to use their influence with the United Nations Secretary General Dag Hammar-skjold requesting him not to accept the recommendation of the Third Committee to remove the United Nations Division of Narcotic Drugs to Geneva. You know, as do we, that such a move would give Red China full control of the sale and distribution of those Your little child is probably deadly drugs. not of school age, but even the first grades are being induced to use such drugs. Please insert this request in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

Very sincerely,

Mrs. Maub Whiteman,

Corresponding Secretary.

Oil Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, WINFIELD K. DENTON

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. DENTON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to include two statements calling attention to the need for curtailment of the present heavy flow of foreign oil imports into this country. One is the statement made by Mr. Alfred A. Kiltz, of Evansville, Ind., president of the Independent Oil Producers and Land Owners Association of Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky, before the House Committee on Ways and Means January 28, 1955, during hearings on extension of the Trade Agreements Act. The other is my statement to that committee on the same day, pointing out both the immediate injury that unrestricted importation of oil does to independent oil operators and the workingmen of the coal industry and the potential harm of this policy to our international relations and the national security.

The statements follow:

STATEMENT OF ALFRED A. KILTZ, PRESILENT, INDEPENDENT OIL PRODUCERS AND LAND-OWNERS' ASSOCIATION OF INDIANA, ILLINOIS, AND KENTUCKY, JANUARY 28, 1955

My name is Alfred A. Kiltz, of Evansville, Ind. I am president of the Independent Oil Producers and Landowners' Association of Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky. I am a director of the Illinois Oil and Gas Association; the Indiana Oil and Gas Association; the Indiana Oil and Gas Association; the Endiana Oil and Gas Association; a member of the Governor's Oil Advisory Committee of the State of Indiana, and of the regulatory practices committee of the Interstate Oil Compact Commission. I am also chief counsel of the Farm Bureau Oil Co., Inc., and the Petroleum Department of the Indiana Farm Bureau Cooperative Association, Inc., of Mt. Vernon, Ind. These two companies operate 300 miles of crude

oil gathering lines throughout Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky; purchasing about 20,000 barrels of crude oil per day from independent producers. They refine about 10,000 barrels per day, selling their excess of crude purchased over refinery requirements to other refiners of the Midwest. They operate a 230mile finished products pipeline to central and northern Indiana, and furnish more finished petroleum products to the farm than any other company in Indiana. These companies are strictly farmer-owned and have always depended for crude supply upon oil produced in Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky, by independent producers. They have worked closely with independent operators during the last 15 years, making available materials and equipment; loaning independents about \$20,000,000 for operations and development; buying their crude oil and extending them pipeline facilities. Most of the crude of our area has been discovered by independent wildcatters.

Eight years ago, the Tri-State basin was producing about 500,000 barrels of crude oil daily; the price was stable and there was no difficulty in disposing of crude oil in excess of local refinery requirements. In fact, the obtaining of crude oil was upon a competitive basis.

Today, strange situations are developing in the basin, a thousand miles from any sea coast and in the heart of America's bread This Tri-State basin now produces only 264,000 barrels of crude oil per day as compared to the former 500,000 barrels only 4 percent of United States production; yet, we are told that we must pro-rate production because we are flooding the market with crude. When the absurdity of this is pointed out, we are told that fabulous new supplies from the Northwest are flooding into our Middle West. We investigate and find that Colorado, Nebraska, Montana, Wy-oming, and North Dakota have a combined production of only 483,000 barrels per day or 71/2 percent of the United States total. We made a fact-finding trip to the Northwest during the latter part of last June and determined that it could not be this area's production which was causing distress in our Tri-State basin.

The situation has become steadily worse with independent operators being unable to make pipeline connections for their new wells, even though such wells might be located within a few feet of an existing gathering line. Independents must be able to sell their oil in order to obtain loans with which to continue development and wild-catting.

Upon last July 1, one of the principal pipeline companies purchasing oil in the tri-State basin, prorated all gatherings and purchases down to 70 percent of June runs. Upon the following July 9, another principal pipeline purchaser and gatherer of the area did not prorate, but reduced the price of crude 12 cents per barrel, from \$3.02 to \$2.90. This disturbed the entire financial structure of the independent producers; the drilling of development and wildcat wells immediately began to drop off. Drilling rigs were stacked or made an exodus from the basin. Mass meetings were held by independent producers. Farm Bureau, the only remaining large purchaser of independent crude trying to hold the line against proration and price reduction, was besieged with pleas to take on connections; but its own tanks were full and crude oil could not be moved and sold to other refineries normally purchasing Farm Bureau's excess crude oil. The use for tri-State crude had suddenly dried up. Imports of foreign crude through faraway seaports were supplanting the crude oil of our tri-State area.

During the middle of last July, I was sent to Texas by our independent producers and there advised with Gen. Ernest O. Thompson, chairman of the Texas Railroad Commission—in our opinion the leading authority in the world today upon oil. He advised that he had obtained the promises of major importers that there would be a voluntary regulation of imports; that all States should cooperate in prorating production until the situation had adjusted itself; that the difficulty would be all over in 6 weeks and normalcy would be restored; and everything would rapidly fall into balance. This information was delivered to a meeting of independent producers of Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky, July 23, 1954, and they agreed to voluntarily prorate production if pecessary to help the situation.

That was July 23, not 6 weeks ago, but 6

That was July 23, not 6 weeks ago, but 6 months ago. Instead of imports being voluntarily regulated, as promised, they have steadily increased to the alarming figure of 1,443,000 barrels of crude and products per day. General Thompson apparently foresaw this as early as last September 23, when he said in a speech at Evansville, Ind., "If we let the importers dry up the lifeblood of domestic production in this country, then the responsibility must be upon those men. They may perhaps be great corporate officials, but the question has come right down to this point today: Is their loyalty greater to their stockholders than it is to America?" I might add that the applause was loud and prolonged.

Interviewing the general last week, January 19, in Dallas, his simple statement was, "All promises have been broken."

We now know what has happened to us in our tri-State basin. Imports of foreign crude during December to the east coast of the United States alone amounted to 649,000 barrels per day, of which 240,000 per day were from the Middle East and the balance from Mexico and South America. The east coast refines 1,013,000 barrels per day. Thus there has been a 64 percent displacement of American crude with foreign crude upon the east coast. A major portion of needed crude formerly moved from the Southwest around the gulf and Atlantic seaboards by tanker to eastern refineries. Today it is being moved by river barge and pipeline into our Middle West. It is crude hunting a new home with all the attributes attached thereto and we have been unable to compete with it.

More and more independent drilling rigs are shutting down in Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky. Lending institutions, which finance the independent operator, are taking another look before lending. Pipeline connections are more difficult to make. Excess crude over refining requirements cannot be disposed of. As of this coming February 1, Farm Bureau is ceasing to buy and disconnecting 2,000 barrels per day of crude being produced by independent operators. The tanks are full and there is no alternative. Can they sell to someone else? Can they stay in business? The future only holds the answer. Last week identical resolutions of bipartisan authorship were passed unanimously by both houses of the Indiana General Assembly, as follows:

"The national oil and gas policy adopted in January 1949 and endorsed by the independent oil producers of Indiana and of the several other oil-producing States recognizes as a basic objective the assurance that the United States shall have an adequate and available domestic supply of petroleum products for all peacetime and emergency requirements.

"The first fundamental principle of the national oil policy, formulated by the National Petroleum Council, states that due consideration should be given to the development of foreign oil resources but the paramount objective should be to maintain conditions best suited to a healthy domestic industry which is essential to the national security and welfare.

"The national oil policy further states that petroleum imports should serve to sup-

plement and not supplant domestic supplies and not retard necessary domestic exploration and development efforts. This is a sound policy. Adherence to this policy is essential to our national well-being, security, and expanding strength as to oil.

"This accepted policy provides a place for petroleum imports and an opportunity

for healthy foreign trade.

"The continuation of present excessive foreign imports of oil violates that policy. Wasteful inventories have accumulated and production has been substantially curtailed in Indiana as well as in other oil-producing States. Fair and equitable relationships between imports and domestic production are not being maintained. The independent producer of oil and gas has been thrown into a serious economic situation and ultimately will be forced to abandon all exploratory and producing operations. This would be a serious threat to and could cause present oil and gas known and proven reserves to be used and exhausted. ploration and the continued search is necessary to maintain a reserve replacing the requirements for daily demands and consumption. These are perilous times in Amer-We are living in an era of the hydrogen bomb. Our continued existence as individuals and as a nation depends upon our ability to build and fuel the weapons In this race for survival, the doof war. mestic oil industry is the backbone of the defense of our Nation.

"Two world wars have proven this beyond any possible doubt. The importance of domestic oil in any future wars is evidenced by the fact that our defense planners recognize the logistical problems of moving imported oil by sea during a time of war. Let the American people make no mistake as to the basic issue now involved; a healthy capable domestic oil industry or the false and uncertain security that lies in the reliance on foreign oil: Therefore be it

"Resolved by the Senate of the Indiana General Assembly:

"Section 1. We urge the Congress of the United States to recognize this situation affecting an important industry of our State and its economic well-being and that some measure of limitation on the import of foreign oil should be enacted as a part of H. R. No. 1, the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, in order to maintain a healthy domestic oil industry.

"SEC. 2. The clerk of the Senate shall transmit a copy of this resolution to each Member of the United States Congress and Senate from Indiana and one copy to the clerk of the House Ways and Means Committee, Washington, D. C., and that a copy be sent to all governors of the various States, together with the request that their States adopt similar resolutions."

We feel that what is happening to us can and will spread with like results over the entire Nation unless the floodgates are at least partially closed upon foreign crude. We of the tri-States of Indiana, Illinois, and Kentucky are presently witnessing the exodus, retirement, and disappearance of the independent operator and wildcatter who has found 80 percent of America's crude reserves. If we become dependent upon foreign crude and that oil is suddenly denied us, if we suddenly need more oil from and for America, the independent wildcatter simply won't be around any more. Born with Drake's well upon Oil Creek, Pa., in 1859; growing into full stature and furnishing America's petroleum needs in peace and in war; he will have passed from the scene as an American institution and the frantic trumpeting of Gabriel horns will not bring about his resurrection.

STATEMENT OF HON. WINFIELD K. DENTON, OF INDIANA, BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, DURING HEARINGS ON H. R. 1, 84TH CONGRESS, JANUARY 28, 1955

I am Congressman Winfield Denton, representing the Eighth District of Indiana. I want to thank the chairman and members of this committee for their courtesy in granting me time to appear here today and express certain views of mine with regard to the extension of the Trade Agreements Act.

First, let me say that I am emphatically in favor of the reciprocal trade program, and always have been. I know the advantages to this country of easy and friendly trade with other nations of the world and what such trade does to enhance our position in international affairs; and I would not in the slightest way want to cripple our progress toward the long-range objectives of the

reciprocal trade program.

But I am here today on behalf of the workingmen of the coal industry and the independent oil operators, who have already suffered considerable distress, and face still more critical injury from the operation of the Trade Agreements Act in its present form. Yet, I believe the serious and sincere grievances of these important groups in our national economy do not oppose the original and legitimate aims of the reciprocal trade policy.

I have, of course, heard the common expression that everybody favors reciprocal trade—but wants some one item or industry protected. I hope I am not guilty of such a charge; and I believe that the well-being of our domestic oil and coal industries is of such peculiar and far-reaching importance to the national security that it can be considered almost in a category apart from the

question of trade policy.

At the end of World War II, this country was importing crude and refined oil products at the rate of slightly more than 300,000 barrels a day. Since that time, oil production in the United States has been curtailed and restricted, without a corresponding reduction in oil imports, so that, for the years, total oil imports have been at a rate in excess of 1 million barrels a day-more than three times the rate at the end of World War II. Estimates of the import situation for the early months of 1955 show that oil may now be coming in at the rate of a million and a quarter barrels a day. And, where oil imports supplied 5 percent of the United States market prewar, they now are taking up about 15 percent of the market in this country.

A very significant part of the oil products imported is made up of residual oil, or heavy fuel oil. Being the last byproduct of the refining process, which operates at very low cost in certain foreign areas, this residual oil can be dumped on the east coast of the United States at prices so low that it easily displaces coal in the market for industrial fuel—pushing coal aside at the rate of 1 ton for every 4 barrels of residual oil.

This fuel oil was being imported at the rate of 45 million barrels a year at the end of World War II, and the influx has steadily increased until it nearly tripled last year at 131.8 million barrels, which took up about a quarter of our domestic market for residual oil. The coal equivalent of the oil imported in 1954, if this coal could have been produced for the market, would have meant jobs for 24,000 American coal miners.

I might go on reciting figures of this sort, but I expect that other witnesses will have amply supplied the committee record. By now, I don't think there can be much doubt of the severe impact that oil imports cause in our domestic market for both oil and coal. What I want to emphasize is the serious effect that excessive importation of oil will

have on the national security and our international position, in the long run.

The oil industry is of such a nature that it cannot maintain stable production or meet normal increases in demand by depending on existing supply sources. It must constantly seek new fields and prove up new reserves. This requires continuous exploration and discovery operations, which, as is well known, involves the drilling of many dry holes for the finding of a few good producing wells. Many risks of money and effort go into the development of even a 1 percent increase in United States oil production, or, for that matter, merely the holding of the existing level of output.

Experience in this country has shown that more than 75 percent of the wildcat wells are drilled by independent operators, and that these independents have discovered probably an equal percentage of new oil reserves. These men are the real pioneers in the industry, and their ranks are the source of the initiative and enterprise that must constantly be employed to keep up and improve productive capacity.

But they must be able to sell what they find, to raise capital to go and find more. Unlike the giants of the oil industry, the independent operators cannot go into lush foreign fields to reap profits which can set off the risk and cost of bringing in new production in this country. They cannot hedge operating costs by shipping in cheaper foreign oil. And the more of such oil that is imported, the less the independents are able to sell on the home market.

So long as imported oil is in heavy supply, domestic wells are sharply prorated and the allowable production per well continues to be reduced. These two factors—the curtailment of the market for domestic oil resulting from excessive imports and heavy proration made possible by imports—combine to destroy the independents' incentive and financial ability to continue exploration for new wells. If no remedy of this situation is provided, the result will soon be a serious cut in production capacity, for the independents who make the vital new discoveries of oil reserves will be driven out of the industry.

This is not a matter that can be put aside until the appearance of some grave national-defense emergency. Proven reserves and production capacity must be kept always ready to be thrown into use as soon as any war might break out. Practically speaking, almost no new oil capacity can be developed once we should become involved in a military emergency, for materials and manpower are drained off to meet more immediate needs.

Rear Admiral Briggs, of the Munitions Board Petroleum Committee, who appeared before the House Small Business Committee in June 1949, said that the military authorities are concerned over conservation of petroleum reserves in the ground in those areas representing the greatest probable accessibility during war. However, the admiral emphasized—and I quote: "First consideration for preparedness must be in a high level of developed production in those areas. Oil reserves that must be developed after the start of a war will probably contribute only minor quantities to that war effort, but shut-in production is an immediate military asset."

Most of our oil imports now come from Venezuela and the Middle East. Any enemy submarine activity in the Caribbean Sea would make it difficult for us to continue bringing in oil from Venezuela in time of war, and the great ocean distances separating us from the Middle East would make imports from that area all but impossible. Further, as Admiral Carney, now Chief of Naval Operations, told the Petroleum Sub-

committee of the House Armed Services Committee in January 1948: "The Middle East oil is vulnerable from the military standpoint under any circumstances. The fields are vulnerable to attack, pipelines and pumping stations are vulnerable to sabotage and attack, and I think we would be assuming too much to insure full availability of the capabilities and capacities of Middle East oil."

I think from that it should appear that we must take every precaution to avoid any dependence whatsoever on outlying foreign sources of oil for defense and military needs. And to maintain the health of our domestic oil industry, the only sure supplier in time of emergency, we must avoid undue damage to it from imports at any time. Not even the strongest advocate of free trade will say it should be achieved at the expense of national security.

As to the matter of proration of oil production, which complicates the import question, I can only say that some such system is certainly essential for the conservation and planned use of a vital national resource. But, if proration of oil production is good for the United States, it should be good for Venezuela and the Middle East. Actually, their economies are so heavily dependent on oil production that they should have even a greater interest in its careful conservation than we have in our own.

In the practical sense, it is not good policy in the long run for the United States to maintain a trade program which encourages American companies to exploit and excessively drain away the natural resources of these other countries. We want the friendship of their people, not only for now but for years and decades ahead. We do them no real service now by taking great quantities of the oil they are sure to have need of 25 or 50 years from now. Heavy American imports of oil may lend a flush of prosperity that is a temporary advantage to the Latin American and Arab countries, but it is wrong for us and harmful to them in the long run.

Gentlemen, I have endeavored to show the weakness of our present trade program, as relates to oil, in the light of international policy and our national security.

I now offer the following proposals for your consideration while deliberating on H. R. 1:

1. That United States imports of crude and refined oil be restricted to a quantity not to exceed 900,000 barrels per day;

2. That United States imports of residual fuel oil, or similar heavy oil, be restricted to a quantity not to exceed 5 percent of the total permitted crude and refined oil imports;

3. That if, prior to the expiration of the Trade Agreements Act, as extended, international policy considerations should make it imperative that the United States afford a market for greater quantities of crude and refined oil than stipulated under the first and second proposals above, the proper authorities of the executive department shall be authorized to purchase, for national-defense stockpilling purposes, additional amounts of these items, or either of them, insofar as is feasible;

4. That the committee urge as strongly as possible upon the Chief Executive the advisability of seeking international agreement among interested nations upon the proration of oil production in the interest of mutual security.

Again may I thank the committee for the privilege of appearing before it on this matter and express the hope that my remarks may be of some value in its deliberations.

Channel Job Most Vital to Lower Bucks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KARL C. KING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. KING of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include the following editorial from the Bristol (Pa.) Daily Courier of January 8, 1955, entitled "Channel Job Most Vital to Lower Bucks":

CHANNEL JOB MOST VITAL TO LOWER BUCKS

No time should be lost nor effort spared in defogging administration thinking on this \$90 million upper Delaware channel project.

Last fall Congress authorized it without

any local contribution provision.

Since then some of the bright lads in administration circles have turned up with an idea United States Steel should ante \$18 million toward the cost.

If steel should be assessed then it would follow that other industry already doing business along the river from Philadelphia to Morrisville faces a sizable Federal bite, not to mention those innumerable firms planning to move closer to the open hearths.

It seems to us this is a fuzzy, an inane, and a patently unfair approach to a program so immediately vital to the expansion of the upper Delaware Valley region, to the growth of the Nation's industrial might.

President Eisenhower should lower the boom on the smart boys and clear the decks for achievement of this deepwater channel in accordance with congressional intent.

The Nation's inland waterways, of which the upper Delaware is a very important one, and their development to fullest possible advantage is a Government responsibility.

To evade such responsibility by slapping an assessment on industry, whether it be United States Steel or anybody else, is perversion of obligation and unjustifiable penalization of interests contributing immeasurably to national welfare and to the country's progress.

It's just as incongruous to require industry to pay for Delaware River improvement as it would be to make every community guarded from catastrophe by the Nation's system of flood-control dams to open its pockethook for the protection it gets.

pocketbook for the protection it gets.

The Delaware Valley expansion program, and most of it will be centered in this region, will hardly get underway until the deepwater channel becomes a reality, or, at least, until there is assurance of reality without prohibitive penalty against firms desiring to expand or to move here.

Already some 30 companies are dickering for sites along the upper Delaware.

Obviously these firms, or most of them, will hesitate finalizing plans and closing deals if the highly necessary channel project becomes a subject for needless controversy over who's going to pay the cost. Quite possibly some of them may skip the whole deal.

Exceedingly clear is the need for clarifying the situation.

There is nothing complex about clarification. The Government should simply do what Congress mandated: Deepen the channel to 40 feet and pay for it.

We in Lower Bucks County should be more than passively concerned about this Delaware River project. No great imagination is required to see

the future here—2, 5, or 10 years hence.
Already this extreme southeastern end of
Pennsylvania has become an important industrial center.

Its inevitable growth and expansion may not depend entirely on a deepened Delaware to accommodate oceangoing river traffic.

But there's no doubt whatsoever that the beginning and the completion of the \$90 million project would accelerate progress with fascinating swiftness.

THE EDITOR.

North Dakota Senate Requests Suspension of Acreage Controls on Durum Wheat in 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following concurrent resolution just passed by the North Dakota State Senate:

Senate Concurrent Resolution D
Concurrent resolution requesting the Secre-

tary of Agriculture of the United States to suspend acreage controls on durum wheat during 1955

Whereas North Dakota produces approximately 85 percent of all durum wheat grown in the United States, and the Legislature of the State of North Dakota is vitally interested in the production of this crop; and

Whereas approximately 85 percent of the durum crop planted in North Dakota during the 1954 crop season was lost due to rust, making the year 1954 the third consecutive year in which the production of durum wheat was far below normal and below the needs of the United States; and

Whereas because durum wheat is far superior to other grain in the manufacture of macaroni products, the shortage of durum wheat has handicapped the entire macaroni industry: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Senate of the State of North Dakota (the House of Representatives concurring therein), That the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States is hereby urged and requested to suspend acreage controls upon the planting and raising of durum wheat during the year 1955, and that permission be granted to plant and raise durum wheat upon any acreage displaced from production by acreage controls upon other grain; and be it further

Resolved, That the secretary of the senate forward copies of this resolution to the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States, to the North Dakota congressional delegation, and to the chairman of the respective Committees on Agriculture of the United States Senate and House of Representatives.

C. P. DAHL,
President of the Senate.
EDWARD LENO,
Secretary of the Senate.
K. A. FITCH,
Speaker of the House.

KENNETH L. MORGAN,

Chief Clerk of the House.

Congress Action Gives Clear Warning to Reds

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, Mr. John S. Knight is one of the most respected editors in the country. The following editorial appearing in the Akron Beacon Journal for Sunday, January 30, 1955, is one of the best I have seen on the Formosa issue:

CONGRESS ACTION GIVES CLEAR WARNING TO REDS

(By John S. Knight)

President Eisenhower is getting the support he needs in the Formosa crisis.

By overwhelming majorities, both the House and the Senate have said that the United States should defend Formosa, the Pescadores Islands and closely related localities with whatever force may be required.

The world now knows that this isn't the

The world now knows that this isn't the Dulles brand of bluff and backdown that almost got us into the Indochina mess during the critical battle of Dien Bien Phu.

This is the real thing; not State Department bluster.

Military intervention in Indochina would have ignited the wrong war at the wrong place. We had neither the available ground troops for duty in Indochina nor suitable targets for what he sometimes describe as the massive threat of our airpower.

Formosa is different. It is vital to our Pacific defenses. If the Chinese Reds overran Formosa, both Japan and the Philippines would be outflanked by the enemy.

Moreover, Formosa can be successfully defended.

If Chou En-lai is determined to liberate Formosa and thus risk war with the United States, the military advantages should be on our side.

My only criticism of Eisenhower's action is that it was delayed too long to gain the maximum psychological benefit.

More than 4 months ago, the following comment appeared in this column when the guns of Red China were shelling the island of Quemoy:

"Why don't we say that any aggressor moving against Formosa does so at his own risk?

"Instead of feeding the people a lot of double talk about military decisions and defending the vital interests of the United States, let the President speak up and say that any attack upon Formosa means war with the United States.

"The Communists would understand that kind of talk. If they are bluffing about Formosa, we will have called their bluff.

"If they attack, they can be soundly defeated without any assistance from our allies who intend to sit this one out.

"So, speak out, Mr. President. Let's not get sucked into a war by diplomatic bungling and the pattern of general involve-

"If we have to fight, let's do it on our own

"Tell the Commies now that we mean business."

It was my thought at the time (September 19) that Red China, undefeated in war and muscled up with newly acquired power, would try shoving us around to see how far they could go

Since then, the Commies have fired upon our planes, thumbed their noses at the U. N.'s attempt to gain freedom for our imprisoned airmen, picked off Yikiangshan Island from Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist troops and are now forcing evacuation of the Tachens.

The President's decision to act came none too soon, but it was done in exactly the right way with full respect for the role of Congress.

Red China is finally on notice that the United States will fight if we are pushed too

The responsibility for war, if it comes, is clearly not ours.

Although Congress responded to the President's statesmanship with full measure of support, a small group of Senators marred the proceeding with some injudicious and unrealistic flyspecking on the Formosa resolution.

Senator Hubbert Humphrey, of Minnesota, offered an amendment limiting the defense area to Formosa and the Pescadores.

Had it been adopted, the Humphrey amendment would have prevented any retaliation against the Chinese mainland in case of attack, thus repeating the blunder made in Korea where the Reds enjoyed the luxury of a privileged sanctuary across the Yalu River in Manchuria.

Senator ESTES KEFAUVER, of Tennessee.

Senator Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee, favors placing Formosa under United Nations supervision. A good theoretical argument can be made for that point of view but Formosa would fall while the "statesmen" were still debating in the big glass house on New York's East River.

At a later date, when and if the present crisis is over, serious consideration can be given to the Kefauver proposal.

Then we have Senator RALPH FLANDERS, of Vermont, who won no laurels for objective thinking during the McCarthy hearings, mouthing the nonsense that "this is preventive war."

He was properly rebuked by Senator Wil-Liam Knowland, the Republican minority leader, who said: "There is not a scintilla of evidence * * which could lead any reasonable person to believe that the purpose of the resolution is to engage in a preventive war, or that its purpose was aggression against the Communist regime or any other regime on the face of the earth."

Senator WAYNE MORSE, the Independent from Oregon, also found it impossible to stay out of the headlines. Morse, in his characteristic loose-tongued fashion, warned against the President's trigger-happy military advisers.

He pictured Adm. Arthur W. Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, as favoring preventive war and said that sort of action will get us unnecessarily into a third world war.

The Oregon Senator failed to specify how he would cope with the problem facing President Eisenhower.

Senator Russell B. Long, of Louisiana, expressed apprehension lest Chiang Kai-shek and his friends get us involved in an all-out war with China, even if this should mean war with Russia.

The opinions held by these individual Senators are challenging, but not persuasive.

President Eisenhower has no thought of unleashing Chiang Kai-shek for an assault upon the mainland of China. This irresponsible view was first urged in the 1952 campaign by a group of Republican Senators and Congressmen of whom the kindest thing that can be said is that they were appallingly ignorant of the true situation.

The President has never engaged in saber rattling. He is against preventive war. It was Elsenhower's decision to keep out of Indochina.

We must therefore believe that the President is not trying to start a war, but to prevent one.

Let the Humphreys, Kefauvers, Flanders, Morses, and Longs remember this: Formosa is vital to our defenses.

Chou En-lai, whose troops fought ours to a bloody stalemate in Korea, says he intends to conquer Formosa.

The United States is pledged to defend Formosa. Moreover, self-interest dictates that course of action.

The President, in keeping with constitutional procedure, asked Congress for authority to defend the island against Red attack.

The Congress has granted that authority without the crippling restrictions imposed by the United Nations upon our military commanders in Korea, and now being urged again by a few addle-headed Senators.

This time, the President can act as military necessity requires. While United States air and naval forces are deployed in the Formosa area "for defensive purposes," they can be used for offensive action at the discretion of the President.

That means if war comes, Uncle Sam won't have to fight with one arm tied behind his back.

Are we risking war by granting this authority requested by the President?

Of course.

But the greater risk to our security is to let Formosa fall to the Communists.

Our defense lines must remain in the far Pacific, and not be withdrawn to the coasts of California, Oregon, and Washington.

In backing the President, the Congress has reflected the will of the people.

The decision, war or peace, is up to Chou En-lai and the Pelping government.

In praying for peace, we shall be ready for war.

Consider Decadent France

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Punxsutawney Spirit of January 28, 1955:

CONSIDER DECADENT FRANCE

Ever since history began there has been an irreconcilable conflict between those who believe in powerful and paternalistic government, and those who believe in placing the greatest possible limitations on government's authority over the lives and liberties of its citizens. That conflict continues today, in intense form. And without going into debates of theory, there is one fact that is undenlable—the paternal government is a might begetter of bureaucracy. It has to be. For, obviously, the more government does, the more people it needs to do it. And these people, human nature being what it is, assume all the power and importance they can.

Time, in a recent issue, tells a remarkable little story of what bureaucracy (aided and abetted by contributory factors) can do and has done in one essential field of enterprise in one country. The country is France, and the field of enterprise is housing. Time's article, which is based on a report made by French Socialist Deputy Albert Gazier to the National Assembly, begins with this sentence: "France, long one of the most enlightened nations in the world, is backward to the point of primitivism when it comes to putting a rcof over people's heads." The bare facts, presented without embellishment, will seem incredible to most Americans.

In Paris the average age of buildings is 83 years, and one-quarter of all the apartments are without running water. In the provinces things are still worse-the average age of buildings is 120 years and only a third of the rural population of 20 million has running water in their homes. In beautiful and famed Brittany 45 percent of the homes have earth floors. Twenty-five percent of all couples who married in 1948 are still looking for homes of their own, while they live with parents or stay in hotels or kitchenless furnished rooms.

The deputy blamed all this on lack of initiative, excessive costs, and old-fashioned building methods, but Time observes, "Being a Socialist, he did not add another of France's basic difficulties-bureaucracy. Deputy Gazier told only half of a sad story that helps explain France's divisions, frustrations and sullen hatred. More than 2 million French families live in houses built be-fore the Battle of Waterloo."

How did bureaucracy contribute materially to such a situation? For one thing, the government has rigid rent control laws that hold legal rents to ridiculously low levels. It's impossible for owners to pay taxes and keep their properties up. So no repairs are made, and there is no private construction of new housing for people of limited means. There have been some municipal apartment developments, but only a favored few have benefited from them.

For another thing, the French bureaucis so dense and so immersed in red tape that it takes some 15 months to obtain a permit to build a house. And the French building contractors seem to be in the same kind of a rut. For, even after a permit is granted, it takes an average of 21/2 years to

get a house built.

A badly housed people, like a badly fed people, is unstable and unhappy. So it's only fair to conclude that France's housing situation has contributed materially to her grave present problems-problems that are of the utmost concern to the whole western defense alliance.

Thirty-seventh Anniversary of Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, of the ancient and medieval Ukraine relatively little is known; one thing we do know, however, is that the country was overrun and ravaged many times by invaders from the East who inflicted much suffering on the Ukrainians. When the wave of invaders receded, the Ukrainians were able to regain their full independence. recoup some of their losses, and rebuild their homeland. From the late Middle Ages down to the middle of the 17th century, they were successful in preserving their independence. But then, by a treaty signed in 1654, between the Russian Czar and the Ukrainian leaders. their independence was placed in jeopardy and soon after that the Ukraine became part of the Russian Empire.

One might justifiably say that virtually all of the Ukraine's misfortune and the misery of its people stem from that treaty signed almost exactly 300 years ago. From that time until 1918 Ukrainians living within and outside of their beloved land thought, dreamed, and studied little else than ways of obtaining the independence of the Ukraine.

With the signing of the treaty of 1654 the independence of the Ukraine vanished into history. For once under the oppressive Russian rulers, the Ukrainians were forced to abandon their national traditions and to be attached to the great Russian family. In other words, the Czar's government set out to Russianize, by compulsion if necessary, all Ukrainians. Imperial decrees banned the use of Ukrainian as an official language. In schools the teaching of Ukrainian was not permitted, and the whole country was treated as a colonial adjunct of the Imperial Russian Government. And that Government ruled over it with a ruthless hand.

During all those years, however, the Russians were not able to denationalize the Ukrainians. The more oppressive the hand of the Government, the more the Ukrainians resented and rebelled against their overloads. At the same time their yearning increased for the return of the glorious days gone by. As a result, Ukrainian nationalism was kept alive as a powerful living force in the country. At the same time the idea of freedom and independence was carefully nursed in their hearts. Finally, some 250 years later, when they saw their chance for independence in 1918, they seized upon it and proclaimed the Ukrainian National Republic. The day of that proclamation, January 22, 1918, is a momentous landmark in recent Ukrainian history. Since then it has been customarily celebrated as a great Ukrainian holiday.

The republic which the Ukrainians proclaimed was a fragile being-young. weak, and beyond the reach of aid from its sympathetic friends. It was surrounded by powerful enemies. All of these were ready, at any moment, to pounce upon the new state and put an end to its existence. Most dangerous of these foes were the Communist Russians. Even though some 35 years ago we had our misgivings about the Communists. we did not know their inhuman methods and their real aims in the same way we know them today. The Ukrainians, who were their neighbors, had quickly diagnosed the evil character of Russian communism and for that reason fought it with all their might. In the end, of course, they had to yield to brute, superior force. In 1920 the Ukraine was overrun by the Communists. Independent-minded able-bodied men were placed under arrest, subjected to indescribable tortures, and many were put to death. It is impossible to say how many million innocent Ukrainians lost their lives under this most abominable of tyrannies.

Today that fair land of riches and plenty, that fertile home of the peasant. is a deserted and desolate steppe land as far as liberty and freedom are concerned. It is, one might say, a large prison camp where some 40 million toilers are crushed by the grinding, all-powerful steamroller of Moscow. There is no freedom of movement, no freedom of expression, and

the Communists have even tried to eliminate freedom of thought. Under such circumstances, of course, patriotic Ukrainians are not allowed to celebrate their independence day. However, we in this country are glad to join with all Americans of Ukrainian ancestry in the celebration of that day and ardently hope that soon the Ukrainians will have the freedom to do the same in their beloved homeland.

Courage, Men of Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANCIS E. WALTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. WALTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following editorial from Labor's Daily of Friday, January 28, 1955:

> COURAGE, MEN OF CONGRESS (By Willard Shelton)

Once again the Members of Congress are facing one of their toughest questions— whether to raise their own salaries and the salaries of the Federal judiciary. Once again the suggestion must be made that they should pluck up their political courage and vote for what they know to be needed and right.

Many people would feel grateful for an income equivalent to the \$15,000 paid a Federal district judge or the \$12,500, plus \$2,500 annual expense account, paid Members of Congress. These sums are three times as high as the average earnings of Americans.

But relative facts must be taken into consideration. A man competent to be a Federal judge could make 3 or 4 times his judicial salary in private law practice. is a limit, in times of high taxes, to the sacrifice a judge feels willing to impose on his family, and 60 Federal judicial vacancies have piled up in 2 years.

Many State judges are paid far more than Federal judges. In New York City a munic-ipal judge, with only limited jurisdiction, is paid \$25,000.

The \$15,000 paid Federal district judges, according to Attorney General Brownell, is equivalent to only \$6,000 in terms of 1939 buying power, taking into consideration higher taxes and inflation.

A Member of Congress has extraordinary expenses. He must maintain two homesone in high-cost Washington and the other in his home district. He must travel occa-sionally to his district or State, and only one such round trip each session of Congress is reimbursable.

A Member of Congress may avoid the capital's party circuit as he would the plagueand many of them do. But he cannot avoid some entertainment of constituents, certain campaign expenses not covered by contributions, some social obligations.

The issue may be summed up in simple terms: do we want to make membership in Congress or a place on the Federal bench an office that only rich men, or at least people with independent private incomes, can afford?

If we rise above pettiness, the correct answer surely is that judges and Congress-men should be paid enough to cover the extraordinary expenses of office, to give them a reasonable chance to be free of harsh financial anxiety, to be independent and untempted by undue influence.

The thing that makes the Congressmen quiver, of course, is the fear that if they vote themselves a pay raise they may be vulnerable to political attacks at home. That is why, for sheer election reasons, the proposal of salary increases for judges is always tied to proposals for the relief of Congress.

But in the years before the war, before inflation and before high taxes, the \$7,500

But in the years before the war, before infiation and before high taxes, the \$7,500 salary of a Congressman gave him greater financial independence than he has now. His take-home pay, in terms of purchasing power, has been severely cut.

We are not going to get and maintain the highest standards of personnel in Congress and the judiciary unless we are willing to

pay for them.

If any citizen thinks his own Congressman or Senator isn't worth a higher salary, the answer is to get rid of that official and elect someone who is worth the money.

Friend in Spain

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a very fine editorial entitled "Friend in Spain," which appeared in the December 7, 1954, edition of the News and Courier, Charleston, S. C.

The News and Courier, of Charleston, S. C., is the oldest daily newspaper in the South, running continuously for over 150 years. Conservative without being reactionary, yet progressive in terms of national policy and liberal under the Constitution of the United States, it is truly representative of the majority of the thinking of South Carolina.

The enclosed article demonstrates the alertness for which this paper is renowned. Recently the Spanish brigantine Juan Sebastian De Elcano paid a visit to Charleston. Aboard this training ship were Spanish midshipmen and many fine officers and enlisted men alike. The News and Courier carried a special article each day while they were in port written in Spanish for the convenience of these fine visitors. I have never known a newspaper to do this before-certainly not in my part of the world. Representatives of the Spanish Government expressed to me their deep appreciation for this service. member of the crew was highly pleased because it gave them first hand information from home, news of world events and demonstrated to each of them a friendliness not expressed better any where in America.

Mr. Speaker, my people have a great affection for the Spanish people. My daily newspaper reflects this esteem.

FRIEND IN SPAIN

If all the foreign journalists who tour the United States are as friendly and industrious in interpreting our country to their readers back home as is Andres Revesz, of Madrid, our State Department would be fully repaid for financing their American travels.

Our judgment in this respect is based on several clippings Mr. Revesz has sent us of his writings about Charleston both in his own newspaper, ABC, and in other Spanish publications. We assume he has done the same for other American regions which he visited.

Mr. Revesz, whose phenomenal memory was the subject of an article in the News and Courier when he came to Charleston last spring, has forgotten little that he heard and saw. His latest word picture, illustrated with attractive pictures of the College of Charleston and St. Michael's spire over tiled rooftops, is entitled "Se Baila en Charleston"—They Dance in Charleston.

The article fills a tabloid size page in ABC, one of Spain's leading newspapers. The first sentence sets the tone of the article "If Talleyrand had known about Charleston, he might have mentioned it along with Versailles, relating to the joy of life." Mr. Revesz compares Charleston also to Andalucia, though our latitude is to the south of that delightful province of Spain. He says Charleston is a sort of American Cordoba without the Mohammedan influence. And he says the architecture and the gardens give "a magical impression very different from what North America signifies for us (Spaniards)."

We are flattered that Mr. Revesz singles out the News and Courier, where he paid a journalistic courtesy call, and several Charleston individuals for special mention. Mr. Revesz, foreign editor of ABC, is a journalist of distinction and a person of extraordinary range of knowledge. We look on him not only as a friend, but as an ambassador of goodwill. We hope he will not long delay his return visit to our country—and to Charleston, "con sus jardines y sus danzas"—with its gardens

and its dances.

Resolution Opposing SCS Changes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ED EDMONDSON

OF OKLAHOMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. EDMONDSON. Mr. Speaker, the following resolution was recently adopted by the Caney Valley Soil Conservation District Board of Supervisors, with headquarters at Bartlesville, Okla.:

RESOLUTION 8

Whereas soll and water conservation, upstream flood prevention, reforestation, and wildlife developments are national problems, the solution of which affects all our people; and

Whereas the President's Committee on Intergovernmental Relations recommended that the Soil Conservation Service be turned to the States for financing and to the landgrant colleges for making policies and administration; and

Whereas the land-grant colleges were established for education and research rather than making of policies or the administration of laws established by the State Legislature or National Congress; and

Whereas the committee did not consider the wishes of the 2,600 soil conservation districts now working with the Soil Conservation Service or consider the advice of the minority member of the committee, Herschell D. Newsom, president of the National Grange: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the board of supervisors of the Caney Valley Soil Conservation District in regular meeting January 4, 1955, That they

go on record as favoring the present policymaking and administration of a national coordinated program in soil and water conservation and upstream flood prevention rather than having 48 separate units that would result in an unrelated and incoherent program; be it further

Resolved, That the board of supervisors urge their State and national legislative representation, Senator Frank Mahan, Representatives Carl Staats and Clint Beard; Senators Robert S. Kerr and A. S. "Mike" Monroney, and Congressman Edmondson; and Gov. Raymond Gary to do all in their power to prevent the adoption of the recommendation of the Chairman of the President's Intergovernmental Relations Committee submitted September 30, 1955; be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution be spread upon the minutes of Caney Valley Soil Conservation District board of supervisors' meeting January 4, 1955, and a copy be sent to Gov. Raymond Gary, Senators Robert S. Kerr and A. S. "Mike" Mononey, State Senator Frank Mahan, Representatives Carl Staats and Clint Beard; Frank C. Dunaway, president of the Oklahoma Association of Soil Conservation Districts and to the Oklahoma State Legislative Council, State Capitol, Oklahoma City.

Burma Offers New Defense Line

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL J. FLOOD

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. FLOOD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of Sunday, January 30, 1955:

BURMA OFFERS NEW DEFENSE LINE

(By Joseph Alsop)

RANGOON, BURMA.—Here in Burma, which boasts the ablest and most realistic government of postwar Asia, the price we are paying for the fraudulence of our Asian policy is alarmingly evident.

is alarmingly evident.

The news from home indicates a great, sudden stir about the Chinese Communist threat to the offshore islands of Formosa. But why is this? In view of the record of the last 2 years, why on earth is anyone ruffled by the Communist seizure of Yikiangshan?

There was a first Munich in the form of the Korean truce. There was a second Munich in the form of the surrender in Indochina. There was a transparent fake in the form of the toothless Manila treaty. And in the treaty with Chiang Kai-shek, specifically excluding the offshore islands from American protection, there was the equivalent of an engraved invitation to the Communists to seize those islands.

In the face of this record of retreat and appeasement, people at home are surprised by the natural, the downright inevitable, results. They are surprised because the retreat has been masked by a loud, hucksterish drumfire about "unleashing Chiang Kaishek," "recaptured initiatives," "massive retailation," "strengthened outposts" and the

The bad joke is that the Burmese and the Indians, who desperately desire to avoid an unnecessary war, have been just as much deceived by the loud talk as our own people. The loud talk in Washington has made these Asians think American policy warlike when it has really been the precise reverse. In Burma we are blamed not for appeasement,

which can be justly charged against us, but for aggressiveness, of which we are conspic-

uously guiltless.

If appeasement was needful, we ought at least to have tried to reap its natural benefits and reinsure it as best we could. In particular, we ought to have told the Indians and Burmese, "Well, we are going to follow your ideas about the right conduct of affairs in Asia, so let us get together to cope with the resulting situation."

We have not only failed to do anything like that. We have even virtually ceased communication with Rangoon and New Delhi. The mounting concern caused by the loud talk in Washington was one cause of this development. But there have been other causes.

There has been no American ambassador in Delhi for many months. There has been none here in Rangoon since last July.

The junior diplomats who are holding the fort here are good, hard working men who show all the worst effects of treatment given to the Foreign Service in the last 2 years. The American representation in Rangoon today has the approximate dynamic effectiveness of an old wet washrag. And this is true despite a danger and an opportunity that should intensely preoccupy the American policymakers.

The danger can be simply defined. With no one to speak up for our side, Burma has slipped since last year. The big power, China, has begun to convince the little power, Burma, that her sweet words can really be relied on. Men like Premier U Nu and his two remarkable chief collaborators, U Ba Swe and U Kyaw Nein, are not really deceived, but they are beginning to be immobilized.

The opportunity can be equally simply defined. It is the opportunity to mobilize Burma. The appeasements of the last 2 years have produced a new situation in Asia. American power is no longer sufficient to hold the balance true. The political and moral authority of the free Asian nations, and in particular Burma and India, are desperately needed to prevent a general collapse. That is another result of our recent policy which it is high time to face squarely.

The opportunity is in Burma, because here in Burma the leadership sees the position in Asia more clearly than that in Delhi. The danger to Burma of a Communist triumph in Thailand can never be forgotten by the government in Rangoon. Therefore it is here, if anywhere, that the needed effort can be organized to hold Cambodia and Laos, the approaches to Thailand, which now have, for the long run, at least as much importance as the Formosa approaches or, indeed, as Formosa itself.

The last 2 years' policy of retreat may well have been desirable. Yet the wise commander, when he retreats, is careful to organize a new defense line for the new position he has occupied. Our policy makers have instead been too busy protesting that they really were not retreating; so no shadow of a new defense line has been organized, and the task of organizing one is getting harder by the month.

Against Reduction

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I in-

clude the following editorial from the Army Times of January 29, 1955:

AGAINST REDUCTION

It is significant that the President's decision to drastically reduce the Army's strength has had its most disturbing effect, in Washington at least, on men whose work has brought them in close association with atomic and missile warfare. Almost to a man, in opinions voiced publicly or given in confidence to reporters, these experts are opposed to reducing the Army. They include not only military men but scientists and Congressmen on committees concerned with defense—all men who have reason to know something about atomic horror.

They are opposed to any great reduction in our ground strength for at least two clearcut reasons. The military leaders and some scientists foresee a need in future warfare for more, not fewer, ground troops than we have used in the past. In the face of a potential enemy's possible use of nuclear weapons, dispersal of troops will have to be rule. Small groups of highly mobile specialists must be spread over a wide area. Because of radiation danger, no massing of headquarters organizations in captured cities will be possible. Indeed any massing, anywhere, of top command personnel would invite their elimination at one blow. Yet all of these groups, scattered though they are, must be capable of being pulled together quickly to take control of ground which, for one reason or another, is given up by the enemy.

Disturbing to many Congressmen, too, is the admission implied by the Presidential directive that this country has pinned its defense hopes almost exclusively on the airplane and the atom. They see this as the sort of policy which before World War II led the French people to suppose that they were secure behind their supposedly impregnable border fortresses. Combined with the cut in ground force, it also notifies the Communists that we will not have the strength to oppose effectively any piecemeal aggressions the Reds care to indulge in. Moreover, it is acknowledged even by the air enthusiasts that another type of Red aggression—infiltration by guerrillas—can only be stopped by troops on the ground.

As we've said, all of these things are well understood by the experts. Fortunately, their apprehension in the face of the proposed Army cut is making itself evident to others who will deal with the question when it comes up in Congress.

Free Distribution of Natural Gas Vital to Southern California

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, there should be no hindrance placed in the way of the production and distribution of natural gas which is so vital to the health, welfare, and industrial expansion of the Nation. I voted against Federal control of the distribution and rates of natural gas during the 83d Congress. I submit herewith an article and an editorial from the Los Angeles Times on the urgent need for free distribution of natural gas without Federal control:

[From the Los Angeles Times of December 31, 1954]

NATURAL GAS ISSUE VITAL TO SOUTHLAND— UPSET OF POWER BOARD'S CONTROL WILL BE SOUGHT BEFORE CONGRESS

(By Ed Ainsworth)

With the temperature at a frigid 41°, southern California yesterday watched with particular interest a congressional situation shaping up over its principal industrial, cooking and heating fuel—natural gas.

A vital issue on natural gas is to be settled at the session opening next Monday.

Congress will be asked to enact legislation setting aside a United States Supreme Court decision under which producers of natural gas supplying interstate pipelines have been placed under the jurisdiction of the Federal Power Commission.

AIM OF ENDEAVOR

Independent gas producers and major oil companies have joined hands in the effort to have the producers of natural gas restored to the status they held until the Supreme Court decision was rendered last June 7. If they are not, the proponents of the legislation assert, there inevitably will occur a shortage of gas for interstate pipelines and a consequent increase in the price of gas.

How does this affect California?

IMPORTANT FIGURES

In southern California alone we import by pipeline 715 million cubic feet a day of natural gas, according to the Southern California Gas Co., and approximately the same amount goes to northern California. This means a yearly total in southern California of some 260 billion cubic feet of gas imported for industrial and home use. This total is placed at somewhat in excess of 50-percent of the amount used in this area.

The imported gas comes from Texas fields via El Paso in a pipeline some 1,000 miles

CONFERENCE CALLED

Spokesmen for the producers of natural gas have arranged for a conference in Washington this week with Representative Clamer Ergele, of California, who is to become chairman of the House Interior and Insular Affairs Committee before which the proposed legislation may go

legislation may go.

It is asserted by those who seek to have Congress set aside the Supreme Court legislation that Federal regulation of producers of natural gas is a step toward socialism and that prices of other commodities such as wheat, corn, potatoes, cotton, coal, copper, and lead might just as well be regulated by the Government.

Attention is called to the fact that the Federal Power Commission itself on numerous occasions refused to take jurisdiction over the producers and gatherers of natural gas and announced that its regulatory power went into effect only when the gas was in the interstate pipelines.

In fact, a Commission order in 1947 stated: "Independent producers and gatherers of natural gas can sell and deliver such gas to interstate pipelines and can enter into contracts for such sale without apprehension that in so doing they may become subject to assertions of jurisdiction by the Commission under the Natural Gas Act (of 1938)."

ACTION ON TIDELANDS

In pointing to the basis for the fight to have Congress clarify the law so as to upset the Supreme Court decision, it is stressed by the proponents of the change that the same thing was done last year by Congress in restoring title of the tidelands to the States.

The Natural Gas and Oil Resources Committee states:

"Working under highly competitive conditions in providing the country with an abundant supply of gas, the producer must have an incentive to take the financial risks involved in searching for and developing new gas supplies. Federal regulation and price fixing removes this incentive."

PRESENT SITUATION

"Under Federal regulation certain terms of the producer's present contracts, including agreed-upon prices, have been suspended, and he has no assurance with respect to realizing prices which he may negotiate in the future. Facing this uncertainty in his dealings with interstate pipelines, the producer may understandably seek to sell uncommitted reserves to growing markets within his own State.

"The household consumer now pays bargain prices for natural gas and the cost of gas has risen far less than the cost of living and commodity prices in general. But if gas for interstate transmission becomes scarce, the consumer will pay a higher unit cost for gas—since most costs related to the transmission and distribution of gas remain about the same regardless of the volume of gas flowing through the pipes."

EFFECT OF CONFLICT

"State conservation programs are designed to effectively regulate the production of oil and gas. The Federal Power Commission has been given authority to regulate natural gas production for an entirely different purpose. The conflicts arising from these two divergent programs of regulation will create a natural tendency on the part of the producer to avoid Federal regulation by not making sales to interstate pipelines."

[From the Los Angeles Times of January 20, 1955]

REGULATING THE PRODUCERS OF GAS

The board of directors of the chamber of commerce stands for the interests of gas consumers, we believe, when it endorses the proposal that gas producers be exempted from Federal regulation. This regulation, imposed by a recent interpretation by the Supreme Court of an old Federal statute, seems to have no good purpose, and should be done away with.

A CHANCY BUSINESS

The fact is that the production of natural gas is a highly competitive business; there are between 4,000 and 5,000 separate companies engaged in it and they furnish lively enough competition so that no regulation is necessary. But more than that, those who bring natural gas to the surface are engaged in a chancy and speculative business, and if they are denied the possibility, through Government regulation, of considerable profits, they will not stay in business.

There are big companies, to be sure; but there are also many small ones. Those who seek natural gas are wildcatters, for the most part, also seeking oil. The production of oil is not regulated at the Federal level, nor at the State level in a number of States including California; and gas production is in most cases a byproduct.

There is the additional fact that the cost of gas at the well is usually not more than 10 percent of the bill presented to consumers: 90 percent or thereabouts is represented by distribution costs. And the distribution is already regulated. The Federal Power Commission has full jurisdiction over interstate pipelines.

REGULATION IS DIFFICULT

The Federal Power Commission, incidentally, does not want the job of regulation; in nearly a dozen cases it refused to take over the fixing of prices to be paid gas producers. In the case that reached the Supreme Court involving the Phillips Petroleum Co., it was equally unwilling. But the Court held that regulation was its duty and it is currently wondering how to go about it.

With so many producers regulations is a dimcult if not almost impossible task.

That natural gas is a desirable fuel everyone knows; but that it has a monopoly of the fuel fields is far from being the case. There is competition from coal, from oil, from electricity and (at least potentially) from atomic fission. In California we produce about half our gas from our own oil fields, and the local production would not be under the Federal Power Commission in any case. The regulation would only apply to the gas we import, mainly from Texas.

Oil companies would find Federal regulation a great handicap, adding to their costs and introducing a lot of fussy red tape. After the Phillips case was decided, a number of large companies considered the practicability of setting up separate corporations to handle their gas production. But obviously this would involve great difficulty, and there is no reason to suppose the public would benefit from it. Every time a business expense is incurred, somebody has to pay for it, and that somebody is almost invariably the ultimate consumer.

DEPRESSING EFFECT

As indicated above, gas has competition from other heat-producing materials or methods. But gas also has competition from gas. The States along the northern border, already served to some extent from Texas, Louisiana, and Oklahoma, are looking to connection with the vast gas supplies of Canada; and the North Dakota field is also promising. Minneapolis is not at Texas' mercy; if the Texas price is too high it can buy elsewhere.

The most pressing reason for abandoning, or rather for not undertaking, regulation of gas production is the depressing effect such regulation would almost certainly have on the exploration for new fields and new pools, known as "wildcatting." For a number of reasons, including national defense which requires oil in vast quantities, we can hardly afford to discourage the wildcatters. Our laws encourage their operations, and rightly; the 27 percent depletion allowance given by the income-tax law, which Congress has repeatedly refused to change, is reflected in the continual discovery of new fields and new zones.

The Federal regulation of gas production is not a good idea. It would do much more harm than good; and the general public would not be benefited by it. Regulation is for natural monopoly; and gas production is not a natural monopoly.

Postal Rate Increase Long Overdue

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ELFORD A. CEDERBERG

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. CEDERBERG. Mr. Speaker, I am today inserting in the Record an editorial from the Boston Herald and another from the Washington Star, which set forth my thinking quite adequately in regard to the postal rate increases on first-, second-, and third-class mail, which I believe are long overdue.

The very fact that postage rates on letters are the same that they were in 1932 indicates to me that the Congress has not faced up to its responsibility as far as the revenues of the Post Office Department are concerned, since we are certainly all aware that costs—no matter whether they are in the Post Office De-

partment or in our own personal lives or our personal businesses—have gone up tremendously since that time. The same situation exists as to second-class mail. Second-class rates are only about 3 percent higher than in 1932. On third-class mail, which is known as business mail, the expenses exceeded the revenues in 1954 by \$147 million.

It is difficult for me to understand, in view of these facts, why any Member of Congress should not be willing to vote for adequate rate increases as proposed by this administration. I intend to vote for these proposed rate increases because I believe that, as a Member of Congress representing the citizens of my 10th Congressional District of Michigan, I would be derelict in my duty to them if I did not vote for these rate increases. I do not believe that we can expect the average taxpayer of this country to subsidize the users of the mails-whether they be individuals, business houses, or otherwise. Of course, I am excepting from this category religious and charitable organizations.

When we stop to consider that about 75 percent of the first-class mail handled in this country is that of business concerns, and that only 25 percent of it is attributable to individual use, then it seems to me that there is no excuse whatsoever in not being sure that these business houses—whether they use first, second-, third-, or fourth-class mail—pay the expense of handling letters and other mail matter.

There has been little or no opposition to this from the users of the mail, except in a few instances, but there has been no major concerted effort on behalf of business to block any rate increases, because after all businessmen are just as aware of the fact that the costs of handling mail have gone up as have costs in their own particular business. Therefore any opposition would not be sincere. They realize that their opposition would certainly be inconsistent in comparison with the costs of other operations of their business.

As a member of the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee I intend to do all that I can to see that the users of the various classes of the mails pay a just rate for this service. I cannot in good conscience expect the citizens of my district to pay from their tax dollars to support the users of the mails.

The President has wisely proposed salary increases and new classification schedules for postal employees, and I intend to support him in this regard, as I have done in the past. If the recommendations are adopted—and I hope that they will be—and the requested rate increases are denied, the postal deficit will be about \$500 million annually. Such a deficit, in view of the fact that the postal rates on first-, second-, and third-class mail have never kept pace with the increased costs, is in my judgment unthinkable.

There are those who fear that there may be political repercussions if the postage rates are increased. I take the opposite view, as I feel that there will be political repercussions if they are not increased. You can fool the American

public just so long, but as soon as they become fully informed—as they will be—that their tax dollars are subsidizing the users of the mails at the rate of over \$1 million a day, they will soon require an accounting of the activities of their representatives in this regard.

I believe that it is time that we approach this problem in a realistic, businesslike, and nonpartisan manner, so that we can, through our positive action, assure this Nation of a modern postal system, adequate not only for today's needs but capable of handling the additional needs which will arise as our economy expands during the coming years.

The Boston Herald editorial of January 22, 1955, appropriately asks "Why shouldn't the Post Office Department make money" and calls the mailing of a letter or parcel in the United States the biggest bargain on earth.

That editorial follows:

Too BIG A BARGAIN

Why shouldn't the Post Office Department make money, or at least break even, rather than lose it at the rate of a million dollars a day?

The mail is big business. Why shouldn't it be good business, as it is in most European countries?

There are a number of reasons. We have the lowest postal rates in the world. Our postal system, unfortunately, is in politics. Our mails cover tremendous space and distance. The costs, labor and mechanical, are high. The franking privilege extended to Federal legislators alone costs \$1,500,000 per year.

There is not too much we can do about labor and mechanical costs. Some post offices can be closed. Some employees can be discharged. Perhaps more automatic machinery can speed up the process.

There is nothing we can do about space and distance. The West and the East, the South and the North, will always be so many miles apart.

It is probably hopeless to get the post office out of politics or wrest the franking privilege away from our legislators, although both are desirable.

But we can do something about postal

Mailing a letter or a newspaper or a book or a parcel in the United States has been called the biggest bargain on earth. It darned near is, too.

It costs 3 cents to mail a letter in the United States. According to a New York Times survey made last year, it costs 8.5 cents to mail a letter in Sweden; 9.6 cents in Germany, and 4.17 cents in England.

The 3-cent rate has been in effect for 25 years. While the cost of just about everything else has doubled, and even trebled, the cost of mailing a letter has remained the same. What could be less realistic?

President Eisenhower has asked for an increase in mail rates in order to cut down the huge postal deficit and cover a pay raise for postal workers. We hope the Democratic Congress will go along with him on this necessary measure. The American people and their businesses can afford it and would, in fact, benefit from such a step.

Only yesterday, in its Sunday edition, the Washington Star expressed the hope that Congress would act forthrightly on the postal-rate bill.

That editorial follows:

SEPARATE, BUT RELATED

Postmaster General Summerfield, a stickler for carefully wrapped parcels, sent his postal-pay and postal-rates proposals to Congress in a well-tied package. But it did not take congressional leaders long to unwrap the bundle and lay the postage problem aside for later consideration. This is the same procedure followed last year—with disastrous results, namely, a Presidential veto of a non-revenue-providing pay bill. Congress ought not make the same mistake twice in a row.

It is proper to handle the postage question in hearings apart from those called to consider a pay increase for post-office workers, but it is hiding one's head in the sand to contend that there is no relation between the two subjects. The administration has held that one should not be passed without the other as a companion piece. The postal deficit has been cut under the Summerfield regime from about \$500 million a year to between \$300 and \$400 million. The 5-percent pay raise and fringe benefits recommended by the administration would add about \$170 million to the deficit.

Mr. Summerfield again, therefore, has asked that the postal service be put more nearly on a self-sustaining level through increased rates on letters and on secondand third-class mail. There is always an outcry against such proposals. The issue to be decided is to what extent the Government is to continue to subsidize mail costs. No Postmaster General has ventured to suggest that the whole postal system should be self-supporting, but many have urged Congress to reduce the deficit—and hence the subsidy. It is to be hoped that the new Congress will act as forthrightly on the postal-rate bill as it plans to act on postal and classified pay legislation.

Armed Forces Educational Benefits

SPEECH

OF

HON. B. W. (PAT) KEARNEY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 587) to provide that persons serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955, may continue to accrue educational benefits under the Veterans' Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952, and for other purposes.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I am wholeheartedly in support of this legislation. I, too, add my commendation to the chairman of the committee on the speedy work in reporting out this bill.

To me, it would be unfortunate and unfair for this House to deny benefits to those veterans now in the service and who would be affected by the President's proclamation. As a member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House, I am very much in favor of early hearings on other bills before the committee for further extension of benefits.

With the present bill before us it is necessary for its speedy passage as an indication of our willingness to give justice to those now in service or who enter before January 31, 1955. It would not be fair to cut off education benefits upon which they have relied. To do so would be a breach of faith.

I earnestly urge my colleagues to support H. R. 587 with a unanimous vote.

Chemicals in Food

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. L. MILLER

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. MILLER of Nebraska. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I ask permission to include the following copy of an address I made before the 10th annual meeting of the food, drug, and cosmetic law section of the New York State Bar Association on January 27, 1955:

CHEMICALS IN FOOD

(Speech by Hon. A. L. MILLER of Nebraska, at the 10th annual meeting of the section on food, drug, and cosmetic law of the New York State Bar Association, January 27, 1955)

The increasing use of chemical additives, hormones, and vitamins in the production and processing of food has raised a problem as far as public health is concerned.

The select committee of the filst Congress which explored the field of chemicals in foods and cosmetics came to the conclusion that existing Federal laws dealing with the problem are not adequate at this time to protect the public against the addition of some of the new chemicals, hormones, and vitamins that go into the production of food.

There is hardly a food on the markets of today which has not had some chemicals used in or on it at some stage in its production, processing, packaging, transportation, or storage. In this vast, complex problem, it is necessary that proper precautions be taken to make sure that no acute or chronic poisoning may develop.

The food and drug law, when first adopted, and the several amendments which have been added with the regulations, was designed for the purpose of safeguarding the public health. It is the law to those who deal in the manufacturing, processing, and packaging of food. This law provides sort of a badge of integrity and honesty, setting up a yardstick of standards designed to pritect the public and those dealing in all the phases of handling food. This endorsement is coveted.

Tremendous progress in the science of food technology has been made in the past few years. This scientific progress has run ahead of the law, and the amendments of 1938 seem no longer sufficient for this day. In a tough economic and competitive world, there will be some who want to cut corners and apply methods or use chemicals that have not been adequately tested. These new problems require legislative and administrative attention. I am hopeful that all interested groups will cooperate in a constructive legislative approach to the problem.

It is indeed fortunate that industry has been able to enrich and improve foods by adding certain vitamins and minerals or other additions of chemicals which enhance their nutritive value. The American people should give a vote of thanks and be mighty proud because the scientists of the country and the processors of food have worked diligently to solve some of the serious food problems of the Nation. They have applied the knowledge thus gained to the benefit of the public.

As a medical man, I recognize that the addition of many vitamins, minerals, and hormones to food has brought a real benefit to the human diet. I am certain that many dietary diseases have been disappear

ing because industry and scientists have found a way to improve foods through the addition of new materials. This progress must continue.

The public has learned to have confidence in the manufacturers and chemists who deal with food. The public has confidence in the administration of the food and drug law. Any new legislative approach should enlarge and insure the confidence of all groups.

Living conditions have become so complicated that the responsibility of making determinations in this huge, complex field now seems to call for new, modern legislation to spell out and set up a new yardstick to conduct the business of governing chemicals and internal secretion uses in the production of food.

PESTICIDE LEGISLATION

It will be recalled that the 83d Congress passed a bill which I introduced to regulate the use of pesticides and insecticides in the production of food. The bill was a product of all groups interested in the problem. It met with their approval and would not have been possible without many conferences and the full cooperation of all concerned. As we propose the new amendments to the present law, I hope we may have the same type of understanding and cooperation that we had with the groups interested in the law governing pesticides.

THE FOOD LAW

A careful study of the present provisions of the Food and Drug Act brings one to the conclusion that the act is inadequate and cumbersome in operation. In fact, some sections cannot be administered. You who are familiar with section 406, must recognize how difficult it is for the manufacturer and the chemist to operate under that section. The food manufacturer, to obtain approval for the use of an ingredient, must first allege that the proposed ingredient is poisonous or deleterious, which, if properly interpreted, would mean that he proposes to use certain chemicals that would be injurious to health. I can understand why a food manufacturer would resist making such a statement or admission. The food manufacturer must also be prepared to prove that the chemical is required in order to produce food properly.

Few tolerances for food ingredients have been established under section 406. Section 402 defines as adulterated any food which contains any poisonous or deleterious substance in a quantity which ordinarily renders the food injurious to health. The section also sets up certain tests in respect to the added substances. It would seem to me that manufacturers of food are met head on with many difficulties created by section 402 and It would also seem that the burden of proving that certain substances are not harmful should not be placed upon the Government. It ought to be possible to spell out in rather clear detail the procedures that should be followed before a chemical is added to food.

NEW LEGISLATION

Let me suggest that a new amendment should require that:

1. Any new additive to food shall be completely pretested as to safety in order to protect the consuming public.

There should be an advance submittal of the pretesting evidence to the Food and Drug Administration.

 This evidence should be evaluated and the food industry should be given a definite answer within a reasonable time.

4. Under penalty for violation, no new additive should be added to food without the complete scientific pretesting and the official evaluation by the Food and Drug Administration.

5. If the Food and Drug Administration gives the green light, then this additive can be used.

6. If the Food and Drug Administration gives a negative reply as to the safety of the additive and the manufacturer differs with the evaluation and insists on using it regardless of the negative reply from the administration, the bill should authorize the Food and Drug Administration to enjoin its use. It is possible at this point or before the enjoining action that the evidence of the safety might well be passed on by an impartial board of experts. Their decision should be given in a reasonable length of time.

7. A provision should be added that, in the event of the manufacturer being enjoined by the FDA, a United States district court will appraise the evidence and decide the issue, which, of course, could be subjected to a higher judicial review. Some objections have been offered to a judicial review.

It is hoped that the new legislation, when introduced, will represent the composite and objective thinking of the majority of the chemists and food manufacturers. I know you are all interested in the vital problem of chemicals in food. I do not want to be dogmatic and insist that the changes I suggest would cure all of the deficiencies in the present Food and Drug Act. The principal purposes for which we have food laws is to protect the health of the public. This should have preference over economic factors.

It should not be necessary for the Government to assume the responsibility and the expense of proof that a chemical is harmful before it is used. Under the present law, the chemical can be used and the Government is frequently helpless and the consumer unprotected.

Industry should be willing to assume the burden of the proper studies on acute and chronic toxicity of the chemical before it is used. To require otherwise, might mean several years of costly experimental work and meanwhile the manufacturer could continue to market the product unmolested despite the question mark of whether it is harmful. It is for that reason that I would propose a board of experts to pass upon these disputed questions.

BOARD OF EXPERTS

As to the personnel of the Board of Experts, I would presume that the President, through the Food and Drug Administrator, might request several professional societies dealing with the chemical question to nominate individuals to represent them on the expert panel. The following organizations might be asked to participate in setting up such a panel: United States Public Health Service, American Chemical Society, American Society for Pharmacology and Experimental Therapeutics, American Society of Biological Chemists, Institute of Food Technologists, Society for Experimental Biology and Medicine, and others.

The Board should have the right to invite testimony or opinions of specialists in particular fields in addition to those of representatives or applicants and the administrator. The members of the panel would naturally be adequately compensated for their services and expense.

CHEMICALS NOW IN USE

Since a great many chemicals have been used for a long time and no tolerance has been set, it would seem that the Federal Drug Administrator should not have the authority to go back and force the testing of these chemicals and present a determination that they are harmful unless he has overwhelming evidence that such is the case. Then a review of all evidence and a finding should be made. Chemicals, long used, might well be folded in under what we call a "grandfather clause"

LEGAL STEPS

I personally like the idea of an impartial group of experts, of which the Public Health Service might be a member, in order to pass upon some of the evidence presented to the Food and Drug Administration. They would be used only in case of a disagreement as to the effect of the proposed chemicals. Certainly a manufacturer who has an adverse decision from the FDA and from the Board of Experts would have little chance of expecting a United States district court to overrule the expert opinion. Nevertheless, I am convinced that the section which would permit the FDA to enjoin a manufacturer and a section which would permit the manufacturer to appeal to the highest court should be a part of any new judicial procedure. In my humble opinion, no administrator of the law should want or expect the power of a life and death sentence over a chemical which a manufacturer might propose to use. The administrator should welcome the support of experts and the decision of the court. It seems to me this procedure would be the proper democratic process that should be observed in this great land of yours and mine.

HORMONES IN FOOD

They have the limited approval of the pharmaceutical section of the Food and Drug Administration.

While it may seem a little farfetched to bring in the question of the use of diethylstilbestrol or some antibiotic drugs, they are actually being used to produce food. Many of these hormones are chemical in nature. Their use represents a revolutionary approach to the production of meat and food. I believe their use represents progress which if not harmful, should be encouraged. As these new, both known and unknown, estrogens are used, we must be sure that they are not harmful to the human race.

Experiments have been carried out with the use of female hormones, now in common use on meat animals, on a group of women who have passed the menopause, Many of these women again exhibited all the symptoms of an active sex life plus sore and swollen breasts, just as during their menstrual periods. The question must be raised as to what effect the injudicious use of these sex hormones may have upon the reproductive organs of the male or female. Cold creams—indeed, it is a great wide field which calls for intensive research. This research is now being carried on, and I am sure some answers may soon be found.

A number of these estrogens and chemicals are potent and dangerous and cannot be purchased in a drugstore for medical purposes without a physician's prescription. Some of the hormones have been used by the medical profession to alleviate menopause difficulty, dysmenorrhea, and other male and female medical problems. Diethylstilbestrol has been used in the fight against prostatic cancer.

Our own body produces numerous hor-mones, male and female. They determine our moods, our actions, our growth and development. They even control the pitch of our voice or how tall or short we might be. I am certain more precautions should be taken in permitting these drugs to be made available to the general public without a medical certificate or prescription. we are on the threshold of a whole new world in the matter of producing meat from the proper uses of certain hormones. Proper evaluation of their use must be made. I do believe a go-slow sign should be erected until all the scientific research has been evaluated and it can be definitely deter-mined that no harm will result in their long, continued use.

URANIUM AND FOOD

It has been my privilege in the past year to visit the Brookhaven Laboratory on Long Island, and to witness there the great progress being made in the several uses of uranium. Probably the largest stockpile of uranium in the world is at this laboratory. It is amazing the things accomplished in the production of crops and the control of diseases both in man and the plant world. There seems to be no limit to which the isotopes and mesotopes may be used in the effect upon and in the production of food. It is my humble opinion that, in the years ahead, the effects of uranium on the production and processing of food may well dwarf the effects of the hundreds of chemicals now in use for the same purpose.

The military is greatly interested in the preservation and treatment of food by the uranium byproducts. Certainly, many new horizons are being opened by the scientists who are breaking down the heretofore unknown secrets of nature.

ANTIBIOTICS

The use of certain antibiotic drugs and chemicals have, in many instances, posed a real problem to the manufacturer of food. It has been shown that the milk from one cow given penicillin to control mastitis can destroy the cheese-starting culture from the entire herd of cows. The use of these anti-biotic drugs in the treatment of animal diseases must be considered a chemical which is not without its hazards to the human race. The new chemicals that are now in many built-in feeds not only help to control dis-ease, but they stimulate the growth of the animal and even cause the cows to produce more milk. These substances are not only drugs, but also must be considered a part of the chemical additives now going into our food supply.

Many physicians are reporting an increasing number of patients who are sensitive to penicillin and other drugs who have had no previous history of receiving the drug. We must be sure that penicillin, streptomycin, aureomycin, and other drugs or chemicals are not retained in the animal products to be consumed by the human being in such amounts as to cause toxicity to the user.

These new drugs and the new research being carried on today will tomorrow unfold a great new world, made better by the unceasing efforts of those who have contributed to their development. Progress cannot be stopped. You men in the legal profession, and you who deal in the business of furnishing food to a hungry world, are a part of a great parade in which progress must not outrun our scientific evaluations of the new drugs and chemicals offered in this rapidly changing scene.

It is no secret that scientists have been able to produce a product that looks, tastes. and smells like butter, yet has not one bit of animal fat in its production. It is made entirely from coal-tar products and is, of course, synthetic. It is also possible to produce what looks like a loaf of bread, tastes like bread, smells like bread, and stays soft for many, many days, and yet has a minimum amount if any, of the good old ingredients that our grandmothers used in making bread. The synthetic loaf can be produced without wheat or shortening. Farmers, and those interested in agriculture, are quite concerned be-cause a great, flourishing, ambitious chem-ical industry is now substituting many of the products of nature such as egg yolks, wheat, fats, oils, and animal fats for hundred complex chemical formulas. This progress has a tremendous impact on agriculture.

In all of this scientific progress, we must make sure that the public in the end is not being used as a guinea pig. These new scientific products of the mind and laboratory will always be knocking at the door of the food industry, demanding recognition. The claimed advantages of foods which have these chemicals added or substituted for

natural products are legion. Indeed, some of these foods are improved in appearance, texture, flavor, and quality. Some of these foods are cheaper to produce and process. All of you engaged in the business of producing food must ask the question over and over: Have these new chemicals been adequately tested before being placed in the food channels of the world?

There is considerable talk in the halls of Congress about reviving a committee similar to the old Delaney committee which would again explore, in public hearings, the question of chemicals in foods and cosmetics. This would also include the controversial use of fluorides in water to control dental caries. This business of fluorides in water is probably the most controversial facet of the entire problem. I personally have the feeling that constructive legislation can be formulated and adopted by Congress without further public hearings.

We line in a great, growing, dynamic country. The population of the United States has just about doubled since I graduated from medical school in 1918. The Census Bureau tells us that there were 4 million new babies born last year—4 million new mouths to feed. There may be 300 million people in the United States by 1975. They will require food.

We could join the nation of have nots in the next quarter of a century unless scientific research tells us how to produce more food on the same 462 million productive acres we had 25 years ago. Because of soil erosion, the productive acres are actually decreasing. We must conserve and maintain our fertile acres by using every new soil-building and food-producing chemical we have. We must, at the same time, have a wise and safe use of every conservative pesticide that will protect our crops in the future from the invasion of pests and insects.

We are the best-fed people in the world; but actually without scientific progress and without using the knowledge which comes from scientific investigation, we would be eating and breeding ourselves out of a home.

eating and breeding ourselves out of a home. I have tried in this short paper to outline briefly and to stimulate your thinking on some of the problems confronting the food industry. We are all a part of this great parade of progress. If we do a good job now, future generations will bless us and live proudly and contentedly in a world made better because of the scientists' contributions to a better way of life.

Disabled Veterans' Disability Compensation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following news item from the Boston Post concerning the cut in disability compensation by the Veterans' Administration of disabled veterans employed by the Federal Government, and State, county, and municipal governments:

VA PENSION CUT FOR MEN ON UNITED STATES JOB

Disabled veterans employed by the Federal Government will lose their disability compensation in a new economy wave sweeping the Veterans' Administration, State Veterans' Services agents from Maine to Virginia were told at their annual midwinter conference at the Hotel Kenmore yesterday.

The Government's move, scheduled to include State, county, and municipal employees at a later date, was revealed by Edward J. Cunningham, supervisor of veterans' services in Massachusetts. He said abolition of disability pensions to Government employees is being undertaken regardless of the seriousness of the employee's war injury.

"The plan is part of the overall Government operation to reduce and where possible abolish payments of disability compensation or pension," he said.

"They reason a veteran working full time for the Government is paid 100 percent of his wages. Therefore, a percentage of compensation, be it 10 percent or 100 percent, is in excess of total wages his job guarantees."

In his report to the agents, Cunningham said claims of public employees would be the next to be slashed. He revealed personnel records of such employees could be readily obtainable from local municipal agencies.

WARN OF SLASHES

The State supervisor and other officials warned slashes in both disability compensation and pensions are underway in Boston. "While they await the VA's decision, rat-

"While they await the VA's decision, rating boards are being forced to review cases as much as 10 years old," he said, "with orders to reduce or abolish them.

"Some cases already acted upon come pretty close to violating the law. In its efforts to carry out the economy orders, the VA is canceling pensions of veterans who earned \$2,600 in addition to their pension, though the law permits them to earn \$2,700."

Yesterday's session marked the opening day of the National Veterans' Services Directors conference, held in conjunction with the State's midwinter conference. The directors will continue their sessions at the Hotel Statler today, where they will be addressed by Senator Saltonstall.

Tomorrow morning they will be honored by the city with a breakfast at the Statler, attended by Mayor Hynes. At noon they will be feted by Governor Herter at a luncheon in their honor which will bring their 3-day session to a close.

The Italians Among Us

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEROY JOHNSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. JOHNSON of California. Speaker, in the 11th Congressional District of California, which I have the honor to represent, are a great many persons of Italian descent. Some of them are immigrants who have been naturalized. Many more are the sons and daughters of Italian parents. They are engaged in all of the occupations and professions which are carried on and practiced in the district. Several Italian papers are published in the district. There are leaders in every segment of our economic, professional, and cultural life in the 11th district whose racial strain is Italian.

In the Readers Digest, January 1955 edition, is an interesting article telling

of the accomplishments of some of the Italians in the United States. It is a very illuminating article.

On the first day of this session of Congress I introduced a bill, H. R. 772, which has for its purpose the assignment of unused quotas of the McCarran-Walter Act to nations who have population problems. I had particularly in mind that perhaps some Italians could use a part of these unused quotas. Italy has a difficult population problem which could be partially solved by the transfer of these quotas to Italy. Over the long span of history, Italy has made large contributions to the civilization of today. In government, religion, the arts, science, culture, literature, and in practically every field of human endeavor Italy has made significant contributions.

Unfortunately a few of the Italians who have entered our country have done things which have been disgraceful and brought ill will toward their native land. But they are in a tiny minority and they are thoroughly hated by the great body of useful and law-abiding Italians. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include the article above referred to, which I hope every Member of the Congress will read. It follows:

THE ITALIANS AMONG US (By Albert Q. Maisel)

Forty-eight years ago young Luigi Salzarulo left the village of Bisaccia, high on the mountain spine of Italy. As he departed for America the gentle ringing of the church bell seemed to say, "A rivederci—Till we meet again." Later, however, an earthquake cracked the bell in Bisaccia's campanile and the people were too poor to have it recast.

In the summer of 1953 a gray-haired American arrived in Bisaccia to attend a festa. Life had been kind to Louis Salzarulo. Over the years he had advanced from a penniless immigrant to freight-train master for the Pennsylvania Railroad in Richmond, Ind. He had sent all six of his sons through college. At 70, retired on a pension, he still kept busy in civic affairs. Now Bisaccia's 7.000 people had gathered in the piazza to hear the Archbishop of Conza bless the bell that Salzarulo had had recast for them in memory of one of his sons, an American major killed during World War II.

After the speeches the bell rang out clear and true. Salzarulo assumed that the ceremony was over. But his townspeople—on both sides of the ocean—had a surprise in store for him. In the town hall the parish priest drew back a drape of Italian and American flags and asked his guest to translate the English wording of a bronze plaque. Choking with emotion, the once-illiterate immigrant read: "From the people of Richmond, Ind., to the people of Bisaccia, Italy, in recognition of the high esteem in which we hold your native son and our fellow citizen, City Councilman Louis Salzarulos."

In all but details, the story of Councilman Salzarulo might well be the story of most of our citizens of Italian birth or descent. Italians formed the last, and largest, of the great waves of immigration that broke upon our shores; four and a half million of them entered our doors before the tide finally ebbed in the early 1920's. These Italian-Americans have given their muscles and their hearts and their sons to their adopted country. They have created a cultural interchange—in art and song, in cuisine and customs—that has made all Italy a little bit American and given all Americans some share in the great Italian heritage.

Ever since Columbus, sons of Italy have played a large and continuous role in the history of the United States. Italian explorers serving under foreign flags were frequently recorded, mistakenly, as Britons, Frenchmen, or Spaniards. Thus John Cabot, who first planted the British ensign on American soil, was born Giovanni Caboto, in Genoa. Giovanni da Verrazano, who explored New York Harbor 85 years before Henry Hudson "discovered" it, was a Florentine sailing for France. Cofounder of Detroit and its commandant for 10 years was Alfonso Tonti, whose daughter was the first white child born there. At least eight of the priests who founded the Spanish missions in California were Italians.

As early as 1622 the Virginia Company

As early as 1622 the Virginia Company sent 16 Venetians to Jamestown to set up a glass works for the making of beads for trade with the natives. The Dutch in 1657 induced 300 Piedmontese to settle around what is now New Castle, Del. Other Piedmontese came to Georgia in the early 1700's to set up mulberry plantations and a silk

In Revolutionary days William Paca, believed by many authorities to be a greatgrandson of one of the early Italian settlers of Maryland, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. Philip Mazzei, a native of Florence who migrated to Virginia in 1773, wrote a series of ringing articles in the struggle for independence. "All men," he declared, "are by nature created free and equal to each other in natural rights"—words later used by Thomas Jefferson in the Declaration.

Over the following seven decades Italian artists designed and executed hundreds of bronzes, marbles, and murals for public buildings in Washington, D. C. Most renowned was the fresco painter, Constantine Brumidi, who spent 25 years creating the historical murals in our Capitol.

Jefferson turned to Italy when he suggested the recruitment of Italian musicians to expand the Marine Corps Band. Ever since, most of its members have been men of Italian birth or descent.

The first director of the Metropolitan Museum of Art was Luigi Palma di Cesnola, a Civil War general who had won the Congressional Medal of Honor. When he took the post in 1879 the museum was little more than a grandiose paper project. When he died in 1904 its collections were among the world's finest and its influence had led to the founding of other art museums in almost every major American city.

With the 1880's the artists and craftsmen coming from Italy began to be outnumbered 1,000 to 1 by peasant farmers, anxious to leave the overpopulated, eroded regions of Sicily and the lower half of the Italian boot. By the time they arrived, the free land of the United States frontier had been almost entirely taken up. Too poor to purchase established farms, they gravitated into teeming colonies in our industrial centers, the natives of the same old-country region or village clustering together out of sheer loneliness, often following the same occupation. Thus, almost all Italian icemen and coal dealers in New York were natives of Apulla. And if you met an Italian knife grinder, he probably came from the town of Campobasso.

Most of these immigrants could qualify for only the humblest kind of labor—ditch-digging, asphalt-laying, hod-carrying. Their poverty and their numbers, up to 15,000 arrived in a single day at the immigration peak, disturbed some Americans who doubted whether this country could absorb such vast hordes of seemingly ill-equipped peasants.

They need not have worried. In the free air of the New World unsuspected well-springs of adaptability and talent were released with explosive rapidity. In a single generation millions of Italian-Americans have come to occupy positions of distinction in every field of endeavor.

In sports they first broke through to prominence in boxing, where even the unlettered might succeed if they had enough brawn, coordination, and drive. About 1910 a fiery little featherweight named Joe Carrora began working the round of the fight clubs. "Who ever heard of a fighter raised on spaghetti?" roared the matchmakers, who were used to Sullivans, McCoys, and McTigues. One manager finally agreed to try him out in a preliminary bout, on condition that he change his name to Johnny Dundee. After his first bout the name didn't matter; Dundee won by a knockout. He ended his long career the undefeated champion of his class.

Soon other ambitious kids emerged from the little Italies of our cities to follow the same trail. Among them were Cannonball Martin, born Vitorio Martino; Lou Ambers, whose neighbors knew him as D'Ambrosio; and Packey O'Gatty, whose birth certificate read Pasquale Agate. In recent years many Italian fighters, such as Tony Canzoneri, Fred Apostoli, Rocky Graziano, have won championships without benefit of pseudonym. The current heavyweight champion, a division where experts long predicted that stocky Italians would never excel, is Rocky Marciano.

It took Italian-American youngsters only a few years longer to reach the top in bigleague baseball. By 1932 Tony Lazzerl of the New York Yankees made the annual all-star team selected by the Baseball Writers' Association. Soon fans were discussing the relative merits of Vic Lombardi, Dolph Camilli, the Di Maggios, and Phil Rizzuto. Today there are more than 30 major leaguers of Italian origin, representing 7½ percent of the big-league roster—twice the proportion of Italian-Americans in our total population.

Distinction in eollege football came as another milestone. In measures both the eagerness of young Italo-Americans to acquire higher education and the increasing ability of their parents to afford it. The first Italian names to appear on the All-American rolls were those of Getto of Pittsburgh in 1928, and Carideo of Notre Dame in 1920 and 1930. During the 1954 season such outstanding players as Ameche, Guglielmi, Varrichione, and Consentino sparked their teams on college fields.

Meanwhile other Italians were revealing a genius for enterprise. These were the padrones: Interpreters, employment agents, contractors, politicians, and labor leaders all rolled into one. They supplied labor gangs to railroads and roadbuilders. On paydays they accepted small savings deposits, and some graduated into banking. Outstanding was A. P. Giannini who, amid the ruins of the San Francisco fire, set up his Bank of Italy in a small store. Within a few years the bank was financing vineyards, truck farms, coal routes, and restaurants for Italians in California. Today it serves non-Italians as well, and is known as the Bank of America, with more branches than any other bank in the country, and among the top four in deposits, loans, and assets.

Thousands of other business ventures started in the same way, by meeting the needs of fellow Italians. Small eating places in Italian neighborhoods, for instance, were soon discovered by non-Italians with appreciative palates. More and more American mouths watered for chicken cacciatore, minestrone, cannelloni, ravioli, scaloppina, veal parmigiano, and a host of other Italian specialties. There are now more than 15,000 such restaurants, some in communities where other Italian influences have scarely penetrated.

Importing firms bring in olive oil and cheeses. Supermarkets carry scores of varieties of Italian foods, from antipasto to zucchini. Pizza pies, recently put out in quick-frozen form, have been popped into the ovens and onto the dinner tables of millions of American homes. At the same time America was also changing the eating habits of its Italian citizens. As their consumption

of milk and meat mounted, the children grew taller and more slender than their parents; the grandchildren are turning out to be taller still.

In music the "new" Italian-Americans literally surged to success. Song burst naturally from their untutored throats, and this gift they passed along to their children. To the children also they gave the best musical training they could afford out of scanty and irregular earnings. And again, in one generation's span, the youngsters rose to the top. Just to recite their familiar names is to tell the story: Rosa Ponselle, Mario Lanza, Frank Sinatra, Perry Como, Liberace, Guy Lombardo, Ted Fiorito, and literally hundreds of others.

Teaching, singing, playing, and writing music, they have rocked the rafters of the Metropolitan and set the teen-agers dancing to a million juke boxes. Small wonder that the president of the Musicians Union is named James Caesar Petrillo, and that in fully a dozen recent, best-selling recordings—from Cara Mia to the Little Shoemaker—the lyrics are sung in Italian.

The college-educated children of the "new" Americans have gone on to distinction in the professions. In New York City alone, for example, there are more than 2,500 lawyers of Italian descent. A number of them serve as judges.

Some 15,000 Italian-Americans have become physicians, and many are leaders in their fields. Among New Haven's Italian-American physicians, for example, 10 percent hold professorships at Yale. And last October Dr. Antonio Pisani, son of an immigrant Italian shoemaker, was designed outstanding general practitioner of the year by the Medical Society of the State of New York.

In the academic world Italo-Americans have spread beyond the teaching of Italian or art or music. One of our foremost authorities on the English language is Prof. Mario Pel, of Columbia. Prof. F. J. Bruno is professor emeritus of Washington University's School of Social Work. Pietro Belluschi is dean of the School of Architecture at Massachusetts Institute of Technology. These are but a handful out of hundreds.

Unfortunately for others of Italian descent, the sordid activities of a small segment—the underworld racketeers—have too often shifted public attention away from the real achievements of the great body of Italian-Americans. Studies have shown that our citizens of Italian origin do not have a peculiar propensity for racketeering, mayhem, and murder. Arrests and convictions of Italians are no more frequent, per hundred thousand in the same age and sex brackets, than for any other immigrant group, and they are slightly less than for our citizens of native stock.

If our country has had its Capones and Lucianos, it has also had Mayor LaGuardia, of New York, and Mayor Rossi, of San Francisco. John Pastore, Governor of Rhode Island, went on to become the first United States Senator of Italian descent. Currently Italian-Americans head the city governments in Cleveland, Baltimore, Meriden. Fitchburg, Mount Vernon, and at least two score smaller cities. Far from being swept into office on a bloc of Italian-American votes, these men won primarily on their platforms and their records.

Twice in recent years the loyalty of Italians in America has been put to a major trail. The first test began with the coming to power of Mussolini and his blackshirts. Il Duce spent large sums cultivating Americans of Italian descent, and after our entry into World War II 600,000 Italian immigrants who had not yet completed their naturalization were required to register as enemy aliens. Only about 200, however, had to be interned. The rest were so obviously loyal

that by Columbus Day of 1942—only 10 months after Pearl Harbor—the Government relieved them of their enemy alien status. More than 550,000 Italian-Americans served in our Armed Forces and played an invaluable role in the Italian campaign by convincing the Italian people that America came not to conquer but to liberate.

The second great test came when postwar Italy was in the throes of the election struggle of 1948. The Communists, well heeled and well organized, seemed on the verge of coming to power. Many Italian-Americans had relatives and friends in Italy who had gone violently over to the Red side. Spontaneously, from a poor kitchen here, a richly appointed living room there, Americans with Italian names wrote to their relatives in Italy. By March 1948 thousands of missives, expressing the hope that Italy would retain its new-won democracy, were on their way, and by April the New York post office was handling a million letters a week.

Whether the Communists would have won, instead of losing as they did, had the letters not been sent, no one can say. But never again need anyone doubt that the Italian immigrants and their offspring have become fully American in the best sense of that word.

Today a great and growing part in bringing American literature, art, movies, styles, and techniques to Italy is being played by Italian-Americans, thousands of whom—like Louis Salzarulo—have revisited the towns of their birth or the places where their fathers or grandfathers came from; and, in return, all America is today receiving and gladiy accepting the product of Italy's new renaissance, from Necchi sewing machines to the movies of Mangano and Lollobrigida. Thanks to the Americans with an Italian flavor, the old two-way stream now flows faster than ever, bearing a freight that enriches both countries.

Is a Strike-Bound Plant Able To Fulfill a Contract?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, last week I received a telegram from Mr. Allan Graskamp, president of local 833, UAW-CIO, at Sheboygan, Wis., which I wish to call to the attention of the membership of this body.

The telegram pertains to the contract recently awarded by the Department of Defense to the strike-bound Kohler Co., of Kohler, Wis. Mr. Graskamp raises a question about the ability of the Kohler Co., to properly fulfill the terms of the contract under existing circumstances. Since during World War II we have heard about certain instances in which munitions procured through some firms proved to be defective, I felt that Members of Congress-and particularly members of the Appropriations and Armed Services Committees-would be interested in any information which could possibly aid in preventing such occurrences in the future.

While I do not presume to pass any judgment on the validity of the state-

ments contained in the following telegram, since I do not possess the information necessary for reaching a decision on this subject, I wish to insert the telegram in the RECORD for the information of the membership:

SHEBOYGAN, WIS., January 27, 1955. Hon. Clement J. Zablocki,

New House Office Building, Washington, D. C.:

Deeply appreciate your interest in Kohler strike shown by introduction of Governor Kohler's letter proposing arbitration and, in view of your interest and concern, we are sending you herewith text of a self-explanatory telegram sent today to President Eisenhower, Army Chief of Staff Ridgway, Acting Senate Majority Leader Clements, House Ma-

hower, Army Chief of Staff Ridgway, Acting Senate Majority Leader Clements, House Majority Leader McCormack, Senate Minority Leader Knowland, House Minority Leader Martin, Armed Services Committees Chairmen Vinson and Russell, Labor Secretary Mitchell, and Defense Secretary Wilson.

The full text follows:

"We believe current world tension makes it absolutely necessary that American military personnel be assured of an adequate supply of top-grade ammunition of all kinds.

"The sole manufacture of key components of one particular type of 105-millimeter shell is Kohler Co., of Kohler, Wis. It received the contract last November despite the fact that Kohler Co. has been strikebound for 10 months. If a Pearl Harbor occurred tonight, it is doubtful that the Nation could depend on production from this company.

"We wish to call your attention to the possible unnecessary loss of American lives because of the uncertain quantity and quality of the basic shell components.

"We urge you to check with the Defense Department on Kohler Co.'s contract performance. We especially urge you to check on whether the delivery scheduled at Kohler Co. already has been set ahead 30 days because of the fallure of initial production to come up to specifications.

"As you know, Army procurement regulations require that a contractor be responsible and capable of fulfilling production standards.

"A skilled, experienced work force is restrained from doing the work in Kohler Co.'s shell department by the company's past refusal to engage in honest collective bargaining. A National Labor Relations Board complaint charges Kohler Co. is guilty of surface bargaining and that the company has 'demonstrated an irrevocable determination to frustrate and defeat the statutory goals of collective bargaining as defined in section 8d of the Labor Management Act.'

"The union has accepted Wisconsin Governor Kohler's suggestion that this dispute be arbitrated. Kohler Co. has refused.

"As combat veterans of World Wars I and II and the Korean conflict, we question the wisdom of allowing an employer with this irresponsible record to be the sole producer of an item of war.

"We ask that the Kohler contract be reassigned to a responsible contractor until this strike is settled. We know from firsthand experience the peril to American troops when shells are defective or when ammunition arrives too late.

"Reassignment of the Kohler Co. contract until the strike is settled will assure a steady flow of these vital 105-millimeter shell components."

Will deeply appreciate your insertion of this wire as sent to named persons in the Congressional Recomb for the information of Members of the House.

ALIAN GRASKAMP,
President, Kohler Local 833, UAWCIO, Sheybogan, Wis.

Address of National Commander Seaborn P. Collins, of the American Legion

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following address by National Commander Seaborn P. Collins, which I hope many will have an opportunity to read:

Address by National Commander Seaborn P.
Collins of the American Legion, Before
the Women's Forum on National Security, Washington, D. C., January 27, 1955.

Every year since 1946 has included 1 or 2 weeks which deserved the oft-used adjective "critical." Certainly, this is one of those weeks.

We all share at this time a feeling of inadequacy. It is almost as if we were spectators, watching a contest on the playing field, rooting for our team and hoping that they know their signals and can execute their plays. Yet this is the ultimate contest. At stake are the lives of our countrymen and the honor and freedom of our country.

Decisions made this week in Washington—in Peiping—perhaps Moscow—will vitally affect the Nation's security which, thank God, is your avowed concern. As private citizens, we cannot predict with any assurance the outcome of this present crisis. We cannot tell whether Formosa will remain a refuge for freedom or become a new Corregidor. We can, however, acknowledge the problem, consider its meaning to America, and seek out the facts which will enable us to understand and solve it in the light of reason and right. That after all, is the purpose of your meeting here.

Because we are Americans, conscious of our duty as citizens, each of us feels a sense of personal responsibility for national policy. There are some among us—some in this room—upon whom the responsibility falls with particular brutal force. I am sure that I speak for every delegate to the Women's Forum when I say that our hopes, our prayers, and our confidence are with the President and the Congress and the other officials of Government who must lead and act in our name.

Three days ago the President announced a policy which clearly defined our Nation's decision to protect an island and a people whose protection we had pledged. The Congress has indicated overwhelming approval of that policy. I believe that these actions were needed, that they are wise, and that—best of all—they truly express the spirit and the will of the American people.

Negotiations and compromise are necessary factors in international as well as human relations.

We of the American Legion hold that our Government should always leave open the way to honorable negotiation and compromise. We submit, however, that there comes a time in dealing with the Communist aggressors when negotiation can do no good and compromise can lead only to defeat. In our judgment, that time has come in Asia,

Today, for the first time we know, and the Reds know, the line which American arms will defend around Formosa. For once, it is their bluff that has been called—not ours. On that vital front, they must choose now between making war and ceasing aggression.

No American finds comfort in the circumstances which made necessary this new

Formosa plan. None of us—and least of all the mothers and wives who sacrifice the most in war—want to see the alternatives to war narrowed.

But there is another, more basic American philosophy at work here—and you and the millions of other women you represent proved long ago that you know it well. That is the American love for freedom—the inbred American desire to defend, at all costs, the dignity and liberty which are man's gift from his Maker.

That is why I believe that all who care

That is why I believe that all who care and think seriously about the future security of the United States must be encouraged by the drawing of the line off Formosa. We have not lost our sense of values. There are things worse even than war—and one of them is the surrender of our liberty.

The American Legion, on occasion, has been termed a "nationalistic" group. The reference usually is made in a critical sense, as if there is something wrong or unfortunate about citizens of a country looking first to their own interests and safety.

That viewpoint overlooks a number of fundamental truths which events of this week have brought into sharp focus.

We are citizens of the United States—not of the world. We have national interests and national aspirations which it is our responsibility—and no one else's—to advance.

Our first concern must be for the security of America. We care about the freedom of individuals everywhere; but we are obligated by instinct and by duty to preserve Americans' freedom.

There is no other way to approach the goal of world security than through the security of our own country.

We of the Legion have consistently supported the United Nations. We have hoped and prayed that the U. N. might develop inton an effective instrument of world peace. We have supported American participation in security treaties and pacts for the same reason and with the same hope.

These attempts to build collective security are worthwhile and important. So long as they promise any additional strength for the free world, they merit our support. At the same time, the 10-year record of the U. N. and the cold war now being waged must convince objective men and women that when the chips are down the burden of decision and action rests almost solely with the United States.

Where we have assumed that burden, communism has been checked. Where we have tried to escape it, communism has advanced.

It was resolute American action that stemmed the Red tide in Greece and Turkey, during the blockade of Berlin, and initially in Korea. It was the lack of resolute action that cinched Communist victories in Czechoslovakia and China, and cost us victory in Korea and Indochina.

President Eisenhower, in his message to the Congress, last Monday, spelled out one of the hard and all-important facts of present international life when he stated:

"Meanwhile, the situation has become sufficiently critical to impel me, without awaiting action by the United Nations, to ask the Congress to participate now, by specific resolution, in measures designed to improve the prospects for peace. These measures would contemplate the use of the Armed Forces of the United States, if necessary, to assure the security of Formosa and the Pescadores." There is a time for debate and there is a time for action. It should be clear to all of us at this point that we can never rely upon an authority outside America for the protection of America's interests. Our lead responsibility as Americans is not to achieve united action by the free world but to support right and necessary action by the United States.

If, in the process our allies are offended, we regret it. But we can no longer afford to

let the feelings of people whom we believe are our friends determine our defense against aggressors whom we know to be our enemies.

By any sensible standard, our enlightened self-interest is in the best interest of world peace. A strong, free America is the best hope of mankind for a world where free men can live in peace.

The American Legion and the other great veterans' organizations so ably represented here tonight believe that the cornerstone of effective, long-range national security is a national security training program.

Together, we have presented to the Congress legislation to give America such a long-overdue program. I need not review the purpose and provisions of this legislation. You know that a strong, trained reserve force is the base, the foundation, if you will, upon which any expansion of our regular Armed Forces must be built. National security training will give us this essential foundation.

National security training will also allow us to field at all times a more effective regular military force. Highly trained and equipped with the most modern, efficient weapons, this force will be better able to protect our Nation and preserve peace because it will be backed up by a strong, trained reserve force ready for immediate mobilization and combat development.

National security training is also our only guaranty that those who fought in World War II, in Korea, and who may be called upon to fight tomorrow in Formosa, will not be the only Americans trained to defend our country in our lifetime.

If we must fight for the democratic ideals of justice and equity, then we must make certain that these principles are not voided by our failure to share the burden of defending America among all of our citizens.

Obviously, no effective program of national

Obviously, no exective program of national security training can be put into operation overnight. Therefore, the strength and combat readiness of our Armed Forces must be maintained at their present level for several years to come.

In fact, developments in Formosa and the Pescadores may necessitate a substantial increase in the size and fighting power of our regular Military Establishment. At the very least, the critical situation in Asia demands that there be no reduction in the next fiscal year in personnel strength and combat effectiveness of the Army, Navy, or Marine Corps.

Further, the planned buildup in the size and strength of our Air Force may well have to be increased and accelerated.

The American Legion is deeply conscious of the need for reducing the cost of government, including the cost of military security, to the absolute minimum. We recognize, as do all of the organizations which you women represent, that our economy must be as strong as our military defenses if we are to preserve our freedom and the peace of the world.

A bankrupt America would be more valuable to the Communists than all of the atomic bombs and all of the infantry divisions which they could muster.

The American Legion realizes this full well. At the same time, we are convinced that military weakness at the price of a balanced budget would be the most tragic and costly kind of economy.

There is room, plenty of room, for economy within the Military Establishment. We can get greater security without greater costs. But beyond this limit, if it is determined that we need more military security, even at the cost of budget deficits, then let's get that security.

As far as the American Legion is concerned, we would rather have red ink on the balance sheet than the lash of Red communism on our backs.

With the help of Almighty God and with citizens such as you to demonstrate that faith and courage and sacrifice are still the real source of strength of a free, invincible America, we can believe that our generation will survive the scourge of communism and leave to our children the heritage of freedom and opportunity and human dignity which is their birthright as American citizens and creatures of God.

Prayer Helped in the Early Days of the Republic and Prayer Can Help Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RUSSELL V. MACK

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MACK of Washington. Mr. Speaker, when the constitutional convention seemed bogged down and seemed likely to end in failure, Benjamin Franklin suggested that the convention delegates apply "to the Father of Light to illuminate human understanding."

Franklin told the convention how in the dark days of the Revolution, "We had daily prayers in this room for Divine protection." He added, "Our prayers were heard and answered."

A report of Franklin's recommendation for prayer is reported by a newspaperman friend and constituent of mine, Guy Allison, of Ocean Park, Wash., recently in his column which appears daily in many Pacific coast newspapers. Allison's column follows:

BYPATHS OF HISTORY (By Guy Allison)

In what way has the Congress recognized, as a wise procedure, a recommendation made by Benjamin Franklin during the Constitutional Convention of 1787?

The information that Members of Congress are to have available a room for prayer and silent meditation came over the wires recently. This action brings to mind a recommendation made by Benjamin Franklin on Thursday, June 28, 1787, during his attendance at the constitutional convention. At that time the convention almost split on the question of whether the small States should, or should not have, equal representation in the newly proposed national setup. When the time came for the final vote, the venerable Franklin, then in his 81st year, arose and addressed his fellow members as follows:

"Mr. President, the small progress we have made after 4 or 5 weeks of close attendance and continual reasonings with each other is, methinks, melancholy proof of the imperfection of the human understanding.

"In this situation of this assembly, groping as it were in the dark to find political truth, and scarce able to distinguish it, how has it happened, sir, that we have not hitherto once thought of humbly applying to the Father of Light to illumine our understanding?

"In the beginning of the contest with Great Britain, when we were sensible of danger, we had daily prayer in this room for divine protection. Our prayers were heard and answered. All of us who were engaged in the struggle must have observed frequent instances of a superintending providence in our favor. To that kind providence we owe this happy opportunity of consulting in peace on the means of establishing our national

felicity. And have we now forgotten that powerful friend? Or do we imagine that we no longer need His assistance?

"I have lived, sir, a long time, and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see of this truth—that God governs in the affairs of men. And if a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His notice, is it probable that an empire can rise without His aid? We have been assured, sir, in the sacred writings, that 'except the Lord build the house they labor in vain that built it.' I firmly believe this, and I also believe that without His concurring ald we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel.

"We shall be divided by our little local interests, our projects shall be confounded, and we, ourselves, shall become a reproach through the future ages. And what is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing governments by human wisdom and leave it to chance, war, and conquest.

"I therefore beg leave to move—that henceforth prayers imploring divine assistance, and its blessing on our deliberations be held in this assembly every morning before we proceed to business."

This motion was objected to by Alexander Hamilton on the grounds that the public might think that there was trouble brewing in the convention. It failed of passage, but on establishment of the Government under this Constitution, the very first law provided for opening congressional sessions with prayer.

Let's Be Counted

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL C. JONES

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. JONES of Missouri. Mr. Speaker, while individuals, organizations, and publications are following a line that seems to say "Do not expect much from Congress." I think what many of them seek to imply is that due to the fact that the majority in the two bodies of Congress is insufficient to bring about the passage of legislation over a Presidential veto, we can expect the passage and final approval of no highly controversial legislation.

This should not mean that Members of Congress, particularly those of the majority, should accept a defeatest attitude and reason that since it is not likely that the executive branch will change its position on certain matters that the legislative branch should not accept its responsibility in proposing even in the face of almost certain veto, changes that should be made.

I am referring, of course, to the status of agricultural legislation. The farmers of America suffered defeat during the 83d Congress, thanks to an administration that has proven itself hostile to the best interests of American agriculture.

From the Missouri Farmer, official publication of the Missouri Farmers Association, I am including herewith an editorial entitled "Don't Expect Much From Congress." I am taking this means

of assuring my farmer friends throughout Missouri that, while they may have little reason to expect any relief during the period of the 84th Congress, it is not because of the fact that Congress itself is unsympathetic to the plight of the American farmer. Ghairman Cooley, of the House Committee on Agriculture, has indicated that hearings will be held on numerous bills seeking to restore the supports that were wiped out last session. There is every indication that such bills will be reported favorably on a bipartisan basis from this committee. and I have every reason to believe that such legislation will receive favorable consideration when it reaches the floor of the House.

Despite the fact that, according to this editorial which I believe reflects the general public opinion, the President has made it clear enough that he will veto any price-support bill, I still believe Congress is not only justified but duty bound to see that such legislation is presented and approved by the legislative branch of the Government. In so doing we have met our responsibility.

Let us place the blame where it belongs, and let us not wait until next year to do it, when as this article states, many will say it was done for political reasons.

Let us show the farmers that they can place their confidence, trust, and hopes in the 84th Congress. Let us show the farmers that they can expect relief and constructive action from the 84th Congress.

Now is the time to meet the challenge in this editorial from the February 1955 issue of the Missouri Farmer:

DON'T EXPECT MUCH FROM CONGRESS

Farmers cannot hope that much in the way of constructive farm legislation will come out of the new Congress. About the most they can expect to be done in Washington is the passage of necessary appropriation bills, much talk, and considerable jockeying for position before the next presidential election.

The Democrats control Congress, that is true; but numerical superiority does not assure their control of legislation. On important legislation Republicans and Democrats cross party lines. They are motivated by economic considerations and not altogether by politics. And it must be remembered that the President is a Republican and that he has the last say on legislation. He can veto any measure passed by Congress.

It may be that this Congress will pass some kind of price-support law to take the place of the ineffectual flexible-supports law. But if that is done, it will likely be merely a political move.

The President has made it clear enough that he will veto any price-support bill. He is satisfied with the present flexible law. If the Congress does pass a price-support bill, it will be for the purpose of getting the President to veto it in order to put the administration in dutch with farmers. If this happens, you can bet that it will be as near to the next general election as possible so that farmers won't have time to forget about it when they go to the polls to vote.

Of course there is always the chance that Congress will pass a bill and that the President will sign it, or that Congress will override the veto. Hence, if any hearings are held, your association will testify in your behalf. The probabilities are, however, that we'll be merely "spinning our wheels."

Kings Point

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. DEROUNIAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave granted me, I include herewith an article by Mr. Jules Witcover which I think will gain everyone's interest who reads it.

It touches on the great United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y .- an institution that is dedicated to doing a dual job-preparing officers for our fourth line of defenseour United States merchant marineand at the same time creating a reserve of highly trained men who will be ready to serve our country in time of emergency.
Mr. Witcover's article, which is com-

pletely objective, appeared in the Marine

News of October 1954.

Inasmuch as we will be expected to consider annual appropriations for this great academy for the 1956 fiscal year, I felt that this objective study by Mr. Witcover, of Kings Point, and of the problems it has had to face in the past, would be helpful to the membership of the Congress

The article follows:

KINGS POINT: UNCLE SAM'S PERENNIAL STEPCHILD

(By Jules Witcover)

Another Congress has come and gone, the 83d, but Kings Point-the Nation's only Federal maritime academy-remains the stepchild of Uncle Sam's defense training system.

While West Point, Annapolis, Coast Guard and the new Air Force Academy operate with official legislative sanction, Kings Point continues to exist on a crisis-to-crisis formula concocted by the Maritime Administration, The school, implemented in only the most general terms by the Merchant Marine Act of 1936, could be closed down tomorrow if

the Maritime Administration so desired. What is being done about it? The answer to that question began to take form nearly a year ago and has carried through scores of private and governmental conferences that

are still going on.

Kings Point—at Great Neck, Long Island has depended on the annual Commerce Department budget since the school's inception in 1938. Under the 1936 act, a Federal maritime training program was established, but without specific component parts. Thus, the Commerce Department decided each year on what scale the school could Operate, and asked for appropriations proportionate to that decision.

During the war years, of course, the need for the academy was obvious, and appropriations always were granted swiftly and generously. Fortunately, too, the crises faced annually by the school—until last fall—concerned only the question: "How much?"

But then, suddenly, the Commerce Depart-

ment asked: "Why at all?"

The man behind the unexpected question turned out to be Louis S. Rothschild, the Maritime Administrator. Rothschild at that time was in the midst of a sharp economy and reorganization campaign. The Nation was at peace and the maritime industry for the time being was full-up in officer material. Why continue to spend upwards of \$2 million a year under such circumstances, Rothschild asked.

He initiated a poll of the four State maritime academies in Maine, Massachusetts, New York, and California in an endeavor to find out whether these schools could absorb the cadets at Kings Point in the event that school were shut down. All four State academies advised Rothschild they could take on the extra load. The State schools, granted a one-third subsidy by the Federal Government, theoretically would have received similar aid for the additional students.

With budgetary plans for fiscal 1955 well under way in the Commerce Department. the word got around that Rothschild would not ask for the Kings Point appropriation, thus effectively slamming the doors on 15 years of tradition at the Federal academy.

The report caused an uproar in maritime circles. Protestations flooded the Nation's Capital, and the office of Congressman STEVEN B. DEROUNIAN, Republican, of New York, in particular. Derounian's district includes Kings Point and many of the faculty and alumni make their homes in that area.

DEROUNIAN and his Nassau County, Long Island, Republican colleague, FRANK J. BECKER, formed the spearhead of a behindthe-scenes pressure movement against Rothschild's action. They were joined by alumni, civic and industry leaders, and within a matter of weeks the Maritime Administration had backed down and announced it would ask the Congress to grant another \$1,900,000—the same amount appropriated in fiscal 1954-to continue operations at Kings Point for at least another year.

The opening battle had been won by the Kings Point supporters. But it proved to be no more than just that-an opening battle. The lines were drawn: an economy-minded Maritime Administrator, with the backing of the maritime unions, on one side; DEROUNIAN, BECKER, other interested legislators and a large segment of the industry itself on the

In hopes of avoiding another budgetary crisis later in the year, the House Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee appointed a special subcommittee to study the Kings Point situation and report its findings once and for all. The idea got complete support of the Derounian-Becker forces, who felt an official congressional report favorable to them would pave the way to speedy remedial legis-

The seven-man subcommittee headed by Representative WILLIAM K. VAN PELT (Republican, Wisconsin), began open hearings in February, and by early June they had heard from interested parties on both sides. Rothschild withheld his views on continuance of the school until he could complete a survey of the needs of the industry which, he said, probably would not be finished before the end of that session of Congress. quests for speedier action by members of the subcommittee, however, extracted from Rothschild a promise to try to submit the results before adjournment.

Testimony during the 5-month hearings was overwhelmingly in favor of retention of the Federal academy. The American Con-ference of Maritime Unions was the most outspoken opponent, arguing that "upgrading" schools were needed much more than officer-candidate schools, and that sufficient officers could be obtained as well via the "hawsepipe" method of upgrading.

Representatives of the State schools either opposed outright any special consideration for Kings Point or defended their own position regardless of what was done about the Federal school. But the atmosphere at the close of the hearings was extremely favorable to those who wanted to wipe out "administration-by-crisis" at the United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point.

Thus, when Rothschild's report was submitted earlier than at first expected and was considered by the House subcommittee without much of a public ripple, it looked like smooth sailing.

VAN PELT, after conferring with members of his subcommittee, introduced a bill in the House on June 3 asking that Kings Point be given permanent status by writing it specifically into the Merchant Marine Act. The bill, applauded by the Derounian-Becker group, also would have given students midshipman status with equal pay and allowances as those granted Annapolis men.

Asked whether his bill would put Kings Point on a par with the other Federal academies, Van PELT said the measure would 'put it up very close, if not on a par." Nassau County colleague of DEROUNIAN and BECKER, Representative STUYVESANT WAIN-WRIGHT, during the hearings had proposed that Kings Point be given equal status with the others, but the idea had been taken lightly by many as too far reaching.

Nevertheless, the bill in its original form seemed to have overwhelming support in the House. It was referred to Van Pelt's own Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee, and prospects were strong for a favorable

report to the floor in early July.

Then it happened. Rothschild, whose testimony and reports at the House hearings could not prevent introduction of the Van Pelt bill, turned his sights to the other side

of the Capitol.

At the request of VAN PELT, Senator ALEX-ANDER WILLY-his Wisconsin colleague with great prestige as chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee—had introduced an identical bill in the upper House. The strategy was to get the Senate bill through committee and onto the floor for passage while the same steps were being taken on the House side for Van Pelt's bill

Time was running short by now, with adjournment an estimated 3 to 4 weeks away. In a congressional election year the Members were not expected to stay overtime, even on vital parts of the President's program itself. Rapid and uninterrupted action in both Houses was need to get the bills through before the inevitable last-minute logjam.

On July 8 the Senate Water Transportation Subcommittee, headed by Senator John Marshall Butler, Republican, of Maryland, held a 1-day hearing on the Wiley bill. volumes of testimony given to the Van Pelt subcommittee at their fingertips, it was expected the Senators would skim the surface and come up with a favorable report.

But before a single man could testify the thunderbolt struck. A letter to the subcommittee from Commerce Secretary Sinclair Weeks, Rothschild's boss, was introduced. Weeks said a preliminary study of the Federal maritime training program had been made, indicating that a more extensive survey of its relation to other Government-

would the Senators be good enough,
Weeks asked, to defer any action on the
bill this year until the results of this survey DEROUNIAN, BECKER, WAINWRIGHT, and others vehemently protested the delay. but the blow was devastating. Senator Bur LER, in spite of apparent personal support of the bill, remarked that Commerce Department opposition would surely hurt the chances materially.

He was right. The House bill several days later breezed through the Merchant Marine and Fisheries Committee and on July 30 was passed unanimously by the House, but the Senate companion measure never saw the light of day. The Weeks letter had presented just enough cause for deliberation to snuff out any chance for action in the last hectic Congress adjourned in August with weeks. Kings Point still a second-class citizen in the national-defense system.

Does this failure to push the measure through in 1954 mean the whole hassle will have to be repeated next year? That, Kings Point supporters believe, may depend on who wins control of the 84th Congress. Should the Republicans retain control, matters might well be picked up just where they left off, with prospects of early passage—in the House at least-in 1955.

But even if Congress goes Democratic, the bill should not have too much opposition from congressional sources of either party. The measure is generally conceded to be a nonpartisan one, and it is believed a change in party control might slow action mechanically, but not politically.

What, then, was the urgency to get the bill through this year. Advocates of permanent status for Kings Point fear the delay may strengthen the hand of those who have maneuvered the delays so far.

Weeks' explosive letter to the Senate subcommittee specifically mentioned the United States Coast Guard Academy in Norwich, Conn., among the other Government-supported programs to be considered in the rela-

tionship survey.

His comment that "this may point the way to consolidations or other changes which would simplify and reduce the Government expense of maintaining federally supported or assisted educational and training activities for merchant-marine officers and comparable personnel" raised quite a few eye-

In the same letter, when he mentioned the results of the survey would go to the "Secretaries of Commerce and Treasury," there was considerable conjecture about the Maritime Administration's plans. Inasmuch as the Treasury Secretary heads the Coast Guard, the rumor went, maybe Rothschild was now considering consolidation of Kings Point and the Coast Guard Academy.

Asked by this writer about such a possibility, Rothschild avoided direct comment on the report but added he thought "the present situation can certainly stand improvement."

Such a move, while undoubtedly effecting a real economy, would run into great con-gressional opposition as well as legislative snarls. Since Coast Guard has legislative authorization and Kings Point has not, a special bill would be required for the action, one which Kings Point supporters could be expected to fight with great vigor. The plan would require another round of hearings in both houses even more exhaustive than those held this year, and would be sure to meet with stern opposition from Coast Guard men and possible Navy men as well.

The initial Rothschild idea—transferral of the Kings Point cadets to the four State schools—would at least have consolidated maritime training under a single roof in each case. Merger of Kings Point and Coast Guard would invite double courses, overlapping activities and considerable adminis-

trative chaos.

So unless Rothschild comes up with a workable substitute acceptable to Kings Pointa highly unlikely possibility at this stagethe battle probably will pick up next year on Capitol Hill where it has just left off.

Meanwhile, Kings Point cadets and faculty members can resign themselves to another case of budgetary nerves this fallwhen Uncle Sam again ponders the question of whether his stepchild deserves another year of life.

Our Congressmen Deserve a Raise

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WALTER NORBLAD

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include

herewith the following editorial from the Oregon Journal, Portland, Oreg., the largest afternoon newspaper in the State:

OUR CONGRESSMEN DESERVE A RAISE

Under a bill proposed by Representative Francis E. Walter, Democrat, of Pennsylvania, the salaries of Congressmen would be boasted from \$15,000 to \$22,500. He also proposes that Supreme Court Justices be given a \$10,000 raise, and other Federal judges a \$7,500 boost.

Congressmen always have been supercautious about raising their own salaries. They are afraid, of course, that the voters will throw it up to them at the next election. and that it will cost them votes-perhaps even defeat. Political opponents of the Congressmen are almost certain to bring it up at the next election.

But the fact remains that a salary increase is justified. The Walter bill is a compromise, running \$5,000 a year less than the amount recommended by the special salary commis-

Now, \$22,500 sounds like a very nice salary for Congressmen. But when it is realized that most of them must keep 2 homes-1 in Washington, D. C., and 1 in their hometown, are subjected to the extremely high living costs of Washington, and have uncertenure, the take-home value shrinks considerably. Some Congressmen have maintained they could not stay on the job unless they had other income.

Well, they probably could with a few economies. It isn't quite that bad. One thing is sure, these are important jobs that should have salaries commensurate with the activities, abilities, and demands of the job.

Congress should vote a substantial increase, as suggested by Representative WAL-TER. We think that most people, looking at the problem fairly, will approve.

The Late Dr. Erland Harold Hedrick

SPEECH

OF

HON. M. G. BURNSIDE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. BURNSIDE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, may I add my voice to my colleagues' who have preceded me in praise of the late Dr. Erland Harold Hedrick. My experience with Dr. Hedrick in the 81st and 82d Congresses has always been a source of pleasure. I had known Dr. Hedrick for a great many years and had always admired him. When I came here as a freshman in 1948, his advice and counsel were invaluable to me. an excellent politician, a skillful legislator, and a sincere, kind man. He knew how to take first things first, but always seemed to have time for those things which seemed unimportant except to the individual who asked help.

Dr. Hedrick's experiences were varied. He was a physician, a soldier, a city and county executive, a banker, and a businessman. To this vast amount of experience he coupled a deep devotion to the people of his State and a sound philosophy of life to produce that which we all strive to be, a good representative. He represented excellently a dis-

trict of greatly diversified interests with skill and devotion. His methods were always straightforward and his motives always honorable.

The men assembled here in this Chamber who knew him have lost a friend. The men here who were not fortunate enough to know the man will never realize their loss.

Congressional Address by Chief Justice Urged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. KENNETH B. KEATING

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. KEATING. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an interesting discussion by the able journalist, Mr. Gould Lincoln, of the proposal to extend an invitation to the Chief Justice of the United States to make an annual address to Congress on the state of the judicial branch of government and related matters.

Also included is a news item from the Washington Evening Star indicating support for such a congressional resolution for the distinguished former Senator and noted lawyer, George Wharton Pepper, of Pennsylvania.

CONGRESSIONAL ADDRESS BY CHIEF JUSTICE URGED

(By Gould Lincoln)

What's good for the courts is good for the people, who are primarily interested in justice. So the joint resolution now introduced in the House and Senate, inviting the Chief Justice to address Congress on the state of the judicial branch of the Government, should be in the interests of

In some quarters, however, the question of politics has raised its head in connection with the proposal to have the Chief Justice take the limelight in this unprecedented manner—particularly Chief Justice Earl Warren. It is suggested that, in some way, the Chief Justice's appearance before the Congress will make him instanter a candidate, or at least a potential candidate for Republican presidental nomination in 1956—should President Eisenhower step aside. Nothing could be further from the fact. It is well understood by Chief Justice Warren's intimates he has no desire to become a presidential nominee; that he would resist even to the point of declining a nomination if it were offered him. In fact, he would not run.

NOT HIS IDEA

To skeptics, who appear to believe the GOP desires to nominate the Chief Justice and capitalize on his antisegregation opinion-which was the opinion of the Courtit may be pointed out the proposal for his appearance before a joint session of Con-gress did not come from him or from the Court. It was broached by Deputy Attorney General William P. Rogers, in a speech delivered away from Washington. well received. Further, if the fear of politics still persists, the legislation calling for an invitation to the Chief Justice to appear before Congress could fix his first appearance in 1957, after the presidential election of 1956. By 1960, the next presidential election year, the Chief Justice would be 69 years old, obviously too old for a presidential nomination and an election which would put him in the White House at 70, to begin a term.

In the 15 months he has presided over the Supreme Court the Chief Justice has had signal success. It is no secret he is happy in his work. He has become more and more conversant with the Federal judiciary and its problems. Those are the problems which Chief Justice would discuss in an appearance before Congress. Principal among them is the shocking state of calendars of many of the Federal courts. The backlog of unfinished cases is far greater in some districts than in others. In the southern district of New York, which includes New York City, a litigant can expect to wait almost 4 years from the day he files a suit in the Federal court until it is disposed of. Indeed, he must wait 3 years before his case is reached. During the year ended July 1, 1954, the Federal courts disposed of 93,161 cases, but left pending another 78,531. Obviously such delays, sometimes running 2, 3, or nearly 4 years, result in grave injustice to both plaintiffs and defendants.

MANY CAUSES

There are a number of causes for this situation in the courts. In some districts there are not enough judges. In some the judges do not work hard enough and take long vacations. Some of the Federal judges are too old or too ill to be effective. Also there is a lack of adequate funds to pay for needed assistants in the courts. In one district a judge, already ill when confirmed by the Senate, has spent 5 hours in court in 4 years. Judges close court all summer in some of the districts. There is no way to deal with those who fail to work except through impeachment proceedings. No authority is placed in the hands of anyone to deal with them. They are appointed for life.

A Chief Justice, invited to appear before Congress, will be in a position to disclose all of these ills and to make recommendations. And a Chief Justice, appearing at a joint session of the Senate and House, will have an effective sounding board. Obviously, if the proposal is adopted, the program should be permanent, with appearances of the Chief Justice either at the opening of each regular session of Congress or at the opening of each new Congress. He would make either an annual or a biennial report.

While the plan has received wide approval of lawyers, judges, Members of Congress, and plain, ordinary citizens, misgivings have been expressed by a few that it would lower the dignity of the Court and thrust the Court into politics.

A Chief Justice, however, would do neither. He would go on invitation and not as a supplicant with his hat in his hand. Nor would there be underlying political implications. Reports are made in writing to Congress, showing the situation of the Federal courts. But they are pigeonholed rather than read. A separate budget is prepared for the courts, but Congress cuts it.

[From the Washington Evening Star of January 28, 1955]

GEORGE WHARTON PEPPER ASKS CONGRESS TALK
BY CHIEF JUSTICE

A former Senator from Pennsylvania and noted constitutional lawyer said today an annual appearance of the Chief Justice of the United States before Congress would be of immense advantage in promoting a better understanding of the judiciary.

George Wharton Pepper, of Philadelphia, joined the growing list of lawyers, judges, and legislators who want to see Congress invite the Chief Justice to address both Houses.

In a statement to the Star, former Senator Pepper declared: "The well-being of the Republic is dependent upon coordinated action by the three great departments of Government. Coordinated action is impracticable unless each department is fully informed respecting the needs and activities of the others.

"Article II, section I, of the Constitution wisely provides for direct communication between the executive and the legislative branch. There is no similar provision to insure that the Congress as a whole will be kept informed respecting the Federal judiciary and its needs.

"The present procedure which enables the Director of the Administrative Office of the United States Courts to present requests for appropriations to subcommittes of the Congress is admirable as far as it goes, but it does not go far enough.

"The Congress as a whole should be given from time to time a comprehensive picture of all the operations of the judicial department and a statement of its requirements and needs.

"Nobody is so well qualified to act as spokesman for the judiciary as the Chief Justice of the United States. Just as Congress is informed by the Chief Executive of the state of the Union and the measures which the President deems appropriate, so the Congress should hear from the Chief Justice himself of the operations of the judicial department for which he is so well qualified to speak.

"If he were given an opportunity to appear annually before the Congress and to present a comprehensive statement of the operation and needs of the judiciary department, the result would be of immense advantage in promoting a better understanding of the judicial establishment and in generating the kind of atmosphere in which cooperation is most likely to flourish."

The Lace and Embroidery Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. T. JAMES TUMULTY

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, the schiffli lace and embroidery industry in the United States is heavily concentrated in my district. The industry is fearful of the adverse effect of the passage of H. R. 1. I would like to insert a resolution adopted at a parley of the mayors of Cliffside Park, Fairview, Guttenberg, Jersey City, North Bergen, Secaucus, Union City, Weehawken, and West New York. The resolution follows:

Whereas there are 550 firms engaged in the manufacture of schiffil lace and embroidery in Hudson and Bergen Counties in New Jersey, comprising 92 percent of the schiffil lace and embroidery industry in the United States, which firms with their allied processing trades also located here employ more than 10,000 citizens of New Jersey; and

Whereas schiffil lace and embroidery is extensively used in the clothing industry for gowns, dresses, underwear, shoes, hats, blouses, handkerchiefs, gloves, baby clothes, handbags, and coats and in the home-furnishing industry for bedspreads, sheets, currialins, drapes, tablecloths, and scarfs; and

Whereas the schiffil lace and embroidery industry is vulnerable to import competition from Japan and Europe; and

Whereas the menace of such imports lies principally in the foreign competitive advantages derived from low wages prevailing abroad: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Congress of the United States is respectfully petitioned and memorialized to safeguard this industry so vital to the economy of northern New Jersey by maintaining the present tariff levels on lace and embroidery.

Mayor Francis J. Murphy, of Cliffside
Park; Mayor Louis Battaglia, of Fairview; Mayor Hermon G. Klein, of Guttenberg; Mayor Bernard J. Berry, of
Jersey City; Mayor John J. Roe, of
North Bergen; Mayor John J. Kane, of
Secaucus; Mayor Harry T. Thourot,
of Union City; Mayor Charles P.
Krause, of Weehawken; Mayor John E.
Otis, of West New York.

I would like to insert also a resolution introduced into the New Jersey Legislature by Hon. Maurice V. Brady, assemblyman from Hudson County. The resolution follows:

Whereas the increased importation of lace and embroidery products that come into competition with the output of factories of Hudson County, N. J., replacing the products of Hudson County's lace and embroidery industry, is a constant menace to the State's continuing economic stability; and

Whereas the lower wages paid abroad make it impossible for many of our smaller and medium-sized producers of lace and embroidery products to compete with imports without resorting to ruinous pricecutting, which in turn would result either in financial losses or heavy pressure for wage reductions and ouright unemployment; and

Whereas under proposed legislation, the President, on recommendation of the Tariff Commission, controlled by the President, would be able to reduce tariffs on imports from Japan down to 50 percent of what they were on January 1, 1945, or by one-third for any years of the 3-year period that this measuse would cover. Many tariffs would be cut by 5 percent for each of the 3 years; and

Whereas if the tariff on lace and embroidery products is lowered, then embroidery shops in Japan, Austria, Switzerland, and Germany could capture the American embroidery market by utilizing cheaper labor and underselling Hudson County; and Whereas our national obligations have

Whereas our national obligations have reached such extreme proportions that the national income must be maintained at its present unprecedented high level, or close thereto, lest we become insolvent; and

Whereas pressure that comes from imports of lace and embroidery products will render the upholding of the local economy at its high levels most uncertain and difficult unless all import trade is placed on a fair, competitive basis and the potential injury therefrom thus contained; and

Whereas a maximum of such trade results from a prosperous domestic economy freed from the threat of a breakdown resulting from unfair import competition: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the General Assembly of the State of New Jersey hereby memorialize the Congress of the United States that adequate safeguards be provided in tariff and trade legislation against the destruction or lowering of our American standard of living, the labor standard of our workmen, and the stability of our economy by unfair import competition of foreign lace and embroidery; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be transmitted to the President of the United States, the Vice President of the United States, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of Commerce, the Secretary of Labor, the Secretary of Agriculture, the Chairman of the United States Tariff Commission, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and each Senator and Representative from New Jersey in the Congress of the United States.

Plans for Huge Upper Colorado Dam Uncertain, Says Secretary McKay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CRAIG HOSMER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

- Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. HOSMER. Mr. Speaker, proponents of the upper Colorado storage project are asking Congress to authorize an appropriation of \$421 million for a gigantic power dam at Glen Canyon, Ariz., without knowing whether the rock foundations at the site would support the immense structure as it would have to be built to integrate with other overall features of the project.

This amazing fact was disclosed in a letter written November 30, 1954, by Secretary of the Interior Douglas McKay to David R. Brower, executive secretary

of the Sierra Club.

Glen Canyon is on the Colorado River, and the proposed dam would be a key structure designed to raise power revenues to help pay for the multi-billion-dollar upper Colorado River project—H. R. 270—now before Congress.

In his letter, Secretary McKay stated that the materials on which the dam would stand are "poorly cemented and relatively weak in comparison with the foundations common to most high dams." The Secretary also revealed that "experiments to improve the strength of the foundation through a chemical grouting process were unsuccessful."

Further, although the Bureau has presented preliminary plans for a 700-foot dam, it does not intend to present final specifications for it until after Congress has approved the present vague project.

On this subject, Secretary McKay wrote Brower:

Following congressional authorization, more intensive studies will be made of the foundation conditions and of the Bureau's preliminary design to secure information for the preparation of plans and specifications for construction of the Glen Canyon Dam. If such intensive studies indicate the advisability of modifying the present selected height of dam, appropriate changes will be made in the designs prior to construction.

Despite this situation, great pressure is on Congress to approve the project. After that is done the Reclamation Bureau would conduct studies to determine what size and type of dam can be built. In other words, Congress is being asked to approve spending this great sum of Federal money when Reclamation Bureau engineers themselves do not know what the final plans and designs may be, how big the dam would be, how much it would cost, how much power revenues it would bring, and when there are grave doubts that such a structure would be secure.

Thus, Congress is being asked to buy a pig in a poke.

The Secretary's disclosures refute a 1950 report of the Reclamation Bureau which stated that the rock at the dam

site "is remarkably free of structural defects."

This 1950 report also said:

The Glen Canyon site is geologically favorable for a high concrete dam.

Secretary McKay told Brower:

Subsequent to writing the 1950 report on the Colorado River storage project, the Bu-reau conducted grouting tests in the drift tunnels driven 50 or more feet into each canyon wall of the Glen Canyon Dam site. Also, special bearing tests of 6-inch cores and large fragments of the foundation materials were made in the Bureau's Denver laboratory. The poorly cemented and relatively weak condition of the materials in comparison with the foundations common to most high dams has given the engineers who prepared the preliminary designs of the dam some concern as to the competency of the foundation to support any structure higher than 700 feet. Experiments to improve the strength of the foundation through a chemical grouting process were unsuccessful. These are the geological reasons why Commissioner W. A. Dexheimer made his statement in Denver about the limitation on the height of the proposed Glen Canyon

It has been the custom of the Reclamation Bureau to secure authorization of a project based on a cost estimate which they assure Congress will be ample. However, it is rarely found that these cost estimates prove sufficient, Actual costs of projects usually have been 50 to 100 percent greater than the estimates made at the time of authorization.

The obvious result has been that the Bureau's assurances of economic and financial feasibility have collapsed.

The financial plan for the whole upper Colorado River project sets up Glen Canyon Dam as the "cash register" for the development.

Yet the Reclamation Bureau apparently does not yet know how much Glen Canyon Dam would cost or how much revenue it can be expected to produce.

In the face of these uncertainties Congress should not approve this project.

The full text of Secretary McKay's letter follows:

My Dear Mr. Brower: On October 21, 1954, you were informed that further reply would be made to your inquiries of September 28, 1954, addressed to the Secretary of the Interior and the Commissioner of Reclamation, concerning the effect of the proposed Glen Canyon Reservoir upon the Rainbow Bridge National Monument. We now have the necessary information from the field to complete that reply.

It is our intention to take whatever steps are necessary to protect the Rainbow Bridge National Monument from waters of the proposed Glen Canyon Reservoir and to ask Congress to provide for such protection in the authorizing legislation. Cooperative studies are under way by the field offices of the Bureau of Reclamation and the National Park Service to determine the best means of providing this protection, and to date these studies have revealed no unsurmountable problems. The topography of the area surrounding the monument indicates that a barrier dam 1 mile below the natural arch and outside the monument would provide adequate protection. Details of such a plan will require extensive study and are not available at this time.

On the basis of data available at the time of writing the 1950 report on Colorado River storage project and participating projects, a 700-foot dam (580 feet above stream level) at Glen Canyon was the maximum height which met the criteria of economy, safety of the structure, and adequate protection of the Rainbow Natural Bridge. Subsequent to writing the 1950 report on the Colorado River storage project, the Bureau conducted grouting tests in the drift tunnels driven 50 or more feet into each canyon wall of the Glen Canyon Dam site. Also, special bearing tests of 6-inch cores and large fragments of the foundation materials were made in the Bureau's Denver laboratory. The poorly cemented and relatively weak condition of the materials in comparison with the foundations common to most high dams has given the engineers who prepared the preliminary designs of the dam some concern as to the competency of the foundation to support any structure higher than 700 feet. Experiments to improve the strength of the foundation through a chemical grouting process were unsuccessful. These are the geological reasons why Commissioner W. A. Dexheimer made his statement in Denver about the limitation on the height of the proposed Glen Canyon Dam.

Following congressional authorization, more intensive studies will be made of the foundation conditions and of the Bureau's preliminary design to secure information for the preparation of plans and specifications for construction of the Glen Canyon Dam. If such intensive studies indicate the advisability of modifying the present selected height of dam, appropriate changes will be made in the designs prior to construction.

Sincerely yours,

Douglas McKay, Secretary of the Interior.

Should Be National Shrine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUGH SCOTT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. SCOTT. Mr. Speaker, the history of Philadelphia which centers around the area of Independence Hall contains a number of hallowed spots. Among these landmarks which are associated with the early patriots of revolution is the Mikveh Israel Cemetery on Spruce Street between Eighth and Ninth Streets in Philadelphia in which is buried the remains of Haym Saloman, one of the selfless men who pledged his entire fortune to the support of our young Nation in her time of need, he died penniless as far as material goods are concerned, but lives richly in the memories of those who remember his great and patriotic services.

I have recently introduced a bill to provide that Mikveh Israel Cemetery shall be a national shrine and would like to include as part of my comments here an editorial from the Philadelphia Jewish Times, of January 21, 1955, as follows:

SHOULD BE NATIONAL SHRINE

Mikveh Israel Cemetery on Spruce Street, between Eighth and Ninth, is a proud and revered spot. But—

Its past is much more appealing than its present.

Those who are buried there occupy a more revered place in the pages of history than their mortal remains occupy in the scheme of things of today.

The ground within the walls of this burial place is hallowed in memory, but nearly unkempt in fact.

Independence Hall would probably be no better, if its upkeep depended on a comparatively small group of people, as is the case with Mikveh Israel Cemetery. The members of Mikveh Israel congregation have done as well as the limited means at their disposal would allow in preserving the final resting places of some of the Jewish community's most distinguished Revolutionary War and immediate postwar notables.

In Mikveh Israel are the remaining traces of Haym Salomon, who was one of the outstanding patriots of the Revolutionary War, and was largely responsible for its final victory, since he did much to finance it.

In August 1953, city council through an ordinance introduced by Councilman-at-large Victor H. Bianc, declared Mikveh Israel Cemetery a city shrine and appropriated \$5.000 to beautify and repair some of the more obvious blemishes.

Now, steps are being taken to have the revered plot of ground which contains so much of this city's and Nation's glorious past history officially declared a national shrine by the current 84th Congress. This is as it should be.

Our Nation, for example, could never repay the debt it owes Haym Salomon, who, after being an important factor in financing our break from the bonds of England died a pauper and with large sums still owed him by our Government.

But it could show its appreciation by making the final resting place of the man it owes so much a place of beauty and a point that will attract students and those with pride in our forbears, not make them shudder in shame.

Our Members of Congress, both Democratic and Republican, should present a solid front for such action before the current session takes off for a summer holiday.

Thoughts From the Grassroots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN C. WATTS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial appearing in the Paris Daily Enterprise of Paris, Ky., on Wednesday, January 26, 1955. It is a very poignant presentation and, in my opinion, reflects the consensus of opinion of the home folks concerning those Americans still behind the Iron Curtain, and the need for greater effort to be exerted toward securing the prompt release. It merits the serious consideration of each of us.

ARE THEY FORGOTTEN MEN?

The public, generally speaking, over the Nation is backing President Elsenhower's Program and policy in regard to the Formosan situation.

Just where it will lead only time will tell. But the Nation is serving notice in the action that it is getting a bit tired of deals and negotiations.

Just as this new crisis arose the United States appeared to be entering into another deal with the Communists over the release of the 11 United States airmen and 6 other Americans being held by Red China.

In fact part of the crisis is in all probability the outcropping of a deal concerning some of the islands off the shore of the Red China coast.

There's no criticism of the negotiation itself.

But what of the hundreds of other Americans who are being enslaved in Communist lands?

Why just the 17 airmen? Why not force the issue a bit further and press for the release of the other Americans?

The word from Americans recently "sprung" from Soviet prison camps is that hundreds more are still enslaved in Russia and other Communist-dominated lands.

Are they the forgotten men?

While we're about it, why not go whole hog and get the kit and caboodle. They're Americans just like you and I—hoping that the Red scourge will soon be quelled and stamped out.

Let's not let them down.

Eddie Cantor's Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, I am sure that my colleagues will be pleased to hear that Eddie Cantor, the nationally known comedian and entertainer, is celebrating his 63d birthday today, Monday, January 31.

I know it is difficult for many of us to believe that the ever youthful and spry Eddie Cantor has reached the 63d milestone of his life. We like to think of him always as the man who dominates the stage with so much zest and life in him.

In recent years Eddie Cantor has also become known as a great supporter of various worthwhile humanitarian causes. I am sure that it is known to many of you that it was he who coined the name "March of Dimes" for the great annual campaign which we conduct at this time each year. In 1952 he made a tour from coast to coast and was successful in collecting 120,000 pints of blood which was badly needed for our veterans.

For many years Eddie Cantor has also been active in other charitable and philanthropic enterprises. Let me suggest a few of these, such as the Eddie Cantor Camp for Boys, the Youth Aliyah Movement sponsored by Hadassah in Israel, the United Jewish Appeal, the New York Federation of Jewish Charities, the Catholic Actors' Guild, the Episcopalian Actors' Guild, the Jewish Theatre Guild, and many other groups too numerous to mention.

Somewhere I recall a saying which is phrased something like this: "When you help a fellow up a steep hill, you get nearer to the top yourself." This is very true of Eddie Cantor. In his charitable activities he has helped many of his fellow men and in this way attained greater heights of humanitarianism

himself. Charitable work is today a great part of his life. While he gives of his time and effort and money, he is also doubly enriched by the fact that his name has become associated in the public mind with philanthropic interests. Of Eddie Cantor it can be truly said in the words of the poet:

Give to the needy shelter and bread. For giving is living, the angels said. But must I give again and again? My selfish, greedy question rang. No, said the angel, piercing me through; Give 'til God stops giving to you.

On this occasion of his 63d birthday there are thousands upon thousands of his fellow citizens who wish to extend to Eddie Cantor their sincerest felicitations and best wishes for many active years.

Tribute to Haiti

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, the visit of President Magloire, of Haiti, to the United States points up the great bond of friendship that exists between these nations. President Magloire's splendid address to the joint session of Congress is further evidence of the spirit that prevails between these nations. The visit of the President of Haiti has been marked by editorial comment throughout the United States.

Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Springfield (Mass.) Daily News of January 27, 1955:

TRIBUTE TO HAITI

The first chief of state to visit the United States in 1955 is Gen. Paul Eugene Magloire, first popularly elected President of Haiti, second oldest republic in the Western Hemisphere.

President Magloire has already been given a Washington parade, a key to the city, and a state dinner. The visiting President and his wife were overnight guests at the White House, and today he addressed Congress as he continued his official visit schedule.

There will be many remarks that President Magloire's visit marks a century and a half of friendship between the two countries. Actually, this polite oversimplification detracts from the success of modern Haiti and its first people's President.

Haiti's history has been marked by rebellions, assassinations, massacres and other excesses. The slaughter of 167 political prisoners and the subsequent lynching of the President in 1915 made necessary American intervention. The United States Marines remained in authority for 20 years, and although American occupation was greatly different from Spanish and French rule, it was nonetheless resented by many citizens of Haiti

In this country, there was some popular sentiment in favor of withdrawing the marines and the American commissioner. Early in President Roosevelt's administration, the occupation was ended but a fiscal representative remained there to supervise customs until 1941.

Haiti has used its freedom well. Education is compulsory, and the more than 1,000 schools in the republic must teach English. French is the official language. Only 4 years ago, the people were given the right to choose their own President, a privilege previously held by the National Assembly.

So, President Magloire's visit is a tribute not so much to 150 years of history, as to the 20 years of progress during which this man became the elected leader of a free people.

Ten Good Reasons for Voting "Aye" on the Formosa Resolution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. NOAH M. MASON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, I am answering the many letters that are coming in from worried mothers as follows:

I am in full sympathy and accord with your statement that you do not approve of our boys being slaughtered in another Korea so that the people who want war will be happy. However, I feel sure that a firm stand such as President Eisenhower has outlined will do more than anything else to head off another Korea.

President Eisenhower's request to Congress for the passage of a resolution approving his plan to use the American Fleet and Air Force, now in Asiastic waters, to protect and defend Formosa against Red aggression is a step toward preventing war, not toward provoking war. The President is convinced that a firm stand now—with Congress and the President joining hands in the proposal—will head off Red aggression. Believing the President to be right in his conviction, I voted "aye" on the resolution. The resolution was adopted 409 to 3.

I have 10 good reasons for wishing to avoid war; namely, 2 grandsons and 8 grand-nephews of draft age, to say nothing of the thousands of sons of draft age of former pupils of mine in whom I still have a personal interest.

Ever since President Roosevelt recognized Soviet Russia in 1934, the world has been in a continual turmoil, with one war following another as a result of our appeasement policy. Firmness and force constitute the

only program the Communists understand. If we had followed the advice of General MacArthur at the time he was fired by President Truman, we would have completed the job then, won a decisive victory over the Communist hordes in Asia, and have headed off the present situation in Formosa and Indochina. We are now paying the price of our former weak, vacillating, appeasing methods in dealing with the Communist menace.

President Eisenhower's firm stand now may have come too late. I hope and pray that it is not too late.

Now, Mr. Speaker, I want to call the attention of my colleagues to the editorial carried in the Washington Evening Star of Thursday, January 27, 1955, entitled "The Story of a Lost Victory." The editorial is based upon a recent report of the Jenner committee. It is both revealing and informative. It is both revealing and informative. It should be read by every American. For that reason I am including the editorial as a part of my remarks:

STORY OF A LOST VICTORY

By any standard of measurement, the report of the Senate's Internal Security Subcommittee—a report detailing how and why we failed to win the Korean war—is a significant document.

It is significant because it gathers together for the first time the stories of five ranking commanders in the Korean theater—Gen. Mark Clark, Lt. Gen. George E. Stratemeyer, Gen. James A. Van Fleet, Lt. Gen. Edmond M. Almond, and Adm. Charles Turner Joy. These men were outspoken in their criticism of the political direction of the war from Washington. This report is also significant because, despite its partisan political implications, it emerged with the unanimous endorsement of the subcommittee—Republican Senators Jenner, Watkins, Welker, and Butler, and Democratic Senators Eastland, Johnston, and McClellan.

In fairness, it should be pointed out that the views expressed by the officers who testified conflict in many respects with views held by General Bradley, then Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and General Collins, then Army Chief of Staff. These officers did not testify before the subcommittee, and presumably were not asked to do so. To this extent, the report is one-sided. Even with this reservation, however, it is an important document.

Among the five field commanders, there was a remarkable unanimity in endorsing General MacArthur's views as to how the war should have been conducted. There was general agreement that the Korean war could have resulted in a decisive victory for us had it not been for politically inspired limitations laid upon the Armed Forces. With some qualifications, there was agreement that the Chinese Communist Army could have been routed if not destroyed, and that the failure to destroy it led directly to the debacle in Indochina and to the situation which now faces us with respect to Formosa. Admiral Joy was of the opinion that interference based on faulty political considerations prevented successful armistice negotiations, and he indicated that General Ridgway, now Army Chief of Staff, shared in part at least in this view.

There was a great deal of testimony with respect to incidents which may have been relatively minor, but which still shed a revealing light on the strange conduct of this war. They can be touched upon only briefly here, but recitation of a few may be illumi-nating. Thus, General Clark (and also General Van Fleet) was anxious to train more South Korean troops to relieve the pressure on American forces. General Clark, with the approval of the Secretary of the Army, made a study and then sought authorization from Washington to proceed with a training plan. He did not even get an answer to this request until after General Van Fleet's letter to General Eisenhower (a letter similar to the Clark request) was released in the midst of the 1952 Presidential campaign. General Clark testified: "Very shortly after that got action immediately authorizing me to start in on the buildup of the ROK forces." Much the same thing was true of hitherto little-known recommendations from the 2 generals for employment in Korea of 3 of Chiang Kai-shek's divisions-another story of a recommendation sent to Washington; no answer.

General Stratemeyer testified in similar vein. He was talking about November and December 1950. He stated that he "didn't care what anyone back home said"—that, at that time, he had the airpower to break the back of the Chinese Communists crossing the Yalu. But under the almost unbelievable restrictions imposed from Washington upon bombing of the Yalu bridges, according to his testimony, he had to pull his punches while the Chinese and their sup-

plies streamed across the bridges—a "lighted highway," as he described it. As a result, he testified, "a lot of American blood was spilled over there in Korea."

General Almond, who commanded the X Corps, was equally blunt. He testified: "Events now past have proved that General MacArthur was right and General Bradley was wrong. I need add nothing to this series of facts. Their noise is deafening to those who listen. The opportunity to deal a death blow to expanding communism presented itself in Korea. But I don't believe General Bradley ever could see it." And he ended on this note: "It is bad enough to have to fight the enemy; it is terrible to have to fight both the enemy and those that you are supposed to have support from."

These, to repeat, are the views of the field commanders, not balanced against the views of their superiors in Washington and not setting forth the considerations of those in Washington whose responsibility was much heavier than even that of the distinguished field commanders. But at this time the judgments of the field commanders seem to have a special significance.

If anything is clear, it is that the restraints laid upon the commanders in Korea were dictated by political considerations—an unwillingness to risk war with China or Russia, and a fear of alienating some of our allies under the United Nations direction of the Korean war. All of this, however, seems to be behind us. President Eisenhower's request for Formosan authority implies both a willingness, if necessary, to accept war with China and a willingness to risk war with Russia. And this is being done, at least at this stage, outside the U. N. framework.

It may be that this situation we face today can be traced directly to the lost victory in Korea. If so, if we are compelled now to accept risks which we were not willing to accept then, nothing can be lost, and much can be gained, by examining this testimony from the commanders who fought that war of frustration on the Korean peninsula, and whose views, at this late hour, have received a bipartisan endorsement.

Twosome in the China Tangle?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALFRED D. SIEMINSKI

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. SIEMINSKI. Mr. Speaker, history might well record our times as those of twosome and the big split. We divide our world into east and west, north and south, old and new.

Will a twosome emerge in the China tangle?

Will it be east China and west China? Or will it be old China and new China with Formosa forming the new China of the west to pace the old China of the east?

To us, there is a familiar ring in old and new, north and south, east and west. We have the Eastern Hemisphere and the Western Hemisphere, the old world and the new, North America, South America; Mexico, New Mexico; North Dakota, South Dakota; North Carolina, South Caroline; Virginia West Virginia; England, New England; London, New London; York, New York; Jersey, New Jersey; North Pole, South Pole.

Like the winds, our names seem to blow away inherited hatreds.

One wonders whether the names east China and west China would do the same for the China tangle? Or would old China and new China do better, with the name Formosa gone with the wind? All Chinese dislike it anyway.

They call Formosa Taiwan-Tie-

Wan-gem of the Pacific.

The Good People of Alameda Are Extremely Proud of the Great Naval Air Station in Their City

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, for the second consecutive year the military and civilian personnel at the Naval Air Station, Alameda, have offered overwhelming proof that their loyalty, devotion, and pride in the service of their country is equaled only by their sense of community interest and responsibility.

This fact was clearly evidenced when the generous sum of \$107,400 was contributed by personnel of the Naval Air Station at the close of the 1954 United Crusade campaign in December. This figure represented a joint United Cru-\$ade-Navy relief effort, with \$93,000 going to the United Crusade fund and \$14,400

to the Navy Relief Society.

Mammoth facsimile checks for the colossal amounts were presented by Capt. Louis E. French, commanding officer of the air station, and head of the military department of the 1954 East Bay United Crusade, to representatives of the two charities in a colorful ceremony. Selmer H. Berg, Crusade campaign chairman, received the United Crusade donation, and Lt. Comdr. Earl D. Payne, NAS special services officer, and NAS chairman for Navy Relief, accepted the Navy Relief donation.

The grand total of \$107,400 exceeded last year's record of \$100,000. Civilian Dersonnel as a group, gave 8 percent more this year to reach a new high of \$9.29

per capital.

The \$93,000 raised for the United Crusade fund is considered especially meritorious because it was attained despite a loss of 2,500 personnel since the 1953

campaign.

As head of the military department of the 1954 East Bay United Crusade, Captain French directed and coordinated the Crusade efforts of more than a dozen Army, Navy, Marine, and Air Force activities in the Oakland area and adjacent communities. His representative in the extremely successful campaign aboard the Naval Air Station was Comdr. Robert F. Farrington, NAS executive officer, who served as chairman of the NAS Crusade drive.

Once again NAS Alameda has proved it is a real member of this community and a good neighbor indeed—

Said Captain French.

It's a pleasure to report that 97 percent of our personnel participated in the campaign. These people of good will, who reside in various cities and towns throughout the bay area believe in the crusade slogan, "Give where you work and benefit where you live"—

Added Captain French.

All hands at NAS, Alameda, deserve the Navy's traditional "well done" for a wonderful job—

Commander Farrington said.

And the reason the station personnel gave, more than ever before is that they realized the increased needs of the community and gave accordingly—

Commander Farrington added.

The inspired leadership of Captain French and Commander Farrington in the NAS Crusade drive was complemented by the capable and tireless efforts of a host of military personnel and civilian employees who comprised the various committees for the NAS United Crusade campaign. Notable among those who gave unstintingly of their time and effort were: Comdr. G. N. Eisenhart, assistant overhaul and repair officer; Comdr. H. D. Schultz, commander Fleet Air, Alameda staff; J. Griffith, overhaul and repair, industrial management office; C. Brunton, overhaul and repair, cost control office; W. MacDonald, industrial management office; H. V. La Juenesse, industrial relations officer; Lt. Comdr. M. E. Darchuck, NAS-Fleet Air, Alameda, public information officer; Lt. R. T. Janiec, overhaul and repair inspection group; Lt. E. J. Ryan, overhaul and repair administrative services officer; H. Stewart, NAS comptroller's office; S. Lacopoulos, chief boatswain's mate; V. Baum, chief aviation structural mechanic; F. Johnson, chief electrician's mate; and F. B. Grosso, journalist, first class.

Others active in the Crusade campaign on the unit, departmental, and divisional level included: Comdr. H. C. Rand, representing commander fleet logistics air wing, Pacific; R. Faulkner, overhaul and repair department, representing Naval Aircraft Lodge No. 739, I. A. of M.; Joseph Hanfre, overhaul and repair department, representing the Naval Air Station Association; Harry Burbach, overhaul and repair department, representing the American Federation of Government Employees, Local 1471.

S. C. Anderson, Supply Department, representing the National Federation of Federal Employees, local 712; D. Heddell, Public Works Department, representing the Masters and Foremen Association; C. D. Luders, Overhaul and Repair Department, representing the Association of Supervisors, local 17; H. H. Teilh, Overhaul and Repair Department, representing the Planners, Estimators, and Progressman Association; O. Zeisz, Overhaul and Repair Department, representing post 9919 of the Veterans of Foreign Wars.

J. Leonard, Overhaul and Repair Department, representing the Apprentice and Alumni Association; J. R. McDonald, Overhaul and Repair Department, representing the shop planners; W. Terry, Security Department, representing the Federal Naval Firefighters; Lt. Comdr. E. D. Payne, special services officer, representing the East Bay Chapter, Navy Relief Society; Lt. Comdr. H. T. Johnson, FasRon-116, representing Fleet Aircraft Service Squadron 116 and supported multiengine squadrons; Lt. I. Cushman, VR-2, representing Air Transport Squadron 2.

J. H. Cook, aviation structural mechanic, first class, VP-9, representing the Fleet Reserve Association, Branch 87; W. S. Meyers, aviation machinist's mate, third-class, NAS Special Services, representing Naval Air-Fleet Air Alameda Enlisted Recreation Council; Lt. Comdr. T. Pearce, FasRon-8, representing Fleet Aircraft Squadron 8 and supported Aircraft Squadron 8 and supported squadrons; and Ruth Barnes, Supply Department, representing the Naval Air Station, Alameda, women employees.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

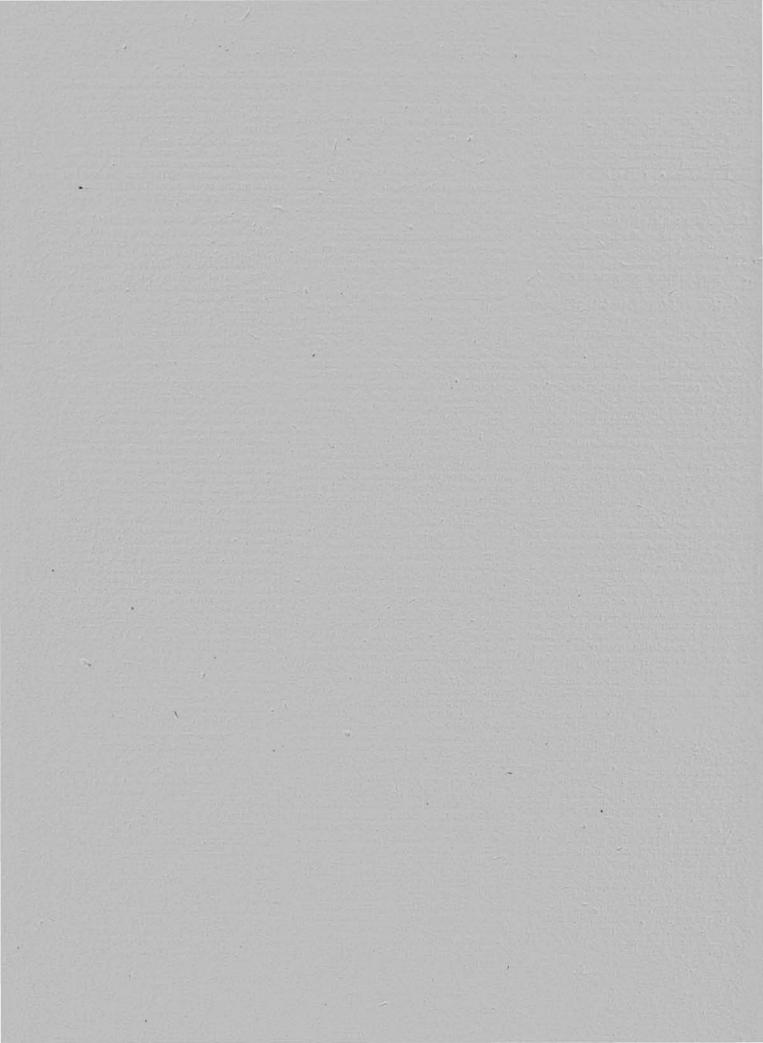
Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodle is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.



Appendix

The Fight for Freedom of the Press

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LISTER HILL

OF ALABAMA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, on January 9 last, Judge Walter B. Jones, presiding judge of the 15th Judicial Circuit of Alabama, and president of the Alabama Bar Association, addressed the Alabama Associated Press Association, meeting in Mobile. The subject of his address was The Freedom of the Press. The address is very able and timely and has received must favorable comment. Therefore, I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIGHT FOR FREEDOM OF PRESS IN COURTS BEGAN EVEN BEFORE UNITED STATES BECAME NATION, AND CONTINUES STILL, AS IT MUST EACH GENERATION

(By Judge Walter B. Jones, presiding judge of the 15th Judicial Circuit of Alabama and president of the Alabama Bar Association, in an address January 9 before the Alabama Associated Press Association meeting in Mobile)

"Let truth and falsehood grapple; Who ever knew truth put to the worse . In a free and open encounter?"

-Milton's Areopagitica.

It is firm belief with me that two of the great institutions we have in our land today which mean so much to the happiness and welfare of our people are the press and the courts. So it does not at all seem strange to me to link them together, and to think of them as copilots in the difficult journey we go to maintain liberty and freedom.

The courts and the press, while performing distinct functions in separate ways, while serving the people in a different manner, yet have in common one sublime purpose: the preservation of the freedom of our people, and its transmission, not only unimpaired—that's not sufficient—but strengthened, and made more secure for coming generations.

Primarily, the courts seek to do justice between man and man on the one side, and between man and the state on the other.

The press, through its manifold agencies, seeks to let man know what his fellowmen are thinking and doing, so he may have knowledge of their actions as a basis for his interest in their welfare, and his appreciation of them.

So it is well that these two great servants of our people be linked together.

Study as you may the pages of history and you will find no greater, no more useful lesson than that a people who have not trial by Jury, no independent judiciary, no courts meeting in public, and a people who restrict and abridge the liberty of the press live not as free and happy people but exist only as alaves and bondmen to their rulers.

JOHN MILTON, 1644

A noteworthy contribution to the cause of freedom of the press was made by John Milton, the English poet, in 1644 when he wrote Areopagitica, a speech for the liberty of unlicensed printing.

The occasion of this great essay was an order of the Long Parliament for the regu-lating of printing in England. These orders, passed and put over by the Presbyterian majority in the Long Parliament, were framed to enable the sponsors to suppress publications voicing the religious and political views of their opponents.

This order roused Milton to protest, and he issued his famous plea for unlicensed printing in the following year.

It had but little effect at the time. But you cannot measure the importance of Milton's pamphlet by the effect it had on the then political condition.

In his love for liberty—the master passion of his life—he soared far above the politics

And today the Areopagitica "holds its supremacy among his prose writings by virtue of its appeal to fundamental principles, and its triumphant assertion of the faith that all truth needs to assure its victory over error is a fair field and no favor."

STAR OF LIBERTY, 1735

A towering landmark in the struggle for freedom of the press in America is the trial in New York City, 1735, of John Peter Zenger, a poor printer, whose name is today reverenced wherever a newspaper is published.

Undoubtedly it was a study of the Zenger case which caused Jefferson to write:

Were it left to me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government. I should not hesitate a moment to prefer

In 1732 Col. William Cosby arrived in New York with his royal commission as Governor of the British colony. Prior to that time one Van Dam had acted as Governor and drawn the salary of the office.

Cosby insisted that half the salary should

be paid to him.

Van Dam refused, the matter went to the courts, and soon became an issue in politics.

PRESSES SMASHED

The official classes and the aristocracy stood by Cosby. The people took sides with Van Dam.

One Bradford, the public printer, edited the Weekly Gazette, the first New York newspaper. He took up the controversy between Cosby and Van Dam and abused and reviled Van Dam and his supporters. Bradford would not allow space in his paper for the

opposition to reply.

So a few people who believed in liberty started a paper called the Weekly Journal, and John Peter Zenger was named editor.

The paper was vigorously conducted and attacked the Government officials with great virulence.

The colonial Governor had the editor thrown in jall and had his soldiers smash Zenger's printing presses.

The grand jury refused to indict, so the Governor sent the editor back to jail until another grand jury, carefully stacked, indicted him.

COLONY UP IN ARMS

The whole colony was up in arms against the Governor's action.

When the case came up for trial, a frail old lawyer from Philadelphia, Andrew Hamilton, volunteered to defend Zenger.

The question of the guilt or innocence a poor printer charged with libel was obscured by the greater question of the liberty of the press and the right to tell the truth about Government public officials and their acts.

When the trial came up, Hamilton admitted the charges against Zenger, but defended him on the ground that the charges

This was a novel doctrine at that time, and the judges, the pliant tools of the Governor, ruled the truth of the libels could not be given in evidence.

CAUSE OF LIBERTY

"Then," Hamilton replied, "I will appeal to the jury as witnesses of the fact. The jury has a right to determine both the law and the fact, and they ought to do so.'

Then this great lawyer turned to the royal judges and, continuing in his most impressive manner, said:

"The question before you is not the cause of a poor printer, nor of New York alone; it is the cause of liberty—the liberty of op-posing arbitrary power by speaking and

writing truth." Hamilton's argument—that newspapers should always be free to print the without fear of anyone—won the jury to his side. After being out barely long enough to organize, it brought in a verdict of "not guilty."

The jury took the view that Zenger had told the truth, and he was set free.

So today when we take up and read the news and editorials in our daily or weekly newspaper, let us gratefully remember that its freedom was won in a jury trial which one American orator called the "morning star of liberty."

VIRGINIA BILL OF RIGHTS

George Mascn, of Virginia, "the wisest man of his generation," enunciated in the Vir-ginia bill of rights, the 14 great foundationstones of free government, his finest political contribution to the Nation. It has been pronounced as "the most complete, most symmetrical summary of the rights of man and the principles of free government that has ever been furnished to the world." In the 11th article of this declaration of rights, Mason upholds the freedom of the press as one of the great supports of liberty. His

"That freedom of the press is one of the great bulwarks of liberty, and can never be restrained but by despotic governments."

BIG CONTRAST

Theodoric Bland in 1819 compared Mason's declaration of rights with Magna Carta, and

"The famous English bill of rights is a contract with nobility and royalty-a compromise with despotism, in which the voice of the people is heard in a tone of disturbed supplication and prayer.

'But in this declaration of Mason's, man seems to stand erect in all the majesty of his nature, to assert the inalienable rights and equality with which he had been endowed by his Creator, and to declare the fundamental principles by which all rulers should be controlled, and in which all governments should rest.

"The contrast is striking, the difference prodigious."

A549

HAMILTON IN FEDERALIST

Alexander Hamilton, one of our country's most intelligent statesmen, in an address to the people of the State of New York, urging the ratification of the Federal Constitution, noted the objection that the Constitution contained no bill of rights, no summary of the rights and privileges claimed by the peo-ple. He said that such was unnecessary and might even prove dangerous, and he asked:

"What is the liberty of the press?" "Who can give it any definition which would not leave the utmost latitude for eva-I hold it to be impracticable; and from this I infer that its security, whatever fine declarations may be inserted in any constitution respecting it, must altogether de-pend on public opinion, and on the general spirit of the people and of the Government."

MILL'S ESSAY ON LIBERTY

John Stuart Mill's essay on liberty is another great document for liberty of thought and expression. All of us should be familiar with his words on the liberty of thought and discussion. There he declared that there ought to be no defense necessary for the liberty of the press.

He regarded it as one of the securities against corrupt or tyrannical government. In his opening paragraph Mills said:

"No argument can now be needed against permitting a legislature or an executive not identified in interest with the people, to prescribe opinions to them, and determine what doctrines or arguments they shall be allowed to hear."

John Mill's essay on liberty should be studied and known by all men in lawmaking bodies, by all in the newspaper profession, and by all who believe in the freedom of the press.

KEEP COUETS OPEN

If we value our liberties in this country, and wish them to endure for the benefit and happiness of those who are to come after us, we must at all times do everything to keep the proceedings of our courts public.

Some three centuries ago there was in England a secret royal tribunal known as the Court of the Star Chamber, a sort of private or personal court of the monarch. became, under the arbitrary management of the Tudors, an instrument most hateful for overthrowing the political liberties England.

As the years went by the Court of the Star Chamber became more unsavory, and assumed the right to hear and determine every alleged misdemeanor, attempts to commit felonies and acts of disrespect to the state and persons in authority.

It was one of the most despised courts known to English history, and was a power-ful support of arbitrary government.

we do not wish courts of the star chamber, or courts like them, in this country-and there are voices from time to time urging secrecy in many aspects of judicial proceedings, and making the specious claim that secret proceedings best bring about justice—then let us see to it that the two great partners in the administrations of justice, the courts and the press, labor together, hand in hand.

NO SECRECY

Let us keep the doors of our courts open. their sessions free to be visited at all times by all persons.

Let us have no secrecy in our trials, no covert proceedings.

Let justice be done out in the open sunlight where all may see.

Let judges and jurors hold their trials in public where all are free to come and observe them at work.

Let court proceedings be without censorshin.

Let judges respect the very first section of our Federal Bill of Rights, that the freedom of the press be not abridged.

LET PRESS IN COURT

Let there be a press table in every courtroom. Let the news reporter have his rightful seat there.

Give the press photographer the opportunity to reproduce what the eye sees for the benefit of the absent.

Respect the right of the editor to freely comment on court proceedings and judicial decrees, condemning what his conscience tells him to be wrong and unjust in them, and commending what is right and just under the law of the land.

Encourage the publisher to issue from his presses, daily and weekly, what his report-ers report, what his photographers photograph, and the editorials his editors write.

Do these things and the people, whose justice the courts administer, will have a healthy interest in the work of their jurors and judges, and a desire to have part in the exalted work of their courts.

Do these things, and there will be fewer citizens trying to shirk jury duty and more people willing to serve in the jury box, and do their part as priests in the temple of justice.

MOST CAN'T ATTEND

There is no need, of course, to argue the advantages and the desirability of newspaper coverage-full and complete-of all public proceedings, especially those in the courts of justice.

But this thought does occur to me: There are two classes of people interested in public proceedings-those who can attend them in person and those who are absent.

The people in the courtroom, personally attending a trial, know just what goes on. They see with their own eyes and hear with their own ears.

But the larger group, those who cannot attend the trial, the thousands scattered over the State who are vitally interested in court proceedings, also have a right to know what goes on.

The only way the absent can enjoy this right is for the press to report in the dallies and weeklies the proceedings of the courts and other public bodies.

So this large group of people need the newspaper reporter, the photographer, and the editor to serve them so they may know what takes place.

GREAT TRUTH

Let us never forget this great truth: When the people meekly surrender one of their freedoms, or lose one because they are too lazy or cowardly to battle for it, this encourages and emboldens the enemies of freedom to strike down another freedom.

And when they have destroyed this second freedom, then the attack is renewed against yet other freedoms.

Finally all liberty and freedom have perished, and the people become slaves-subjects to arbitrary and despotic power.

So let us all, when an assault is made on one of our freedoms, stand up and meet the assault head-on, yield not one inch of ground-and throw into the struggle the best that's in us.

If we do not do this, then we lose in piecemeal fashion all of our liberties-one loss following quickly after another.

NO COMPROMISE

There can be no compromise.

There can be no appeasement.

There can be no traffic with the enemies of the great freedoms recognized in the Bill of Rights.

We must battle for all of them-and never show the white flag of fear.

For it is true that it is written by the finger of Almighty God-upon the everlasting tablets of the universe—that liberty once destroyed, freedom once struck down not, like the Phoenix, rise in youthful freshness from its own ashes.

Oftener liberty and freedom are gone forever, or at least sometimes lost for long cen-turies, until a strong and courageous generation worthy to hold and enjoy them comes again into the world.

EACH GENERATION'S FIGHT

The liberties we now have, the freedoms we now enjoy, do not live on simply because our forefathers in some great battle, or in some parliament or senate, won them and bequeathed them to us.

No! Freedom must be claimed and struggled for by every generation as it comes on

the stage of history.

Each generation must take up the torch of liberty and hold it high and steady if we would enjoy the blessings of free speech, a free press and courts which are influenced only by the principles of fairness and justice-administered under the known and established law of the land.

So let us here now highly resolve that we will continue with all the strength, with all the courage, and with all the fidelity that is in us, to do battle for our cherished free-

doms of speech and of the press.

Let us hand them down to our children. without one thread in their glorious fabric torn or weakened, without one stain.

Let every thread be made even stronger. Let their glorious colors brighten more

and more the lives of our people. Let this be so in order that our people, seeing, may liken the appearance of their precious rights, in the words of the Old Testament phrase, "to apples of gold in pictures of silver."

Panama Railroad Centenary: 1855-1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, the Panama Canal Society of Washington, D. C., of which Mr. Andrew W. Dewling is president and Mr. Martin A. Seiler is secretary-treasurer, on January 29, 1955, in the Nation's Capital, celebrated with a luncheon meeting at the Burlington Hotel the 100th anniversary of the completion of the Panama Rail-

The occasion was notable for the large number present who were associated with the building of the Panama Canal and others who rendered distinct services for the Panama Railroad Company. Also present were a number of ladies who had lived in the isthmus during the construction years.

The attendants included Hon. Maurice H. Thatcher, sole surviving member of the Isthmian Canal Commission and Civil Governor of the Canal Zone during the construction era, who later served several terms in the Congress as a Representative from Kentucky and was the author of important legislation for the benefit of the canal and the isthmus. An out-of-town visitor was Mr. William R. McCann, consulting engineer of Hopewell, Va., who started his engineering career on the isthmus during the building of the canal and through the years since then has retained his interest in the problems of the Panama Canal, of which he is a keen student.

Also among those present was Capt. Miles P. DuVal, United States Navy, retired, former captain of the port, Pacific division, 1941-44, and author of 2 excellent volumes on the Panama Canal, with a third in progress.

Governor Thatcher served as toastmaster, and it was my privilege to be the guest speaker. The text of my address follows:

ADDRESS OF SENATOR THOMAS E. MARTIN BE-FORE THE PANAMA CANAL SOCIETY OF THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA AT ITS LUNCHEON MEETING IN WASHINGTON, D. C., JANUARY 29, 1955, IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 100TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE OPENING TO TRAFFIC OF THE PANAMA RAILROAD COMPANY

Mr. Toastmaster, ladies and gentlemen, 100 years ago, on January 27, 1855, raillaying gangs were eagerly working on the final lap in building the Panama Railroad. At midnight, in the tropical darkness and rain, the last rail was laid near Summit, at a point 37 miles from the Atlantic terminus and 101/2 miles from Panama.

The next day was Sunday. People on the isthmus, filled with festival spirit, gathered at points along the line of the railroad to the first trans-1sthmian train. Apprised of its approach by the shrill sound of the locomotive whistle, they awaited the train

with mingled feelings.

In the course of the trip, it passed through jungles and forests, across pleasant valleys and dreadful swamps, over wide chasms and around mountain tops. As it rattled along toward Panama, the onlookers, impressed by the appearance of the train and the facility with which it was handled, gave lusty cheers.

To them, it meant the end of pack mules and muddy trails, which for so long had been the principal means for travel over the continental divide. It represented the culmination of more than 6 years of heroic effort. It was the omen of good times to

What were the principal features of this celebrated railroad? It traversed the Isth-mus in one of the two places where the land is lowest; the other place was Nicaragua. It was a single track road 471/2 miles long and the final cost of completion was approxi-

mately \$8 million. The gauge was 5 feet.

The last, because it is wider than our standard gauge of 4 feet 8½ inches, has been a subject of endless discussion and numerous writings. Many, who visit the isthmus and do not have the opportunity to examine all the angles of the problem, go away to urge changing over to standard gauge. They do not know that this matter has been studied previously and rejected, based on economic considerations.

In the course of construction there developed a number of fables well-known to all who have lived on the isthmus. One of these was that the station Matachin, being a corruption of the verbe matar, meaning to kill and chino meaning Chinese, was so named because of the death of large numbers of Chinese who worked on the project. Another was to the effect that there was a "dead man for every tie."

Historical research has revealed some interesting facts. The name, Matachin, was on isthmian maps long before the start of the Panama Railroad and arrival of the Chi-

nese laborers.

The total force during the construction period was estimated at 6,000 men. Deaths during that time totaled 835 (whites, 295; blacks, 140; and Chinese, 400). This rate was not great under the health conditions that then obtained in the Tropics. About 140,000 ties were used.

These facts throw into irrefutable discard these widely quoted fables of the isthmus. In the perspective of history, the comple-tion of the Panama Railroad is tremendously

significant. It was the first major American construction project in the Tropics. It was the first transcontinental railroad of the three Americas. Its timely inauguration, following the discovery of gold in California, facilitated the settlement of the Far West. It was the first great step toward constructing an isthmian waterway. Thus, the builders of the Panama Railroad were the true pioneers of the Panama Canal.

Years later when French interests decided to undertake a canal project at Panama, as they had at Suez, one of the main factors that led Ferdinand de Lesseps to chose that route was the existence of an operating railroad. Recognizing that this road would be essential in construction of a canal, the

French gained control of it.

The tremendous French effort at Panama, 1879-89, is a dramatic story. Starting in brilliance and ending in tragedy, the collapse had repercussions that shook France to the roots. Nevertheless, the endeavor had its constructive aspects. Most significant was a legacy of engineering knowledge, that was to be of great value later. They also left the Panama Railroad.

Here it should be recorded that in 1879 when the French enterprise was being organized, there was a heated debate as to the type of canal. Unfortunately for them this issue was not resolved on the basis of its merits. Instead, the Congress of Paris called to decide that fundamental question was induced by its promoters, led by De Lesseps, to approve what was a predetermined objective of a sea-level undertaking. That decision, because of the magnitude of the undertaking, guaranteed its ultimate failure even before starting.

The French effort, nevertheless, demonstrated the vastness of the canal project and the inability of private enterprise to conduct so extensive an undertaking. It also emphasized the importance of the Monroe Doctrine. Moreover, it forced the United States to adopt a national policy of an American canal under American control.

This policy became active coincident with events preceding the Spanish-American War. In implementing it, the Congress on recom-mendation of President McKinley, directed a comprehensive investigation of the Nicaragua route by a Nicaragua Canal Commission, 1897-99, followed by an examination of all interoceanic canal routes by an Isthmian Canal Commission, 1899-1902. To head these two commissions, the President selected Rear Adm. John Grimes Walker, from my home State of Iowa, who was one of the leading naval officers of that time.

It was the work of these two commissions under Admiral Walker that supplied the technical basis for the choice of the Panama route. This fact alone establishes him as a leading architect in the evaluation of Isthmian Canal policy of the United States.

The American effort at Panama attracted world attention, with President Theodore Roosevelt as its great leader. Work had hardly started when construction was complicated by revival of the fundamental question of the type of canal, based largely on hypothetical questions of the comparative vulnerability of the types.

Fortunately, at the critical period, President Roosevelt had selected as chief engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission one of the greatest engineers of the Nation-John Stevens, builder of the Great Northern Railroad and discoverer of Grand Marais Pass through which it was constructed.

After studying available literature and observing the terrain of the isthmus, which he crossed by foot, Mr. Stevens decided in favor of a high level lake and lock type. Coming to Washington in 1906, he led in a memorable legislative struggle known as the battle of the levels. In that, the advantages and disadvantages of each type, including the ques-

tion of vulnerability (now called security) was fully debated.

With the support of the Isthmian Canal Commission, Secretary of War W. H. Taft and President Theodore Roosevelt, the views of Mr. Stevens prevailed. Congress directed

Mr. Stevens prevaled. Congress directed construction of the high-level (lake and lock) type. That was the great decision in building the Panama Canal.

For that notable achievement President Roosevelt rewarded Mr. Stevens by appointing him to the combined positions of chairman and chief engineer of the Isthmian Canal Commission—the first man to be so honored.

Subsequently, Mr. Stevens left Canal service. The project was brought to completion by others under the chairmanship of Col. George W. Goethals, substantially in accord

with the Stevens plan.

In constructing the canal, two stupendous problems were excavation of Culebra Cut and the disposition of spoil. In the solution of both, the transportation afforded by the Panama Railroad was the key. The brilliant performance of that 47½-mile railroad during those action-packed years constitutes an enduring monument in transportation history.

When opened to traffic in 1914, the Panama Canal was recognized as the greatest engineering achievement of man. The transit since then of about 240,000 vessels of various types and the contributions of the canal during two World Wars prove both the success of the project and the wisdom of Congress and the President in adopting the high-level plan in preference to the tidal lock proposal.

Now more than 40 years have passed since inauguration of the canal. Possibly because it has been viewed as a completed work, the canal has not kept pace with progress expected of a great interoceanic utility.

As the first step toward improvement of its administration, Congress in 1950 enacted legislation changing the name of the Panama Railroad Company to the Panama Canal Company with jurisdiction over transit and commercial operations. This law also created the Canal Zone Government with jurisdiction over the purely governmental functions. The enterprise is still in the growing pains of adjusting to the new setup, which is required to be self-sustaining.

Other problems facing the Nation are how to increase the capacity of the Panama Canal and whether to construct a second canal at Nicaragua or elsewhere.

For the Panama Canal, many independent canal experts have urged the modification of the authorized third locks project to provide a summit anchorage on the Pacific side of the isthmus to correspond with that on the Atlantic. Other interests, in the name of security, have campaigned vigorously for construction of a practically new Panama Canal that would abandon the largest part

of the existing waterway.

Here I wish to pay a tribute to my former colleague, the late Representative Willis W. Bradley, of California, who in 1947 addressed this society after a trip to the Canal Zone. A careful student of the interoceanic canals question, he became the spokesman of the Congress on that subject. His addresses and writings, published in the Congressional RECORD, vigorously and fearlessly clarified the issues. They are classics of exposition that should be read by every serious student of the canal problem.

But the form of the Panama Canal and the question of a new Isthmian Canal are not the only problems facing the country. There are also those of diplomatic and economic character.

In the diplomatic field, there would be the question of a new treaty for constructing a new canal at Panama or elsewhere. In the economic, there are the questions of costs and their effect on transit tolls. Since tolls must be calculated to reflect the costs of construction, maintenance, operation, protection, sanitation and civil government, the economic factor is a matter of national and international concern. Yet we do not have expert independent opinions on any of these important elements that constitute the Isthmian Canal policy of the United States.

To supply the Congress with the best means of arriving at a wisely reasoned and stable policy, last Thursday I introduced a measure (S. 766) to create an independent and broadly based Interoceanic Canals Commission to conduct the necessary studies and to make its recommendations. In my judgment, this is the indispensable way to have this tremendously important subject properly examined under the everchanging conditions of this dynamic age, with all views presented, and a full, fair evaluation made. Congress would thus be able to determinenot only the best plan for the needed increased facilities of the Panama Canal, but, as well, the other long-range questions in-Undoubtedly, this solution merits volved. general consideration and support.

Just a few words in conclusion. On the isthmus, I understand, this hundredth anniversary is being appropriately observed, and the Canal Zone Government has issued a postage stamp in commemoration.

I am sure that, for many years to come, the Panama Railroad will continue its great historic role in relation to the Panama Canal and isthmian affairs.

It is most fitting that the Panama Canal Society of Washington should celebrate this centenary date, and I thank you very much indeed for the invitation to be present to-day, and to speak to you.

To those of you who worked in the Panama Railroad organization, or that of the Isthmian Canal Commission, in the construction era of the Panama Canal, I desire to extend my heartiest congratulations for the vastly important work you did; also to the good women who made your homes and shared whatever of good or ill fortune was yours during that period, I would tender sincerest commendation. The Nation and the world owe you much, and forever they will be your debtors.

Robert P. Tristram Coffin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE

OF MAINE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a brief statement prepared by me, and three editorials regarding the death, on January 20, 1955, of Prof. Robert Peter Tristram Coffin, nationally renowned Pulitzer prize-winning poet, and one of the outstanding citizens of the State of Maine.

There being no objection, the statement and editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN (Statement by Senator Payne)

In the death of Robert Peter Tristram Coffin, whose untimely end occurred as he was preparing to do what he loved best, unite man with nature, Maine and the world have lost a great and beloved poetguide. For, even though the Maine bard was intrinsically and deeply rooted to the

natural virtues of his State, his message was universal. So fired was Tristram Coffin with the urge to acquaint man with those Godgiven things that count, that he was compelled to take his message beyond the borders of his country.

Born in Brunswick, Maine, the site of Bowdoin College, Coffin was raised on a saltwater farm tilled by his father on Great Island, in Casco Bay. Following the illustrious footsteps of two earlier Bowdoin literary figures, Nathaniel Hawthorne and Henry W. Longfellow, Coffin was graduated from that institution summa cum laude in 1915. From there he went to Princeton where he gained his A. M., and thence to Oxford as Rhodes scholar from Maine.

It was at Oxford that Coffin began writing his poetry and almost at once he exhibited an uncanny deftness and feeling for many of those subjects on which Hawthorne and Longfellow had so magnificently dwelt. As was the case with Longfellow, who as a child found his imagination capturing the beauty and adventure of the sea from the wharves of Portland, and about which he later wrote, Coffin also found himself returning to his childhood and putting into poetry those early scenes which had become imprinted on his mind.

A Pulitzer prize winner in 1936 for his Strange Holiness, a volume concerning his favorite topics, Coffin lectured and taught at many of the leading colleges and universities in this country and abroad. Among these were Columbia, Johns Hopkins, University of New Hampshire, University of Cincinnati, Harvard University University of Indiana, University of Florida, and the University of Athens in Greece.

He was book review and poetry editor of Yankee at one time, taught for 5 years at the Corpus Christi Fine Arts Colony, inaugurated the George Elliston professorship of poetry at the University of Cincinnati, and was largely responsible, while a professor at Wells, for founding and carrying on the Oxford idea of honor work in English Literature.

As a poet, lecturer, essayist, and biographer, Professor Coffin possessed not only a brilliant academic mind but he possessed a practical viewpoint as well that enabled him to blend such rarity into his works. With an ingenious facility he combined them both to make himself a master spokesman in "the art of making people feel well about life."

The tall and portly poet, with an imposingly sweeping moustache, once described himself as looking like a pirate. Although there were no pirates in his lineage, he did come from a family of early seafarers. He was a descendant of the Coffins of Nantucket, a famous early American whaling family. One of his early books, Lost Paradise, was built on his memories of island life. Later he compiled a collection of poems which he called Salt Water Farm. A biography of his father, Portrait of an American, won him honorary life membership in the National Arts Club.

As a teacher and lecturer he inspired his audiences and filled their minds with a wonderful awe and appreciation of the Pine Tree State and all its natural attributes. Salty sea spray, wind-swept fields, towering pines, rock-ribbed coasts, and, yes, even blueberry pie. These he instilled in the minds of his listeners.

And even though the atomic age, at the time of his death, was fully on him, its impact seemed only to spur his prolific pen in the ways of Nature. Although he never labored the point, you knew that Robert Peter Tristram Coffin, the apostle of Nature, was praising God for endowing Maine with such an abundance of magnificence, and for making him its leading spokesman.

[From the New York Times of January 21,

ROBERT P. TRISTRAM COFFIN

Robert P. Tristram Coffin had two great loves—one can really call them passions—poetry and Maine. And out of Maine he made the poetry: the bitter tang of the sea, the pungency of fir and bayberry, "the cranberries touched red by frost." "This is my country," he wrote, and nowhere in his writings is his native State long absent, either the place or the people. He loved and celebrated, often uncritically, their unwavering independence, their yea-saying, their Emersonian self-reliance.

It must not be thought that Mr. Coffin was a local rustic bard, tuning his song to a homemade lyre. He was a Rhodes scholar, member of Phi Beta Kappa, author of more than 30 books, a Pulitzer prize winner in poetry, a teacher of long standing, both in his own State and elsewhere. But he turned back to Maine because he felt that life there could be made most meaningful. Urban civilization repelled him; it was axiomatic to him that country living was superior to city life, that a man could get down to things that count only when he was close to earth and to nature.

His poetry reflects this. It is full not only of New England ways and people but of common things, carefully observed. His verse was sometimes roughhewn, unplaned, or homespun, but he never cared. They were virtues he prized in life. And there will always be those who, forced to live in a civilization that is mechanized, streamlined, and brassy, will turn to his work for a glimpse of a life that is simpler, unfettered, and, as he would have said, more beautiful.

[From the Portland (Maine) Press Herald of January 22, 1955]

Maine Loses Another Distinguished Man

The face of Robert P. Tristram Coffin bespoke ruggedness, kindness, and intelligence. These characteristics of a memorable face typified the personality and career of Bowdoin's poet who died before his time in Portland Thursday night.

He can in truth be called Bowdoin's poet, because as the college's president, Dr. James S. Coles, said, "Bowdoin was always one of his loves and all of Bowdoin loved him." Bowdoin revered him for the mark he made beyond the borders of the town where he went to college and later returned to teach. He succeeded in the fiercely competitive field of poetry and literature, succeeding not through talent alone but through sincerity and an authentic devotion to his family and his country.

his country.

Like his famous predecessor and fellow alumnus, Henry W. Longfellow, Robert Coffin was a consumer of literature as well as a producer, a scholar and teacher as well as a poet. Many worldly honors were his, a Rhodes scholarship, a Pulitzer prize, a Fulright fellowship, and certainly these rewards brought him a deserved happiness, but the measure of the man is also shown by his pleasure in the quiet academic life of the Bowdoin campus.

He found great reward in opening the doors of good literature to young men who would survive him to teach, to write poetry, to inspire.

[From the Lewiston (Maine) Journal of January 21, 1955] BELOYED BOB COPPLY

The passing of Prof. Robert P. T. Coffin, of Bowdoin College, removes from Maine the State's most noted modern poet. His death also deprives his college of an unusual teacher and a writer of English textbooks.

"Bobby," as he always was referred to by his students, loved Maine deeply. In both poetry and prose he extolled the Maine life. His poems were concerned with the commonplaces of life; the little things the average individual overlooks or dismisses with a shrug.

His ability to extract from these the common denominators of living enabled him to paint graphic, lyrical word pictures of the universals of life—nature in its glory and wonder, man in his daily tasks and the home with its attendant joy and pathos.

In a real sense he was able to translate for his readers the beauties of nature and the rewarding virtues of such hard work as chopping wood or milking the cows. His imagery was ever vivid. His style was pure and readily understood even when the simile involved such complexities of nature as a spider spinning her web in the noonday sun.

Through the poetry and prose of Professor Coffin, readers the Nation over came to be familiar with the sait spray, the smell of fir and bayberry, the joys of blueberry picking and blueberry pie, to name a few typical subjects of his pen. And Maine people came to appreciate more fully the wonders of their State because of his writing.

State because of his writing.

It was this selfsame ability that won for him the Pulltzer prize in 1935 for his book Strange Hollness.

A prolific writer, he continued to the day of his death to produce compelling poetry founded upon his microscopic attention to the Maine scene.

Why Are We Afraid?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that there be printed in the Appendix of the Record an interesting editorial commentary, broadcast on January 28 by the Honorable Nathan Straus, over radio station WMCA, in New York City. The title of his remarks was "Why Are We Afraid?" and in them he discusses the dual problems of immigration and security.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY ARE WE AFRAID?

(Editorial broadcast over station WMCA by Nathan Straus, Friday, January 28, 1955)

Much has been said and printed about the injustices of the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act and the injustices of the security-loyalty program of the Federal Government. Our present-day immigration law and our present a turn in the direction America is taking—a turn so abrupt as to constitute a reversal of traditional Americanism. WMCA believes that these changes can be understood only as twin aspects of a new fear, something akin to unreasonable terror and panic

America was once a land, free and open to entry by all seeking a new hope and a new home, a place where independence of mind and security of person were both respected. The McCarran-Walter Immigration Act of 1952 with its rigid entry provisions, with its system of quotas designed to keep out immigrants from southern Europe and Asia, has slammed the gates in the faces of many seeking to find new opportunities and new freedom within our borders. Simultaneous-

ly, our present loyalty-security program constitutes a repudiation of the most sacred of rights guaranteed in the first amendment—respect for the dignity of the individual.

It seems to us at WMCA that it is no accident that these two reversals of policy both have taken place within the last few years. For it is only within the last few years that we have grown timid and afraid.

What is this fear costing us? What are the penalties imposed on ourselves by these

new un-American policies?

Our retreat from our ideals has earned us the contempt of other peoples, as Dr. J. Robert Oppenheimer, eminent physicist, recently pointed out in an interview. We are embarrassed that we cannot hold scientific congresses in this country since foreign scientists find it so difficult to obtain entry visas. This is, in Dr. Oppenheimer's words: "A wholly fantastic and grotesque way to meet the threat of espionage. Just an enormous apparatus, surely not well designed for that," and, he added, "terrible for those of us who live with it."

Indeed, although Dr. Oppenheimer did not mention it, while we keep out eminent scientists, we let in former Nazis and Fascists,

If we had had a McCarran-Walter Act on the books when Prof. Albert Einstein came to this country, the father of nuclear fission probably would not have been admitted at Ellis Island. The same could be said of the late Dr. Fermi who built the first atomic pile.

It is true, too, of other European scientists who, during the black years of Hitler, found a welcome here and helped to unlock the secret of the atom. Without them, we would not have been the first Nation to produce an atomic bomb. Instead, Nazi Germany might well have been first. Let us not forget that the development of the atom bomb marked a turning point in the history of the world and that we are indebted, for that achievement, to scholars and scientists who found refuge here from discrimination and oppression abroad. How can we hope to lead the world in any branch of science, of medicine, of education if we wall ourselves in a prison of our own making?

Moreover, the present quota system which discriminates against Asians and against Africans has introduced a shameful racism into the law of the land that once was known

as the land of freedom.

Although there was much publicity when Congress passed a special refugee relief act which, theoretically, was to take care of a quarter of a million new immigrants, the act was so written as to be a mere plous gesture. Actually, only 75 people have been admitted under this relief act, passed a year and a half ago. The refugee relief act has fooled no one, least of all the unfortunate people who are still trying to escape from tyranny to freedom.

But this will be changed if Congress has the wisdom to enact the new immigration bill introduced by Senator Lehman—a bill which he will undoubtedly reintroduce at this session of Congress.

Senator Lehman's bill does away with obstructive redtape, does away with a color line, does away with the national origins business. It simply sets an annual limit of 250,000 immigrants. Up to that number, all who are worthy, qualified, and healthy would be welcome.

The passage of such a bill by Congress would throw sand in the propaganda mills of Moscow and Peiping. Then, the Communists could no longer say that the United States is the only large nation in the world having an immigration law which draws a color line. The enactment of the Lehman bill would restore American prestige throughout the world.

Once again, the Statue of Liberty would be, as Emma Lazarus called her, "mother of exiles," who "cries with silent lips: 'Give me your tired, your poor, your huddled masses yearning to breathe free'." So much for the McCarran-Walter Act, which is one aspect of our new timidity. The same kind of unreasonable fear is shown in present security-loyalty procedures. How can we hope to keep our self-respect, and that of other nations, when we figuratively burn at the stake Government servants who have performed no disloyal act?

Everyone knows the cases of a few individuals who, either by reason of prominence or by reason of contacts with newspapers or radio, have been able to bring their cases to public attention. But for every man or woman whose fate is publicized, there are hundreds of little people whose reputations are blemished and whose livelihoods are destroyed by unproven innuendos and reckless charges.

The administration responsible for this mess should get us out of it. How? By appointing a nonpartisan commission—a commission that would examine present security procedures and work out fair methods for screening Government employees and those in defense industries.

The issue is bigger than Congress, bigger than the executive departments, bigger than the army of more than 2 million Government servants. When there is a climate of distrust in the Government, when every employee fears his fellow worker, when long and loyal service is repaid by persecution, this way of doing things spreads throughout the whole country and we lose our strength as a free people.

strength as a free people.

The tragedy of the cold war against the dictatorships is that the democracles, in a spirit of panic, may adopt the very methods of communism itself. The day of victory for totalitarianism will be here when its spirit as well as its practices become accepted in our own country. Dictatorship will have conquered democracy if ever suspicion of neighbors, spying on friends, condemnation without trial, are recognized practices here as they are in the dictatorships, whether on the left or on the right, whether in Soviet Russia or in Fascist Spain. That would be their ultimate and complete triumph.

Congressional Committee Procedures

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Congress Sets Bad Example," published in the Devils Lake Journal of Devils Lake, N. Dak., of January 11, 1955. The editorial deals with the congressional committee procedures.

I call attention particularly to the third paragraph of the editorial:

Although congressional secrecy was high in 1953, it rose to new levels last year. A national columnist figures that in 1954 41 percent of all congressional committee sessions were conducted behind closed doors, as compared with 0.4 percent in the previous year.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

CONGRESS SETS BAD EXAMPLE

Congress is setting a bad example as one of the worst offenders in the continual fight for the right to know.

Congress, over the years, has become more and more secretive, conducting more and

more of its business behind closed doors, Neither the public nor the press are welcome at these closed hearings, only the poliwho have a habit of engaging in shameful shenanigans which occasionally come under the merciless glare of publicity.

Although congressional secrecy was high in 1953, it rose to new levels last year. A na-tional columnist figures that in 1954, 41 percent of all congressional committee sessions were conducted behind closed doors, as compared with four-tenths of 1 percent in the previous year.

The Senate, probably more impressed with its importance, was the greater offender in this regard during the last 2-year sessions than the House of Representatives, the respective percentages being 39 to 35. However, more of the House business was conducted in secret last year, 43 percent, than in the Senate, 39.

Joint committees of Congress held 61 per-

cent of their hearings in secret during the

2-year period.

Part of the reason for the increasing number of closed sessions may lie in the fact that they deal with questions involving the national security. But that hardly explains the secretiveness of some of the committees, which deal in little, if any, information that could be detrimental to the national wel-

For example, the most secretive of all major committees in 1954 was the Education and Labor group in the House, which could hardly be considered in a class with such groups as the Armed Services and Atomic Energy Committees. We expect them to discuss matters which should be kept from

the enemy.

But the American people have a right to raise a suspicious eyebrow when a group concerned with education and labor leads all the rest in the number of its closed hearings.

Mouthings about representative govern ment and democracy sound a bit strange from Congressmen who at the same time would deny their constituents the right to

know what is going on in Washington.

Allowances should be made for security information, of course, but any other activities of the government are the people's business. In a government of the people, by the people, and for the people it cannot be other-

Arkansas Way of Life Sells Egyptian on America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. WILLIAM FULBRIGHT

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. FULBRIGHT. Mr. President. I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "The Arkansas Way of Life Sells Egyptian on America," written by W. H. Halliburton, and published in the Arkansas Gazette of January 30, 1955. The article relates to a very interesting Egyptian who has been studying in my State.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE ARKANSAS WAY OF LIFE SELLS EGYPTIAN ON AMERICA

(By W. H. Halliburton)

The Arkansas way of life has sold America to Yousif Saleh El Ansary, of Maghagha, who has been in the United States since August

studying American education.
Yousif, who teaches sociology and geography in a senior high school at Maghagha, came to the United States on a grant under the Fulbright exchange student program.

Officials at the Arkadelphia educational institutions where Yousif is observing methods—the public schools and Henderson State Teachers and Ouachita Baptist Colleges—say that he is obtaining maximum benefit of his experience. Yousif—the benefit of his experience. Egyptian name equivalent of Joseph-is interested particularly in phases of American education that can be readily applied to Egyptian educational problems,

Yousif speaks excellent English and it takes an attentive ear to catch any hint of an accent. The handsome Egyptian, who has learned quickly to wisecrack in the best American fashion, is a much sought-after speaker on the luncheon club circuit at Arkadelphia and neighboring towns.

He learned his first English words in the lower elementary grades in his home town and, with many contacts with Englishmen during his later childhood, attained considerable knowledge of the language.
Since August he has learned "the Ameri-

can language." He also speaks French.

With a thorough, working knowledge of Egyptian history, Yousif can speak as confidently of the Sphinx and the Pharaohs and the pyramids as the well-educated Arkansan does of Lexington and Bull Run and Harpers Ferry-although Yousif's knowledge of hisof his native land must cover a period of about 12,000 years-about 11,600 years than the student of American history.

Yousif said that his country accepted Christianity with friendliness during the first century of the Christian era but the movement suffered a numerical setback during the great persecutions ordered by Roman Emperors. The doctrines of Islam found fertile ground in that time, he said, and gains made then grew and now there are about 19 million Moslems, and about 3 million Christians.

Yousif, an agile 30-year-old who looks as if he might have been an all-American halfback, would like to return to the United States for his doctorate.

Since he came to the United States, he has spent 18 days at Washington, where he attended orientation lectures under the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. He was assigned to the University of Buffalo (N. Y.) and since has studied school systems at Chicago, St. Louis, New Orleans, Little Rock, and Arkadelphia.

After a month at Arkadelphia he will return to Washington for an Evaluation Week, where he will make his final reports on what he has seen and done in this country. He will return to Egypt March 1.

Assassination of President Remón

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, the assassination of José Antonio Remón C., President of the Republic of Panama, constituted the most sorrowful and shocking beginning of the New Year possible.

While in a public place adjacent to the city of Panama on the evening of January 2, 1955, and conversing with friends, he was riddled with bullets from a machinegun fired from the darkness. and his death soon followed. Two others present with President Remon were killed by the same fire. The direct assassin has confessed his guilt and is in custody, pending his formal prosecution. All the facts involved have not been developed as yet. The motives involved have not as yet been fully explored, but numerous arrests have been made, and the case is being developed.

President Remón had served his country faithfully and well, and his tragic death has been the occasion for universal mourning in our sister Republic. and the Canal Zone. The people of the United States, as well as others throughout the civilized world, also join in deploring this most lamentable affair.

President Remón was one of the strongest Presidents who has thus far served Panama during the 50 years of its independent history.

On January 4, 1955, the Star and Herald, the historic daily newspaper of the isthmus, published a strong and able editorial on the subject of President Remón's death, and I ask leave to have it printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

HISTORY WILL GIVE REMÓN HIS DUE

Panamanians, majority of whom are patriots, bowed their heads in grief and not a a little shame yesterday as they followed the bier of their late President to his final resting place. José Antonio Remón C., youngest, most daring, and farsighted of any recent national president, had been struck down in cold blood by an assassin's bullets on the very eve of his greatest achievement since assuming the presidency approximately 2 years ago.

Within weeks Remón was to have signed an accord with the United States which is destined to correct certain features of Panama's treaty with Washington deemed unfair to the interests of the smaller country. This achievement, attained by the Remon administration during nearly 2 years of negotiations with Washington, was to have been the crowning glory of his regime. It is just one of many negotiations sponsored by Remón, all geared to improving economic, health, or cultural conditions for his fellow Panamanians. The document will be signed by duly authorized representatives of this nation.

But the assassin, possibly the paid slave of a Remon enemy (all great men have them and the motive of these enemies is always envy, hate for a man who has made good and won the hearts of his countrymen) has deprived Remon of that moment of glory when his fellow Panamanians would have rendered homage to him en masse. Yesterday they rendered homage, thousands strong, but tearfully, as mourners following their President to his tomb.

That enemy of Remon-and hence enemy of the Panamanian people—has disgraced momentarily the name of his homeland. Never has assassination dimmed the honor of Panamanian patriotism. Wars have been fought through the centuries-always for the attainment of liberty and justice to all citizens, always in the name of democracy. This was no war. It was a base and cowardly

Chichi Remón did not live to see the full results of his labors, but great as were his efforts in behalf of his fellow countrymen, it may be that the tragedy of his death will

serve to place him still higher in the hearts of his countrymen.

Assuredly he will never be forgotten in Panamanian history; and history being what it is, perhaps his assassination and the horror of the crime will wreathe his memory in a more effulgent light than if he had died normally after his term of office ended.

This, of course, is small solace for those who mourn his loss. But in the years to come, when Chichi Remón is revered as the martyr of his own success in aiding his people, when his picture and undoubtedly his statue are glorified by generations of Panamanians yet to come, continuing generations will call him blessed.

The jolly, sincerely friendly, and democratic executive who seemed to have no enemies will have attained by the tragedy of his death a permanent glory in Panamanian history not shared by even the founding fathers of this young nation.

The War Decision: A Call for Wisdom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial from the Topeka State Journal under date of Tuesday, January 25.

This editorial urges that we proceed with extreme caution in dealing with this very explosive issue. With that view I am in thorough accord.

In my opinion, the time had come for this Nation to take a very definite stand in the Formosa situation, and when we did, we realized we were taking some very definite risks.

Now that Congress has acted, it is most important that we make every effort to avoid open hostilities, but at the same time keep firm in the position we have

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE WAR DECISION: A CALL FOR WISDOM

Everyone can agree on at least one phase of the Presidential request for authority to use armed force to defend Formosa and the Pescadores, "if necessary."

That phase would be President Eisen-

hower's decision to seek the approval of Congress before committing the United States irreversibly to a policy that he apparently now believes is necessary—the drawing of a line which if crossed by Red China would automatically bring American intercession.

To this extent Eisenhower's calculated risk of a Formosan war differs from his predecessor Truman's uncalculated plunge into a Korean war. The President at least defers to the constitutional power of Congress to declare war, although indicating that his constitutional power as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces would be employed in emergency meanwhile, if necessary.

But there will be many differences of opinion as to the wisdom of taking such a risk, calculated or not. The most careful and honest calculations sometimes wind up with the wrong answer. And where risk of war is involved, another party is calculating too, with his own set of ifs and whens. Despite the dramatic quality of the President's message to Congress, Monday, it is hoped that the congressional decision will be made coolly, and without haste. If time is pressing, so is the destiny of millions of people pressing upon the human conscience. Washington often grows excited and assumes the people are overwhelmingly of one mind or another. In this case it cannot at all be assumed that the American people, the men and women of the towns and farms, overwhelmingly want to risk an intercontinental war the end of which no one could foretell.

We all need guidance. We all need clear vision. We all need to hope that one phase of the President's message will emerge as uppermost-his request to the United Nations "for appropriate action under its charter, for the purpose of ending present hos-tilities" in the China coast area.

It is not for the United States to act alone, if indeed it is necessary for the United States to act warlike at all. Let Congress call upon the United Nations to take the It is never too late to negotiate. is as the British Ambassador, Sir Roger Makins, said early this month, "Negotiation, you know, is not the same thing as appeasement, or peace at any price."

A fate-tempting decision looms in which our officials will need all their wisdom. We have everything to gain or everything to lose.

The School-Lunch Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated January 24, 1955, addressed to me by Mrs. Richard Wachter, of Hastings, Minn., on the subject of the school-lunch program.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

HASTINGS, MINN., January 24, 1955. DEAR SENATOR THYE: Since you are a busy man now I will get to the point. I'd like to put in my 5 cents worth on the schoollunch program which there is controversy over. This is a subject quite close to me because, as a student in high school, the superintendent asked me to be in charge

of lunchroom activities.

I know, Mr. THYE, that some of these kids, right here in Dakota County, never saw such good meals at home at best. May I add, the program wasn't nearly as well set up and complete 12 years ago as it is now, either. I hope the living conditions have changed for the better for some of those poor families in the last 12 years, too.

For 20 cents a meal the kiddles get:

1. A hot main dish, a protein included such as meat, egg, or cheese.

2. Bread.

3. Dessert, either fresh fruit, sauce, as a treat, ice cream, a good dairy product. 4. One-half pint carton of whole milk.

A well balanced and wholesome meal, don't you agree? And only 20 cents.

I know you realize that as a young farm mother, and others like me, this is an important discussion on the part of our Gov-ernment, as it is my job to fed my family

well and its important, too, to our men since it is helping to move the surplus everyone knows we have. What better way to use it than for our most prized possessions, the men and women of tomorrow.

My boys have told me that the one-half pint of milk is just a teaser. At a nominal fee it could be increased to 1 pint and use up more surplus and help out those who like milk.

I do hope you can help us keep a good program alive instead of letting it go out the window.
Sincerely,
ALVA RENELIUS WACHTER
Diehard Wachter.

The American Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN MARSHALL BUTLER

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. BUTLER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article appearing in the New York Times for January 31, 1955, which concerns a re-cent American Federation of Labor meeting at Miami Beach, Fla. It is especially encouraging to note that Mr. James A. Brownlow, president of the A. F. of L. metal trades department, has applauded President Eisenhower's program to strengthen the American merchant marine.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESIDENT HAILED ON AID TO SHIPPING-A. F. OF L. LEADER SAYS POLICY RECOGNIZES NA-TION'S NEEDS-URGES NEW SUBSIDIES

MIAMI BEACH, January 30.—An American Federation of Labor leader praised President Eisenhower today for his policy toward American shipping.

James A. Brownlow, president of the A. F. of L. metal trades department, told the department's executive council that the President had demonstrated a "comprehensive recognition of the Nation's need for an expanded shipbuilding program and a larger merchant marine."

He called on Congress to vote new subsidies for the shipping and shipbuilding in-dustries. He contended that the country's strength was being undermined by the lack of adequate financial support in these fields.

DECRIES USE OF FUNDS ABROAD

He asserted that labor unions were especially exercised over the building of ships in foreign yards with money supplied by the United States. He directed particular attention to the allocation of \$7,500,000 by the Foreign Operations Administration for construction of a destroyer escort in a shipyard in northern Italy.

A majority of the yard's workers are de-

clared communists.

In support of his plea for increased Government aid to United States shipbuilders, Mr. Brownlow said that the United States now stood tenth in ship construction, with only 2 percent of the world total. Great Britain has 38 percent, Sweden 13.4 percent and Germany 12.2 percent, he added.

He acknowledged that the United States' share would rise to 5 percent if the ship program authorized by the last Congress was carried out, but asserted that even this gain would leave this country fifth or sixth in the world listing.

FIGURES ON FOREIGN WORK

He declared that United States companies, most of them in the oil industry, were building 57 ships, aggregating 900,000 gross tons, in foreign yards. These companies, he added, are building only 4 ships, aggregating 90,000 tons, in this country.

By building ships abroad and operating them under foreign registry, he said, American employers are tearing down wage standards and fostering unemployment in the domestic shipping and shipbuilding industries. He ascribed as a factor low foreign wages. In British shipyards labor costs are roughly 28 percent below those prevailing here, he estimated.

He asserted that only 60,000 had jobs in domestic yards building ocean-going vessels and cited the wartime peak as 1,300,000.

Answer to the Atom

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, in the Sunday, January 9, issue of the magazine This Week, a Sunday magazine published by numerous newspapers throughout the United States, including the Washington Star, there appeared a very brief article entitled "Answer to the Atom," written by Nelson Trusler Johnson. Mr. Johnson was formerly Minister to China. He was a career employee of the Department of State, a man of great ability, fine tact, and high spiritual concepts. I think in writing this article, which he must have done only a few weeks before his death, he left a heritage to his family, to his friends, and to his country which ought to be preserved in the RECORD. I therefore ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ANSWER TO THE ATOM

(By Nelson Trusler Johnson)

"For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory—"

These words seem to me to be fitting words to live by in this age of the atom. To me, they establish beyond question our relationship to God.

My lawyer father used to say to me that God placed us here as trustees of His kingdom. If we accept that concept, there is no need to live in terror of the energy which we, in the performance of our trust, have released from the atom.

Man has always had within him the power to destroy himself. Instead he continues to live in God's kingdom, by His power and to His glory.

Fear doubtless first selzed our primitive ancestors when one of them for the first time produced fire, handling familiarly and harmlessly the terribly destructive force which had always held man in deadly fear and awe. Man, master of fire, built thereon the great civilization which we see all about us. The energies released by atomic fission and fusion are but the latest of the many talents with which God has trusted us. Despite obvious dangers, we dare not wrap these talents in a napkin and bury them in the ground in fear of ourselves or God. If God has trusted us, can we not then trust ourselves?

With the power that God has given us we are even now taking the first steps forward in the building of a new world to replace the old. God has opened for us and for our children the bright prospect of a new and infinitely freer world. New horizons beckon us on all sides.

Let us go forward then, in God's kingdom, trusting Him as He has trusted us and unafraid.

Fiftieth Anniversary of the Forest Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 1, 1955, congratulating the Forest Service on the occasion of its 50th anniversary.

I know that the whole Nation will join in wishing the United States Forest Service even greater success for its next 50 years. And I hope we shall heed the warnings expressed in the Post's editorial, that "while there is now general agreement on the purposes of the national forests, threats to their integrity remain in the form of efforts to lower the restrictions on one or another form of private exploitation," and that continued vigilance will be necessary to protect the high purposes of the Forest Service.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FIFTY FOR THE FOREST SERVICE

Fifty years ago today the Forest Service was formally established as a division of the Department of Agriculture. The ensuing half century has brought rich dividends for the foresight of President Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot, the first Chief Forester, who tied togethed the disparate governmental activities in this essential field of conservation. Americans have become increasingly conscious of their priceless stake in managed forests to provide timber, watershed and wildlife protection, grazing, and recreation.

The Forest Service has attracted a corps of unusually dedicated men in this task of maintaining a wise balance so as to preserve forest resources for future generations. Growth and cutting practices recommended by the Forest Service are now generally accepted in the lumbering industry (the worst violations of good practice are found on small woodlots). The public has been alerted increasingly to the importance of fire prevention. One measure of the Forest Service's success in developing these resources may be seen in the fact that receipts for use of the national forests in fiscal 1954 exceeded \$67 million, as contrasted with \$75,000 in 1905. The Forest Service also has followed a wise policy of setting aside certain prime-

val tracts as perpetual wilderness areas. One of the most unique of these is in the Superior National Forest of northern Minnesota, adjoining Canada's Quetico Provincial Park. The Quetico-Superior area provides some 5 million acres of magnificent canoe country, much of it actually roadless.

While there is now general agreement on the purposes of the national forests, threats to their integrity remain in the form of efforts to lower the restrictions on one or another form of private exploitation. The Department of Agriculture, for example, has been persuaded to give its endorsement to bills which would give holders of grazing permits what would amount virtually to property rights in the forests and would reduce the authority of the Secretary of Agriculture. Fears have not been assuaged by the appointment of former Representative Representative Wesley D'Ewart, of Montana, sponsor of one of the most extreme of the bills, as a special assistant to Secretary Benson, although there is reason to hope that Mr. D'Ewart, who has taken a constructive interest in other conservation matters, may moderate his views on this one. In any event, if the next 50 years of the Forest Service are to be as meaningful as the last, continued vigilance will be necessary to see that its high purposes are not undercut in practice.

The Military Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, the House will soon be called upon to consider the budget for the military forces of this country. We have just debated and adopted a resolution with reference to the stand this country will take on Formosa. Certainly no issue should command the attention or warrant the prolonged thought of each and everyone of us as the appropriations for our Defense Establishment.

Mr. Hanson W. Baldwin, military analyst for the New York Times has expressed himself well in the following article which I desire to insert in the Record at this point:

THE MILITARY BUDGET—AN ASSESSMENT OF PRESIDENT'S PROPOSALS AND PROBLEMS POSED FOR SURFACE FORCES

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

The President's military budget for the year starting next July 1 poses major and dangerous service problems for the future.

The budget estimates for the 1956 fiscal year reflect a projected slight drop in actual expenditures for the Department of Defense, but an approximate \$2,200,000,000 increase in obligational authority, or new appropriations, as compared with the current (1955) fiscal year.

This request for an increasse in new appropriations coincides with a planned decrease in military personnel from an approximate 3.2 million now to about 2.8 million by June 30, 1956.

Despite the maintenance of actual defense spending during the next fiscal year at approximately the current year's level, and despite the request for increased obligational authority, the Army will be reduced from approximately 24 to 20 divisions, including training divisions.

The number of Navy ships in commission will be reduced and most ships will be operated with reduced-strength crews. The Marines will withdraw 1½ divisions from the Far East, and the services' airbase and public works construction program will be stretched out or slowed down.

FUTURE PITFALLS NOTED

The 1956 defense budget, interpreted behind the lines of small type and columns of statistics, is full of pitfalls for tomorrow. Indeed, there are so many anomalies in it that the squeeze that already exists in the case of the Army, the Marine Corps and, to a lesser extent, the Navy, may become more and more stringent in future years.

This squeeze and these anomalies are reflected in the 1956 budget estimates in

many ways.

The Air Force is the only one of the three services that, it is estimated, will increase its budget both in authorizations and in actual expenditures during the 1956 fiscal year. The new authorization requested will amount by almost \$3 billion to a projected obligational authority of \$14,536,000,000.

During the same year the Army's requests for new funds will decrease by about \$335 million, and the Navy's (including the Marine Corps) by almost \$1 billion. Both the Army and the Navy actually will spend less in 1956 than in 1955.

Thus, despite a sharp reduction in the number of men in uniform, personnel costs—which amount to more than \$10 billion of the total \$32,898,960,000 Department of Defense funds in obligational authority—will actually go up, due to increased pay and other service benefits.

At the same time, despite administrative and management economies and some sharp cuts in planned bases and supporting facilities, operational and maintenance costs will also increase due to the expense of operating modern equipment.

The President's new Reserve program, which, if enacted, will cost more money for the Reserves, is another element of the developing squeeze on the Regulars of the Army, Navy, and Marine Corps.

ELEMENTS OF THE SQUEEZE

The major elements of the squeeze, in addition to those already cited, are:

The pressure for a balanced budget and for maintaining defense expenditures at about the current level,

the current level.

The constantly increasing costs of air power (and missile power).

The increased costs of funds devoted to the defense (as compared to the offense).

If these three pressures are maintained and the squeeze is further strengthened by increased personnel and operating costs and Reserve program costs, it will be easy to see that the currently projected cuts in the Army, Marine Corps, and Navy must be followed by other sharp additional cuts. For the Air Force slice of the defense budget is constantly increasing, and must increase, if the present program for an Air Force of 137 modern wings is to be carried out.

The wing, consisting of 30 to 75 aircraft and pilots, crews, and ground supporting elements, is a standard yardstick of airpower, just as the division is a standard yardstick

of land strength.

The Air Force had about 115 wings in June 1954, and has some 118 now. It will have an estimated 121 in June 1955; 130 in June 1956; and 137—its goal—in June 1957. Its request for new funds has increased about \$3 billion next year (as compared to this year, with a scheduled increase of 9 wings.)

Final operating, maintenance, and replacement costs of the 137-wing program have not been authoritatively estimated recently. However, some observers believe the Air Force will need some \$18 to \$20 billions

annually to maintain, operate, and provide bases and facilities for the 137-wing program. Its requests for the next fiscal year are \$3.5 to \$5.5 billions below these figures.

There is another element. The increase in total defense obligational authority requested next year may well mean an increase in actual defense expenditures in future years, unless something "gives."

What must clearly give, if the present emphasis in our defense policies continues and a balanced budget dominates, are the Army, the Marine Corps, and the Navy.

Army, the Marine Corps, and the Navy.
What tends to make this prospect even
more serious is the fact that present policies
create another "squeeze" by concentrating
a higher and higher percentage of diminished Army and Navy strength on purely
defensive tasks—radar picket ships, Nike
guided missile antiaircraft battalions, etc.

The implications of next year's budget requests to the future of our armed services should insure a searching review by Congress.

Underpaid Officials

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the New York Times of February 1, 1955:

UNDERPAID OFFICIALS

The amazing disparity between the salaries of Federal and New York judges has been referred to on this page in recent weeks; and we are glad to see Attorney General Brownell advert to it once again in urging an increase in the compensation of both United States judges and Congressmen.

Judges of the United States district court now receive \$15,000, exactly half the salary in this area of judges of the somewhat comparable New York State Supreme Court. Associate Justices of the United States Supreme Court receive \$25,000, while judges of the highest New York tribunal, the court of tappeals, are paid a total of \$37,500 each. The point isn't that New York judges are overpaid, but that Federal judges are underpaid. The rise in the cost of living has of course had the effect of reducing their income even below the levels at which it had been set. It has been calculated that the purchasing power in 1939 dollars of a Federal district judge's salary after taxes amounts to less than \$6,500.

Members of Congress receive a total of \$15,000 a year. The commission that investigated these matters correctly observed a year ago that "Members of Congress and the judiciary have responsibilities as great as those of top executives in business or industry or greater." Yet the top officials of 100 America's largest corporations average over \$100,000 a year in salary. No one is recommending anything like that for Congressmen, but surely the proposed \$27,500 is reasonable compensation for so onerous a job. The difficulty in granting adequate pay to Congressmen comes from Congressmen, who fear the political effects of giving themselves even an entirely justified increase. Senator Dirksen, of Illinois, with whom we do not often find ourselves in agreement, has urged on his fellow Members an end to their 'timidity" on this matter; and we think he is right.

Increased salaries obviously will not guarantee better judges or better Congressmen,

but public freedom from economic pressures will prevent some good public servants from leaving their jobs for private life and will indicate to all of them that their Government is not really trying to get something out of them for nothing.

The Fabulous Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, one of our prominent industrial leaders has given us a fabulous look into a fabulous future. What will the United States be like in 1980? What should it be like? Brigadier General Sarnoff, chairman of the board of the Radio Corporation of America, has given us an exciting prediction in an article in Fortune magazine. And as Fortune says:

The name of Sarnoff has become, if not synonymous, at least indelibly linked with electronic progress.

I am informed by the Public Printer that the article is estimated to make 3 pages of the Record, at a cost of \$240.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE FABULOUS FUTURE

(By David Sarnoff, chairman, Radio Corp. of America)

What is likely to be the special character of the quarter century ahead of us? Personally, I am convinced that it will be a period of drastic decision. It will be filled with events that, taken together, may well determine the direction and even the duration of man's destiny on this planet.

That an avalanche of advances will be forthcoming in the sphere of science and technology is not a matter of surmise. The new types of energy releasesd by the atom and controlled by the electron have already proved highly effective. The features of vital technical growths can be discerned in numberless embryos in the womb of science: our amazing network of research laboratories.

But these features will be matched by even more significant developments in the political, social, and moral spheres. Indeed, the pressures of technical changes will themselves intensify problems of adjustment, forcing us to seek solutions in line with our ideals of a good society.

Long-stagnant races and continents have awakened to an awareness of their rights, needs, and latent strengths. Long-accepted ways of life and codes of conduct are being menaced by a new barbarism that already dominates a third of the human race. A hunger for faith and salvation, for age-old values beyond the material and the temporal, gnaws at the mind and spirit of man.

This means that the coming quartercentury will be crowded with crises and climaxes. Forces that have been gathering impetus since the turn of the century will find vigorous and perhaps explosive expression. The tensions built up in our own generation are too great to be indefinitely contained. We will be confronted with great challenges that will call for dramatic commitments on our part.

If the destinies were already written in the stars and beyond mortal control, there would be little point in talking about them. But I am convinced, as are most people, that our destinies are, in large part, subject to our own volition. It is understandable that at times we have been frightened and bewildered. But we do have a choice; we can grovel in terror before the mighty forces of science and historic adjustment, even as savage man groveled before lightning and other natural phenomena. Or we can face those forces with courage, determination, and calm intelligence. We do have such a choice because we are not the passive objects but the active manipulators of those forces.

I. THE TECHNOLOGICAL AGE

For those of us who view history as a fascinating spectacle, the prospect of the coming quarter century is exhilarating. It is as if we were privileged not only to see but to participate in centuries of development telescoped into a brief span. Of one thing we can be sure: the segment of time between now and 1980 will not be dull. It will make heavy demands upon courage and character, upon wisdom and good will. And I have confidence that we can meet those demands, provided we approach our tasks not in fear but with faith in ourselves and in the strength of our freedoms.

The dominant physical fact in the next quarter century will be technological prog-ress unprecedented in kind and in volume. In relation to the total history of the human race, the last hundred years have been no more than a split second. Yet they have compassed more technological achievement than the millennia that preceded. The harnessing of electricity to the purposes of light, power, and communication; the demonstration of the germ theory of disease; discovery and application of the electron; invention of radio and television; development of anesthetics; the exploration of genes and mutations; invention of motor vehicles; evolution of the assembly line and other mass-production techniques; proliferation of organic chemistry; the splitting of the atom; development of antibiotics; the vast expansion of the known and measured universe of stars and galaxies-these are only the highlights of recent progress. On the day when the first issue of Fortune was published, televi-sion, nuclear energy, jet planes, penicillin, nylon and dacron fabrics were unknown or incubating in laboratories.

The quantity of the new powers and products and processes at man's disposal is important; but even more important is the increasing speed at which these things have come. It is not a case of continued increase but of continued acceleration of increase. We need only project the curve into the future to realize that we are merely on the threshold of the technological age.

A recent statement by the General Electric Co., referring especially to electronic and atomic energy, declared: "All these fields * * * are so promising that we expect to produce more in the next 10 years than in all the previous 75 years of our existence." The figures may vary, but the same pattern of rapid growth holds true for the Radio Corporation of America and for American enterprise as a whole.

Three anniversary presents

There is no longer margin for doubt that whatever the mind of man visualizes, the genius of modern science can turn into functioning fact. I have seen this demonstrated again and again. A current example will show what I mean.

In 1951, on the occasion of the 45th anniversary of my association with radio, I suggested to the scientists of the RCA research laboratory in Princeton, N. J., which bears my name, that they invent three presents for me by the time the 50th anniversary came around in 1956. I asked, first, for a magnetic tape recorder of television programs; second, an all-electronic air conditioner; and third, a true amplifier of light.

The scientists smiled. "He certainly can ask for the impossible," one of them later remarked. But the thrilling part of the story is that before half the 5-year period had passed, the scientists had actually produced one of the "presents," the magnetic tape recorder of black-and-white and color television programs; and they had made such substantial progress on the other two that their realization by 1956 now appears most promising.

We are now engaged in the development of a new form of light—electronic light, which is the keystone of the light amplifier under development in ROA laboratories. Already I have seen this light amplification, experimentally, in ratios of more than 20 times the original; and further progress is certain to be made. When that number 20 reaches 100, we shall have a practical amplifier of light—produced directly within a thin layer of electronically active material.

The potentials for practical use of this development will surely be greater than we can now foresee. This can safely be said of almost any new invention. When Faraday first produced an electric current, neither he nor his contemporaries could visualize the amazing future he had unlocked. Neither did Marconi dream of broadcasting and television when he succeeded in sending the first faint wireless telegraph signal through the air.

Electronic light will eventually provide startling substitutes for present types of illumination and thus will change the very appearance of our homes, stores, factories, streets, and cities. Electric light will have been freed from the prison of a vacuum bulb. It will obsolete the television tube of today, while bringing bigger and sharper pictures in color as well as in black and white. Light amplification is expected to lead to devices that will make not only photography but vision possible in the darkness, and to enlarge immensely our visual penetration of outer astronomic space. It may well reduce and in time cancel out one of the perils of night driving by taking the glare out of light.

I have enlarged on the implications of a single research project in a single laboratory in order to suggest the fabulous dimensions of the teeming novelties now gestating in hundreds of laboratories, large and small.

"Atoms for peace"

The released energies of the atom, though born in war and baptized in destruction, are already being funneled to man's constructive purposes. Because nuclear power is so recent and impressive, we have not yet digested it psychologically as we have earlier miracles. The real mission of science should be to create, not destroy. While the first atomic propulsion has been assigned to a submarine, it can be taken for granted that before 1980 ships, aircraft, locomotives, and even automobiles will be atomically fueled.

The era of nuclear power for peaceable civilian purposes is already at hand. It dawned in America a few months ago when President Eisenhower waved a neutron wand in Denver, Colo., that broke ground at Shippingport, Pa., for the first commercial plant powered by atomic energy. The first nuclear-power plant will surely rank with the first steam engine, the first electric motor, Morse's first telegraph message, Edison's first electric lamp, and Marconi's first wireless message as milestones of man's material progress.

Just a year ago the Radio Corporation of America publicly demonstrated an atomic battery that gives promise of many useful services. Only a minute amount of electric current was generated: barely enough to send the short telegraphic message I had the privilege of tapping out—"Atoms for peace." But the potentials of that event are enormous. This was no longer the use of atomic energy to make steam to make electric cur-

rent—it was the direct conversion of nuclear energy into electricity.

I do not hesitate to forecast that atomic batteries will be commonplace long before 1980. The waste products from the fast-multiplying commercial reactors will make available abundant captive radiation for direct conversion into electricity. Small atomic generators, installed in homes and industrial plants, will provide power for years and ultimately for a lifetime without recharging. Coal, oil, and gas will be increasingly displaced as fuel by nuclear energy, but will in turn be devoted to other uses by new developments of chemistry and engineering.

Things to come

Other sources of energy—the sun, the tides, and the winds—are certain to be developed beyond present expectations. New materials by the score—metals, fabrics, woods, glass—will be added to the hundreds of synthetics and plastics already available through our capacity to rearrange the structure of matter.

Fresh water, purified from the briny seas, will enable us to make deserts flourish and to open to human habitation immense surfaces of the globe now sterile or inaccessible. Tidelands and the ocean floors beyond, already being tapped for oil, will be increasingly mined for other materials and harvested for chemical and food resources.

Even guided missiles, transcontinental and transoceanic, will find vital civilian uses. They will transport mail and other types of freight over great distances, guided into terminal hangars within minutes after their takeoff. Pilotiess aircraft for passengers, too, are within the realm of the possible. Great fleets of personal helicopters and other planes will make the principal airways almost as busy as the highways on the ground; and electronic controls will insure safe travel in both dimensions.

Medicine can look to incalculable aid from science and technology. Already diagnosis, prognosis, therapy, and surgery have begun to make important uses of nuclear radiation and electronic devices: The electron microscope, for instance. Such uses will expand enormously by 1980. Similarly, techniques for learning faster and better will be opened up by color television, improved means of communication, electronic magnification, and other novel processes.

The era of automation is upon us. Electronic machines will not only compute, remember, and file information—tasks they have already taken on for business offices, banks, factories, and research laboratories—but they will perform more and more routine jobs now handled by people. Production especially will lean ever more heavily on electronics in the immediate years ahead. Automatic equipment will take much of the drudgery and spoilage out of manufacture. It will do the jobs of selecting, testing, checking, and handling raw materials and finished products. The goods thus produced will then be stored and inventoried electronically.

Some of the innovations will call for a change in products or methods of operation in some of today's business organizations. However, the whole history of our American economy proves that such changes spell progress; eventually many new jobs will be created for every job canceled out. The contrast between the millions employed by the automotive and related industries and the employment provided by the blacksmith shops they displaced is an overworked example, but it tells the basic story.

The temptation, at least for someone, who, like myself, has been in touch all his life with such spiraling wonders, is to continue the inventory of what is coming. The very fact that electronics and atomics are unfolding simultaneously is a portent of the amazing changes ahead. Never before have two such mighty forces been unleashed at the same

time. Together they are certain to dwarf the industrial revolutions brought about by steam and electricity. There is no element of material progress we know today—in the biological and chemical fields, in atomics and electronics, in engineering and physics that will not seem, from the vantage point of 1980, a fumbling prelude.

New grace to life

We have a right to make the same kind of projection for social progress, though with far less assurance. Let us, therefore, provide such assurance by setting our sights high. The material triumphs now at our disposal and the greater ones to come must be translated into a happier life for mankind everywhere. We must give a clear right-of-way to the things that are good, beautiful, and enriching.

High among our goals must be greater mutual tolerance among races and nationalities. We cannot wholly weed out the primeval prejudices and fears in the jungle undergrowth of the human mind. But we can remove some and neutralize the effects of the

The reduction of crime—by individuals and by nations—also deserves priority in our hopes and plans. The ever more plentiful supplies of food and goods, higher standards of living and education and health—these should make the containment of violence easier during the coming 25 years.

Automation and other aspects of scientific advance will, as a matter of course, put a premium on brains rather than brawn. Even now, in America, illiteracy has become more of a handicap in life than most physical handicaps. The demands for mental competence will be vastly enlarged. One hopes that by 1980 a decent education (though I recognize that no two of us will agree on definitions here) will have become as indispensable as a decent suit of clothes.

Leisure, of course, will be greatly extended. A much shorter workweek will no doubt prevail in 1980, and another 10 or 15 years will have been added to the average life span. Cancer, polio, tuberculosis, and an array of other scourges will have been consigned to the same limbo as cholera, typhus, and other great killers of the past.

Not labor but leisure will be the great problem in the decades ahead. That prospect should be accepted as a God-given opportunity to add dimensions of enjoyment and grace to life. We have reason to foresee a fantastic rise in demand for and appreciation of the better, and perhaps the best, in art, music, and letters.

In small things and large, in greater conveniences and a greater recognition of our common humanity, the quarter-century awaits us in a mood of welcome. We must resolve to fulfill its thrilling promises. Should we fail, the fault will not be with science and technology but with ourselves.

II. PROGRESS, A CHAIN REACTION

The most futile intellectual exercise is the discussion as to whether an industrialized society is "desirable." We might as reasonably argue whether the tides and the seasons are desirable. The genie of science could not be stuffed back into the bottle even if we so wished.

In theory, backward countries might still choose the simple life, but in practice they are clamoring for the devices and living standards of the West. The strongest appeal of Communist propaganda to retarded populations is in its promises of power dams, factories, mechanized farming, and the like. Much of the revolutionary leadership in Asia and Africa is provided by natives who have been educated in the West and have tasted its technological comforts and advantages.

Disparagement of the age of science and mass production, a nostalgia for the supposedly idyllic prescientific past, are familiar themes in 20th-century literature. Only a

few months ago a book titled Tomorrow Is Already Here, by Robert Jungk, warned that Americans are hell-bent for a soul-less, mechanized tomorrow, populated by dehumanized cogs in runaway machines.

I doubt whether those who denounce our world would, in the showdown, permanently exchange the material amenities of England, France, or America for those of darkest Africa. At the very least, I assume, they might spare the typewriters and printing presses with which they make themselves heard.

Nostalgia for what?

As a cure for hatred of science, I recommend a protracted visit to some really primitive region of open sewers and open sores, cruel rates of infant mortality and decrepit old age at 40. Nostalgia for the simple past romanticizes drudgery, disease, and ignorance. It glosses over the poverty, social injustice, and feudal despotism that usually go along with a primitive economy.

The claim that there is an inherent conflict between science and our immortal souls—that science is the natural enemy of the soul—does not stand up under examination. The man in an airplane is not necessarily less devoted to truth, justice, and charity than his forefathers in oxcarts. Virtue does not necessarily go with primitive plumbing, and human dignity can be nurtured in a skyscraper no less than in a log cabin.

True, the marvels of technology have come upon us so suddenly that they have created problems of adjustment. Age-old inertias have been disturbed. But on the whole the adjustment has been remarkably good; the the human problems caused by applied science are serious, but no more so than those it has solved. The crux of the matter is not in evils inseparable from technology but in the time lag in the assimilation of what technology has to offer.

Marx and Prometheus

The industrial revolution touched off by the steam engine brought trouble in its train; vile slums, child labor, brutal work hours and work conditions. But the time lag was bridged, slowly and surely. As capitalism matured, its fruits were spread to more and more people in goods, health, social security, and a new dignity of labor. Huge middle classes, not foreseen by Karl Marx, have arisen. The distance between rich and poor, as measured by living standards, has speadily shrunk. The scientists who sparked the industrial revolution can rest in peace, their consciences assuaged.

The same, I believe, holds true of inventiveness in our own time, including the splitting of the atom. Every achievement on the physical plane packs danger as well as opportunity. It is the ancient dilemma posed when Prometheus gave man the fire that both warms and consumes. The inventive surge that brought us motorcars also made possible Panzer divisions. Pyromaniacs, however, cannot be blamed upon Prometheus, nor saturation bombing upon the Wright brothers.

It is well to recall that the 20th century has also won victories, great and small, on the political, cultural, and moral levels. They are in evidence all around us, saturating our existence. They are spelled out in universal suffrage, civil freedoms, more widespread education, easier access to and greater appreciation of the products of genius in the arts; in society's growing acceptance of responsibility for the old, the widowed, the orphaned, and the helpless.

Technology and the spirit

In my own lifetime I have seen the liberation of multitudes from overwork, exploitation, and ravaging diseases to which they had seemed forever condemned when I was a boy. It is not a worse but an immeasurably better society that we live in.

The same decades that witnessed the control of the electron and the birth of nuclear energy also saw a substantial improvement in race and class relations and the enactment of vital social legislation. Along with the assembly line and automation has also come the rise of trade unions and a more equitable sharing of the products of labor and management.

America, the classic land of technology, enjoys the largest freedom from destitution, ignorance, and disease, along with political rights and social improvements unique in history. Its average citizen is not the common man but the uncommon man, for he has an amplitude of well-being and opportunity that prescientific societies reserved for a small and arrogant elite. Moreover—and this needs emphasis—the most magnificent flowering of science and technology has always occurred in countries where liberty prevailed. The close affinity between freedom and material abundance should give pause to those who derogate material progress.

"The figures show," Dr. Arthur H. Compton said recently, "that where technology has been used for the service of man, there is in broad total a healthy growth not only in man's biological life but also in his intellectual and spiritual life."

A society geared to technology is compelled, in order to remain viable, continually to lift the levels of human welfare. Greater purchasing power, more leisure, expanded relish for the end products of factories, communications, and entertainmenthese are the very conditions of its survival. It draws its vitality from freemen with an ever larger direct stake in the society, as totalitarians who would combine technology with slavery soon learn to their distress.

The final link

Science, far from nurturing pride, encourages humility. Its every victory reveals more clearly a divine design in nature, a remarkable conformity in all things, from the infinitesimal to the infinite, that surpasses mortal understanding.

mortal understanding.

In its early stages modern science seemed at odds with religion, but this was merely a token of its immaturity. The more familiar story, in our time, is that of scientists who become increasingly aware of the mystery of the universe and come to religion, in its fundamental sense, through knowledge of the limitations of science; and, indeed, how can those who play with the building blocks of the universe, its atoms and electrons and genes, fail to be touched by awe? More than ever, man's soul is involved in the equations of our lives.

Also, the physical closeness engendered by science is promoting ever closer social and intellectual relations between peoples. Generations ago essential isolation of countries was taken for granted; it was a function of distance and difference. Today a dictatorship that would isolate its subjects must erect iron curtains and walls of electronic jamming. With worldwide television, which I regard as a certainty before 1980, the sense of our common humanity will deepen. It is the strange, the unknown, that frightens, but the strangeness will be removed by visual contact to reveal the familiar physiognomy of our neighbors.

We know in our hearts that modern war can cause such overwhelming devastation to life and property as to become a species of suicide. The atom and the electron have made it almost as disastrous for the winner as for the loser. This decisive fact must, in the long run, cancel out war as an instrument of national policy. We cannot know when or what form the coming one world will take, but world law enforced by world police seems inherent in the age of science and technology.

and technology.

The forces I have discussed appear to me to cause a chain reaction. First, science and technology create material abundance. Second, this produces new conditions and

demands that compel adjustments with resulting social advances. Third, the interdependence of people in a world shrunk by science inevitably requires broader mental concepts, which lead to greater ethical and moral stature, which in turn stimulate man's spiritual growth.

It seems to me unqualifiedly good that more and more of the weight of arduous toil will be unloaded onto the backs of machines; that the sum total of pain and agony will be further reduced by the progress of healing; that modern communications will bring peoples and nations into closer contact, leading to better understanding of one another.

III. THE CHALLENGE OF COMMUNISM

The next 25 years, however, will be marked by great challenges to our courage, character, wisdom, and stamina. The greatest of these challenges, of course, will be the continuing Communist drive for world dominion.

The pendulum of Soviet diplomacy has swung between tough and tame, depending on the Kremlin's need for time, the domestic situation in Russia, etc. At this writing Soviet policy appears to be veering toward the tame end of the curve. But the essence of Kremlin policy, as defined by its leaders from Lenin through Stalin, has never changed. One must hope, therefore, that the free world has learned at last not to drop its guard under the spell of the Kremlin's tactical amiability. Even if the Soviets should agree to call off the cold war, it will not end the danger—the Communists have not been celebrated for keeping their pledges.

Needed: A crash program

Our overriding duty, in the years ahead, will be to make it crystal clear that the outcome of war, if the Soviets provoke a final showdown, will be far from assured. We must generate and maintain enough military vitality to convince the Kremlin that an attack on us would be a suicidal gamble for them. Whatever else we may do in the next quarter-century to reduce and in time remove the Soviet menace, it will be futile unless backed by adequate military force both offensive and defensive, conventional and atomic.

On the side of the offensive, the means of delivering destruction have become far more important than the means of destruction. In the H-bomb we have reached the ultimate in militarily useful explosive power; bigger bombs would be meaningless. Beyond this point the decisive elements in the equation will be range, speed, and accuracy in placing the explosives on the target.

This compels us to focus brains and energy on long-range bombers capable of fighting their way to the objective. It demands—and this seems to me the most important immediate need—clear superiority in the development of the longest-range guided projectiles, the so-called IBM or Intercontinental Ballistic Missile. A "crash program" to assure such superiority is called for. At the same time, especially while we are forging the new weapons of conflict in the third dimension, we must maintain our ground and sea forces at adequate levels.

But defensive vitality is no less important. The widespread idea that defense has become impossible is unwarranted and dangerous. Those who proclaim it usually mean that complete defense is not possible; but that is a truism, since there never has been a defense that could not be breached. True, a breakthrough today, in nuclear terms, can mean disastrous damage. But that is no excuse for failure to make all possible defensive preparations for the coming quarter-century.

The certainty that an attacker would suffer large-scale attrition—that he would sacrifice many planes and missiles for the one that gets through—would be powerful reinforcement for the deterrent value of our offensive strength.

Methods of electronic detection of planes and missiles are known. So are techniques for destroying them through automatic ground-to-air and air-to-air collision. In the defensive areas, what is involved is primarily an electronic contest. And in that, we have every reason to believe, the United States enjoys the substantial advantages that flow from its present technological superiority—in terms of resources, inventiveness, experience, and national skills.

Countermeasures are vital

The immediate danger is not a bombing contest but the debilitating, bankrupting, ruthless, and relentless Communist offensive in a cold war that may continue throughout the coming quarter-century. Until the advent of the Soviet regime, nations were either at peace or at war. Consequently they find it hard today to adjust their thinking and policies to a condition that is neither one nor the other in the traditional sense. We do not shrink from appropriating \$50 billion or even more for armaments, but we are still reluctant to spend a few billions to meet the more urgent needs of the prevailing cold war.

Because there is no sound of shooting, no thunder of exploding bombs, we do not as yet have the feeling of life-and-death urgency. But is it that urgent. Our defeat in the present nonmilitary struggle would doom what remains of freedom on this planet as completely as defeat in a shooting war.

The cold war is where the Communists are determined to defeat us. And that, by the same token, is where we could defeat them, once we recognized the new state of affairs and decided to meet it resolutely, with the same concentration of effort, the same readiness for sacrifice and risk, the same dedication to victory as if it were an old-style military challenge.

The West and its allies in Asia can cap-

The West and its allies in Asia can capture the initiative only by a definite decision: to win the cold war, or at the very least to prevent the Communists from winning it. In my view, this is the only real guaranty against a hot war.

The question, in truth, is not whether we should engage in political, economic, and psychological warfare, the principal weapons used in the cold war. The Soviets have driven us to take nonmilitary countermeasures of some sort. But these have been piecement, uncoordinated, and on a pitifully inadequate scale. The question, rather, is whether we should turn their own political and psychological weapons against the Communists with a clearheaded determination to make our counteroffensive truly effective in the quarter century ahead.

The job is global in size. Local problems by the score will have to be solved as they arise. But these can be solved if they are subordinated to an overall strategy geared to victory. The magnitude of the commitment and its colossal stakes call for focused planning and direction. We need a strategic high command in this vital area analogous to the Joint Chiefs of Staff in the military area. And our efforts must be continually coordinated with the agencies of cold warfare in other free countries.

The Soviet orbit is vulnerable to political and psychological weapons. The Kremlin knows this well and fears it most. Its internal "contradictions" are much sharper than those in the free world. The tensions between Soviet Russia and the satellite peoples are enormous—we saw some of them snap in Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland in June 1953.

Popular discontent inside Soviet Russia itself is widespread. After 37 years of absolute power, the Kremlin does not yet dare to taper off its use of raw force—political arrests by the million, large-scale executions, continuous purges and total suppression of elementary human rights. Fear of its own subjects, doubts about their alle-

giance in time of crisis, are chronic in Kremlin.

Progress or savagery?

The importance of winning the cold war cannot be glossed over in looking ahead to 1980. Unless we assure peace, unless we gain the initiative in the cold conflict—by means short of hot war—the triumphs of science and technology that I have sketched in broad strokes will be emptled of meaning.

If freedom is lost, if the dignity of man is destroyed, advances on the material plane will not be progress but a foundation for a new savagery. Mankind cannot indefinitely carry the mounting burdens of an armaments race, and the greater burdens of fear and uncertainty. Our supreme commitment, as we look ahead to a crucial quarter century, must be to win the peace—not a peace of totalitarian dominion but a genuine peace rooted in liberty. I believe it can be done.

Representative Willis W. Bradley: Naval Officer, Scholar, and Statesman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS E. MARTIN

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 1, 1955

Mr. MARTIN of Iowa. Mr. President, during the 80th Congress, of which I was a Member of the House, I had the great privilege of knowing well one of its most distinguished Members—the late Representative Willis W. Bradley, of California.

Qualified by a lifetime of experience as a line officer of the United States Navy, Captain Bradley, after his election to the Congress, rapidly became a respected leader in matters affecting national defense, the merchant marine, and the Panama Canal. So far as the latter was concerned, he was a discriminating student and a vigorous exponent of congressional thinking about Isthmian Canal policy.

As the best means for resolving the many sided canal issue in the broadest interests of the United States, he introduced a measure for the creation of an Interoceanic Canal Commission—H. R. 4833, 80th Congress—which served as the model for like bills introduced in later congresses.

Representative Bradley's views on the vitally important canal question are preserved in two notable presentations, which I studied. The first was delivered on April 19, 1948, before the distinguished membership of the Cosmos Club of Washington, D. C., on the subject What of the Panama Canal?-Congressional RECORD, 80th Congress, 2d session, volume 94, part 10, April 21, 1948, page The second was on February 24, A2449. 1949, before the Engineers' Club of Washington, D. C., on the subject The Whys of the Panama Canal-Congressional RECORD, 81st Congress, 1st session, volume 95, part 12, March 4, 1949, page A1303.

These two statements by Representative Bradley are undoubtedly among the most comprehensive treatments of the canal problem in the annals of the

ongress, and are commended for careful study by all concerned with this subject, for he stresses operational requirements as the true basis for interoceanic

canal planning.

Other important contributions by Captain Bradley were his great achievements as Governor of Guam, 1929-31. There he exhibited the highest form of administrative initiative and statesmanship in the creation of a representative form of government for this insular possession of the United States. He lived to see its adoption by the Congress. His name is now a great tradition among the natives of Guam.

Captain Bradley died suddenly on August 27, 1954, at Santa Barbara, Calif. His death is mourned by a host of friends throughout this Nation, which he served with such distinction, and by the surviving Members of the 80th Congress. I am sure that all these join me in extending to his widow and daughters the assurances of the deepest and most tender sympathy.

I ask unanimous consent that an obituary published in the New York Times of August 29, 1954, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the obituary was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WILLIS BRADLEY, LEGISLATOR, DIES-CALIFORNIA ASSEMBLYMAN AND FORMER UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE WAS NAVAL HERO IN 1917

SANTA BARBARA, CALIF., August 28.-Willis W. Bradley, of Long Beach, Republican State assemblyman and former United States Representative, died yesterday after suffering a heart attack while attending a legislative hearing. He was 70 years old.

A native of Ransomville, N. Y., Mr. Bradley was graduated from the United States Naval Academy in 1907. He served as Governor of Guam from 1929 to 1931 and retired

in 1946 with the rank of captain.

Mr. Bradley was a Member of Congress from the 18th California District from 1947 to 1949. He was elected to the State assembly in 1952 and was a member of the Board Visitors at Annapolis.

His widow, Sue, and four daughters sur-

AWARDED MEDAL OF HONOR

Mr. Bradley won the Medal of Honor for heroism aboard the cruiser Pittsburgh when ammunition exploded on July 23, 1917. He was then a lieutenant. Badly dazed, he crawled through heavy smoke to rescue a man and then extinguished the fire in close proximity to other explosives.

In Congress, as a member of the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries and chairman of the Subcommit-tee on Ship Construction and Operation, Mr. Bradley campaigned for additional safety measures on American vessels. He also was on the Panama Canal subcommittee and in 1947 went to inspect the canal with 11 other Members of Congress. He supported the Navy's plan for improvement of the canal.

As a young officer in the Navy, Mr. Bradley also won the Silver Medal of the Italian Red Cross for his rescue work at the disastrous Messina earthquake of 1908. Subsequently, Pope Pius XI also awarded to him a medal. He held a master of science degree from George Washington University (1914) and was a graduate of the Naval War College and the Navy's postgraduate school of ord-nance and gunnery.

Is Manpower Cut Economy Move?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert an editorial which appeared in a recent issue of the Bryan Daily Eagle, Bryan, Tex.

The article follows:

IS MANPOWER CUT ECONOMY MOVE?

What does it profit a man to have his money if he can't protect it from an enemy? In a nutshell that's what many Democrats say they want to know about the cuts which President Eisenhower proposes for the Armed Forces.

His administration, particularly Secretary of Defense Wilson, is in for stiff quizzing by the Democrats who took control of Congress yesterday. Judging from what they've said, they will ask:

Is the administration, for the sake of economy, reducing the Armed Forces to a point where they can't protect this Nation's in-

Senator Sparkman, Democrat, says he's afraid he's looking at bargaincounter defense. Senator Mansfield, Democrat, Montana, says he's afraid this country's vital military strength may be lost in the name of economy.

And Representative Vinson, Democrat.

Georgia, who will head the House Armed Services Committee, says he will call Wilson before him for a full explanation.

It was Wilson who started the ball rolling December 20 with the announcement of a big reduction in the Armed Forces, particularly in ground troops. Why the cut? Less fear of war in part, Wilson told newsmen.

This wasn't what Secretary of State Dulles told newsmen several days later when they asked if the military cuts were the result of less fear of war. That wasn't the reason, he said.

He said improvement in weapons meant the military forces needed fewer men. This apparent conflict raised this question.

If one said one thing, and one another, what was the real reason? Was it to save

Reduction in ground troops meant this country would be less able to throw in troops against the Communists if they attacked anywhere in the world.

The United States might retaliate with air power but unless native troops were available to stem the Red assault where it occurred, air strikes might not be enough.

The crisis in Indochina last year was re-The Communist-led Vietminh were trampling the French. There was danger they might take all of Indochina. The administration had to consider the question of intervening.

It was reported later Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Army Chief of Staff and member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, opposed intervention on the grounds he didn't have ground troops to back it up.

In June 1952, in the midst of the Korean war, the Armed Forces totaled 3,636,000. When that war ended in 1953, it was possible to reduce to some extent the number of men under arms.

As of today, the Armed Forces number about 3,218,000, a reduction of 418,000 since June 1952. The administration now proposes a further cut to 2,850,000 by June 1956, a reduction of almost 800,000 men since 1952.

Eisenhower gave an explanation in a letter to Wilson, made public yesterday. This letter, backing up Wilson, may have been intended to take some of the heat off him.

The explanation goes like this:

(1) This country must be ready to meet any form of aggression, since no one can predict how it will come; (2) this country must depend as much as it can on new weapons and scientific development in order to cut down on manpower and save lives; (3) this country must be able to retaliate fast against any attack in order to discourage such an attack in the first place; (4) since no one can foretell how long the cold war will last, keeping up the minimum necessary defense force will be a drain on the economy so expense must be spared where possible; (5) the United States will have to have forces able to help out other peoples if they're at-

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence by the people of that country took place on January

The history of the Ukraine contains many chapters on their struggle for freedom and independence which they more recently realized during the years 1917 to 1920.

Today this Nation, composed of 40 million people, is behind the Iron Curtain under Communist domination, but in their hearts and minds these people continue their centuries-old struggle to regain their freedom.

The free people of the world are aware of the great courage which this country has displayed in its opposition to Communist oppression and we in the United States will give every possible assistance to restoring freedom in the Ukraine so that these people may realize a cherished dream-permanent peace.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).



Appendix

National Commander Speaks for Disabled Veterans

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, on which I have had the privilege of serving, this morning heard National Commander Alfred L. English, of the Disabled American Veterans, speak in behalf of the war-disabled veterans of the Nation and outline the proposed legislative program of that great veterans' organization.

Commander English is a distinguished Tennessean and a member of the bench of my State. His home is in Shelbyville, Tenn., where he is an outstanding civic and veterans' leader.

I feel that his testimony is worthy of the attention of the entire membership of the House and I am, therefore, asking unanimous consent that the full statement of Commander English, of the national DAV organization, be inserted in the Record.

His statement follows:

DAV LEGISLATIVE PROGRAM FOR 1955

(Statement of National Commander Alfred L. English to the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, February 2, 1955)

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen of the committee, it is my privilege and honor to appear before the Veterans' Affairs Committee of the House of Representatives this morning as national commander of the Disabled American Veterans.

In accordance with the custom of many years standing this committee, at the beginning of each session of Congress, invites the national commanders of the congressionally chartered veteran organizations to appear before it and discuss their respective legislative programs. This opportunity to discuss legislative matters falling within the jurisdiction of your committee is one of the highest honors and most important duties will perform as national commander of the Disabled American Veterans this year. The DAV is proud of its record of service to America's wartime disabled veterans, and equally proud of the sincere, intelligent, and keen interest of this committee in its consideration of legislation pertaining to serviceconnected disabled veterans.

For the benefit of the newly assigned members of this committee, some of whom I have already had the pleasure of meeting, I would like to briefly state that the DAV was founded on the principle that this Nation's first duty to veterans is the full rehabilitation of its wartime disabled. This principle envisions: (1) proper medical care and treatment for disabilities incurred, increased, or aggravated by military service; (2) adequate compensation for the degree of disablement caused by such disabilities; (3) training and education to restore em-

ployability to the wartime disabled; and (4) adequate compensation to the widows, minor children, and dependent parents of veterans who died as a result of a service-incurred disability.

Before I present to you the principle objectives of our 1955 legislative program I would like to comment on the questions set forth in the letter of December 14, 1954, which I received from the chairman of this committee.

The first question is the effect that the amended form 10-P-10 and addendum (circular No. 11, 1953) designed to protect applicants for hospitalization and generally, from charges of "chiseling" may have had on the admission of veterans seek ing hospitalization for non-service-connected disabilities. The DAV, you may recall, presented no objection in 1953 to the general program of the admission of the nonservice-connected veteran unable to pay for his hospitalization elsewhere. We submitted no evidence of alleged abuses of the admission of non-service-connected veterans well able to pay for their hospitalization. I have been advised that we had conducted a careful survey through our national service offices but found no such abuses which would justify an amendment or change in the form 10-P-10. In a recent survey conducted throughout our offices we asked the specific question, "Has the revised form 10-P-10 and addendum 10-P-10a corrected alleged abuses of the admission of nonservice-connected cases who may be able to pay for the treatment elsewhere?" The general response was that there had been no abuses in the first place and the addendum was unnecessary. The answer received from our national service officer in Montana seems to express the opinion of many. He states, "To my knowledge there were no abuses of hospitalization of non-serviceconnected cases in the State of Montana, The publicity given, and the use of revised form 10-P-10 and addendum 10-P-10a has only served to drive away deserving veterans from making application for hospitalization with the Veterans' Administration when they are in need of and entitled to the same. As usual the honest man with a little pride and a conscience is the only one who is The fellow with an easy conscience or definite ideas as to his rights will pay no attention to the addendum.

The second question relates to the desirability of terminating the present emergency period for the Korean conflict as it relates to continuance of wartime benefits. I will discuss this question in full at a later point in my statement.

The third question is "The needs of the Veterans' Administration program with specific attention to any indicated need for major renovation or repair of existing VA hospitals and domiciliary homes. Particular reference is made to major repairs deemed necessary in certain of the older VA facilities which are not being taken care of in the current budget?"

As we have already indicated the Disabled American Veterans is vitally interested in the care and welfare of the wartime service-connected veteran and his rehabilitation. We believe that the hospitalization program of the Veterans' Administration and the treatment of the war veteran is one of the most important and necessary functions of the VA. We are extremely proud of the part the DAV has played in the past in the con-

struction and maintenance of your great VA hospitals. I know that members of this committee are deeply interested in the hospital program also.

I would like to stress at this time the present need for altering or renovating many of the older hospitals, enlarging them where necessary, and even rebuilding some of them that were originally constructed as temporary buildings during the war. The science of medicine and the treatment of the physically and mentally ill in hospitals have advanced rapidly and requires modern and up-to-date structures if the veteran patient to receive the first-class treatment he so justly deserves. Looking at it from a cold practical standpoint it is just plain good business for the Government to keep cur-rent with the maintenance of these hospitals, renovating and altering them from time to time when needed. The lack of necessary funds has been one of the reasons that the altering and maintenance of many of the older hospitals has not been put into effect. The DAV hopes that this year sufficient money will be provided in order that all of the older hospitals can become firstclass institutions.

The fourth question relates to "The operation of the VA loan-guaranty program, particularly as it relates to the differences in guaranty and entitlement under the guaranteed loan program and direct loan program that exists between veterans purchasing residential property and certain classes of farm real estate to be used by the veteran for a home?"

Public Law 475 of the 81st Congress increased the maximum guaranty and entitiement on residential property from \$4,000 to \$7,500, but failed to make any change in the guaranty on certain classes of farm property, so that today there exists a differential of \$3,500. The delegates to our two last national conventions have given consideration to this matter and approved resolutions to equalize the guaranty on farm property with that of residential property. H. R. 98, introduced by Mr. Edmondson, if enacted, would correct this inequity and we urge your favorable consideration of it.

In general the operation of the loan-guaranty program has been a tremendous asset to World War II and Korean veterans and to the Nation as a whole. It has enabled millions of veterans to become home owners who otherwise would have been unable to do so, while at the same time the cost to the Government has been negligible.

Question 5 relates to the desirability of a modest scholarship-assistance program for the dependent children of certain servicemen who lost their lives in the service of their country during a period of wartime, such a program to be patterned along the general lines of the veterans' education and training program under Public Law 550, 82d Congress.

The DAV is in full accord with the purposes of such a program, and we hope the committee will hold early hearings on H. R. 588, introduced by your chairman. The bill provides a modest scholarship-assistance program for the children of servicemen who lost their lives as a result of their wartime service. I know of no class of dependents more worthy of Government assistance.

Mr. Chairman, in answer to question No. 2 of your letter of December 14, 1954, it is my sincere belief that the weightlest problem confronting this committee and the veteran

organizations today is that of the desirability of terminating wartime benefits as al-ready accomplished by Executive Order 10585. I certainly don't know the answer to this very complex problem, nor do I think any of you ladies or gentlemen pretend to know the answer.

In this connection, I would like to read to you an editorial from the Albuquerque Tribune of January 17, 1955. I think it is both pertinent and timely. The editorial reads as follows:

"VETERANS' RIGHTS: TOUGH QUESTION

"What rights and privileges does America owe its veterans?

"This is a question so tightly wrapped in sentiment, tradition, national honor, and prejudice that few responsible persons have tried to examine it. It is not a question to be answered hastily.

"But it is one we soberly and logically must explore one of these days.

"Traditionally, American veterans and their widows have been honored as citizens to whom a grateful nation owed a debt.

"That tradition has been as correct as it has been noble.

"But times may outmode traditions.

"In the last 39 years, we have been in three major wars.

"There are more than 20 million living male veterans in this country, out of a total of about 50 million men.

'In other words, about 2 of every 5 men

have seen military duty.

"America's veterans, obviously, no longer

are a small, select band of heroes.

"Because of wars-and, in the last years, the advent of the peacetime draftwe have been edging closer and closer to the point where more than half our grown men will have served in uniform.

"When we reach that point, the veteran in

fact will be the average man.

"And the average man will be paying taxes to reward himself-with the Government

deducting a bookkeeping fee.

"In the past 8 years, we have been spending between \$4 billion and \$7 billion each year on veterans' services and benefits. We spend more on veterans than on any other budget item except national defense and interest. President Eisenhower has acted wisely in ordering veterans' benefits to be put back on a peacetime basis begin-

ning January 31.
"But the big question remains: What rights and privileges should we accord our

veterans?

"Is not military service becoming the rule,

rather than the exception?

What then, other than respect and protection of his rights to his old job back, should be given the dutiful man who fulfills his military obligations and is sent back to civilian life in good health? That's the problem for which we must find a realistic

answer before too long."

In order to answer the question "What rights and privileges does America owe its veterans?", it is necessary to give consideration to several important factors. The first of these is that the Congress will probably extend the Selective Service Act which ex pires June 30 of this year for another 2- or 4-year period. Even though active hostilities in Korea have terminated we are still maintaining large, combat-ready military forces in many parts of the world. On the 24th of January the President of the United States delivered a message to the Congress relative to our policy in the Far East. This policy as set forth in the President's meshad the nearly unanimous endorsement of the Congress. It is inconceivable to believe that as a result of this policy in the Far East, as well as our military commitments in other parts of the world, that American boys inducted into the service will not become casualties. Who among us can say that because of our stated foreign policy, and I do not imply it is wrong, that we are not at war or operating under conditions similar to war. If so, is this the time to terminate wartime veterans' benefits for these men and the dependents of those who will undoubtedly become casualties?

Military service is becoming the rule rather than the exception as stated in the above editorial. However, I cannot agree with the conclusion in the editorial that because military service is the rule that the Government's obligation to the veteran is to see that he gets his "old job back." Men being inducted into the service in great part do not have any "old job" to which to return. These are young men, men in their late teens, whi have never had a job, but who would have had jobs were it not for the interven-

tion of military service.

The Disabled American Veterans' primary concern is not with the veteran returned to civilian life in good health, but rather with the small minority who leave the service as a result of service-incurred injuries or di-The above editorial does not make any effort to develop or discuss what America owes to this class of veterans. We feel that first things should come first, and that the first thing for this Congress to decide is what does America owe to the veteran who was involuntarily inducted into the service, who fulfilled his military obligations and incurred a service disability as a result there-of. Because military service is rapidly becoming the rule, rather than the exception, does not in my opinion alter the Government's obligation to him in any respect.

Several weeks ago while visiting a large military hospital I overheard two marine enlisted men who were patients in the hospital, discussing the pros and cons of the termination date of wartime benefits January 31. One of these young soldiers made the statement that he would be discharged because of his service-incurred disability in a training camp and that he would receive wartime rates of compensation. If his unfortunate injury had occurred yesterday, and as a result of Executive Order No. 10585, he would be considered a peace-time veteran and eligible to receive only the peacetime rates of disability compensation would like to ask you this question, is there any fundamental difference insofar as eligibility for wartime benefits is concerned between a date early in January, when the young veteran became disabled, and February 1, 1955, or any date subsequent there-

The more we study this problem the clearer it becomes that the concept of wartime and peacetimed service has drastically changed since the end of World War II. Is it possible to arbitrarily fix a date for the termination of wartime benefits and at the same time adopt a foreign policy which potentially can erupt into a conflict of major proportions on short notice.

Because of the restrictive nature of the DAV legislative policy, our program is not as all-encompassing in the field of veteran benefits as that of other veteran organizations. The subjects we submit for your consideration from time to time relate solely to the veteran who has incurred a wartime, serviceconnected disability.

UNIFORMITY IN EXISTING BENEFITS

One of our chief concerns is the inequity created in the compensation rates by the en actment of Public Law 356, 82d Congress. This law provides a 15 percent increase in compensation for veterans rated 50 percent or more disabled, and a 5 percent increase for those rated less than 50 percent. Another section of the same law provided an increase of approximately 15 percent in death compensation to widows with children, while widows without children, did not receive any This obvious inequity was partially corrected during the second session of the 83d Congress, by the enactment of Pub-

lic Law 695 which, in part, provided an increase of 15 percent to widows without children.

However, Public Law 695, while providing a small increase in the rates of disability compensation, does not correct the inherent inequity existing in the rates of compensation created by Public Law 356 of the 82d Congress. H. R. 774 and 1819 pending before this committee, have for their purpose the reestablishment of parity in the rates of disability compensation between veterans rated less than 50 percent and those rated 50 percent or more.

The full significance of this inequity can be easily understood, when recognition is given to the fact that the differential between the less seriously disabled and the more seriously disabled is considered in adjudicating a veterans claim for service connection. Public Law 356, however, imposes an additional and entirely unwarranted differential by providing a 15 percent increase for one group of disabled veterans and a 5 percent increase to another group. The net result of this legislative legerdemain is that a veteran presently rated 10-49 percent does not draw this percentage of total disability compensation despite the fact that service-connected disabilities are rated percentagewise.

One other matter on our legislative program to which I would like to call specific attention is a proposed amendment to Public Law 182, 79th Congress. This law provides additional compensation in excess of total disability awards to veterans suffering from the loss or loss of use of one or more extremeties, or who have lost the sight of one or both eyes. Double amputations of arms or legs or combinations thereof are adequately provided for, but there is no provision in this law to grant an additional award for loss or loss of use of an eye in combination with the loss or loss of use of an arm or a leg. H. R. 1614, introduced by the chairman of this committee would make the present law more uniform and equitable if enacted

There are many other important subjects on our legislative program which fall within the jurisdiction of this committee, but in the interest of conserving time I will not read them. You will find attached hereto, a list of our major legislative aims and objectives other than those already referred to.

Again I wish to express my gratitude for the opportunity to present the DAV's legislative program to this committee and to thank you for the many courtesles you have extended to me. My Washington staff who are with me today will always be available to the committee and to your professional staff for any information regarding the VA program.

The Citadel, Charleston, S. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I enclose herewith the separate speeches by the distinguished military men who have graced the rostrum at The Citadel under the program instituted by that outstanding. retired general, Mark Wayne Clark, the now president of The Citadel.

Under General Clark's magnetic leadership America's foremost thinkers in the fields of religion, statesmanship, and the military are weekly addressing the Corps of Cadets at The Citadel in Charleston, S. C.

These discussions which are so well attended by the cadet body are thought provoking and are of immeasurable benefit to this fine institution. The first-hand experiences related by these distinguished speakers gives this student body an opportunity to gain information which few institutions of higher learning enjoy.

It is to the great credit of General Clark that these programs have been commenced and that those who are fortunate enough to attend this great military institution can gain the benefit of this rich experience.

Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include first the address of His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman, to the Corps of Cadets at the Citadel on December 4, 1954, the title of which is "America's Hour of Trial"; the second is the address by the distinguished Chief of Staff of the Army, Gen, Matthew B. Ridgway, delivered on Tuesday, December 7, 1954; and third, the address of the Chief of Naval Operations, Adm. Robert B. Carney, entitled "Education and Leadership," delivered to the student body on January 4, 1955.

Cardinal Spellman's address follows:

Address of His Eminence, Francis Cardinal
Spellman, to the Corps of Cadets at the
Citadel, Charleston, S. C., December 4,
1954

AMERICA'S HOUR OF TRIAL

It is with great gratitude and pride that I have come to South Carolina to be with you, cadets of the Citadel, whose lives are dedicated to perpetual protection of our beloved and blessed country. The fathers and brothers of some of you I have met in different and far corners of the earth. With some I have shared a day; with others a hasty meal behind lines of battle; with some a leisurely luncheon in my own home, or in their quarters. With all of them, as with you, I share a common love of our wondrous, free, and noble Nation, and close to my heart I hold this opportunity to be with you today.

Tried and trusted keepers of America's defense, yours is the responsibility valorously to match deeds and words; yours the sacred duty to live your lives, and if necessary, give your lives for your country. Fortified by my feeling that you believe in my own love of God and of my country, as I believe in yours, I ask that with friendly hearts and open minds, you ponder my reflections founded on the sacred principles of my priesthood and my patriotism, for I am devoted, as you are, not alone to the soil of America, but also to the preservation of America's soul.

It matters not where we live, or what position in life we hold, whether we be Protestant, Jew, or Catholic, by our prayers and our deeds we must prove our faith in God. our country, and our fellow man, publicly avowing not alone by words but by our works an eternal enmity to all evils spawned from godless, tyrannical communism, pledging our everlasting loyalty to justice and freedom rooted in God himself. And I beg of you, America's future guardian soldiers and my dear friends, as you observe military regulations in order that you may be prepared valiantly to defend your country, I ask that With equal fervor you follow faithfully the laws of God. As you respect every command of your military leaders, I pray with equal devotion revere the Commandments of your Divine Leader-Almighty God. For, in this, America's fateful hour, it is the bounden duty of every one of us to prove worthy of kinship with God and trustworthy of our American citizenship, not by lip alone, but by dally deeds of honorable living. The time has long since passed when anything less can save America.

Therefore, do I say to you young, stalwarthearted, strong-bodied sons of our free and precious country, stand firm in your faith, for only if faith dwells strong and stout and powerful in American hearts shall we be able to help America survive. If our hearts and our acts are weak and vacillating; if Americans are prope to appease Communists; if they continue to be apathetic toward Americans who take refuge behind the fifth amendment, Americans unworthy of the honor of being citizens of this mighty Nation; if some Americans continue to assail other Americans who are striving to protect their country by eliminating Communists from America's Government, defense plants, educational institutions, and the Armed Forces of the United States; if we continue to thus play into the hands of the Communists day after day until the days become months and the months stretch into years, then shall that day soon come when it will be too late to save America and all the God-given glories and wonders that are hers. Then shall America be destroyed, not alone by Communists outside her shores, but with the cooperation of traitorous-hearted, God-hating people pretending to be patriotic American citizens. Then, once again, the heroic sacrifices of America's sons, fathers and brothers, and all who so dearly loved them shall be violated as we again bring upon ourselves and the innocents of future generations agonizing, bloodletting years of war.

No man on earth wants war less than Ifor I am a priest of peace, my life consecrated to the service of God and man, dedicated to striving to bring peace to men on earth and everlasting peace in Heaven. No man wants war less than I, for a dozen times I have circled the world of war, visiting the men of our Armed Forces in every country of the globe where America's sons were fighting and dying on foreign soil, visiting and praying with them, trying to bring them some solace in their hours of heroic sufferings and sacrifices, and my heart cried out every minute of the countless hours I spent with the wounded as they lay on their cots of pain, in hospitals and hospital ships; no man wants war less than I, for I have seen the horrors and havoc of war and witnessed the untold miseries endured by men, women, and children in war-devastated lands. It is for peace I make my plea today, but peace that does not mean surrender to our enemies or leaves us unprepared or unaware of the dangers we face. For peace I work and pray and plead every day of my life—but peace with justice and freedom and honor for America and all the nations of the world.

But today realistic Americans must be aware that we are poised on the brink of a third world war, and, while no man knows the fate that awaits us, this we do know, that if communism conquers it will be slavery or death for Americans and the extinction of our country as a God-loving, democratic nation. Americans by this time should surely know Communists for what they are, America's enemy, deadly and merciless, subjugating nations by infiltration and aggression, enslaving freedom-loving peoples by promises of plenty while murdering their bodies, their souls, and their hopes until they die amid indescribable terrors, chaos, and famine.

America's hour of trial has come, and only if God guides the captains of our Ship of State shall we out-ride this terrible, tragic crisis of history. In the days that rush upon us now, only a nation one in heart and soul shall long survive. United only can we live, divided fall. America needs loyal sons like

you young men of The Citadel. She needs them strong of body and of soul. And it is my profound belief that no nation can long survive unless the loyalty of her peoples is founded in love of God.

founded in love of God.

I have been witness to this truth in a thousand ways upon the fields of battle and in embattled lands throughout the warwrecked world. It was but a few months after the conclusion of the last world war that I visited the historic city of Freiburg in southwest Germany close by the storied Black Forest. Freiburg was a tragic spectacle. Poverty, hunger, and suffering stared at us from every side. Rubble was heaped high in her ancient streets. Gaunt and empty ruins were all that were left of the quaint city which I had known as a young priest.

The 800-year-old Cathedral, glorious example of early Gothic, though badly burned and scarred, was still standing midst Freiburg's desolation. I crossed to the acres of ashes that once had been the university, which in its prime had attracted such scholars as Erasmus of Rotterdam and Zasius, the founder of modern political science, a university which possessed one of the oldest and best medical schools in Europe. All was a mass of smouldering debris. The huge lecture halls, the faculty houses, the magnificent library, the law and medical colleges, all had been reduced to charred and broken masonry silhouetted ghostlike against bleak, grey skies.

As I stood in the chill autumn air and gazed sadly about, my eyes were attracted to the inscription carved over an archway that by a freak of bombing had escaped destruction. It was chipped and charred but still legible and it read: "Unless the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it." Here, I thought to myself, is a graphic and terrifying fulfillment of those words of the Psalmist inscribed among Freiburg's own mournful ruins. I thought of Hitler and his mad company and all those other dictators and godless tyrants, enemies of religion whose hate propaganda and terroristic methods had brought nations and peoples of the world to their present pitiable state of confusion and chaos, terrible testimony to this truth that they labor in vain who build without God.

Hitler derided and denied the God Who made him. Fanatically he attempted to stomp out religion. Hounding, imprisoning, murdering ministers of God during the crazed years of his ascendancy, he persecuted and put to death thousands of men and women only because they worshiped God instead of Hitler. He eradicated charity and mercy from human hearts and speech. He suppressed institutes of religion and, in their stead, he substituted Belsen and Dachau with their ovens, their torture chambers and their heaps of rotted corpses. He replaced the Commandments of God with antireligious slogans and laws, using sheer military power, science and the machine as tools of his despotism. Thus were God and religion blotted out of men's souls and the horrible and ineffaceable results were the ruins of Freiburg and hundreds of other devastated cities and towns in blood soaked lands pockmarking the whole-world-except, Thank God, 'till now, our own.

In our own America, ever since Colonial times, religion has taken its rightful, fundamental place in the writings of our Founding Fathers traditionally familiar even to every American schoolchild. Since the passage of the Bill of Rights in 1791 our Constitution has been amended 22 times. During those years many and important changes have occurred in our American life and customs, but the right of every American to worship God according to the dictates of his conscience has endured without change or threat of change. Never in the history of the United States has there been Government interfer-

ence or persecution of any religion. And, as Americans and as human beings we can be

proud of that record.

Religion has served our Nation well. Its benefits have been legion. Religion has encouraged recognition of the rights of conscience, has fostered the establishment of schools and colleges educating our youth to the advantages and the responsibilities of American citizenship. Religion has inspired and sanctified humanitarian motives and acts in the foundation and in the support of hospitals and charitable institutions. Religion has promoted the works of peace and encouraged and cemented harmonious relations among citizens and various racial groups of good-will. Religion has strengthened civic virtue and has been patriotism's strongest prop. Religion has acted as a proven and salutary check on human weaknesses and excesses and has ever stood as a solid and secure foundation for our democratic Nation.

Vividly do I recall another experience of the war years. It was in October 1944. The American forces had already breached the Siegfried Line and I was riding through a wooded section near Aachen with General Huebener then commanding the First Infantry Division. As our jeep bumped and road through a bounced over a corduroy dripping fog, past the hulking specters of blown up fortifications and overturned Nazi tanks, the general, in his forthright way, "Archbishop, I do not say that said to me: only a religious man can be a good soldier, but I do say emphatically and challenge anyone to contradict me when I say that the soldier who lives up to his religion is a better man and a better soldier."

Therefore do I pray you, cadets of this great military citadel, in your duty hours, in your social contacts, whenever and where ever opportunity permits, by word, deed and example, be faithful to the teachings of your religion. Seek out and encourage the sol-dier who is lax. Spur on the spiritual thinking that lad who is indifferent. Demonstrate to all, to your fellow-officers and your men, that religion does make a man a better man, a better soldier and a better American. By your own lives prove that religion is the fountainhead and foundation of democracy and that "Unless the Lord build the house they labor in vain that build it." Any other foundation is but a foundation of sand. Unless the Lord dwell in the structure of our Government, those who have labored to build it those millions who have fought and died to preserve and perpetuate our country, all will have labored, fought, suffered and died in vain.

Ofttimes many people of many lands and different religious beliefs have asked me what my faith means to me.

Faith was mine long before I studied its theological definition or even mastered the penny catechism during my Sunday school days. Faith to me has been, from longest remembrance, as real as my mother's love, my father's reverent responsibility to his church, his country, and his family, as real as the rosary in my grandmother's fingers, the blinking sanctuary light in our little country church. As a child of faith, I have ever dwelt in its warm, all-embracing atmosphere. Like the sky it drew my thoughts upwards; like the earth beneath, it steadled my feet. Like the air above me it served to satisfy the hidden needs of my soul. Like the goodness of my parents it sent me away satisfied, contented, at peace with God, myself, and my fellowman.

What does faith mean to me? I have seen the answer beneath the streaming glory of our Nation's flag, against the crimsoned glory of the tropical sunset, above the tranquil quietude of the white-crossed graves of our beloved dead, for faith alone can give logical answer to their sacrifices. This then what faith means—the ultimate and only satisfying explanation to life's most disturbing frustrations, the solution of all problems, the solvent of all pains, victory even in all defeats. Religion, my friends, is the daily chalice God offers for men's strengthening, the ground of hope, the source of love and the golden door by which, in God's good time. I devoutly pray, we shall pass into that fullness of possession where love rewards us for having held faith's strong and guiding hand amid the darkness, the terrors and the toil of this mortal world.

And now, dear friends, my heart is filled with desire to tell what America means to me, America, sacred sanctuary of liberty, democracy, and faith:

America means the broad wheat fields of the Middle West, symbolic of the broad spirit tolerance that has made it possible for peoples stemming from many diverse lands, races, and creeds to live here in our blessed Nation, united in fraternal charity.

America means the cotton fields and sunswept verdure of the South, symbolic of your gracious hospitality and the spirit of statehood undefeated.

America means the snow-capped Rockies, mighty in their majesty, symbolic of our country's ideals that man may live with man in mutual respect, following God's law, echoed in man's conscience.

America means the deep voice of crested waves rolling in from the Pacific along the frontiers of the Golden West which bespeak the sacrifice and labors of our vibrant, rugged forebears.

America means rocky hillsides, turbulent streams, little villages and towns in my native New England and my heart fills with emotion as I ponder the wholesome principles and homespun plety that dominated the small world of my boyhood.

America means New York, Chicago, Atlanta, New Orleans, Los Angeles, and the other cities of our great Nation, with their multiple beauties and wonders.

These are America's material glories, but more precious and wondrous still is our flag, which joyously and proudly I have seen flying aloft in all corners of the world, the flag freedom that symbolizes justice and love of man for God and his fellowman, stark contradiction to the red flag of tyranny, symbol of serfdom and pagan oppression. I have seen our American flag in wartime and in peacetime; and, as a loyal son of America, I give testimony to the truth that even in time of war, the message of that flag is peace. With rapt heart I recall the sight of our flag at the masthead of a ship, weaving bright colors above the turbulent waters, beneath a sullen gray sky, which seemed to reflect the world of today, dark with forebodings of disasters yet to come, gray with the accumulated clouds of evils and errors of the past.

Suddenly a gust of wind enfolds the listless standard at the masthead, and there, challenging the somber colorings of the sky streams Old Glory; Red with charity for all men and all nations of good will-red too with courage to achieve the liberties of man by personal sufferings and sacrifice; white for the basic righteousness of our national purpose; blue for our trust and confidence in God, our Heavenly Father. Red, white, and blue! The flag of our God-blessed America, the last unfailing hope of embattled humanity struggling for survival against the menace of atheistic communism that would desecrate and destroy both the flesh of man and man's spirit.

This, then, is what America means to me America, which you and I and millions of others stand ready to defend unto death. The Citadel, Charleston, S. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following address by Gen. Matthew B. Ridgway, Chief of Staff, United States Army, at The Citadel, Charleston, S. C., Tuesday, December 7, 1954:

I am honored and grateful for the opportunity to be here today. For more than 40 years it has been my good fortune to have served in peace and war—at work and at your distinguished president, play-with General Clark. To be with him again and with you young gentlemen, preparing your-selves for the responsibilities and duties of the future of America, is an inspiring ex-

The Citadel has a long and honorable tradition. Its graduates have gone out to serve the Nation, both as soldiers and as civilians, for well over a hundred years. As one of the oldest military schools in the United States, The Citadel has an atmosphere, a curriculum, and a tradition with a sound and strong military orientation.

While I realize that it is not the primary purpose of the military college of South Carolina to train officers for the Armed Forces, it is of the military responsibilities of its prospective graduates that I want chiefly to speak, and it is to you young gentlemen that I primarily address my remarks.

The greatest opportunity to which you can

aspire is the opportunity for useful service.

That opportunity will soon be given to
you. Most of you expect, upon graduation,
to begin a tour of duty as a member of the active military forces. I hope that many of you will go on, as so many distinguished alumni of this school have done, to follow military careers. But even if you do not choose to continue as professional soldiersand I use the term "soldiers" to refer to all military men-the skills and the integrity which the Citadel has given you will prove invaluable to your communities, and to the Nation, whatever profession you may pursue. You do not need to ask yourselves why you

are receiving military as well as purely academic training. Presumably, you answered that question for yourselves when you chose to come here to school.

It may be, however, that you wonder why it is that you and so many of your contemporaries must give a number of years of your lives to full-time military service, and why, having completed your active service, you will continue to be available for military duty in case of national need.

The answer is simple: Our Nation, with all it stands for, lives under a continuing threat of attack by godless communism. Only by maintaining strength can we hope to deter such an attack. Only by readily available strength can we win victory—and win we must-if we are unable to prevent And only through the the outbreak of war. provision of trained, determined men can we attain the strength essential to achieve either of these objectives.

The rendering of service to the Nation is no imposition upon the individual. It sometimes seems to me that people are too prone to feel sorry for themselves. The soldier is frequently called upon to endure discomfort, it is true. He may have to accept real hardship and grave danger. Sometimes he is called upon to make the supreme sacrifice and lay down his life for the cause he defends.

None of this is new. Such sacrifices have been made throughout the history of man. Our own history is replete with them. Nothing is free. Nothing worthwhile is cheap. The service we perform, the sacrifice we may be called upon to make constitute the price we must be ready to pay to preserve for the future the blessings of liberty and justice, of human dignity and of individual freedom which have been handed on to us from the past.

It has been said that all true love includes a willingness to sacrifice. Certainly love of country and of God must include that spirit.

To all of you, let me say that seldom have young officers been afforded more challenging opportunities, more engrossing tasks than those which will confront you after your

entry upon active service.

To those of you who will enter the Army, let me say, never doubt the vital significance of the responsibilities which will be placed upon you as members of the Army of the United States. Among some circles today, there is sometimes a tendency to believe that modern wars may be quickly won by means of mass destruction weapons which will make unnecessary the operations of ground combat forces. No assumption could be more dangerous, if used as a basis for

Entirely apart from the employment or nonemployment of mass destruction weapons, a primary issue in combat is the destruction of the enemy's will to fight. Experience indicates that, when a people is devoted to its cause, its will to fight endures as long as its capability of fighting continues. In short, enemy resistance would continue so long as enemy armed forces could continue in combat. Ultimately, only ground forces can defeat enemy ground forces. And because enemy air and naval forces must operate from land bases, the seizure and occupation of such enemy bases by ground forces are important contributions to the achievement of victory at sea and in the air.

And, finally, since defeat of the enemy armed forces is not an end in itself, but only a means to an end, the victory must be consolidated. Domination over land and the enemy people occupying it must be gained and maintained, and only ground forces have the capability of so doing.

Obviously, none of the Army's tasks and missions can be carried out effectively with-out full support and assistance from the air and naval members of the team. Control of the air and the sea is essential to the projection of our military power overseas. However, the location of Army units on the ground is a true index of the progress of armed warfare. There is a direct analogy in football. If your ball advances, you win. If it is pushed back, you lose.

If it is pushed back, you lose.

As members of the Army, therefore, you will be part of a vitally important element of our military forces.

Whichever service you may enter, to develop and maintain the proficiency necessary to carry out your responsibilities, you will find that your talents, your skills, and your energy will be called upon to the utmost.

You must maintain an open mind. There is no mind so fine today that it sees solutions to all the tremendous problems which we all perceive in the military field alone.

We are passing through a period of transition. There is a greater requirement than ever for mental flexibility.

As new weapons become available you will have to master new techniques. In the Army, for example, already we have such weapons as the Honest John rocket, the Corporal guided missile for surface-to-surface

firing, and the Nike antiaircraft guided missile. We have the 280-mm. gun, capable of firing either conventional or atomic projectiles and capable, also, of operating effectively regardless of conditions of weather or visibility. We have recently announced the development of the "Bat," a 106-mm. recoilless cannon designed for antitank use. We have still other new weapons, including a number still under test and design, some of which you will doubtless have occasion to work with. In addition to weapons as such, there have been many innovations—and there will be more—in vehicles, in communications, in electronics.

All these advances in technology are having a marked influence upon tactics and tactical organization. One effect is that tactical deployments will entail much greater dispersion, both laterally and in depth. Necessarily, significant responsibility for tactical decisions will be delegated still farther down the chain of command. As a result, the responsibilities—and consequently the opportunities—which will be granted to you even as very junior officers will be substantially greater than has ever been true before.

before.

Partly for this reason the opportunities which you will have for leadership will also be increased. You will be granted the chance to direct the activities of the soldiers who, when properly led, have repeatedly proved themselves the finest fighting men in the world.

When I first came into the service the drill regulations provided that a second lieutenant marching with his company was a "file closer"—he brought up the rear, it was said, like the tail on a dog but not half so useful. If there was ever any truth in that desription, it long since disappeared. Today the responsibilities of all officers, however junior in rank, are very great indeed.

Never forget, however, that you are responsible for your men, 24 hours a day, 7 days a week, and that your success as an officer rests solidly upon them. Their intelligence, their enthusiasm, their ingenuity, and their initiative are among the strongest assets which our Army has, but the responsibility for bringing out these qualities will rest squarely upon you. It is the greatest challenge you can face, for you will be working with the finest material there is—American youths—and your success with them will bring commensurate success throughout your life.

Finally I want to mention the implications to you of the fact that units of our Armed Forces are standing guard at points throughout the free world.

In all likelihood, you will spend a good part of your active service overseas. As a member of such a unit, you will be charged with a share of the vital task of keeping up our guard against any sudden assault. In standing ready, you will not be merely going through a drill or an exercise for its own sake. The proficiency which you develop, the alertness which you maintain will constitute the index of our hope for success in building the collective strength through which war may be prevented and through which, if it cannot be prevented, it can be won.

Although the responsibilities you face are weighty ones, you are fortunate in the excellence of the preparation which you are being given, militarily and academically, to assume them.

Under the guidance of General Clark, the eminent soldier, whose courageous leadership is known world-wide, assisted by the distinguished members of the faculty and staff of this splendid school, you are acquiring skills through which you will go out to serve the Nation, whatever your profession, in the magnificent manner which your predecessors have taught us to expect of Citadel men.

And you are being granted something else of value equal to the academic training you are receiving. That is a sense of tradition, of continuity, of dedication to the preservation of those spiritual values which are the basis of all that we know and have of real and unchanging worth.

Finally, to you is being given a limitless opportunity, the opportunity for useful, meaningful service to your families, your communities, and your country. I know of no higher opportunity to which anyone could aspire.

The Citadel, Charleston, S. C.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. L. MENDEL RIVERS

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. RIVERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following address by Adm. Robert B. Carney, United States Navy, Chief of Naval Operations, before The Citadel, Charleston, S. C., Monday, January 24, 1955:

EDUCATION AND LEADERSHIP

The contributions and accomplishments that have been made by the graduates and faculty of this distinguished military college form an important part of America's past. Famous deeds and famous names have become a part of this institution's heritage. One whose magnificent accomplishments in wars both hot and cold will be indelibly inscribed in our history is that of your president, Gen. Mark Clark.

Our Nation is indeed fortunate in having this great military leader here at Citadel where he can continue to lead and inspire such young men as I see in this audience.

The Citadel performs a unique function and service in the American scheme of things in that it gives a selected group of young citizens insight and training into the essential requirements of citizenship; it emphasizes the citizens' responsibility in rising to the defense of this country. What is more important, by the nature of its ideals, traditions and academic standards, Citadel stresses development in the field of leadership; and responsible leadership is urgently needed today.

needed today.

It becomes more apparent every day that our system of education is being posed with a greater challenge than we have ever known before. Both in government and industry, there is an ever-growing need for wider understanding of the interrelation between sound economics and national security. The time has passed when it is enough for a military man to be familiar with the tactics of his particular service arm or for the civilian to pleasantly limit himself to the civic affeirs of his own community.

fairs of his own community.

The nature of the world we live in is such that if general war should come again, not a man, woman, or child would be unaffected; more than that, virtually every citizen would be confronted with the responsibility of his own personal care in a desperate effort to survive. This stark reality is being brought home to people as never before by the growing awareness that we are no longer insulated by the oceans and the Arctic wastes. If this great test of national effort should ever come, every military man would be vitally concerned with the affairs of industry and civilian defense; and every nonuniformed contributor would, in some measure, need to have knowledge of military requirements in

order that they can be intelligently supplied and fulfilled. Toward the top of the ladder of national effort, where the great decisions must be made, there will be a corresponding requirement for a greater and broader understanding of human affairs. All of these things point to a need for broadening the scope of our national educational system with the difficult concomitant of increasing the amount of actual precise knowledge of an ever-expanding list of subjects. Actually, these are the only principles on which an effective educational structure can be built.

Education, today, must serve the dual purpose of supplying adequate personnel to the Armed Forces and continuing the uninterrupted flow of trained men to fill our other vital national needs, including our international commitments.

Always, there is the intense awareness of the fact that the incredibly complex organism which is the United States will need at every level a wise and informed leadership.

If one single attribute were to be singled out as the most important foundation-stone of leadership, there can be little doubt that it would be labeled "knowledge."

In the past, and perhaps under some circumstances still to be encountered, the rare personal quality that inspires others to follow may suffice to bring about the desired results. There are those men, who without apparent effort, have the gift to inspire subordinates to superlative effort. There have been occasions in military action when a dashing offensive spirit-was enough to turn the tide of victory. But for every such op-portunity and for every such man, there have been thousands and thousands of situations where saberwaving was not enough. Knowledge, and knowledge alone, will enable the men at the top, in positions of heavy responsibility, to evaluate the myriad factors and make the wise decisions. If this premise is accepted, and it would be hard to deny, it is all too apparent that a heavier burden is placed on leadership in these days of fantastically rapid and radical change

than at any time in our history.

The wisdom that is essential in handling our national and international affairs is not so much a wealth of specialized knowledge as it is skill in handling problems that involve many diverse and sensitive viewpoints which must be applied to new situations. Wisdom of this general sort will always require the help of experts, so there is a continuing need for some men to specialize in specialties and others to specialize in specialize in specialize.

The ability to think and to make sound decisions in areas where uncertainty is the dominant note is not something easily and quickly attained. It is wisdom that cannot be achieved by shallow methods or by shortcuts or by undisciplined mentalities. It can only be acquired after hard work and much practice. There is no shortcut in developing the ability to think constructively and make wise decisions in the field of human relationships. There is no quick and easy formula, no slogan and no label that will replace the trials, disappointments, and general experience factors that are involved in acquiring this sort of a general education. Man learns slowly, and if he keeps up to

Man learns slowly, and if he keeps up to date, he must learn constantly. He learns by composition of study, experiment, conversation with informed men, and association. He learns through books, travel, human contact, and personal experience. He learns, too, by his own mistakes; and he can also learn by the mistakes that are made by others. There is no substitute for repetitive experiences in the acquisition of knowledge and in the building of character.

Thus, you can understand why the military emphasizes the drill. It is the basis of indoctrination and discipline. It inculcates a skill to the point where it becomes automatic reaction.

If our young people are to have confidence in themselves and faith in themselves, they must be given assignments involving challenge. The more gifted children should be given more complicated problems, and greater opportunity to forge ahead. The exceptional mentality should never be sacrificed to mediocre conformity and particularly so in these perilous times which are testing and challenging all of us to our utmost capacity. The mentality that can see ahead and formulate new ideas needs encouragement today.

It is a sobering thought in light of today's brainpower needs and capabilities that fewer than half our people with mental capacity for higher learning actually go to college. Regardless of the individual's mental capacity, his brain must actually be put to work and challenged if it is to be improved.

In the field of leadership, the handmalden of knowledge is the ability to be articulate. Knowledge and ideas do little good if retained in a vacuum; they must be conveyed to others in a highly skilled manner.

It should be pointed out also that knowledge, in itself, is not enough. Nor is leadership alone a proper goal because evil men can acquire knowledge, achieve brilliance, and become leaders. The spiritual values were never more important than they are today, beset as we are by the plausible-sounding truth distorters in the Kremlin.

The question that quite naturally confronts each of us is to what extent international communism actually threatens our individual lives. Today, we are encouraged by the strengthening of our alliance and the strengthening of our retallatory capabilities which all, added together, would seem to any rational man to make aggression less probable.

But the Communists' pattern of aggression is sometimes hard to discern. The point to remember is this: The Communists are covertly attacking our liberties every hour of the day, every day of the year, and have been since the end of World War II; they are continuously on the offensive, if not on the battlefield, then in the free press, free speech, and free economy, to serve their own black and loathsome purposes.

What may cause optimism today is the apparent improvement in our own situation rather than from any dimunition of threat to our form of government. The threat, in terms of international communism's purpose and methods, is just as great today as it ever was.

One of the most insidious aspects of communistic methods is their perverted usage of our own Anglo-Saxon words. Today, fore our young people are old enough to fully comprehend and appreciate the true meaning of such words as "freedom" and "democracy," they are hearing these wonderful. meaningful words mouthed by the Communists in their effort to deceive and confuse. For instance, they label a satellite dictatorship, such as they are running in North Korea, as the People's Democratic Republic. They call us warmongering imperialists when they, themselves, state that it is their avowed purpose to gain control by force, if necessary, of our democratic processes. They call us reactionaries when, in fact, it is their government that is writing one of the most tyrannical chapters in world history.

The Soviets are constantly strengthening their armed forces quantitatively and qualitatively. They are developing new weapons and new uses of weapons. Their economy is expanding as is their interest in maritime matters. And the cells of their political structure are still being imbedded in every nook and cranny of the universe.

The truth is, then, that we need great national power as never before. We need technological achievement and a reservoir of trained personnel as never before. In comparing the two education systems—ours and theirs—we see that the Soviet Union implements its requirements from the top down. They start with the needs of the state and educate from the realization that they must have trained experts to support their aggressive aim. Any benefits that might accrue to the individuals are simply byproducts.

In contrast, the American education system is designed to serve the purposes of the individual by offering him the opportunity to pursue the things in which he is most interested. The national needs of the United States are served as a result of our educational achievements from the bottom up.

We must recognize that despite the inherent political and ideological restraints of the Soviet Union's communistic society, she is making both quantitative and qualitative improvement in planning and coordinating her educational requirements to go forward with her economic, military, and political plans. She is placing increasing emphasis on scientific advancement in her educational system, both in her universities and her secondary schools, and in the engineering field she is reported to be graduating nearly twice as many specialists as are we.

I have been speaking of precise knowledge in the precise sciences, but there are cultural and political sciences, the mastery of which is just as essential, not only for safety but for progress. Perhaps the greatest of these is the science of understanding people—not just the people of your own nation or your own community, not just the people with similar sociological and political experiences—but an understanding of the historical and political backgrounds which underlie the thinking of the peoples of other nations.

Many of the international frictions which plague us in our effort to band together under the banner of freedom can be charged to ignorance of our neighbors' backgrounds,

The thing that we call freedom stems from the flerce determination of our early settlers to escape the old way of life and to build something new of their own choosing. The Government which we evolved arose out of our pioneering and our revolt against Old World customs and systems. The same Old World geography is now populated with people who have known nothing but the system from which our forebears severed themselves.

Quite naturally we must expect a great divergence of viewpoint concerning such matters as government, sociology, community customs and educational viewpoints. But even when we are not prepared to agree with the modes of life or the philosophy of other people, we should seek to understand the reasons behind their hopes and their fears, for in no other way can we hope to achieve the real human accord which is absolutely essential for harmony and security.

Illustrative of this is the splendid NATO concept—a field in which I had the great privilege of serving at one time.

In southern Europe where I labored in this cause were nations, which in my lifetime, had been at each others throats. were fears and suspicions centuries old. Those ancient enmittes and apprehensions existed in some measure in the hearts of the individual people when, by the stroke of the NATO pen, they found themselves allied to-It took more than the stroke of the pen to overcome those feelings of doubt and warniess; and yet, in an incredibly short time, these feelings did change in great measure. Of course, at times, there were understandable reluctance and hesitation. This is why, earlier in my talk, while discussing the great problem of security which con-fronts the free world today, I stressed the fact that it cannot be solved by the politician alone, nor the diplomat alone, nor the soldier alone. If the urgently needed results are to be achieved, it requires, at every level, leadership built of an appropriate measure of all the components-political, spiritual, economic, military, and perhaps most important of all, an historical understanding which leads to a tolerant and useful understanding of the workings of other men's minds. There is a terrific challenge for this kind of leadership.

One of the lessons that stands out from my experience in dealing with the problems of others is that they must be approached with patience and an understanding of other points of view, and a firm resolve to find a mutually acceptable solution. When men of good will, wisdom, and tolerance approach problems in this manner, progress can be achieved. And, if there is one educational clarion call, it is the need for a breadth of education to the end that all of the free countries develop enlightened leadershipenlightened in the field of the problems of neighbors as well as their own.

If we are to cope with today's perpetrators of falsehood and deception, our most important long-range objective must be the achievement of an alliance possessing a more solid base in free nations, in armed might, in raw materials, in industry, and educa-tional productivity than the Communists

are able to command.

Our capacity to accomplish this longrange objective is transitory; and its success depends on the free peoples of the free nations, mutually understanding each other, the threat that exists to them in common, plus the will to maintain sufficient strength-moral and physical-to overcome this threat.

In short, the situation calls for a national and international educational effort to the end that we all have leaders who can keep pace with an environment that is constantly

changing.

Every literate citizen has a responsibility in this undertakin to know what freedom really is, and, as far as is humanly possible, to be conversant with the factors in order that he can explain them to others. dom must be related to every phase of personal and national life; we must understand the rights and the responsibilities of freedom the techniques of individual and mass persuasion in accordance with free world concents.

As far as our military needs are concerned, the machines of modern war are so complex that they can neither be conceived, built, nor operated by uneducated men. They require the best brains that we can develop. mentalities, as they grow and develop, must be dovetailed with those who toil in the realms of politics and economics. We must always remember that wars are not won by weapon alone. They are won by men who know and believe in the principles for which they fight. The more knowledge a man has, the more potentially capable he is of rendering a service to himself, his community, his country, and the world.

I would like to leave this thought in conclusion: The mere defense of our land and our own way of life, even when we are defending ethical and moral principles, constitutes R defensive attitude. In this day and age, there is no earthly reason to be defensive about the great ideal we believe in, which, in its simplest terms, is the achievement of the maximum measure of freedom and fair play for the people of all nations. Vidual efforts of the future must not be Predicated on the defense of our way of life but rather on the creative principle that we Will help it spread and flourish for all men.

Which brings me back to my topic-education and leadership. The type of leadership needed in this era can only evolve from a system of education which inculcates a vast knowledge, and trains men to assimilate and sort out the facts and factors for profitable use. The country should be thankful for institutions such as this where both sides of the medallian-civic and military-can be exhibited, explained, and accepted as the cornerstone of the leadership which alone can keep us on the path to a shining destiny.

Educational Benefits for Servicemen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS -

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter from Mr. Russell I. Thackrey, executive secretary of the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, together with the resolution adopted by this fine organization at its 68th annual convention, which concerns full wartime benefits for persons serving in the Armed Forces on January 31, 1955. The resolution referred to supports the position represented in my bill, H. R. 292, which I introduced on January 6.

ASSOCIATION OF LAND-GRANT COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, Washington, D. C., January 25, 1955. Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS, Representative From Massachusetts,

House Office Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MRS. ROGERS: In connection with your recent introduction of legislation to extend eligibility for veterans' educational benefits under Public Law 550 during the period in which selective service is in operation, I am enclosing a resolution adopted by this association at its 68th annual convention. you will note, it supports the position represented in your proposal.

Sincerely.

RUSSELL I. THACKREY, Executive Secretary.

ASSOCIATION OF LAND-GRANT COLLEGES AND Universities. COMMITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, NOVEMBER 1954

The committee had before it a letter from Representative OLIN E. TEAGUE, of Texas, presently ranking minority member of the House Committee on Veterans' Affairs, and scheduled to be chairman of that committee during the 84th Congress. Mr. TEAGUE's letter noted that in the past the Congress has adhered closely to the policy that rehabilitation programs were intended to benefit veterans with wartime service. It further states that the present program of education and training benefits under Public Law 550 may be discontinued at any time by concurrent resolution of the Congress or by proclama-tion by the President. It states that "now that hostilities have ceased in Korca, consideration probably will be given to terminating the period during which service personnel will accrue entitlement to education and training," and requests that the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities consider this question at its annual meeting in order that its position may be developed prior to the next session of Con-

Your Committee on Veterans' Affairs has considered the question raised by Representative Tracus. It notes that at the time the association recommended a new program of educational and training benefits for veterans of the Korean fighting it felt that a

program of educational benefits was justified only on the basis that a mandatory 2-year interruption of education would cause many young men who might otherwise attend college not to do so, and that the Nation could ill afford the resulting loss of trained personnel. Your committee feels that this reasoning was sound at the time and is still sound, regardless of whether or not the armed services are engaged in active combat.

1. Your committee therefore recommends that for such period as the Nation continues to find it necessary in the national interest to maintain the Selective Service program requiring 2 or more years of active service in the Armed Forces for all able-bodied young men the program of educational benefits under Public Law 550 be continued. The committee in making this recommendation wishes also to make clear that it is not recommending a program of educational benefits for young men undergoing solely a comparatively short period of universal military training without subsequent active service, nor does it recommend continuance of educational benefits in a period in which selective service for extended active duty is no longer in operation. In the event of a sub-stantial change in the present Selective Service requirements, it feels the position of the association should be reviewed.

2. The committee further recommends that the association reaffirm its position in support of the financial provisions for educational benefits as provided in Public Law 550.

The Need for Standby Controls

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I rise to remind this House that we have a great need for legislation authorizing standby controls. Today the newspapers and the news broadcasts are stressing the warlike developments in the Formosa area. I am hopeful that the measures we have taken in the last few weeks have lessened the danger of war.

Without in any way magnifying these Formosan developments, I want, today, to call your attention to the terrible situation we would find ourselves in if all our peaceful activities should suddenly prove to be inadequate. Our economy is operating at top speed. We are turning out all kinds of civilian goods and substantial quantities of military supplies. A sudden outbreak of war would not catch us entirely unprepared. In the military field we would be better prepared than in any earlier peacetime period. In the civilian field, however, we would be far from ready for such an emergency.

One has only to look back to the Korean situation to realize what might result from the lack of standby controls. After inflation set in and supply shortages developed, a system of controls was adopted. These controls were adopted too late, however, to prevent a general price rise of 20 percent and many dislocations in civilian supplies. It should be obvious to anyone that our civilian economy is becoming more intricate and more complex with each passing year. It also should be evident that dislocations in the civilian economy surely will be greater than ever before if we have another outbreak of war. We are supporting new measures in the United Nations in the interest of obtaining a peaceful settlement where gunfire is heard today. But at the same time we are reappraising our military requirements in the light of current developments in the world.

It is with these things in mind that I call your attention again to the fact that we do not have standby controls which would automatically go into effect if an emergency occurred. Are we going to continue to drift so far as our civilian economy is concerned? If an emergency occurs, will we be forced to enact legislation after much of the damage has been done to our civilian economy?

You are all aware, I am sure, that there are still many tensions in the world even though the Formosa situation is settled. The program to rearm Germany has its dangers. Unrest continues in the Middle East and in Africa. In view of all these tensions it seems to me it would be the course of wisdom to provide now for any emergency by enacting legislation which authorizes standby economic and supply controls for our civilian economy.

The Communists in the United Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, in order to fortify what I have already said about the makeup of the United Nations, I quote here the words of Dr. George Dimitrov, chairman of the Bulgarian delegation to the assembly of captive European nations:

We think that it is high time for the democratic representatives in the United Nations to make their courageous decision and determinedly say:

"Out with the enemies of the United

"Out with the enemies of the United Nations from the United Nations.

"Out with the professional Red warmongers from this temple of freedom and peace.

peace.
"Out with the bloody dictators and criminal Red Fascists.

"Out with the agents of Communist conspiracy.

"Out with the greatest enemies of human rights, human dignity, human freedom, and human civilization."

In this Formosa situation the United Nations will attempt to obtain a cease-fire armistice and either maintain Nationalist China under the protectorate of this Communist-infiltrated United Nations or recommend some other move equally as disastrous to Nationalist China.

The President has full power to act now, no matter what the United Nations recommends, and he has already said that he will take charge of the matter. He now has the Congress squarely behind him and we hall his statement in his message that—

The situation has become sufficiently critical to impel me, without waiting action by the United Nations, to ask the Congress to participate now.

Public opinion overwhelmingly supports the President and this resolution of Congress.

For the exact language of Dr. Dimitrov, I am indebted to the research of Paul O. Peters in his Washington News Bulletin.

It is obvious that the President has no intention of attacking Red China, but it is equally obvious that he does not intend to abandon Nationalist China. The situation is in good hands and the general public now is united behind the President.

Conclusions on Travel and Exchange of Persons

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. DODD

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. DODD. Mr. Speaker, there has been brought to my attention a recently released European survey made for the Appropriations Committee of the other body by Brig. Gen. Julius Klein, of Chicago, a special consultant to that committee.

Of particular interest to me among General Klein's recommendations are his conclusions on travel and exchange of persons. General Klein, among other things, calls for—

First. Intensification of the interchange of persons program at all levels;

Second Encouragement of European tourist and business travel to the United States through cooperation with the established American travel industry; and

Third. Reexamination of existing law with a view toward facilitating and, with all safeguards of our interests, expanding the opportunities for foreign travel to the United States, and the assignment of adequate staffs to our consular services abroad to speed screening and other processing procedures required for the admittance of foreign visitors.

Since the end of World War II, the annual volume of dollars spent by American tourists abroad has more than doubled. Travel, in Europe, is now the biggest single source of earned dollars. The importance of Americans traveling abroad as a painless import and as an implementation of the "trade, not aid" program was well recognized by the report of the Randall Commission. Not measurable in dollars, however, is the value in strengthening the bonds of true friendship and understanding on a real personal level that international twoway travel brings. This understanding of America, its institutions, and its people, bought not by dollars but sold

through travel, can well be one of the strongest deterrents to Communist subversion of the minds and wills of men.

Uncomical Comic Books

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, I have requested this time to call to the attention of the House a bill which I have introduced today. It deals with a problem of supreme importance to the parents of our Nation.

It has been well said that a nation's literature fashions a nation's culture. In recently modern times, our young people have been swamped by a great avalanche of library barbarism in the form of so-called comic books. The unhappy fact is that many of them are anything but comical. Legislation with respect to publications has always been a very delicate subject. One of our most cherished rights is the freedom of the press guaranteed by the Constitution. Any degree of Government censorship of the publication and dissemination of reading matter impinges upon that constitutional safeguard. The ultimate extreme of Government censorship is the book-burning technique of the Nazi regime. On the other hand, the Government is charged with the protection of the general welfare. There can be no doubt that some of this weird, sadistic, and immoral literature is inimical to the public interest. Thus it will be seen that in legislating in this field, the Congress is necessarily confronted with two vitally important principles, the sanctity of both of which must be preserved. Just as freedom of speech cannot be stretched to justify treasonous words, just so cannot freedom of the press be stretched to justify corrupt literature.

Because of the two principles involved, and because of the complexity of the legal questions entailed, I feel that a temporary Presidential commission should be established to study both the problem and the legal implications of possible new legislation. Under my bill, this commission would "make a thorough investigation and study of the publication and transportation for sale in interstate commerce, by mail, rail, or vehicular or personal conveyance, of books, magazines, leaflets, circulars, and other publications containing pictures, drawings, paintings, sketches, or other illustrations or language which may be characterized as lewd, lascivious, immoral, obscene, inhuman, or sadistic, or calculated to teach, encourage, or glorify a breach of moral or secular law."

As soon as the commission has completed its investigation, the bill requires it to report to the Congress its recommendation for such legislation as it may consider just and justified.

It may well be that legislation is not the answer at all. An atmosphere of Christian discipline in the home can do more to solve the problem than all the laws in the world. It is simple to teach righteousness; it is difficult to legislate morality.

The 100th Anniversary of the Panama Railroad

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS S. GORDON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. GORDON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include my remarks on the 100th anniversary of the completion of the Panama Railroad on January 28, 1855. A commemorative stamp was issued, which was designed by Leo C. Page, chief of the architectural branch, and printed at the Mount Hope Printing Plant, Canal Zone. It is of artistic design and shows a sketch of the first Panama Railroad engine.

This great historical event has been brought to my attention by James F. Campbell, a personal friend of mine, who has spent many years of loyal service in the Customs Service at Cristobal, C. Z.

On January 28, last Friday, the railroad which crosses the Isthmus of Panama marked its 100th anniversary. All of us are fully aware of the economic and the strategic significance of transportation between the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans across this 50-mile isthmus. I suspect, however, that not many of us are aware of the fact that for over half a century before the Panama Canal opened, in August 1914, passengers and freight had been transported along the general route of the canal by railroad.

When the first train linked the Atlantic and Pacific in Panama, on January 28, 1855, a year was to elapse before the first railroad in the United States crossed the Mississippi River and 14 years before the first rail link between the Atlantic and the Pacific was completed in the United States.

The completion of the Panama Railroad in 1855 was a tribute to United States private enterprise and engineering skill. The promoters were United States citizens. The corporation which operated the railroad from its beginning until 1948 was chartered in New York State and the contractors which handled the original construction were Ameri-

The railroad across the isthmus was built at an enormous cost in human lives and human suffering. The connection between the mosquito and malaria was not known at that time and the various curative and precautionary measures then used were of no value. Thousands died. The terrain was extremely difficult, involving both swamps and hills, It is difficult for us today to

understand how the project was ever completed.

The history of our own West is reflected in the history of the Panama Railroad. It began operation in time to benefit from the heavy movement of people and freight to California following the gold rush. Until 1870 the railroad was enormously profitable. After the completion of our own transcontinental railroads, the Panama Railroad went through a period of lean years.

French interests bought control of the railroad company in 1878 in connection with their efforts to build a canal across the isthmus. The railroad, after 1904, was of vital importance to the United States construction of the canal and is recognized today as essential to the maintenance and the security of the canal.

The Panama Railroad has been operated by the United States Government since 1904, but it is not financed from appropriated funds. I have visited Panama on several occasions and have had a nopportunity to observe the railroad in operation. I feel that we should all take pride in its record.

I would like to recommend to the Members of the House the special centennial edition of the Panama Canal Review of January 28, 1955, published in the Canal Zone, which contains a detailed history of the railroad with a number of very interesting illustrations.

Talk Is Cheap but Water Earns Money

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE N. ASPINALL

OF COLORADO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ASPINALL. Mr. Speaker, every now and then it becomes necessary to say things which may sound sharp in some quarters, yet which are mild in comparison to what could be said. I do not think I need to add much to the editorial which will follow my remarks. This editorial appeared in the Denver Post, of Denver, Colo. It should be mentioned here, lest this be relegated as Democratic Party propaganda, that while the Denver Post is an independent organ of opinion it gave its support to the administration it here has under the microscope.

A big decision on reclamation and on the future of the West is to be made by this Congress. It may decide to do nothing, and if that decision is made the Nation will not soon regain the ground lost. Again, on the basis of information such as is highlighted in this editorial and as more completely spelled out in another insertion in this RECORD, made by me on January 27, 1955, the Congress may decide to get this great program back on the track so that the whole Nation may continue to benefit from this wise investment for underdeveloped areas. As it is pointed out, when you develop either a new area or increase the economic base, then you add net new wealth to the Nation generally. It is my hope that this editorial and the other insertion "Prairie Dogs Versus Prosperity?" will be carefully considered by the Members of Congress before they come to any final conclusion on what is to be done with reclamation.

The editorial follows:

TALK IS CHEAP BUT WATER EARNS MONEY

In his state of the Union message to Congress President Eisenhower said his 1956 budget "will recommend appropriations to start 6 new reclamation and more than 30 new Corps of Engineers projects of varying size * * ." Some of the corps projects, such as those in the Missouri Basin, may be related to reclamation. Most of them, we assume, will be for flood control or other purposes covered by the Rivers and Harbors Act.

Mr. Eisenhower made specific reference to the upper Colorado River project "to conserve and assure better use of precious water essential to the future of the West." And he said * * "to develop, wisely use, and conserve basic resources" is one of the "fundamental policies * * * at the foundation of our economic growth."

The reclamation record of the Elsenhower administration after 2 years is far from impressive. Its Budget Bureau was described last November by C. Petrus Peterson, president of the National Reclamation Association, as a "very potent obstacle to (reclamation's) progress." Last year the reclamation program had been murderously hacked down 65 percent from the fiscal year 1950 in funds for new project construction and rehabilitation.

For 4 years before 1954 the Bureau of Reclamation's budget had averaged more than \$263 million a year. The 83d Congress (the first Republican Congress since 1947-48) whacked reclamation down to \$160 million. It voted only \$4,184,000 for just 8 projects, 5 of which are very small. By failing to authorize additional work, and by refusing to put up money for some projects authorized a decade ago, Congresses in the last 4 years have forced a 44-percent reduction in the internationally famous bureau engineering staff in Denver.

On page 3 of this Roundup section appears an article entitled, "Prairie Dogs Versus Prosperity?" It digests a factual review of the benefits reclamation has brought to the semiarid States of the West in about a half century. Its source is the Bureau of Reclamation itself. Some will dismiss is as Bureau propaganda. But the skeptics will not include a single person who has observed or lived on the land or in the communities of the Colorado-Big Thompson, the Central Valley of California, the Columbia Basin or Yakima projects of Washington, the Boise project of Idaho, the Owyhee of Oregon, the Salt River of Arizona, the Provo River of Utah, the Rio Grande of New Mexico and Texas, or the Shoshone of Wyoming and Montana.

For on those projects and on dozens of others is living proof of the enormous values accruing from the cultivation of 6,192,416 acres of land, irrigated in whole or in part by Bureau-constructed works, and producing total crop values in 1953 alone of \$785,939,868. And all of this on land which Daniel Webster described more than 100 years ago as a "worthless area * * * a region of savages and wild beasts, of shifting sands and whirlwinds of dust, of cactus and prairie dogs."

Now, it is true that the Eisenhower administration itself demonstrated greater enthusiasm for reclamation than the GOP majority of the Congress. The opposition against western water and power development has been bipartisan: It has been led

by what appears to be a conspiracy among (a) those who believe interest-free Federal money for such works is wrong, philosophically and economically, (b) some who are fiercely playing regional politics from motives of self-interest, and (c) a group which confuses reclamation with make-work projects, to be deferred until needed as an antidote

for depression.

The opposition to reclamation is as old as Mr. Webster's indictment of plans to acquire much less develop the great West. has been overcome to the extent that the total irrigable land under completed works has increased from 39,300 acres in 1906 to 7,147,528 acres in 47 years. But it has been overcome only by the persistent and courageous efforts of men who believe in the West, in the soundness of reclamation as a Federal function: Men who have fought every step of the way.

Our complaint against the Eisenhower administration's Department of Interior has been its failure to dramatize the dynamics of its program, and to speak forthrightly and factually for the great West that the Department was created, primarily, to serve.

Engineers and Our National Well-Being

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, on the opening day of the 84th Congress I introduced H. R. 286 which has as its purpose the establishment of scientific scholarships throughout the United States in order to meet the needs of the national defense and the general welfare as to scientific training.

My friend and former constituent, Donald A. Quarles, now Assistant Secretary of Defense for Research and Development, has made a most interesting address on the subject of Engineers and Our National Well-Being. Because of the wide interest in scientific development, I include this very fine address in the RECORD:

ENGINEERS AND OUR NATIONAL WELL-BEING (Address by Donald A. Quarles, Assistant Secretary of Defense, at First Annual Assembly of the Engineers Joint Council, New York, N. Y., January 21, 1955)

Ladies and gentlemen, it gives me a great deal of satisfaction to take part in this First Annual Asembly of the Engineers Joint Council. As an officer and director of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, I have been much interested in EJC and the progress of its organizational growth. I have felt and still feel that unless or until another unity organization is created, EJC should be the senior policy body representing the engineering profession. In saying this, I am aware that there are still important segments of the profession not represented on the council. The present membership however, so broadly representative of The present membership is, profession that in professional matters I feel the council is entitled to assume and should assume this role of spokesman for the United States engineering fraternity.

I particularly appreciate the opportunity to address you on this occasion as a number of matters stand out in my mind as deserving the thoughtful attention of the profession. I realize that these are not new subjects and, in fact, that most of them are already receiving the active consideration of those assembled here. Since the subjects I would discuss all touch on national security policy in one form or another, I think it would be appropriate for me to say something about our security position vis-a-vis the Communist world. This, as you ap-preciate, has many facets, including our mutual security ties with the rest of the free world, our economic position, our military strength in being, and what might be called our cold war or psychological position. Because this is so big and complex a question, I think I should limit myself to the strictly technical aspect of it in which engineers would naturally have a primary interest. Viewed in this aspect, the cold war is a technological race with the Communist world. The question is how our team is doing in the race.

If there is any doubt in anybody's mind that weapon technology is a very important factor in our cold-war position, I remind you that even at the present state of development, 1 -airplane in 1 trip can deliver at great distances a bomb load to knock out 1 large city. This means that research and development efforts to increase the effectiveness of the payload, to improve the means and reliability of delivering it, and conversely, efforts to defend against it, tend to dominate our national-security program.

At the end of World War II it seemed evident that we had a fairly comfortable technological margin over the Communist world and, in fact, it is probably not an exaggeration to say that our air/atomic advantage was a principal factor in maintaining a balance of power and, consequently, a semblance of peace. In the decade that has followed, however, the Soviets have made very great strides in improving their technical position not only in the atomic field, as evidenced by their atomic test in 1949 and their thermonuclear test in 1953, but also in the fields of aeronautics and electronics, both of which are essential to the effective exploitation of their atomic developments. The quality of the jet fighters they threw into the Korean war, and the advanced types of jet bombers they flashed in their last May Day air show are adequate evidence in the aeronautics field.

In electronics, the evidence has been more obscure. Their technical publications have boasted of their radio communications and navigational aids. One of these also states that "on bombers airborne radar devices are used as sighting devices for bombing various targets," and it shows typical illustrations of airborne radar PPI presentations. The Soviet air defense system is apparently not unlike our own with GCI radars, IFF techniques, spotter networks, and so forth. They have, of course, a very great incentive to build up a defense against our atomic retaliatory forces. We got our first concrete evidence of their electronic progress when we saw what a gigantic and sophisticated system they had built up to jam our Voice of America broadcasts.

In the summer of 1953, we saw another very significant straw in the wind when the U. S. S. R. sent their modern cruiser Svcrdlow to the British coronation ceremonies, bristling not only with guns but with an assortment of search and fire-control radar antennas very comparable with one of our own cruisers of similar tonnage.

Perhaps the most important thing the Communists have done has been to modernize their educational system and to orient it strongly toward the physical sciences and industrial technology. As a result of very comprehensive work along these lines, they have increased their scientific and technological potential by an order of magnitude. and, as others have pointed out, they are today turning out engineers and scientists at more than twice the rate we are in this country. If current trends continue, it will only be a matter of a few years before their scientific and technical manpower exceeds our own.

This is not to imply that even with such numbers they would have a stronger technological base than we, since this depends on many things besides numbers. We would still have the stronger and more virile industrial system, and there is no question in my mind about our ability to stay out ahead in this technological race. In the military field, however, it is clear that we are competing with a single-mindedness of purpose and a ruthless concentration on the aims of militant communism that constitute a serious challenge to our way of life in the free world.

Fortunately, this situation is clearly recognized by our Government, and our national policy has been shaped to meet it. Presi-Eisenhower stated this clearly in his recently publicized letter to the Secretary of Defense. The President said in part that-

"Due to the destructiveness of modern weapons and the increasing efficiency of long-range bombing aircraft, the United States has reason, for the first time in its history, to be deeply concerned over the serious effects which a sudden attack could conceivably inflict upon our country * * Because scientific progress exerts a constantly increasing influence upon the character and conduct of war, and because America's most precious possession is the lives of her citizens, we should base our security upon military formations which make the maximum use of science and technology to minimize the numbers of men. * * * Security must be founded on a strong and expanding economy."

This all suggests that we should have a careful look at the course we are following the conservation of our scientific and technical manpower. Quite obviously in a long-range sense, our technical position vis a vis the Communist world will be strongly influenced by the way we handle this man-

power problem.

It is thus important for us to work toward national policies that enhance and conserve engineering manpower. The dilemna we are now in about drafting engineers is a case in point. There are good policy reasons for insisting that no young man escape the sacrifice that other young men must make in military service. On the other hand, engineers are scarce and, if we are to sustain a program that will keep us out ahead in this technological race, our need for engineers and scientists must be expected to increase rather than decrease.

This is a problem that we must deal with on a strictly national-interest basis. If we are to win this race, our manpower must be disposed to our greatest national advantage. The military services require some specialists in the performance of their missions. Beyond this, we cannot afford to put engineers and scientists into uniforms.

As you know, we have some important decisions to make along these lines in the months immediately ahead. The Selective Service Act expires on June 30, 1955, and legislation is required to replace it and also to bring our reserve program into line with present-day realities. In this connection, I recently arranged for discussions between members of the Engineering Manpower Commission, the Scientific Manpower Commission, and Mr. Burgess, the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Personnel. I hope that further discussions can be held. not only with responsible officials in the Department of Defense, but also before other Government officials and the congressional committees that will work on the legislation.

There are also educational aspects of this problem that the Engineering and Scientific Manpower Commissions have addressed themselves to and that deserve the active support of the profession. Best utilization of available engineers requires, too, that industrial and other employers recognize an obligation to develop the full potential of each engineer and to avoid waste of his

talents on nontechnical duties.

One aspect of this matter that I should mention briefly is the heavy concentration of our technical manpower on defense and defense-related work. In the latter category I include the atomic weapon and military reactor work of the Atomic Energy Commission, and the research work of the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics in the aerodynamics and aircraft propulsion fields. It is estimated that these defense lines use about one-half of the total research and development potential of the country. This is not to say that the results of these programs are useful exclusively for defense, as there are, of course, many byproducts of value to our civilian economy; nor does it imply that the nondefense half of the total national research and development effort is without benefit to defense since, in the long-range sense, defense technology is founded, in large measure, on the fundamental research in our universities and other similar institutions, and on the technology developed in our civilian indus-

In my judgment, this great concentration of our scientific and technological resources on the problems of defense is not only justified but necessitated by the world situation in which we find ourselves. To do less would jeopardize our position of technological superiority so essential to our long-term security. On the other hand, to attempt to use directly on defense projects a bigger proportion of our total potential might be unwise as a long-term program, particularly when one considers the interdependence of the military and civilian

Atomic energy has been a key topic of this assembly. There is no doubt in my mind that it deserves this kind of treatment. Some here have been associated with the program from its earliest beginning. One might say we are just entering the third era-the first was research and crash military development culminating in the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs; the second was also dominated by the military require-ments, culminating in our 1954 thermonuclear experiments; and the third or power reactor phase had its roots in the first two but might be said to have been ushered in by the launching of the Nautilus a year ago. Several significant things have happened since. Congress passed the Cole-Hickenlooper Atomic Energy Act last summer which opened up the field for private enterprise to come in and develop it for the greater good and welfare of the country. In line with the President's leadership, Congress also made provision for sharing our very valuable power-reactor know-how and even moderate amounts of nuclear materials with other countries to make it possible for them to share with us the great benefits of this new technology. On Labor Day, the President, by remote control, broke ground for the first large commercial powerplant, first in this country, and so far as we know, first of its size and kind in the world. This, in fact, is just one instance of the many ways in which our Atomic Energy Commission is cooperating with private industry in this

Looking to the future, the Commission is spending an estimated \$8.5 million a year on general reactor research and development work and is well into a 5-year civilian power reactor development program estimated to cost nearly \$200 million. The program calls for the building of five power reactors of as many different types, which were chosen to be the most promising for eventually leading to economic power.

While all of these are experimental and only one can be called large, they will serve for a period of testing and operation and as the prototypes of large plants where the experimental results are sufficiently prom-

Nuclear power is also of great potential military importance and, in addition to the Nautilus there are half a dozen military projects underway, notably to apply nuclear propulsion to aircraft, to large naval vessels as well as submarines, and to an Army project for the development of a semiportable powerplant for field use.

There is, of course, a close interplay between this military project and the general reactor development mentioned earlier. Taken as a whole they constitute a very broad and progressive national program that will, no doubt, have a very important impact on the development of the industry, both in this country and abroad, in this last half

of the 20th century.

One can hardly deal with the matter of nuclear power without raising a basic question of national policy as to the proper place of the Government in this field. The question is complicated by the fact that, for good and sufficient reasons, the Government arrives at the present crossroads with an absolute monopoly in the field, and with national security reasons for perpetuating some aspects of the monopoly. This poses a difficult question. On the one hand it is apparent that, if we really believe in free enterprise and in getting the Government out of all business activities except those that are necessary in the public interest and that cannot be properly performed by private enter-prise, then the time certainly has come to getting the Government out of the atomic power business. On the other hand, there are plausible arguments that the people's money has been spent to develop the art and to produce the fissionable or nuclear fuel materials and that the Government should therefore exploit and operate the power plants for the people. Of course, the hitch in this argument is the hidden premise that Government operation of such power systems would be in the best interest of the people. I, at least, believe that it would not and therefore I take great satisfaction in the enactment by Congress of the Cole-Hickenlooper Act which, while not proscribing Government operation, wisely provided for an orderly transition to private ownership and operation of nuclear-power facilities.

In closing I should like to return to a subject I touched on ir my opening remarks, namely the organization of the engineering profession. This subject has been worked over on so many different occasions by so many different groups and with such care and competence that I offer my views with some trepidation. Without further apology, however, I suggest:

- 1. That the guiding principle should be to serve the public welfare; and only to serve the interests of groups of engineers, no matter how large, to the extent that this is incidental to serving the public welfare. I believe this is in the enlightened self-interest of the profession.
- 2. The Unity organization should have professional standards of membership. Membership should be open to all who meet such standards, either directly or through membership in a constituent society. I feel that State registration should not be a necessary requirement, at least under present circumstances.
- 3. The Unity organization should be effective in developing the views of the profession; in developing policy for the profession; and in representing the profession in the formulation of national policy. If this kind of effectiveness can only be achieved by individual dues-paying membership then I am

for such membership but this has never seemed to me to be a paramount consideration. I am sure, however, that the federation concept will only work if there is a sense of urgency in the member bodies to make it work.

It is tremendously heartening to see this enthusiastic assembly of representatives, not only of the constituent societies of EJC but also of many other national and regional bodies with the common bond of professional interest in the engineering field. It is obvious that great progress is being made in drawing the profession together under Unity organization, and I pay tribute to the many leaders of the profession who have contributed to this end, including the first president of the expanded EJC, Mr. Pigott on my right, and our chairman, Dean Saville on my left, who is just embarking on his second very noteworthy term as president of our joint council.

I appreciate more than I can tell you, the opportunity you have given me to take part in this historic first assembly.

Eyes on Intelligence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VERA BUCHANAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include in the Record an editorial from the Pittsburgh Post-Gazette of January 31, 1955.

The editorial calls attention to a resolution introduced in the Senate for the creation of a Joint Committee on Intelligence Matters. A resolution for a similar purpose has been introduced in this House, and I am happy to be one of the cosponsors of it.

EYES ON INTELLIGENCE

A resolution that deserves the early attention of Congress has been introduced by Senator Mike Mansfield, of Montana, on behalf of a bipartisan group of 33 Sanators. The measure would create a joint 12-member congressional committee, similar to that on atomic energy, to supervise the Central Intelligence Agency.

Much of the activity of the Central Intelligence Agency, like that of the Atomic Energy Commission, is secret and not subject to routine scrutiny by Congress. Yet if the CIA is to be ultimately answerable to the American people for what it does all over the world, it should come under the regular observation of elected officials. It should be subject to the system of checks and balances designed to prevent any one department from becoming too autocratic.

A committee of Senators and Representatives could facilitate the handling of CIA legislative business. Like the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy, it could, when secrecy is essential, hear testimony in executive session without the necessity of repetition such as occurs when two committees of Congress must deal with the same question. The proposed joint committee would bring under systematic review an agency of Government which, to its detriment, now only attracts congressional eyes when some sensational suspicion about it is voiced.

Total Defense or Total War

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES *Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, on next Monday, February 7, I expect to reintroduce my concurrent resolution providing for a study of the economics of atomic defense by a joint committee of the Congress. In the 83d Congress this was House Concurrent Resolution 229. In this connection there follows a speech I delivered at a luncheon of members of the National Planning Association last December:

TOTAL DEFENSE OR TOTAL WAR

Today, I will attempt to raise questions not to answer them. But before doing even that there must be some preliminaries.

In the first place, let us assume, and we are supported by the excellent NPA study of Gerhardt Colm, that the American economy can afford much larger expenditures for total defense than those currently being made or planned.

Secondly, let us assume that in 15 years or less the Communist bloc will possess large numbers of guided missiles with atomic and hydrogen warheads and speed of thousands of miles an hour and that there will be no effective way of preventing most of such missiles from arriving in the vicinity of their targets.

Today the United States still has a lead in the air-atomic armaments race. Socalled massive retaliation even now can force stalemate in terms of the big war. However, we and our allies apparently have neither the programs nor the forces to prevent the deterioration in our position in the Far East which is so evident in Indochina.

There are many ways to lose freedom. It need not disappear in a cataclysmic clap of atomic thunder. It may. But its strength may also be destroyed by the less dramatic destruction of peoples, seduced or conquered by more conventional totalitarian tactics.

From one point of view, the point of view of previous poorer performances, it may be said that the democracies have done well in their efforts since 1946. From another point of view, that of the future, it may be that we have only done well enough to prolong a process leading to an ultimate defeat. That we have not yet arrived at the point where defeat is inevitable is my conviction. I am equally convinced that unless we do better than we have in preparing our defenses our defeat may soon become inevitable.

Some of us believe that one of the primary reasons for that condition is the fact that we have never succeeded in arriving at a balanced and whole policy of advancing democracy, or, if you insist, of defense against Communist aggression. Today there must be not a foreign policy, a defense policy and a domestic policy, but one policy which includes all these and is the policy.

Most of us here will agree that our efforts

Most of us here will agree that our efforts beyond our shores depend on a growing domestic economy. Without an effective foreign policy to maintain and strengthen the coalition of democratic peoples, an airatomic striking force twice as large as necessary would not save us. Without adequate strength in the more familiar weapons of warfare there can be no effective policy to prevent the gradual destruction of the nations which seek to practice democracy but

are not yet in a position to defend their sovereignty. Without the best in early warning, continental air defense and civil defense, an enemy is actually encouraged to have hope of success in an all-out stab-to-the-heart attack.

There have been too many special pleaders, too many over-simplifications, too many exaggerations by the proponents of one element or another of the whole defense we need. No one method of defense will succeed without the others. And we need not choose from among necessaries because we think we cannot afford all.

It was with these points in mind that early last summer House Concurrent Resolution 229 which provides for a study by a special joint committee of Congress into the economics of atomic defense was introduced.

The details of the resolution are not too important. It will be reintroduced, perhaps with some modifications. But what it might lead to could be very important. It may even be that whether or not Congress acts on it will prove to be the difference between war and peace. You notice the use of the "may," not some more positive word, Frankly, no one knows whether effective dispersion of people and plants is practicable or wise. I strongly suspect that it is. I even suspect as I said before that effective dispersion can tip the balance to peace. But I do not know this for the simple reason that the facts do not exist upon which to base an intelligent decision.

Excellent studies have been made in this area—once excellent but now largely out of date because they were based on the existence of A-bombs only. One hears that various top-level members of the administration are studying the new problems raised by the H-bomb. What they will come up with I do not know. But I have the impression that at least some of their minds are frozen in the notion that a baianced budget is essential to our defense.

At any event, right now we do not have the facts on which to base a decision. Presumably if there were no limits to the amount of money and effort we could expend and if we did not care what happened to our free society, the decision to disperse effectively would have been made and implemented long ago. But since there are limits on our resources and our effort is directed to strengthening a free society, there are preliminary questions which must be answered before we can intelligently answer the larger question.

But, you say, we do have a governmental policy of dispersal, promulgated years ago. Many plants have been dispersed. Fine, but the indications are that the cholcest target areas have actually grown more attractive. Apparently, as one man moved out of an area more than one moved in. If one factory dispersed, larger ones did not. Our efforts have not been adequate to achieve our purpose. The problem of concentration still remains.

Here are a few of the questions which must be asked. If today much of our population and industrial strength is concentrated in 70 urban areas, each a prize target for enemy attack, how much safer can we make ourselves by reducing our concentration by 100 By 500 percent? How much more effort would it take for an enemy to effectively attack 350 urban areas rather than 70? Would the problems of our own military defense be increased five times also? What would such a program do toward making civil defense easier and more effective? Or would dispersion in fact make civil defense harder? Or does the dreadful area of radiation contamination, which an H-bomb explosion creates, make the whole problem of civil defense impossible?

Let us suppose the answers to all these questions demonstrated that selective dispersion would be very valuable as a defense measure—as a measure of defense so effective as to play a real part in deterring an enemy, willing to use surprise attack, from launching such an attack. Then we must answer the even more difficult questions of how to accomplish dispersion.

What would be the cost of this massive task? How long would it take? Who would pay for it? By what means? How could it be accomplished without using the methods of authoritarianism? In other words, how could the people in a society in which each individual homeowner and entrepreneur has and must have a large area of free choice, be persuaded that it is in their interests to participate in dispersal—even at some inconvenience or perhaps personal or corporate cost? And, of course, the people's participation would include paying for dispersion personally or through some level of government.

Unless I am in error, well-founded answers to most of these questions are not available. In part, no doubt, because of the swiftness of events. We read that the last hydrogen bomb greatly exceeded in yield even the expectations of its inventors. It is perhaps not much of an exaggeration to say that the age of fusion is as different from the age of fission as the latter is from that ancient day, 10 years ago, when all man had was blockbusters. Our minds, our imaginations lag behind. And this lag, of course, may be more fatal to mankind than radiation.

There is no reason why we should not have the answers to all the questions which must be answered before we can decide the blg question of the desirability and the feasibility of dispersion. We do not have them because too few of us have asked the questions and demanded answers. I believe that we have the ingenuity to devise means of encouraging the people in our mixed economy to disperse their homes and their places of business without spending more money than we can afford and without significantly decreasing the number or character of our free choices. I believe that dispersion can significantly decrease our vulnerability to surprise attack by making the chances of success in such an attack much less likely. But in this case, much more than the belief of a few is needed. We must have facts and conclusions. It is not that these facts are so difficult to obtain. Rather we have not bothered to get them. Certainly, it need not cost as much as even one atomic bomber to determine the answers to these questions and the others we need to answer. Should the answers add up to the conclusion that dispersion would not be practicable or effective, that, in itself. would be important and valuable. should the studies reveal that dispersion can be effective and that ways can be devised to achieve effective dispersion without undue strain either on our economy or our institutions, then the cause of peace might be advanced appreciably.

In our ignorance there is no bliss. Freedom cannot afford such ignorance.

I care not at all whether these studies are made by Congress, the Executive, or private groups. I care only that we use to the fullest that great advantage which democracy has over totalitarianism, its ability, at least in greater measure, to make decisions based on facts and to constantly seek for more facts and more knowledge. Our discipline is that of self. We have nothing to be proud of in the history of our attempt as a people to pretend that first the A-bomb and now the H-bomb do not exist. We must face the facts, but first we must know them.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced H. R. 3137, a bill to incorporate the Legion of Guardsmen. This is an organization made up of members and former members of the volunteer armies of the United States. These are men who have voluntarily served their country in peace and war and most times without remuneration. Their courage and devotion to their country, their giving of their time and their treasure, their self-sacrifice is an inspiration to the whole Nation. They are the successors to the Minutemen at Lexington and Concord, to the men who answered the call of Jackson at New Orleans in 1812, to men who served the Armies of the Republic in the Mexican War, to the men who rallied to the defense of the Union in the Civil War, and to the men who were the eagle's scream at San Juan Hill and Manila Bay in the Spanish-American War. Today these men have served in the National Guard, called first in World War I, and a whole year before Pearl Harbor in World War II: Their glorious history has been written on the battlefields of the world. These men have served in the Naval Reserve and Militia, the Coast Guard Temporary Reserve and Auxiliary, the Civil Air Patrol, and the State Guards. These men deserve recognition. The Legion Guardsmen deserves to take its place along with the other great patriotic organizations chartered by act of Congress.

The Legion of Guardsmen was organized in June of 1944 at Jersey City, N. J., for the purpose of perpetuating the friendships and associations of persons having served in the Armed Forces of the United States and its Territories; to obtain recognition for its members for military services rendered; to foster and promote governmental legislation for the betterment of its members and for the general welfare of the Nation; and to initiate and support ideas and to formulate plans to effect adequate national defense for the greater peace and security of our country. Its constitution and bylaws and those of its subdivisions, chapters, and posts prohibit it from engaging, directly or indirectly, in either political activity or business for a pecuniary profit.

This organization serves a special need. It is not just another organization of war veterans. It provides our volunteer guardians in both peace and war with their own organization. Its doors are open not only to those who are serving or have served honorably in the Armed Forces of the United States and their reserve components but also to those who have served or are serving in the Armed Forces of the States, the Territories, and the District of Columbia; the Coast Guard and its reserves and auxiliaries;

To Incorporate the Legion of Guardsmen and the Civil Air Patrol. It covers all those who have given or are voluntarily giving of their time and treasure, remunerated or not, to defend the State and Nation.

> Gentlemen, let me reiterate, this great organization deserves to take its place along with the other great patriotic organizations chartered by act of Congress. Let us honor the principles for which this organization stands. Let us recognize the great services which these men have rendered and are rendering to our country. Let us foster the spirit of the slogan: When America needs the minuteman-then America first, last, and always.

> Are We Going To Stand Firm for the Principles on Which This Government Was Founded?

> > EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, action on the part of the United Nations may nullify the resolution passed by Congress to support President Eisenhower in his demand for authority to solve the Formosa problem, as he said, without waiting for the United Nations to act. The President left the door open for the United Nations to get behind a ceasefire in that explosive situation. Should the United Nations decide that Formosa should be turned over to the Reds of China, and it is quite probable that this is precisely what it will do, then where do we stand on the Eisenhower resolution? Should the United Nations agree that Red China should be let into the United Nations as our partner, then where do we stand concerning the Eisenhower resolution?

If this country backs up and agrees to these probable conclusions, it means for us a bigger defeat than we suffered in Korea. If this country ever consents to let the Reds into the United Nations. we automatically should withdraw from that organization if we have an iota of sense left. If we have not gone too far on the road to appeasement it may be that we will have courage enough to face the Communist menace.

We have been driven out of our reasoning faculties by trying to appease the Reds. They hold our soldiers as prisoners, condemned by a kangroo court, and we do nothing about it but run to the United Nations for help. This organization is not going to support a direct demand on our part for the surrender of our men. Red China knows that but hopes we will let her dictate the terms and the consideration for their release and the United Nations as now constituted, will yield and yield to the Reds no matter what they want. The reason is that the United Nations is infiltrated with Communists. Notice the vote in the United Nations on the Human Rights resolution. On the question of the individual's right to personally own property, the vote was 15 to 2 against it. Does that not clearly prove what I have always contended—that the United Nations is the agent of a Communist conspiracy?

When I voted to give the President authority to act in the Formosa situation I had confidence that he meant what he said, that he did not want to wait for any action of the United Nations. have confidence that he will not back up. However, with Great Britain haranguing for the recognition of Red China, and our own administrators wanting trade with Russia, it is a pretty tough assignment for the President. If we would rise up in our might and pull out of the United Nations as soon as Red China is admitted it would best serve this country to let them in. The Reds of China really belong in the United Nations, as the preponderance of ideas in that organization will be quite homelike for the Reds. That is what the one worlders are striving for, just as much as Russia-to build a world government of a Communist complexion. It surely is communistic in design, or that organization would not vote overwhelmingly to ban the private ownership of property. That ownership is the basis of capitalism and this vote clearly proves that communism and not capitalism is the present theme of the United Nations.

This struggle between capitalism and communism cannot be settled by any treaty or understanding. That struggle will go on until we are all one thing or the other. What Lincoln uttered nearly a hundred years ago is a good doctrine now-that a house divided against itself cannot stand. Anyone with just a smattering of commonsense ought to know that nations, differing in history, religion, and experience in government cannot be held together by agreements. We believe in Jesus Christ, but the Russians do not; we believe that a government exists for the people: Russia does not, but believes that people exist for the government. Can these views be harmonized? It is about time we stopped this woolgathering thinking and get down to first principles-we should hold fast to our religion, our history, our Government, which has proven to be the hope of mankind in his struggle for freedom and liberty, and let the atheists and the pledged destructionists of our way of life keep out of our company. Are we in the United States ready to sit down side by side with brigands, cutthroats, liars, and atheists? I think not.

The Communist slogan of peaceful coexistence is a new move to further delude the people of this country. never can be any peaceful coexistence with man or nations unless each party respects the right of the other, and that relations are honorable. Would the dictator of Russia keep any agreement? Would he desist from his propaganda? Would he consider honor in dealing with us? When we know from the writing of Karl Marx, the remarks of Lenin and Stalin that their purpose is to utterly destroy capitalism, by any means, we can see the futility of trying to live a peaceful coexistent life with Russia under its present government. "The lamb shall lie down with the lion" is the expression of a noble sentiment, but as the dictators would handle the situation, that statement would be paraphrased to read, "The lamb shall lie down with the lion, but on the inside of the lion."

Representative Daniel A. Reed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, RICHARD M. SIMPSON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. SIMPSON of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I take great pleasure in inserting in the Record a news column printed in some 200 newspapers from coast to coast, giving a well-deserved tribute to our distinguished colleague, Mr. Reed of New York. The column follows:

"Let George do it" has long appeared prevailing philosophy at 10 Downing Street, London.

Fight in current Congress over wrecking United States tariff protection for independent American business, labor, and agriculture got big push about 2 years ago when Downing Street coined slogan "Trade, not aid."

All kinds and titles of English officials

All kinds and titles of English officials deplore materialistic crassness of United States Congressmen refusing to open United States for flood of cheap products. To be sure, Representative Dan Reed, Republican, of New York, who almost single-handedly stopped drive last session, will never be considered as a Knight of the Garter, or even a Knight of the Suspender.

All anyone needs do to penetrate British "free trade" smokescreen is secure from Irish consul list of English import duties on Irish consul

England depends on food imports. Bulk of imports from across Irish Sea is farm produce. Yet despite need for Irish food, England slaps a duty on Irish imports.

About 2 years ago Washington tried to give England surplus butter for only paying shipping charges of 5 cents per pound. But despite being eager recipients of billon in United States aid, Britain turned offer down. That was due to fact England has rigged deal with Denmark to take Danish butter at British controlled prices, and Denmark takes British-made goods. A flood of free American butter would upset this applecart. So England saw American aid continuation leading to embarrassing situations. Thus slogan, "Trade, not aid," was coined in cartel-controlled nation without least idea of free trade.

In current tariff-wrecking drive administration is supported not only by England, but also by a few big steel, motor, and rubber firms in United States with plants all over the world who would like to flood United States with products of these plants made by near-slave labor.

It is impossible to predict battle's outcome. Administration seeks extension of Reciprocal Trade Act giving administration power to slash protective tariffs. This contradicts section 8, article 1, of United States Constitution specifically stipulating it is exclusive duty of Congress to establish tariffs.

About 20 years ago Congress threw away this constitutional power. Since then both food imports and United States farm surpluses have increased This is not a partisan fight. Many in both parties even question legality of Congress signing away its stipulated constitutional powers; some even feel Congressmen who have voted for Reciprocal Trade Act violated oath to uphold Constitution.

This is a moot technical point, but a three-administration experience with Reciprocal

Trade Acts proves following point.

The more than 500 Members of Congress, in close contact with their local economies, are better equipped to withstand British salesmanship than small administration group whose chief advisers are State Department "experts" far more familiar with economy of Bengazi, Libya, than that of Dubuque, Iowa.

A Good Beginning

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN V. BEAMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I enclose the following editorial from the Indianapolis Star under date of February 1, 1955:

A GOOD BEGINNING

Agriculture Secretary Benson estimated over the weekend that when the Eisenhower administration took office 2 years ago the Federal Government either owned, or had a stake in \$130,000,000,000 worth of business properties which could be operated as private investments. He listed ships, railroads, coffee-roasting plants, sawmills, paint factories, bakeries, and refineries. In the last 2 years, says Benson, the Government has begun to reverse this growing competition with taxable enterprise, "and none too soon."

The record does show some progress. The Reconstruction Finance Corporation has been liquidated, although it was replaced by the Small Business Administration, with some of the same lending functions. The Inland Waterways Corporation no longer competes with private barge lines. And most of the Government-owned synthetic rubber plants have been disposed of. But in the absence of a complete inventory of these socialized businesses—and there never has been one—nobody is in a position to know whether or not the administration is merely nibbling at the edges in getting the Government out of competition with private business.

It is good news, therefore, that Budget Director Rowland R. Hughes has just directed all Government agencies and departments to submit a complete list of all activities they handle which could be operated by private industry and to give the reasons, if any, why they should not be privately operated. A first report must be made by April 15, and a final one by July 15.

When this has been done, Congress will then have before it specific operating data from all the departments. When appropriations for these competitive governmental operations are requested they can be accompanied by a checklist of private facilities, able and willing to perform the same job. The process of making tax-paying instead of tax-draining enterprises of many governmental operations will no longer be one of "by gosh and by guess." The battle for economy in government can then proceed on the basis of clearly outlined facts and objectives.

The President is to be congratulated on this move. Perhaps when he sees the itemized total of the needless ways in which the

Federal Government already overburdens private initiative, he will be less likely to commit his administration to further forays into the domain of the private citizen.

A Memorandum From the Czech Christian Democratic Movement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I wish to insert the following memorandum sent me by the Czech Christian Democratic Movement:

CZECH CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC
MOVEMENT,

New York, N. Y., October 28, 1954.

To the Administration and the Congress of the United States of America:

The Czech Christian Democratic Movement in Exile expresses its profound conviction that communism, so long as it exists as a political power, will remain a menace to the liberty and security of the free world. We agree wholeheartedly with the Committee on Communist Aggression of the United States House of Representatives that any policy of containment, appeasement, or coexistence must be rejected. Such a policy denies the duty of the Christian toward all those who are victims of slavery, terror, or criminal aggression. As we have learned from the bitter experience of our own country, the attempt to coexist with communism leads inevitably to the destruction of human freedom.

We look to the United States for leadership in a crusade of freedom-loving peoples to restore freedom throughout the world. Since coexistence is morally and politically impossible, measures of mere defense, however urgent they may be, are the best temporary expedients. The fight for liberation is a matter of common interest; in helping other peoples to regain their freedom, the American people will secure their own.

Behind the smokescreen of coexistence, the

Behind the smokescreen of coexistence, the Communists are arming for a third world war, which they will unleash as soon as they are confident of victory. The only way to prevent this war is through a dynamic program of liberation, which will weaken the Communist's warmaking power. Based on our knowledge of political conditions and public psychology in Central Europe, in the Czech lands in particular, we take the liberty of suggesting the following policies which we consider essential:

1. American radio propaganda, such as the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, should not limit itself to attacking the particular groups of conspirators now in power in Communist countries. Such propaganda, to have more than superficial effect, must develop a broad campaign against the entire system of Marxian socialism. It must show why communiam, as well as socialism, as an intermediate step to communism, destroy human freedom in the spheres of politics, economics, sociology, culture, and religion.

2. Such propaganda should not be entirely negative, but should support positively and actively the free-enterprise system. By presenting simple facts it can be shown that free-enterprise countries, such as the United States, Belgium, and West Germany have gone farthest toward a "classless society" and

in affording the workers a high standard of living. Conversely, it can be shown that socialism and communism increase class distinctions, and that the poverty and fear in Communist countries is caused directly by

the socialist order.

3. The total aim of American propaganda should be to intensify the dissatisfaction of the workers behind the Iron Curtain with the socialist order, and to make them want a free-enterprise system. Such propaganda cannot, of course, be carried on by those who are themselves Socialists and collaborators of the Communists.

4. Broadcasts for Czechoslovakia should be divided into three sections: Czech, Slovak, and Sudeten German. These broadcast programs should stress the right of the Slovak nation to self-determination, the right of the Sudeten Germans to return to the Sudetenland, as well as the need for the Cechs, Slovaks, and Sudeten Germans to work out a federal solution for living together.

5. As a first step toward actual liberation, military forces of the free world in Europe should be built up until they are at least capable of withstanding available Soviet forces. This includes German armed forces freed from arbitrary limitations as to quantity and quality of armament, as well as contingents from the nations behind the Iron Curtain. The latter should be organized in terms of nationality without regard to existing states.

6. As the balance of military power in Europe is restored, American and other Western propaganda can make its objective in-creasingly specific. The ultimate objective is to cause the enslaved peoples to revolt against the Communist puppets and their Soviet masters. The events of June 1953 in Eastern Germany and other satellites have shown that the victims of communism are quite ready to do so with even the least hope

of success.

7. As the first basic step in any program of liberation, it is necessary to decide how much and what kind of help will be given to the enslaved peoples when they make their bid for freedom. American broadcasts already encourage opposition to the Communist satellite governments, and such opposition is senseless unless it aims at ultimate overthrow of Bolshevist tyranny. Since Americans are now asking the Czechs and other captive nations to resist Soviet terror, we, as Czech exiles, ask the American Government and people: What will you do to help us against the puppet governments and against the Soviets should they inter-vene to quash a revolt which gives promise of success? American psychological warfare can never be more than superficially effective until this basic question has been answered.

8. At the appropriate time, general strikes should be called against the Bolshevist tyrants. As Lenin pointed out, the general strike is a revolutionary weapon and should be used only for revolutionary ends. Therefore, such a strike should not be called until all factors, including the amount and kind of help to be expected from the West, are such that the enslaved people has a reason-

able probability of regaining its freedom.

9. Propaganda to Iron Curtain countries is not made in a vacuum. It is part of total policy, and must be related to a long-term program with a definite objective. Since such programs involve commitments which only Congress can make, it is our belief that more active congressional participation in the shaping of United States propaganda policy would lend the authority needed for effective appeal to the peoples of Czechoslovakia and other enslaved European countries.

> JOSEF KALVODA Vice President of the Czech Chris-tian Democratic Movement.

Progress on Postal Front

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER NORBLAD

OF OREGON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. NORBLAD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith the following editorial from the Portland Oregon Journal:

PROGRESS ON POSTAL FRONT

In supporting President Eisenhower's recommendation for adjustments in the pay of postal workers (and the postage increases necessary to pay the bill) The Journal gave equal emphasis to the necessity for modernizing post-office equipment and streamlining postal methods. We suggested that some postal methods haven't been changed since President Cleveland's day.
Well, we've been "called"—albeit good-

naturedly—by Portland postmaster Albert Hodler. He called us by inviting us to take a look at what goes on these days at Port-land's main post office and particularly at the new regional postal organization which has been established here and in 10 other re-

gions of the country.

And it was an interesting experience, particularly at the regional accounting, and operations divisions, authorized last July and

now getting into business here.

The regional accounting division (covering Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, and Alaska) headed by Charles Hill already is in business.

Its 35 people handled regional paychecks for the first time in December. It has mod-ern electronically controlled business ma-chines, the equal of anything used in big corporations. It is saving time and money for Uncle Sam. Its operation is in marked contrast with the old-fashioned, laborious accounting and payroll methods heretofore employed at various post offices.

The operations division headed by Sam Schwartz has followed the accounting division, and it, too, is getting into business. It has inaugurated a postal driver training program under the direction of John Nelson, regional vehicle manager, and has begun a motor-pool operation and garage project which is designed (like the new accounting

setup) to save time and money.

This division also is following carefully some operation experiments now underway in the East. One of them is the so-called cloverleaf delivery system which involves two-man truck crews who deliver all kinds of mail in one operation (including parcel post) four blocks at a time. They park their truck in the center of a 4-block area, then fan out with deliveries, 2 blocks to a man, then move on to the next 4-block area and repeat. Hence cloverleaf label.

If this operation proves as good as it looks, Portland will get it before long.

Most important of all, however, is the new regional decentralization program, already established in the Portland and 10 other regions, with 4 to go. Under this system, regional directors will transact all kinds of Washington and, incidentally, getting bogged down there. Only major problems and policy decisions will go to Washington. Service, purchasing, and personnel problems that heretofore took weeks or months can be handled promptly in the field at

regional offices. All this looks good. It is symptomatic of a new day in the postal service—a long deferred day. We've a long way to go, true. Our postal workers (1,700 of them in Portland) still have to do a great deal of hand work—facing and sorting mail particularly. In these fields we're still in the Cleveland era. We simply haven't yet developed compact and efficient machines automatically to sort, face and cancel mail.

But the postal service is working at it. Some automatic machines are being tested.

We may lick the problem in time.

And before we close, we have another ob-servation—this one about obsolete and inadequate buildings. Our main post office in Portland is handling 11 times as much business today as it was handling back in 1917 when the present structure was built—and handling it in the same space.

We need space and need it badly to match our more progressive methods. It's difficult to do an Eisenhower era job with Cleveland

era buildings. That's for sure.

Water Problems

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN E. MOSS, JR.

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 13, 1955

Mr. MOSS. Mr. Speaker, it is now clear that the official position of the State of California favors the earliest possible construction of the Trinity River project as planned by the Federal Bureau of Reclamation, including all of the important power features. This was reemphasized by the new Republican Governor of California, Goodwin J. Knight, in his inaugural address last week.

The new Governor also repeated his opposition to further negotiation for purchase of the Central Valley project by the State of California at this time.

I commend the Governor for his excellent statement on these subjects, and I wish to place an excerpt from his inaugural speech, covering water problems, in the Congressional Record to provide the fullest possible information on the attitude of the new Republican administration of the State of California.

The excerpt follows:

WATER PROBLEMS

The careful conservation and development of our water resources is of paramount importance to the people of our State.

We can anticipate the construction in the near future of two mammoth projects which will insure extensive additional supplies of water and power for our expanding population. These are the Feather River project and the Trinity River project. The Feather River project is a major unit of our long range California water plan and will be financed, constructed, and operated by the State of California. The State engineer will present a report to this session of the legislature which will contain a step-by-step construction program for the project, a schedule of deliveries from the project, an estimate of the funds which will be required for construction and suggested means of financing. When this report is presented to the legislature, we will have ended the era of planning on the Feather River project and we will have entered the era of financing and construction. There is immediate need for the project. I urgently recommend that the legislature take immediate steps to determine the proper and most effective means of raising the funds necessary for construction—for without affirmative action, the project will remain only a grandiose dream. I am hopeful that you will act expeditiously so that right-of-way acquisition can begin without delay and that initial phases of construction may be underway by this time a year hence.

NOW BEING PLANNED

The Trinity River project is now being planned by the Federal Government. California has informed the Secretary of the Interior that the project is feasible from an economic and an engineering standpoint and should be constructed at the earliest possible date. I recommend that this session of the legislature approve a joint resolution urging the Congress to begin consideration of this construction project, including all of its power facilities, at the earliest possible date.

Studies have been made by both State and Federal agencies on the San Luis project on the west side of the San Joaquin Valley. This project could utilize surplus waters obtained from either the Trinity River or Feather River projects. There are conflicting views on whether the San Luis project should be a part of one or the other. My view is that we should endeavor to include the San Luis development in whichever proj-

ect will be finished first.

I oppose the State purchase of the Central Valley project at this time. The United States Government has indicated that it has no interest in selling the project. We have greater and more immediate needs for the construction of the Feather River project, the Trinity River project, and other necessary State water and power developments on which we can use the several hundred million dollars which the Central Valley project would undoubtedly cost.

Socialist Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN V. BEAMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include in the Appendix of the Congressional Record the following editorial from the Peru, Ind., Tribune under date of January 26, 1955:

SOCIALIST POLITICS

Fortune magazine has observed that the Dixon-Yates contract (under which taxpaying private enterprise is to build a \$100,000,-000-plus electric plant to serve an Atomic Energy Commission installation in the South) "probably never would have been an issue at all but for the fact that it was an election year."

Fortune is 100 percent right. Dixon-Yates has been made into a political football, to the confusion of the public. As President Eisenhower himself has said, "There has been a very great deal of talk and argument—much of it partisan—about issues that are really clear and simple."

It is charged that the contract is a give-away, and against the public interest. If that is true some men in public positions of the highest trust and responsibility are either grossly incompetent, or are trying to mislead us—an idea which is hardly tenable. Senators McClellan, and Fuleright said: "We believe the contract is in the national interest and should be executed by the Government." Representative Cole, formerly chairman, Joint Atomic Energy Committee, said: "I am confident that the

contract is in the national interest." Admiral Strauss, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission, said "I believe that the proposed arrangement is in the interest of the people."

Why, then, all the sound and fury? The answer's simple: Dixon-Yates has been seized upon by those who want to saddle the country with a socialized, tax-free, tax-subsidized Federal power monopoly.

Los Angeles County Board of Supervisors
Passes Resolution Urging Continuance
of Military Hospitals in Southern California in Federal Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me so to do, I am pleased to herewith present a copy of the official minutes of a meeting of the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles of my native State of California on January 25, 1955.

As the text of the communication to me from the said board of supervisors is crystal clear, I am sure that you and all my colleagues will be pleased to receive this expression of opinion by the members of this duly elected board of this great county of Los Angeles:

COUNTY OF LOS ANGELES,
BOARD OF SUPERVISORS,
Los Angeles, January 26, 1955.

Hon. CLYDE DOYLE,

Member of Congress, 23d District, California, Congress of the United States, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN DOYLE: Enclosed for your consideration is a certified copy of an order adopted by the Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles on January 25, 1955, requesting the help of the Los Angeles County congressional delegation to retain certain appropriations in the Federal budget essential for the maintenance and operation of marine hospitals in this area.

Your assistance in having this vital service continued will be greatly appreciated by the members of the board of supervisors.

Respectfully yours,

RAY E. LEE, Chief Clerk.

IN RE MAINTENANCE AND OPERATION BY FED-ERAL GOVERNMENT OF MARINE HOSPITALS: ORDER DIRECTING CLERK TO ADVISE LOS AN-GELES COUNTY CONGRESSIONAL DELEGATION OF DESIRE OF BOARD OF SUPERVISORS THAT APPROPRIATIONS FOR SUCH SERVICE BE MAIN-TAINED IN THE FEDERAL BUDGET

Supervisor Ford submits the following statement on behalf of Chairman Legg:

"Efforts are being made in Washington to reduce certain appropriations for the maintenance and operation of marine hospitals, which have been and are very helpful health facilities in the seaports of the country. Southern California, with tremendous growth in population, has already overtaxed the number of hospital beds and medical personnel available to the thousands who would look to marine hospitals in this area, Should Federal appropriations for these institutions be reduced, it would work a serious handicap on those eligible for service therein."

And on motion of Supervisor Ford, unanimously carried, it is ordered that the clerk of this board be and he is hereby instructed to advise the Los Angeles County congressional delegation that the board of supervisors will appreciate very much their efforts to have appropriations for the maintenance and operation of marine hospitals maintained in the Federal budget.

Joint Congressional Committee on Central Intelligence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD P. BOLAND

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BOLAND. Mr. Speaker, I call the attention of the House to the resolution of Senator Mansfield creating a joint committee on intelligence. For years Senator Mansfield has argued with increasing effectiveness for a closer look at our intelligence efforts. In effect this joint committee would be a watchdog of the extremely important and highly sensitive Central Intelligence Agency. Since Congress appropriates the funds for its operation and because there is little or no knowledge on the part of Congress as to the disposition of the appropriated moneys, it does seem to be good commonsense that both branches of the Congress have some Members who are aware of the mission and effect of the CIA. Congress should not be so completely in the dark as to its functions. The creation of a joint committee such as recommended by Senator Mansfield and several Members of the House, including myself, would go a long way in establishing better relations between the Agency and the Congress; fears would be dispelled and the magnificent work of the CIA would be appreciated.

In conjunction with the above, I include with these remarks two very fine editorials—one from the New York Times and the other from the Washington Post and Times Herald. Both articles approve the suggestion of a joint committee on central intelligence and both point up some very significant observations:

[From the New York Times] CIA "WATCHDOG"

The secret eyes and ears of the Federal Government, otherwise known as the Central Intelligence Agency, have been receiving an unusual amount of serious attention lately. A special Presidentially appointed group headed by Lieut. Gen. James H. Doolittle (retired) made a confidential survey of certain aspects of the CIA last fall, and reported that the organization was doing a "creditable job" but that some changes were needed. An entirely distinct and possibly more far-reaching inquiry has been proceeding for some time now under direction of Gen. Mark W. Clark on behalf of the Hoover Commission.

Meanwhile, Senator Mansfield, of Montana, a member of the Foreign Relations Committee, has renewed his long-standing demand for closer congressional liaison with the CIA through the establishment of a Joint

Committee on Intelligence, somewhat comparable to the existing Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. In introducing his resolution with the support of more than 30 Senators of both parties, Senator Mansfield fully recognizes the obvious need for secrecy regarding intelligence operations; but he makes the point that "once secrecy becomes sacrosanct it invites abuse," and under present conditions the CIA is "freed from practically every form of congressional check." A secret intelligence agency with so wide a field of operations as the CIA is inevitably an instrument of great power; and it seems to us that Congress has a broad responsibility for it that should not be avoided. Of course this is not to say that de-tailed direction of the CIA is within the province of Congress; but it is to say that there is a place for a small and highly discreet congressional body, aware of what is going on in this sensitive area, that can deeply affect the foreign relations of the United States.

Furthermore, the formation of a joint congressional committee on intelligence affairs should do much to improve the relations between CIA and Congress and to reduce the suspicion that the latter body inherently has for the former. As Mr. Mansfield says, it would safeguard as well as supervise the CIA, and it would give to CIA officials, now "defenseless against criticism because their lips are sealed," a Congressional channel to which they would have ready access. Some years ago a Hoover Commission task force recommended a congressional "watchdog" committee for CIA. Its establishment would in our opinion be of benefit to Congress and CIA alike.

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald]

INTELLIGENCE QUOTIENT

Senator Mansfield has again introduced his resolution for the establishment of a Joint Congressional Committee on Central Intelligence, this time with the support of 32 other Senators. Initially this newspaper was skeptical of such a step, not because there is not a need for more intensive congressional scrutiny of the Central Intelligence Agency, but because of the danger that the confidential nature of a sensitive executive agency might be compromised. Now we are persuaded, however, that some broader congressional review would on balance be desirable and could be accomplished safely.

Most persons in a position to have some appraisal of CIA's work agree that the intelligence estimates have improved markedly in recent years and that the undercover operations have been considerably less flamboyant-despite reports of somewhat clumsy and transparent undertakings in the Far But a secret intelligence operation insulated from normal checks and balances is, however necessary, at best a risky enterprise. No agency is so proficient, either, that it could not benefit from informed criticism. CIA is responsible to the National Security Council, it is true; but NSC in turn also is a vehicle of the executive department and has too heavy responsibilities to give CIA any very comprehensive scrutiny. A joint congressional committee on the pattern of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy would not only provide a check against free-wheeling by this supersecret agency, it would also give CIA a spokesman on Capitol Hill-and fend off McCarthy-type fishing expeditions.

There are some disadvantages to such a plan, of course. One is the danger of leaks, though the concern of the committee ought to be with broad policy rather than with intimate details and care in the selection of members could avoid loading the committee with known blabbermouths. Another difficulty lies in the fact that CIA is responsible for only a part of the total intelligence oper-

ation; the major intelligence contributors are the military services, with CIA filling in the gaps and providing top evaluation. Still another lies in the possibility that a congressional committee would be bitten by the operating bug and be tempted to interfere with the day-to-day work of CIA.

But these are all difficulties which, it seems to us, could be overcome. The membership of the committee as provided in the resolution already includes men from the Appropriations Subcommittee which handle CIA's funds; perhaps it could be amended to provide some sort of liaison with the military intelligence agencies. A task force of the Hoover Commission under Gen. Mark Clark now is studying the CIA, and undoubtedly it will make some recommendations when it reports this spring. No action ought to be taken until these recommendations are weighed. But there is good reason to think that the concept of a more informed congressional review is practicable and that such a review would help the country improve its intelligence efficiency.

Snake River Dams

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, the House of Representatives of the State of Washington on January 27, 1955, adopted a resolution urging the Federal Power Commission to deny the application of the Idaho Power Co. for a permit to construct a dam on the Snake River. I have been requested to insert it in the Record. It involves a problem which Congress may or may not have to solve at some future date.

The resolution follows:

Whereas there is at the present time before the Federal Power Commission an application by the Idaho Power Co., a private utility, for permission to build three low-head dams on the Snake River; and

Whereas the Federal Government has heretofore proposed the building on the Snake River at Hells Canyon of a multiple-purpose dam; and

Whereas the granting of the application of the Idaho Power Co. will kill off for the future the possibility of a multiple-purpose dam at Hells Canyon; and

Whereas the full potential of the Snake and Columbia River Basin for irrigation, reclamation, flood control, and the production of electricity can be realized only by the building of a multiple-purpose dam at Hells Canyon; and

Whereas the economic conditions of the Pacific Northwest are dependent upon adequate power as well as adequate irrigation, reclamation and flood control; and

Whereas the proposed Hells Canyon Dam would provide for a better development of our natural resources and its construction would be in the best interests of the people of the State of Washington; and

Whereas with the exception of a few public officials, the majority of the people of the Northwest and this house of representatives are in favor of the building of Hells Canyon Dam: Now, therefore, it is hereby

Resolved by the House of Representatives of the State of Washington, in regular session assembled, That we oppose the granting of permission to the Idaho Power Co. to

build the proposed low-head dams; and be it further

Resolved, That we respectfully petition the Federal Power Commission to deny the application of the Idaho Power Co.; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of this resolution be immediately forwarded to the Federal Power Commission to be filed in the present proceedings of the application of the Idaho Power Co., and that copies be sent to all the members of the congressional delegation and the Governor of the State of Washington.

Machinery for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, in these hectic and trying times there is an ever increasing need for a calm and deliberate approach to the peace we all hope for. This does not mean that we must lessen our defense effort or in any wise weaken our national security. It does mean, however, that we must never consider the attainment of our goal as impossible, or war as inevitable. We must never close the doors to the conference room because peace is worth trying for at all costs short of appeasement or dishonor. We must support the United Nations wholeheartedly as the only machinery for peace. Under leave to extend my remarks, I insert the following editorial from the New York Times which I urge the critics of the United Nations to read carefully:

MACHINERY FOR PEACE

What happens when an issue as exasperating and confusing as that of the Formosa Strait comes up at the United Nations may be discouraging. It is discouraging because it reveals the deep cleavage among the nations of the world, the suspicions, the hypocrisies, the dangers of conflict. Yesterday's proceedings in the Security Council were no exception.

Yet these were, in fact, proceedings in a body organized to maintain "peace and security." No nation had to be represented there. Some that were not represented would like to be. Hard words were exchanged but no shots were fired.

Nor was this all. Even in the course of old-fashioned diplomacy the firing of shots was a last resort. What the Security Council had to offer was quick action—or a quick inability or refusal to act. Behind the Council, if it could not or did not act, stood the United Nations Assembly, which could be called into session on short notice. Communication among the nations could not be shut off as long as the United Nations existed.

We must wait for a settlement of the question immediately at issue. If and when that question is settled there will be others. Not in the time of any of us now alive will there be a complete end of all discussion and all dissension among the nations. But the peoples of the world, or their representatives, can talk among themselves, quickly and in the blaze of publicity.

Few of us in this country could find sense in what the Russian representative had to say yesterday. Few will find sense in what he will say today or tomorrow or next week. But he can say it, we will listen to it, and if It does not make sense the free world will so understand.

We have as yet no guaranty of peace. But the machinery for peace we do have. Let us cling to it. Some day it can be made to work for the salvation of civilization and of mankind itself.

Distrust Rather Than Faith Result Abroad of United States Propaganda and Spending

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GORDON H. SCHERER

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I would like to insert an article entitled "Distrust Rather Than Faith Result Abroad of United States Propaganda, Spending," by Eugene W. Castle, which appeared in the Cincinnati Enquirer on January 16, 1955.

The Congress in the next few months will be required to vote funds for the continuation of foreign aid. I feel that the Members should have the benefit of Mr. Castle's thinking on the matter of foreign aid. His new book entitled "Billions, Blunders, and Boloney" was released Monday of this week by the Devin-Adair Co.

Mr. Castle founded Castle Films, Inc., which specialized primarily in educational motion pictures. At his own expense he traveled the world to personally check on our foreign aid and propaganda programs.

His article to say the least is most enlightening.

The article follows:

DISTRUST RATHER THAN FAITH RESULT ABROAD OF UNITED STATES PROPAGANDA, SPENDING

(By Eugene W. Castle)

During a 6-year period-since 1948-the taxpayers of the United States have spent more than \$40 billion for economic and military aid abroad, plus more than half a billion dollars for overseas propaganda.

No nation, since the beginning of history, has spent more money trying to win the friendship and confidence of foreigners than the United States.

Joseph P. Kennedy, former United States Ambassador to Great Britain, returned recently from an extensive tour of Europe. He reported that our expensive propaganda abroad appears to have failed completely because the average man in England, France, Italy and other countries, seems to hold the impression that we, and not the Soviet, are warmongers.

This writer traveled 75,000 miles over a period of 3 years. He interviewed hundreds of people in all walks of life throughout Europe, the Near East and Central and South America. Also, he corresponded extensively with Americans who live in, travel and trade throughout the Far East.

Here are some conclusions:

In many instances our great extravagances overseas have helped the Communists and hurt Americans.

Today, our country has fewer friends abroad than ever before in our history.

Our propaganda failures have, all too often, cost us the confidence and respect of millions of Europeans who were once our friends, but who are now openly suspicious of both our give-aways and our continued propaganda excesses.

Europeans hate propaganda from any

country—ours, or their own.

We had more friends abroad when we spent less than \$20 million a year for overseas propaganda. Today, we are spending more than five times that amount. And those who advise and directly influence President Eisenhower are urging that our activities overseas to "mold and influence the minds of foreigners" should be further expanded.

Here are a few examples of how the pockets of the American taxpayers are being emptied by the Washington Government for useless publicity projects abroad:

We are today wasting \$5 million annually for provocative documentary movie films. These are shown by means of mobile trucks, mostly to undernourished people in out-ofthe-way places. Our movies mirror American advantages and luxuries that these desperately poor foreign viewers can never hope to attain nor enjoy. Uncle Sam's propa-ganda films create envy and hatred for Americans!

Harrison Salisbury, who for 6 years was chief correspondent for the New York Times in Moscow, recently returned from Russia. He reported that America's best salesmen were our Hollywood-made entertainment films and that the Russian people marveled at the detail and lack of propaganda in American movies, regardless of how old or how bad they were!
And what is the Soviet competition? The

Russians export about 12 feature films annually. In some countries the Moscow-made pictures are not permitted to be shown. United States of America sends more than 350 American-made feature films overseas annually. All of our films are intensively shown. Thus the score: Moscow 12, vs. United States of America, 350!

But despite the fact that our American entertainment movies dominate the theater screens of the world, the United States Information Agency continues to plan and produce amateurish and offensive propaganda films to compete with our Hollywood studios, whose products are applauded and accepted the world over.

The USIA spends more than \$6 million annually on totally uselsss 6,000-word, 6-daysa-week news cables to 77 foreign USIA offices. These compete with the authoritative Associated Press, United Press, and International News Service, who serve the leading newspapers of the world with daily cabled news reports from the United States. These are the only kinds of news reports that should emanate from a nation of freemen.

Additionally Uncle Sam is today subsidizing newspapers and newsreels, and issuing millions of booklets and leaflets in foreign

And what is the Russian competition to these most extensive publishing activities carried on by professional American pub-The answer is zero, because the "aflishers? fluent" Red citizen is not allowed to travel, and not one European nor Asian in a million speaks Russian.

In Greece and Turkey, where the people are preponderantly anti-Communist, they cannot understand why Uncle Sam must spend more than a million dollars a year in each of these countries, to tell Greeks and Turks what bad men the Soviets are, and what good fellows we are.

In Spain, where there is no communism at all, we are spending vast sums for propa-ganda, to tell the people of Franco-land why we are giving that country hundreds of millions of dollars of military and economic aid. Here, too, the Spaniards are amazed that we must spend millions of dollars to advertise our generosity and to tell them about the dangers of Moscow communism.

In the Orient, we have lost face. Anyone familiar with Asia understands that the oriental mind regards an occidental who has lost face in Asia as having lost all.

First, we lost face throughout the Orient when General MacArthur was not allowed

to win the war in Korea.

Again, we lost face in Japan and throughout Asia when General MacArthur was summarily dismissed from his authoritative duties in that country.

More recently we again lost face when the French surrendered in Indochina, and 12 million Asiatics were driven behind the Iron Curtain in that unfortunate war-rayaged country.

Even today, the return to the Orient of Generals MacArthur and Wedemeyer as diplomatic representatives of the United States, would do more to regain the support of Asians than all of the millions already spent and to be spent.

Chinese Communists would not be in control of the Orient today if our policymakers in Washington had not tled the hands of Generals MacArthur, Van Fleet, and Clark in Korea. Millions of orientals know the story. It largely explains why communism is gaining in Asia and the Western World, and our ideas are being driven from oriental

The Marshall plan in Europe now is to be curtailed because most European countries are in better financial shape than we However, desperate efforts are being made to influence our legislators in the 84th Congress to transfer and perpetuate the Marshall plan and with it the legion of Government payrollers who administer it to the Orient.

In France, we have spent nearly \$8 billion since 1948 for economic and military giveaways and propaganda failures.

For the billions spent for military aid, the French have never, to this day, obliged us with even an accounting of how they have spent our money intended for their purchase of military material for the defense of that

In France today, despite the more than \$5 million spent annually for stupid and harmful United States propaganda, 1 Frenchman in every 4 is a Communist, and supports the spokesmen for the men in the Kremlin.

In Italy, the situation is even worse. In that country we have spent nearly \$5 billion to try to "sell" Democracy to the Italians. Last year, despite our lavish give-aways, augmented by hundreds of our propaganda amateurs and busybodies, roaming all over Italy, the Italian Communists gained 250,000 converts in the Italian elections. And, more important, we have incurred the open enmity of the former King's party and the Mussolini followers who, despite the fact that both the King and Il Duce are no more, prefer the false promises of the Communists to American generosity. These two groups number more than 4 million voters, and their These two groups votes against us could topple the present "razor-thin" majority of the current Italian Government and put the Reds in power in Italy.

Every American who reads this will feel more encouraged and hopeful when he learns of the successful experience of Anthony Cucolo, contractor and philanthropist, of Suffern, N. Y. Mr. Vucolo licked communism in the town in Italy where he was born. Mr. Cocolo stopped the Italian Reds dead in their tracks.

Mr. Cucolo won a 92 percent vote for Democracy in the Italian village of Summonte. How did he do it? How did Mr. Cucolo, who has two sons, both graduates of the West Point Military Academy, accomplish a that our billions in give-aways and millions for propaganda in Italy have almost completely failed to do? Here is the story, and in his own words:

"I sent \$2,000 annually to a committee in my native town of Summonte. The commit-

tee consists of a physician, the mayor, and another prominent citizen. The committee purchases locally at cheap prices, spaghetti, rice, potatoes, and sometimes meat. foods are carefully distributed to those in dire need."

The economic security of all Americans, and the solvency of our country, remain in deadly danger so long as these spending agencies continue to grow and to create the deficits that unbalance our budget year after This year the Federal deficit will be \$5 billion, and already, according to Secretary of the Treasury Humphrey, our Nation is faced with a deficit of \$3 billion, 6 months before the next fiscal year begins. We cannot continue red ink in Washington and hope to combat the Reds in Moscow and Peiping. It cannot be done.

Newspaper Editor Writes That Alcohol and Gasoline Do Mix, but That the Mixture Is Explosive, Destructive, and Disastrous

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of the unanimous consent heretofore granted me so to do, I present the text of an editorial in the San Francisco (Calif.) Examiner on Friday, August 20, 1954:

ACCIDENTS AND ALCOHOL

(By W. W. Bauer, M. D., director of bureau of health education, American Medical Association)

We are told that alcohol and gasoline do not mix. I disagree. They do mix. And the mixture is explosive, destructive, dis-

Yesterday I concluded that most of the crazy things drivers do are due to just plain selfishness. That is not inconsistent with the statement that alcohol is responsible for many traffic fatalities and injuries, to say nothing of minor episodes and near misses. Drinking at inappropriate times and in immoderate amounts is a form of selfishness.

Persons who have had even one drink should not drive within the next 2 hours. If they have had more, the interval should be longer. It is not necessary to be drunk to be an unsafe driver. The really drunken person is probably unable to drive. It is when he has reached what Dr. Herman Heise calls the delighted and devilish stage that he

is the real menace.

That's when he has had just enough not to know how much he has had, and not to know that he has had too much. This is When he thinks he is the best driver in the world, and is just that much more deadly and dangerous.

The effect of alcohol, often falsely described as a stimulant, is not stimulating at all. It is narcotic. The feeling of stimulation is false—a delusion. Alcohol de-Presses the higher centers of the brain first, and its effect spreads progressively to the lower brain areas. Intellectual perception and judgment are the first to go.

The person under the influence of alcohol has lost part of his finer discriminations. He may do things he would not have done if sober. His manners are worse; his sense of humor may be coarsened; he laughs too loudly and in the wrong places. At the same time he thinks himself exceptionally clever or inspired, and he tends to show off. There could hardly be a worse state in which to place him in charge of a powerful motor

Physiologically, alcoholic intoxication blurs the judgment, and slows the automatic reactions which play so important a part in competent driving. When an emergency demands split-second reactions to avert tragedy, the intoxicated person finds himself slow and inaccurate.

Intoxication in relation to accidents has been emphasized mainly as to motorcar deaths and injuries. But the abuse of alcohol tends to increase accidents under any

conditions, anywhere.

In industry, where there is heavy machin-ery, or where dangerous substances are handled, intoxication adds to the accident haz-It does likewise in the home, where incoordination, overconfidence and carelessness can get the person into trouble with heaters. electrical or mechanical appliances, carbon

monoxide gas, or tripping and falling.
In an analysis of alcohol and its relationship to violent death, Drs. Spain, Bradess, and Eggston reported a series of 500 cases handled through the office of the medical examiner of Westchester County, N. Y. In that State there are no coroners; the medical examiner performs the functions which devolve upon the coroner in other States. Among these occurred 82 cases of nonindustrial accidents, and 24 percent of these were under the influence of alcohol to some extent.

Included were examples of varying accident causes, all influenced by the alcoholic condition of the victims; pots boiling over on the stove, putting the fire out and thus causing gas asphyxiation; fires in bed; drownings, and choking on food,

Many fatalities with an alcoholic tinge do not occur among the so-called drunkards. They occur in all segments of the community, all classes and economic levels and varied occupations, according to the authors previously quoted. They go on to report that automobile fatalities represent the most serious group. Many persons involved had been drinking at a cocktail party, a tavern, a holiday celebration or a wedding. How quickly their joy turned to sorrow.

It's Already Being Done

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN V. BEAMER

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BEAMER. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I enclose the following editorial from the Indianapolis Star under date of February 1, 1955:

IT'S ALREADY BEING DONE

President Eisenhower has often stated as his philosophy of government that the Fed-Government should only do for the people what the people cannot do for themselves. Yet he now has proposed a health reinsurance program that completely con-tradicts this praiseworthy view. For his plan seeks to do in the field of health insurance what is already being done by private industry. He claims that the insurance industry has to have help in the form of a Federal reinsurance fund to provide for catastrophic medical payment coverage. Yet the insurance industry is already doing the job without even making use of its own reinsurance facilities.

Thus the only arguments for the President's program are based on false assump-tions. There is no need either for Federal money or for Federal planning in this field.

For instance, here in Indianapolis American United Life Insurance Co. has just announced its catastrophic health insurance plan. Under this plan a man and wife can be protected against 75 percent of all medical expenses up to \$7,500 for as little as \$65 a year. The first \$500 of medical expense is deductible. Other insurance companies offer similar plans in the same price range. They are not getting and do not need any Federal aid to make this insurance available.

We see no reason, therefore, according to the President's own oft-stated philosophy. why a single cent of Federal money should be spent on an unnecessary reinsurance program—much less \$100 million.

The Day Lincoln Was Shot

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, because of the universal interest in Abraham Lincoln among Members of Congress and the public at large, it seems appropriate to place in the RECORD a report on the book, The Day Lincoln Was Shot. This report is by John P. Marquand, a member of the editorial board of the Book of the Month Club, and appeared in the January issue of the Book of the Month Club News. The Day Lincoln Was Shot was written by my distinguished constituent, Jim Bishop, and in the same issue of the Book of the Month Club News there appears an author's note, which sheds light on the circumstances that led to the writing of this book.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I include both articles in the RECORD, as follows:

THE DAY LINCOLN WAS SHOT

(By Jim Bishop, an hour-by-hour narration with the gripping suspense of a mystery story plus the balance of classic tragedy)

A REPORT BY JOHN P. MARQUAND

So many excellent books have been written on every phase of the life of Abraham Lincoln that it hardly seems possible that anyone can make a further significant contribution. Yet here is The Day Lincoln Was Shot, which can take its place in the very first rank of vivid and exciting Lincolniana, This book is exactly what its title says it isa 24-chapter, hour-by-hour narration and evaluation of the events in Washington that preceded and immediately followed the shooting of Lincoln in Ford's Theater by John Wilkes Booth. Though some of the episodes Mr. Bishop retails are so familiar as to be part of America's folklore, their combination with a myriad of lesser-known facts lends the whole an amazing freshness. The Day Lincoln Was Shot has the gripping suspense of a mystery story plus the balance

of classic tragedy.

The idea and form are so excellent that it seems surprising that no one has ever written such a book before. Then one realizes what a truly enormous amount of material Mr. Bishop has had to digest; his publishers tell us that his researches have been going on for the past 25 years. Nothing appears to have escaped him that could add polgnance and verisimilitude to the narrative, Like all good writers, Mr. Bishop understands the image-and-character-building value of seemingly trivial detail, and with very few lapses he has succeeded in reconstructing a time and a place down to the very sounds on the streets of Lincoln's Washington.

It is 7 o'clock in the morning in the White House and the polished rosewood door of the President's bedroom swings open just

as Mr. Bishop begins his story.

"The big man started down the hall slowly, like a person older in years, the legs perpetually bent at the knees, the black suit flapping about the frame. He looked like a man who did not feel well. The circles under his tired eyes were pouched; the skin of his face was almost saffron; the scraggly black beard thinned and died as it approached the hairline; the hair itself was almost combed; the feet moved with conscious effort, barely lifting off the red pile rug before being set down again; the thick lips, more brown than red, were pulled back in a semi-smile."

It would be hard to find a better description of Lincoln, and other characters in the day's drama assume a similar vitality—among them the flighty, unpredictable Mrs. Lincoln; young Tad Lincoln; the stately members of the Cabinet; and Gen. U. S. Grant, embarrassed by popular acclaim. There are literally scores of minor figures—soldiers, barbers, hotel clerks, grooms, policemen. Then of course there are John Wilkes Booth and his fellow conspirators and the unfortunate boardinghouse keeper, Mrs Surratt. Mr. Bishop moves from one to the other of these people to explain their motives, but never forgets the consuming purpose of his story.

Did you know that Mrs. Lincoln made Mrs. Grant so nervous that the Grants refused the Lincolns' invitation to Ford's Theater that fatal night? Did you know that Booth as a small boy had said he would like to go down in history as someone who overthrew the Colossus of Rhodes? Did you know of Lincoln's vivid dream of his own death? Did you know that when Booth entered the unguarded Presidential box, no one was disturbed by his intrusion? All were listening to the tinny, second-rate lines of a play called Our American Cousin-which, as quoted by Mr. Bishop, add to the macabre quality of the scene. Did you know that when Booth's shot was fired no one was greatly disturbed because the sound of his derringer was more like the pop of an air-blown paper bag than a shot? Did you know that the President ceased rocking in the chair provided for him by the management but did not immediately slump forward? Did you know that when Booth said "Sic semper tyrannis," he spoke in such a low voice that very few of the audience heard him?

These are only a sample of the discoveries that one can make in a book filled with hundreds of little-known facts. Even the most analytical reader will find it hard not to be carried away by the sweep of Mr. Bishop's In fact, as one draws close to the drama. inevitable climax at Ford's Theater, although one is completely aware of the ending, one begins to hope against hope, and almost to believe, that this ending cannot be possible. The creation of such an illusion is surely a high form of art. Perhaps it will be frowned upon by academic historians who are suspicious of any effort to make history readable. But for other thousands who love the American scene and who revere one of the greatest of all Americans, The Day Lincoln Was Shot will have deep significance. It will give new insight into the character of the man who stood immeasurably far above the others of his time and yet whose greatness was not wholly recognized until his life was ended. It will serve as a bridge between the past and the present. Washington, goodness

knows, has changed since the Civil War, and yet much of its character is changeless. The people who dwelt there on that fateful April day, the troops who marched through the streets, the civilians, the profiteers, the freed slaves, the ordinary men and women and, above all, the lonely man who still sits there solitary in his memorial—these have left an imprint on the city and on history which time will never dim. Mr. Bishop has given all this new life and new immediacy.

AN AUTHOR'S NOTE (By Jim Bishop)

There is no time, within conscious memory, when I was not interested in President Lincoln. My interest dates back to the first time I heard him described as a great, sad man with a beard, a man who tried to keep brothers from killing each other and was, himself, killed. This was a story told to the students of the third grade at St. Patrick's Parochial School in Jersey City, N. J., by Sister Marie Allicoe in 1917. I was 9. It moved me to feel ashamed that "we" had slain a dark Santa.

In 1920 I began to read books from the Clinton Avenue branch of the Jersey City Library. Many of these were stories of Lincoln. My father, a second-generation Irish police lieutenant, saw me reading a Lincoln biography and nodded with approval. "I often wonder," he said, "who was he?" The inference was supernatural—that Lincoln had been sent here to accomplish a mission and, having accomplished it, was ordered home.

In 1930, when I was a reporter on the New York Daily Mirror, I became convinced that no two stories of the assassination agreed in all particulars. I began to keep notes with the notion of some day writing the real story. A big part of a small salary went to buy Carl Sandburg's four volumes, Abraham Lincoln: The War Years. Years later, Sandburg introduced me to Andre Kostelanetz at the Metropolitan Opera House as the only person he knew who had read through the four volumes twice.

My notebooks were 28 in number. Each was marked with an hour of the day, from 7 a. m. to 7 p. m. The three extra ones were labeled "The Conspirators," "The Lincoln Family," and "Washington City—Era." Anything pertinent to any of those notebooks was jotted or typed and placed in the proper book. Quite often a little-known work would add a tiny piece of information to the pile, but without noting the time of day. All such went into a large envelope.

It was not full-time work. By day or by night I worked as a rewrite man, a feature writer, did magazine articles, wrote such books as The Glass Crutch, The Mark Hellinger Story, Parish Priest, had time for a wife and two children, wrote a small-town newspaper column, ran for local office and was trounced, raised dogs, drank beer, bought a house, worked with hammer and nails, played pinochle with my father, and mowed a lawn.

Scores of thousands of individual notes went into the little black books, and, in time, they became fat. Often, a new fact automatically reconciled some of the loose-end facts in the big envelope, and, in time, the little pieces began to fall into place. The detailed scheme of what happened in Washington on April 14, 1865, could now be seen in perspective. The weather, the people, the movements of John Wilkes Booth, the unusual happiness of the President, the hourby-hour work of the members of the Cabinet—all began to seem logical.

It was then, 2 years ago, that I intensified the research and went to Washington to run down the final facts needed for a book. I traveled the escape route of Booth in an Oldsmobile and checked it to the tenth of a mile. In the Library of Congress and in the Army Adjutant General's files were 7 million words to be read—a large part of them contained in old affidavits of witnesses to the events of that day.

After that, it was simple task—merely checking all that happened in any one hour of the day, writing the word "Void" on pages of notes which had no relationship to the real facts, and writing. The last was easy.

Security Flimslam Demoralizes Scientists

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERMAN P. EBERHARTER

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. EBERHARTER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following article entitled "Security Flimflam Demoralizes Scientists," from the February 1955 issue of the Democratic Digest:

SECURITY FLIMFLAM DEMORALIZES SCIENTISTS

"Theirs not to make reply,
Theirs not to reason why,
Theirs but to do and die.
Into the valley of death
Rode the six hundred."
—Tennyson: The Charge of
the Light Brigade.

"Who had ever heard that minds created free by God should submit slavishly to the arbitrary will of others? That they should submit in matters of truth to the decisions of a committee of men not qualified to judge? * * * These are the novelties that carry with them the ruin of commonwealths and the subversion of the state."—Galileo.

America today is searching out the meeting ground between Galileo, the scientist, and Tennyson's Light Brigade, so that a close working relationship can be nurtured between the men who invent our devastating new weapons and the men who must handle them to protect our Nation.

In an ideal society, these two professions would never be required to work together. There can be no natural affinity between the professional soldiers who are trained "to do and die" without questioning and the scientists whose very genius lies in questioning every accepted fact. But we are too far from an ideal society to afford these niceties. For the sake of our national survival, the scientists and generals must develop a respectful understanding so that their combined powers of destruction can be held in readiness against our enemies.

This problem in cooperation has always been inherent in our technological age, but the public did not become aware of it until recent months when the scientists began protesting that their usefulness is threat ened.

"The morale of the scientists today as I meet them is low," said Dr. Vannevar Bush, dean of American scientists, "so low that while they will not refuse to serve, they will serve without enthusiasm and without fruitful inspiration."

This unhealthy state of affairs, Dr. Bush told a congressional committee, is the direct result of the Eisenhower security program. For it threatens the "exceedinly important and valuable partnership" which grew up slowly between scientists and military men during the war. This precarious understanding "has now been gravely damaged and is being gradually destroyed."

Dr. James Killian, president of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, one of the important centers for defense research, is also

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alarmed by the "deterioration in recent months" of the relationship between military and civilian research personnel. Dr. Killian, who gave his views to the Riehlman congressional subcommittee which investigated military research last summer, blamed the decline primarily on current "security procedures and policies" which he regards as "hazardous."

The former cooperation between the scientists and the generals did not spring up spontaneously. It was the carefully nur-tured product of a great united wartime Now that it has been breached, it is not likely to regain its former vigor without cultivation.

It is not probable that scientists will ever welcome restrictions on their freedom, but they are not prima donnas about it. Indeed, they imposed secrecy on themselves in 1939when they first saw the likelihood of developing an atom bomb before the Government was brought into the picture.

What concerns Dr. Killian, Dr. Bush, and their scientific colleagues today is the Government's changed attitude toward scientists. During World War II, these men accepted the security regulations imposed by the military as one of the necessary evils of war. Though most of them were privately convinced that no scientific fact could be kept secret indefinitely, they recognized that a thin edge of time could mean the difference between victory and defeat. Moreover, it was easier for them to accept restrictions during the war because they at least knew that the security system, whether it was misguided or not, sprang entirely from patriotic motives.

What has aroused scientific antagonism is the realization that the present administra-tion has frequently exploited security as a political racket. This has led the powerful Federation of American Scientists to attack "the dangers and the bitter fruits of a security system which is motivated more by the risks of politics than the risks of disclosure of information."

Scientific associations, individual scientists, newsmen, and public officials who had worked with scientists seemed to conas last summer's headlines show:

"Scienists Call for Revision of United States Security Standards." (New York Her-

ald Tribune.)
"Scientists' Treatment Is Criticized."

(Washington Post.)

"House Group Warns: Row With Scien-sts Threatens Security." (Washington Daily News.)

"Experts Worried at Curbs on United States Weapons Research." (Baltimore Sun.)

Administration policies provoked new bitterness last fall at the height of the congressional election campaign when Vice President Nixon sought to strengthen his Communist smear charges by making an example of Dr. Edward Condon.

Dr. Condon was director of research for Corning Glass last October before the administration singled him out for attention.

The distinguished scientist had taken this position after prolonged security attacks prompted him to leave the directorship of the Bureau of Standards despite repeated

clearances.

Since Corning Glass sometimes handles defense work, Dr. Corning as research director was again checked for security. He was cleared again last July for the fourth time since World War II.

But last October his clearance was suddenly revoked; several weeks later he re-The Atomic Scientists of Chicago, signed. chapter of the Federation of American Scientists, publicly blamed "political abuse of the Nation's security system." Vice President Nixon, they charged, had "intervened With Secretary of the Navy Thomas" to overrule Dr. Condon's clearance. The accusa-tion was borne out by a New York Times report of the Vice President's campaign boasts.

"The fact that Dr. Condon's talent will no longer be available to our Military Establishment is serious," said this outstanding group of scientists. "We are more concerned, however, with this new example of political interference with the personnel security sys-It has been degraded to such a point that its judgments are almost meaningless, except for the damage they do to the individuals affected."

This political manipulation has its roots 1952 presidential campaign when General Eisenhower himself said on two occasions that Russia has the atom bomb only because spies inside our Government had handed over the secret formula. The accusation was dismissed as no more than campaign talk at the time; but when this and all the other campaign spy stories led up to Eisenhower Security Order No. 10450 in the spring of 1953, the scientists sat up and took

As removals of so-called security risks mounted past the 6,900 mark, scientific pressure mounted with it. Scientific misgivings were only increased by reports in the press that there was not one known Communist among the people removed. Instead, the 6.926 figure included blabbermouths, drunks, misfits, victims of political firings, and malicious gossips, plus a few people who died in office, and a considerable leavening of civil servants who resigned without knowing there were charges against them.

One great wave of scientific protest was touched off when "Mr. Atom," J. Robert Oppenheimer, was called a security risk and denied access to the atomic secrets he helped

create.

At the time Dr. Bush wrote: "Witnessing all this sorry affair, scientists rather generally have come to the conclusion that a man's reputation has been placed in jeopardy because he held and expressed strong opinions which are not now consistent with the established program of his Government."

"If you want to try a man for strong opinions," Dr. Bush told the board which found against Oppenheimer, "you can try me. I have expressed strong opinions many times, and I intend to do so. They have been unpopular opinions at times," he added.

The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists

called the Oppenheimer case a breach of faith on the part of the Government. Dr. Oppenheimer, they protested, was called to they protested, was called to heavy responsibilities in full knowledge of his life history, and then after he had given the most valuable services to the Nation, previously known facts were used to cast aspersions on his integrity.
Scientific resentment against this type of

treatment has been voiced so strongly that it has even raised the possibility of a scientists' strike. This notion that this body of loyal men would deliberately jeopardize our national security by withholding their talents need not be considered too seriously, but the concern expressed by Dr. Bush that scientific effectiveness can be undermined by low morale is too real to be ignored.

The administration itself has at last become alarmed by the scientists' united stand against the politicalized system. This became evident when the President appointed mathematician Dr. John Von Neumann to the Atomic Energy Commission last fall.

Von Neumann was an important contributor to atomic development and had been an outspoken critic of the security system before his appointment. He has said outright that under the present system a man may branded a security risk when his honor and good citizenship are not questioned, and he has urged revised proceedings which would conform with judicial practice.

When Von Neumann was appointed, one Washington columnist who is a recognized authority on atomic matters said privately

that the appointment had been made out of abject terror. The administration, he said, knows it is near the edge with the scientists, and is afraid to push them any further.

This evaluation is borne out by another leading scientist's reaction to the appoint-

"It's a step in the right direction, and a big one," he said, "if the administration listens to Von Neumann and changes its ways. But if this is just done for appearances, just to propitiate opposition, then we are in for serious trouble."

Gambling Capital of the United States Unmasked-I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, I am grateful to Mr. Bob Considine, the noted reporter of national fame, for his highly interesting series of articles which have appeared in recent days in many newspapers throughout the land concerning Las Vegas, sometimes described as "the gambling capital of America." This ace reporter spent several months checking the real facts on Las Vegas and has come up with a very revealing story.

Shortly after the 84th Congress was convened, I introduced a resolution, House Resolution 97, to set up a fact-finding committee of five Members of the House of Representatives to undertake an investigation of the causes of crime in this country and a study of the methods of crime prevention. I also introduced a bill, H. R. 2543, calling for the creation of a Bureau of Crime Prevention in the Justice Department as a permanent agency to conduct a continuous study of ways for preventing crime and curbing juvenile delinquency.

Bob Considine's series of articles would be most revealing and helpful to a congressional committee set up for this purpose, as suggested in my bills, since it would make possible to study this problem at its roots. I, therefore, want to bring these informative articles to the attention of all my colleagues. The first of the series, taken from the Chicago American, was published on January 23, 1955, reads as follows:

GAMBLING MECCA UNMASKED (By Bob Considine)

Las Vegas, January 22.—This place must be seen to be believed. Even then you wonder.

The area embraces one of man's greatest and one of his least important engineering achievements: Hoover Dam and the penny slot machine.

Human nature being what it is, the slot machine and its ilk attract more tourists than the world's highest dam, which has created the world's largest manmade lake and zips power to 8 million people in 3 huge

NO ROAD MAP NEEDED

The blazing city of Las Vegas and its adjacent strip along route 91 combine to be an excellent customer for the power brewed in the dam's 18 huge generators.

A tourist approaching Las Vegas at night needs no road map. From 50 miles away it glows like the nose of the late Charles (Cherry Nose) Gioe, Chicago Capone gangster who helped transmute this little desert town and its road approaches into a gambling mecca that makes Monte Carlo look like a bingo game in a mortuary.

Barring certain threats to its shaky and almost rootless existence amid the forlorn sagebrush and cactus, Las Vegas may attract 10 million visitors in 1955.

They'll spend better than \$50 million on food, rooms, shopping, and services.

FEW WILL BE BORED

No man will be able to compute accurately what they'll drop gambling, spend at Las Vegas' 24-hour bars, or get clipped for at its breezy bordellos.

Whatever the activity of the swarms of transients, vacationers, ever-growing list of residents, and the matrimonially disenchanted who are sweating out 6-week residence, few will be bored.

The only counterpart to Las Vegas in the average person's knowledge is a western movie in technicolor.

But not even Hollywood would produce a western along the story lines of Las Vegas' day-to-day exterior glamor. Nobody would believe it:

Ample housefraus, bulging in Jeans, feeding coins to one-armed bandits while buying dinner for the old man and the kids at the

corner grocery.

Tired-eyed, rumpled dice shooters not even looking up when the whole town is eerily lighted and subtly shaken by the fiery belch of an A-bomb on the AEC testing ground 75

miles away.

Cocktail waitresses, some of whom can be talked into working after hours at their apartments, driving about in Cadillac convertibles (Bell Capt. Vane Weidenkopf, of the sumptuous Sands Hotel, prefers his Jaguar).

CHARACTERS, TOO

And characters? Forgetting the re-treaded mobsters for a moment, what about Rex Bell, the old horse opera star who married Clara Bow? He wound up lieutenant governor of the State.

And Nicholas Andrea Dandolos, the world's dullest gambler through whose hands have passed an estimated \$500 million? (Nick the Greek is a graduate from the Greek Evangelical College with a bachelor of arts in philosophy.)

And Joe W. Brown, who owns the huge Horshoe Club downtown? Brown, whose oil and gas holdings in Texas bring him \$40,000 a month, looks and talks like Army Secretary Stevens in the confident early rounds of his fight with Senator McCarthy.

He has \$1 million framed in 2 layers of plate glass at the entrance of his air-condititioned gambling hall—one hundred \$10,000 bills.

WANTS LOAN

Abe Schiller, of the Flamingo Hotel, an unofficial Grover Whalen for the "strip" since his life was spared by Bugsy Siegel, asked Brown to lend the million to him to place on a Las Vegas Chamber of Commerce fioat in the Rose Bowl parade. Brown said:

"I kind of hate to let it out of the place for a few days. It's a nice attraction."

(The display costs him a small fortune in lost interest and protective insurance.)

Then he had a thought:

"Tell you what I'll do, though. I'll get you another million."

But as it turned out, the United States Government couldn't raise that many \$10,000 bills on such short notice. Brown snapped impatiently: "Well, then, how about 10 \$100,000 bills

* * the ones with Woodrow Wilson's picture?"

But these are gold backs and not permitted to be owned by individuals.

Brown is said to have considered leaving the United States and going back to Texas.

SUN WORSHIP

It sometimes seems hard to believe but there are occasionally other activities in Las Vegas, aside from gambling. Sun worshippers pour in, fleeing the smog and fog to the west and the Arctic blasts to the east.

Couples come to be married. (Hotel Last Frontier has a wedding bureau where a couple can buy a \$25 service at the neon-lighted "Little Church of the West" on the hotel grounds—includes minister, organist, society-page notes for the hometown papers and a ride around the block in a stagecoach. Photograph, \$5 extra.)

There are about three times as many

There are about three times as many marriages in Las Vegas as divorces.

DEATH TAXES

Some people come to Las Vegas to die or break a few of their tax chains. Nevada has no income, inheritance, death transfer, sales or gift taxes.

Others come to fish for frisky bass in Lake Mead or trout in Lake Mohave, below the great dam.

Some come to build department stores, like Sears, or futuristic bomb-shelters out at Yucca Flat, where new atomic tests are about to take place.

But most come to gamble, and even those who come for announced other reasons eventually belly up to a dice, roulette or "21" table, play the pitfless machines, bingo, or the horses.

Horse-betting, gambling's highest moment in most big United States cities, gets comparatively little play in Las Vegas.

"Who wants to wait a half an hour between rolls?" is the general attitude about horses. The pink stucco Las Vegas track needs only the sun-bleached skull of a buffalo to complete the traditional picture of desert waste.

Greater gambles go on constantly beneath the tinseled surface of Las Vegas.

This year will see the opening of eight new lush hotels and casinos, representing an investment of somewhere between \$15 and

\$20 million.

They are Tony Cornero's Stardust Hotel, Frank Fishman's Royal Nevada, Alfred Gottesman's Dunes, Louis Rubin's and Alexander Bisno's Moulin Rouge, Ed Levinson's Fremont Hotel downtown (Las Vegas' first skyscraper), the Riviera, the "Strip's" first tall one, being built by Dave and Lou Gensburg and Murray Saul, Fred J. Trevillian's Desert Spa, and the big Alabaster Continental, with widespread ownership.

None of these places could exist without gambling.

SCAN OWNERSHIP

They could not hope to afford to pay the stunning night-club act fees that have made Las Vegas the capital of the entertainment world. They could not afford to follow the common practice of barely breaking even or losing on food and rooms—a "come-on" that has hammered such prices down below the level of second-rate hotels in the big cities.

And, for them, it will not be a question

And, for them, it will not be a question of simply completing their structures, priming the casino pumps and opening the doors.

The State says in effect that such places must be three-fourths finished (or with that much capital showing) before a gambling license can be applied for. Then the records of all shareholders must be searched.

The people are fingerprinted and the whorls and dips rushed off to the FBI in Washington for a checkup. Theoretically, at least, it is possible for a \$5 million pleasure dome to be denied a license, or deprived of one after beginning operations, though it hasn't happened yet.

SHOW-CAUSE ORDER

The Thunderbird Hotel, for example, is now operating full steam under the sufferance of a show-cause order, pending its efforts to clear up charges that it is partly owned by Meyer and Jake Lansky, two fabled mob characters whose deeds, citations and charges actually cover 211 pages in the Kefauver reports.

Cornero, one-time operator of the gambling ship Lux and Rex which cruised off California, will not be the only potential new operator thoroughly scrutinized.

Hidden ownership is the bane of the life of the Nevada State Tax Commission, in charge of issuing licenses. There are differences of opinion as to the seriousness or thoroughness with which the commission polices such matters.

There is no question, though, that the commissioners—who serve without pay and have generally distinguished records as public servants—are a strong deterrent to further inroads by toughs and extoughs on the Las Vegas scene.

The retired or deodorized bootleggers, bookies, murder suspects, goons, and thugs who have found security and a measure of respectability in Las Vegas do not want anything to upset the applecart. They want to be left alone.

They, in truth, are the police of the gambling business in Nevada. They keep it as clean as they know how, knowing that once the public confidence is shaken in it, or it is invaded by notoriously apparent muggs from the outside world, their whole costly investment would rot away under the baleful sun and stinging sand.

TAX THREAT

The man who gives Las Vegas more ulcers than any other person is Virgil W. Peterson, operating director of the Chicago Crime Commission. Peterson's direct and guilt-by-association charges relate usually to hidden ownership of the gambling palaces.

ownership of the gambling palaces.

Big and little operators in Las Vegas fear that Peterson, and others who floodlight the hoodlum quicksands on which much of the edifice of Las Vegas was built, will hurt the State's tourism business, or prompt other States to legalize gambling in an effort to pull that business away, or worst, inspire a tax-hungry Congress to clamp a 10-percent Federal tax on Nevada gambling.

In the mind of most of those I talked to,

In the mind of most of those I talked to, such a tax would turn Las Vegas into the plushiest ghost town in history.

Peterson told the Public Prosecutors' Institute in Berkeley, Calif., last month that the old Capone mob has taken over control of many places in Vegas and Reno.

Though he did not support his statement, the National Association of County and Prosecuting Attorneys immediately canceled its scheduled convention here for next month.

PRIM PUZZLE

It would have poured many thousands more dollars into the pockets of Las Vegas merchants of all sorts—except Roxie's, the leading house of prostitution, closed recently in what some considered an odd outburst of primness on the part of the widest open town of them all.

Many dire warnings have appeared in national magazines and newspapers of late, predicting that the guns will soon be roaring in Las Vegas, as this or that group attempts to take it all.

When I asked questions about that of such people as Moe Dalitz, former Cleveland bootlegger baron who is one of the owners of the swank Desert Inn and a gifted user of its oasis of a golf course, or of Jake Kozloff, whose interest is switching from gambling to skyrocketing real-estate holdings, I got bigger laughs than Joe E. Lewis, the town's favorite comedian.

WHAT'S AHEAD?

There is obvious concern, however, over what the future holds.

The black market money ran out several years ago. The day (and night) of the titanic plunger is gone. The appeal is increasingly toward the masses type bettor.

The Desert Inn group's erection of the Showboat, out of town, beckons sobersided people in from Boulder, site of the dam and without gambling.

without gambling.

The downtown Las Vegas Club, the house

of jackpots, advertises:

The Jackpot Emporium.

The Jackpot Hippodrome.

The Jackpot Palladium.

The Jackpot Arena.

The Las Vegas Club is the jackpot round-house.

"With 350 slots where you can sit in comfort and enjoy the Las Vegas club's liberal policy * * * and we do mean liberal!

"Free parking for our patrons."

Now, as the individual play decreases in money wagered but expands in numbers of players, in will march a host of new arenas of wagering. The established operators wonder what will be the saturation point.

FRIEND GONE

They worry over such additional thoughts as what effect two proposed Negro hotels and casinos will have on predominantly white Las Vegas.

And they worry over what Washington will do, now that Nevada gambling's good friend and spokesman on Capitol Hill, Senator Pat McCarran, has gone to his reward.

They know their own legislature is safe. In fact, they contributed a lot of money toward the election campaigns of candidates calculated to support continued gambling and to balk at taxing the gambling grosses more than the 2 percent now in the tax law.

To be additionally sure, the gambling interests maintain the influential John V. Mueller of Reno as their lobbyist at Carson City. He sits in the aisle of the State Senate.

But Washington-that's different.

The casual visitor to Las Vegas cares little about these deep worries.

He walks through garish downtown Las Vegas wanting to adopt a rolling gait and pack a pistol.

pack a pistol.

He forgets home, family and the city's many bell-pealing churches as he sweats over a cold pair of dice.

And as he leaves, poorer but wiser, he makes a note that one day he'll return—and get even.

One thing certain: He never forgets the place, any more than an ancient traveler would have forgotten Babylon or, more appropriately, Pompeli.

Gambling Capital of the United States Unmasked—II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, following is the second article in the series by Bob Considine on Las Vegas, America's gambling mecca, published in the Chicago American, January 24, 1955:

LAS VEGAS UNMASKED—BUGSY CALLED TUNE ON "STRIP"

(By Bob Considine)

LAS VEGAS, January 24,...The late and (in Las Vegas) lamented Bugsy Siegel set

the ethical tone of the resort's gaudy "strip" one night not long before his execution was ordered by the country's leading racket figures—meeting with Lucky Luciano in Havana.

Siegel, builder and original boss of the Flamingo Hotel and casino, sprang lithely from his office when notified that one Bud Bodel, a private eye he had hired, had just flattened a Flamingo dealer who pulled a gun on a patron.

SIEGEL'S TECHNICOLOR DREAM

On a summit of rage which only he could scale, Siegel blazed:

"I won't have any rough stuff in here if I have to kill a couple of you — myself right in the casino."

There wasn't any more trouble, except for Bugsy.

If the old and some of the newer characters along the "Strip" dared, they'd erect a statue to Benjamin (Bugsy) Siegel, member of the board of directors of Murder, Inc., self-styled killer of 12 men (he preferred to shoot them in the face), spectacular shakedown artist, playmate of playgirl Virginia Hill, pet of the late Countess Dorothy Di Frasso, and other society personalities.

THEN CAME THE "STRIP"

He remains the patron devil of the hardest playing stretch of land on earth.

He made a technicolor dream come true, using bloodstained and racket-gained bank-rolls.

Ownership of his handsome and lively olive green monument—the Fiamingo—has long since passed on to persons who can meet the moral requirements of the Nevada State Tax Commission, the licensing body.

But to those with memories longer than a finger the now much-enlarged Flamingo will always be Bugsy's brainchild.

From Siegel's dreaming and daring grew the "Strip" as it is today. Those dreams and that daring were incidental causes of his slaying, but they gave inspiration to lesser figures in gangland, and to banking interests as respected as those of the Moody family in Galveston.

Up from the scabrous wastes along route 91, just south of Las Vegas on the road to Los Angeles, mushroomed the splendor of the Desert Inn, Thunderbird, Sands, Sahara, restaurants, bars, motels, gas stations—the works.

Tens of millions of dollars have sprung directly from Bugsy Siegel's exploitation of the "Strip."

That limited section of the State of Nevada which is actually under State control (Federal lands comprise most of the area) has come to depend heavily on the "Strip" and neighboring Las Vegas for tax money with which to build roads, schools, and maintain them.

NO HOPE FOR BUGSY

But Bugsy couldn't stay around to see the burgeoning of the "Strip," and its impressive role in the State's economic picture. He broke a rule, and the supreme court of the underworld handed down the verdict of guilty. There was no recommendation of mercy. Or hope of appeal.

Some who preceded Bugsy to this general area would have had difficulty comprehending him and his power.

The earliest ancestors of the Paiute, Shoshone, and other Indian tribes knew and perhaps worshipped the springs of Las Vegas centuries before the white man came to America.

The Spaniards, who gave Las Vegas its name (The Meadows), wrote home about it before the Revolutionary War. The American explorer, soldier, and politician, John C. Fremont, penned 111 years ago, that he found Las Vegas water "good but rather too warm to be agreeable."

The Mormon Church established a mission here in 1855, "to protect immigrants and the United States mail from the Indians, and to

teach the latter how to raise corn, wheat, potatoes, squash, and melons."

CITY BORN IN 1905

Brigham Young, informed that the area was rich in lead deposits, encouraged the mission to enter mining. But the project falled and, with Federal troops breathing heavily on the oppressed Mormons everywhere, Young called the Las Vegas mission home to the Great Salt Lake area of Utah.

The San Pedro, Los Angeles, and Salt Lake Railroad, now the Union Pacific, anchored Las Vegas permanently to the map of the United States on May 15, 1905.

On that day it sold 1,200 lots to miners, railroad workers, and shopkeepers with the promise of laying out streets, putting water pipes into each lot, and tarring the road in and out.

Two days later, Las Vegas was a tent city, including a 140-foot-long tent hotel. It never lacked in lustiness from the very start.

Its next boom came in the depression years with the building of Hoover (Boulder) Dam 30 miles away.

30 miles away.

But the State was so close to bankruptcy before that, and its mining and cattle industries so defunct, that its legislature had by that time reached a decision of great significance, not immediately apparent.

GAMBLING LEGALIZED

Desperate for new income in 1931, the legislature legalized gambling.

It caused no immediate gold rush. The freewheeling mobs to the East and West were concerned with bigger things, mainly bootlegging, bookmaking and numbers, narcotics, and white slavery. The dusty dice tables of a forlornly isolated State held no lure save for an occasional passing motorist.

An event in Los Angeles was chiefly responsible for the creation of the city of Las Vegas as it is known to millions today.

In 1938, at which time Las Vegas had a population of 3,000, a recall election put Fletcher Bowron in city hall in Los Angeles and its underworld sensed he was too tough to handle.

The gambling fraternity in Los Angeles packed up, lock, stock, and barreling dice,

and descended upon Las Vegas.

Guy McAfee, former Los Angeles policeman turned gambler, opened the Golden Nugget, whose partners now include Clifford Jones. Democratic national committeeman for the State and former lieutenant governor. At the same time the Pioneer Club was set up, owned by Chuck Addison, Milton "Farmer" Page, Bill "Porky" Curland, and L. B. "Tutor" Scherer.

MOB'S PHILOSOPHY

It was a live-and-let-live group whose philosophy was perhaps expressed recently by McAfee when he said, "Gamblers have too much invested to gamble with trouble. We'd be knocked right out of the box."

Gamblers and motel operators moved timidly out along the highway leading to Los Angeles. Land, now fabulously costly,

was cheaper than dirt.

By 1940 the population of "Greater Las Vegas" had jumped to 6,000, most of them bent mainly on flipping a few dollars out of the pockets of motorists hurrying through to the coast, or streaking eastward.

Pearl Harbor struck terror in Las Vegas. With gas rationing in effect, it was feared that no suckers would be swarming through town.

But the Las Vegas story was only beginning. Workers began pouring through, en route to the shipyards and plane plants of southern California.

BUGSY ARRIVES

The Defense Plant Corporation built the \$140 million Basic Magnesium, Inc., plant at Henderson, 12 miles to the southeast, and shipped in thousands more customers.

Enter Bugsy Siegel.

He had been sent to California in 1937 on the recommendation of Louis "Lepke" Buchalter, then chairman of the board of an underworld syndicate, which included Meyer and Jake Lansky, Frank Costello, Longy Zwillman, Phil Kastel, and, by remote control, Luciano—in prison.

The trip had a twofold aim. California was ripe for big-league exploitation by the mob—which was enjoying good relations with the Chicago, Detroit, and Cleveland gangs—and it seemed a shame to the syndicate to see all those boobs holding on to their money.

The second reason why Siegel took the joint advice of Lepke and Horace Greeley was that he was hot. What he had thought was his perfect murder had begun to unravel.

HIS MURDER ALIBI

Five years earlier he had checked into a New York hospital, permitted himself to be tucked in bed for the night, got up when the nurse left, stuffed pillows under his blanket to simulate a sleeping figure, slipped out, drove to Brooklyn, and murdered Tony Fabrizzo—a mob figure who foolishly dreamed of selling his revealing memoirs.

Siegel was back in bed and sleeping peacefully when his nurse came in with breakfast the next morning. He checked out several days later with a perfect alibi. But, 5 years later, police were closing in, and so he was shipped west.

There, by seizing control over movie extras, via a phony union, he was able to shake down stars and studios by threatening to pull his people off production lots. It was said that in a single year he grossed \$400,000 at this racket.

FEARED IN HOLLYWOOD

Bugsy isolated his uncomplaining wife and their two daughters in a handsome home and proceeded to outdazzie the tinseled culture of the movie world. He dressed better than the stars, talked faster, and was infinitely feared.

Countess Dorothy Di Frasso, known for her flashy parties and sharp wit, sponsored Siegel socially and all but succeeded in making him a leader in a community he was boldly stealing money from.

boldiy stealing money from.

Bugsy, who had known almost hideous poverty as a tenement kid, put indirectly lighted dressers in his dressing room, to illuminate his neat mounds of \$25 shirts.

It was at this time he was joined on the coast by Virginia Hill. The spectacular moll, 1 of the 10 children of an Alabama tombstone polisher, first reached the public eye as a showgirl in Chicago's "A Century of Progress" in 1933-34.

She was 16, appeared in a show called Elephants and Fleas and was just about to change her mouse-colored hair to auburn.

PAIR LIVED IT UP

After the fair she ran through 2 or 3 quick husbands, became a sort of all-American girl of the syndicate and was in the chips well enough to rent Rudolph Valentino's old hilltop house when she arrived in Hollywood.

She and Bugsy lived it up. He moved her and himself into a home in Beverly Hills, which was leased in her name—and gave her, among other things, a wedding ring.

But this was Siegel's light side. His work, aside from shaking gold dust from the stars, was to gain for the syndicate undisputed control of the race-wire service on the coast.

Before Senator Estes Kepauver's racketbusting committee destroyed it, the importance of the raco-wire was spoken of by the California Crime Study Commission in these terms:

"Control of the so-called 'wire service,' through which up-to-the-minute racing results from tracks all over the Nation and even Cuba and Mexico are brought directly to individual bookmakers through distribution points for a price, has long been the cause of murderous underworld struggles.

"CONTINENTAL CAPTURED

"The largest of the wire services is known as the Continental Press Service, formerly controlled by the late James M. Ragen, Sr. Strenuous efforts were made by those who inherited the Al Capone empire in Chicago and by Prank Costello to gain control of or destroy Continental Press Service.

"West of Chicago the Capone group first attacked the Continental monopoly by setting up a competing service known as Trans-America Wire Service. Subsequently in Arizona-Nevada-California territory, the Capone syndicate 'captured' Continental.

"With the appearance in Las Vegas of Moe Sedway, unrestricted access to the wire service for anyone willing to pay for it was suddenly cut off early in 1942 except for 2 or 3 establishments whose proprietors discovered that by giving Sedway an interest in their business, they could continue to receive racing results without disturbance.

"Originally from New York and a friend of Siegel's since boyhood, Sedway's mysterious control over the wire service paved the way for Siegel himself.

"The terms were hard, but the reasons for accepting were compelling. As one of the partners in a Las Vegas gambling house testified, 'a book is an asset to a gambling house. It brings the people in in the daytime, and if your competitors have it, you almost have to have a book to compete."

"By these means, Stegel secured a regular income from Las Vegas alone of at least \$25,000 a month."

An Editorial From the Chicago American

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am extending my remarks to include an editorial from the Chicago American of January 31, 1955. The editorial follows:

TIMIDITY OF CONGRESS

We've contended that Members of Congress, and Federal judges as well, deserve an increase in pay.

Men of good caliber should not have to serve their country at financial sacrifice. Or, to put it more significantly, these important jobs should pay enough to attract men of great ability and not just the independently wealthy or broken-down hacks who want to get in out of the rain.

But the timidity of Congress. Its fear of the voters. These factors have prevented action in past Congresses. Now, as it seems probable a raise will be voted, they emerge in a ludicrous way.

It is reported that proposals will be made for a \$10,000 pay hike (from the present \$15,000 to \$25,000) so that, on the floor, Members may humbly vote to reduce the increase and wind up with \$22,500.

For goodness' sake, men, the people aren't that dumb. They know Congressmen have to maintain two homes and contribute to everything from the smallest raffle to the party campaign chests.

They know Federal judges, at \$15,000, make only a fraction of what they could command in private practices.

Please, gentlemen, just fix a fair figure. The people will understand and respect.

Annual Report of ICC Reveals Politics Gets Nod Over Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. SHELLEY, Mr. Speaker, for the information of the Members of the House, I wish to insert in the Congression. SIONAL RECORD an article which appeared in the Trainman News of January 24, 1955. The Trainman News is the official weekly publication of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen. The article, written by Mr. Harry See, the organization's national legislative representative, comments on a proposal contained in the annual report of the Interstate Commerce Commission under which the Commission's Bureaus of Locomotive Inspection and Safety and Service would be consolidated into a new Bureau of Safety and Service. The article also discusses a recommendation in the report with regard to appointment of the director and assistant directors of locomotive inspection and the qualifications of permanent inspectors.

The article follows:

ANNUAL REPORT OF ICC REVEALS POLITICS
GETS NOD OVER SAFETY

(By Harry See, national legislative representative)

The Interstate Commerce Commission wants to play politics at the expense of railroad safety. That is the only conclusion that can be drawn from the Commission's latest annual report.

One of its several recommendations under the reorganization and management improvement section of the report is to consolidate the Bureaus of Locomotive Inspection, Safety, and Service into a new Bureau of Safety and Service.

To do this would be to no longer distinguish between qualifications and duties of Bureau of Safety inspectors and locomotive inspectors. While both types of inspectors ac concerned with maintaining safety conditions on railroads, their jurisdictions are different.

SAFE OPERATION

The safety appliance inspector is concerned with proper operation of any device on railroad cars which will affect the safe operation of cars, such as hand brakes, brake steps, running boards, sill steps ladders, handholds, coupling levers, handralls, etc. On the other hand, locomotive inspectors are concerned with inspection and maintenance of locomotive boliers, and all parts and appurtenances of the locomotive and tender. In addition to steam locomotives, this service also includes the highly complicated mechanisms of diesel and electric locomotives.

There is no practical reason why these two valuable safety agencies should not be kept separate and distinct as in the past, insuring to the traveling public and railroad employees that railroads are safe and will be maintained in a safe operating condition.

As we continue to read the recommendation, we find the ICC supplies its own motive for advocating the merger of these two bureaus. The report alleges that having two kinds of inspectors, safety and locomotive, results in a duplication of service, which "is wasteful and has brought objection from the rallroads."

RATLEOADS OBJECT

Therein lies the key to the recommendation—the railroads object to it! The railroads have always objected to any measure which would police their operation. They objected to enactment of the Locomotive Inspection Act, the Safety Appliance Act, and the Signal Inspection Act. They objected to requirements for power brakes, for ash pans under locomotives and for automatic stokers; in short, they objected to and opposed any regulations that would cost them any money, whether or not it would result in improved and safer operation and save human lives.

Allowing inspectors from either bureau to interchange inspection assignments would necessarily result in inspectors from one bureau attempting to pass upon the items of safety about which they know nothing, since their qualifications and experience have been otherwise. This interchange in railroad inspection can easily reflect itself in less thorough and inefficient inspections, and result in an increase in accidents attributable to unrecognized defects. But this possibility aparently gladens the heart of railroad management which has consistently opposed such regulation. Recalling this attitude of the carriers in the past makes it more easily understood why the management-conscious ICC would recommend the discontinuance of the present practice because it has "brought objection from the railroads."

HARMFUL RECOMMENDATION

A more destructive recommendation of ICC in its annual report is the one to amend the Locomotive Inspection Act to eliminate provisions relating to appointment of the director and assistant directors of locomotive inspection and the detailed requirements relating to employment of inspectors.

Elimination of provisions relating to ap-pointment of the director and assistant directors of locomotive inspection is something which has been long sought by ICC. In 1911 when the Boiler Inspection Act was passed, Congress felt the large accident toll caused by defective locomotive boilers was so serious that an independent bureau within the commission should be set up, with the director and two assistant directors nominated by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate. The intention was to give bureau heads a certain amount of independence, so they would feel free to use all powers vested in them in making rules and setting up standards to prevent accidents due to defective locomotives.

The ICC apparently wants to select its own director and assistant directors. By having absolute control over the heads of this bureau, the administration of it can be placed in the hands of officials and inspectors swept up from the political arena, whose lack of qualifications and experience will result in the breaking down of safety standards of long standing.

WITHDRAWS NOMINATION

For instance, at the last session of Congress, the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce requested Charles H. Grossman to appear and acquaint committee members with his views on legislation designed to accomplish the same emasculating process as the above provision in the ICC report. Grossman had been nominated to become Director of Locomotive Inspection. When Grossman expressed himself against the proposed change, the ICC members were angered, and the President was persuaded to withdraw his nomination.

If the detailed requirements relating to employment of locomotive inspectors are eliminated, as proposed in the ICC recommendation, this would permit appointment of a man who knows absolutely nothing about locomotives or their appurtenances. Employment of such inspectors has been

closely guarded by law. Since 1911 all locomotive inspectors have been required to have an intimate knowledge of all working parts and safety devices of locomotives. To insure this, they are required to pass examinations relative to their training, experience, and knowledge of intricate mechanisms related to work in the field of locomotive inspection.

After successfully passing such examinations, the applicants are entered on civil-service rolls, and are entitled to privileges and protection of civil service. The excellent safety record on railroads insofar as locomotive failures are concerned attest to the wisdom displayed by Congress when it instituted this detailed process for the selection of suitable men for these positions.

LOOK AT 1954 RECORD

To illustrate the importance of the work done by locomotive inspectors, you need look only at the record of the Bureau of Locomotive Inspection for 1954. In that year a total of 19,999 steam locomotives were inspected; of these, 2,599 defects were discovered that should have been corrected by the railroads before the locomotives were put into service. In the same period 83,338 diesel locomotives were inspected and 7,395 defects were detected.

For the ICC to remove these men from protection of the civil-service system and to eliminate requirements for their examinations is simply to open the door of another Government agency to invasion by political patronage. Under the American system of political spoils, it is expected that certain inconsequential jobs will be filled with only a passing wink to qualifications and with a large dose of favoritism. But in the field of employment where the caliber of a man and his technical knowledge are directly related to the kind of job he can do in the field of safety maintenance, it is unthinkable to imagine any relaxation in such job requirements.

SOUNDS THE ALARM

The BRT's national legislative representative has already sounded the alarm on Capitol Hill by acquainting Members of both Houses of Congress with these and other deleterious provisions in ICC's annual report. Relative to the provision to let down the bars requiring examinations, he said that, if ICC has its way, wardheelers soon will be seen fumbling about freight cars and locomotives looking for a leak or a rattle. To expect any degree of safety on the rall-roads, he said, we must insist on men with practical railroad experience.

Ukrainian Independence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PATRICK J. HILLINGS

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. HILLINGS. Mr. Speaker, January 22 marked the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of Ukrainian independence. As a member of the Select Committee on Communist Aggression during the 83d Congress, I was impressed by the evidence received concerning the desire for freedom shown by the Ukrainians. During the Second World War millions of Ukrainian patriots attempted to rise up against the Communist dictatorship in the Soviet Union but were unsuccessful. The Ukrainians would be one of our most important allies in the event of a

future uprising and resistance against the masters of the Kremlin. I extend my greetings to these freedom loving peoples on the anniversary of their proclamation of independence.

The Strategic Importance of Southeast Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER ROGERS

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ROGERS of Texas. Mr. Speaker, I am honored to commend to the Members of the Congress the article that I today insert in the RECORD. In order to predicate properly the splendid treatment of a serious problem in world affairs. I insert a brief biographical sketch of the able author, Dr. Diosdado M. Yap, a noted Far East authority and the publisher and editor of Bataan Magazine. The article that has been written by Dr. Yap concerning the Far East situation should be carefully studied, as it contains the answers to many of the problems faced by mankind, not only in the Far East, but in other parts of the world. The matter follows:

THE AUTHOR, DR. DIOSDADO M. YAP

Dr. Yap was born in Baybay, Leyte, Philippines. He attended primary and secondary schools there and then came to the United States for his college training. He graduated with honors from Crane College where he took an active part in student affairs, and then attended the Northwestern University Law School and the Lewis Institute in Chicago.

In 1930 he attended George Washington University, from which he received his M. A. in Education the following year. His doctorate was awarded in 1935. In addition, he has the degrees of B. S., M. S., IL. B., Ed. D., Ph. D., and IL. D.

Dr. Yap was among the first authorities on the Far East to tour the Army camps for the War Department. Soon after the Pearl Harbor incident he was commissioned as expert consultant to the United States Secretary of War to visit the encampments and lecture to the officers and enlisted personnel on all phases of the far eastern countries and of the war in the Orient, with special reference to American-Philippine relations. In less than 3 months he spoke to approximately a million men.

Dr. Yap was formerly publicity officer and researcher for the Resident Commissioner of the Philippines to the United States. He was also director of the Philippine Information Bureau, managing editor of the Philippine Journal, and technical staff member of the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs. At present he is publisher and editor of the Bataan magazine and chief of the Washington bureau of the Manila Chronicle.

He is author of History of Higher Education in the Philippines, and of numerous articles on the Far East for different American publications. For some years he has been American correspondent for leading Philippine papers and a radio commentator on far eastern affairs in Washington, D. C.

He has made repeated trips to the Orient, traveling through China, Japan, India, Pakistan, Hongkong, and his native islands. His long study of the problems of the Far East and his association with its leaders qualify him to speak with authority. Dr. Yap is a speaker of the highest ability. His command of English is flawless.

THE STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE OF SOUTHEAST ASIA (By Dr. Diosdado M. Yap¹)

The titanic struggle between the free world and communism is being fought in Asia, and whether or not America remains free depends upon whether or not we can win in Asia. Up to now we are losing, because we have failed to win the people of Asia to our side. I have just returned from an extensive trip to the Far East in which I talked with the political leaders, religious leaders, businessmen, workers, and the man in the street in Burma, Ceylon, India, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Pakistan, Philippines, Thalland, Formosa, Malaya, Hongkong, Viet-Nam. Cambodia, and Laos.

One thing that was impressed upon me during this trip was the fact that the people of southeast Asia are entirely ignorant of America, American aid, or America's desire

to assist free people to stay free.

The result of all the billions of dollars we have sent to Asian countries is that we have won some friends among the leaders, but we are losing the people. Unless we can get the people of Asia on the side of the free world, they will accept the Communist world and thus put two-thirds of the world's population under the control of the Kremlin.

IMPORTANCE OF ASIA

When that happens the Communists can take over Europe without firing a shot because Europe cannot exist without the trade and raw material of the Far East. With Asia and Europe gone and with our sources of raw material cut off completely, how long can America hope to stand off the final plans of conquest by the Soviet? The answer is obvious; we must win the friendship and support of the people of Asia, not merely because we want to help the Asians, but because by helping them to remain free is the only way we can bring lasting security to ourselves.

I believe the situation was aptly summed up last year in a report by a special Study Mission to the Far East of the Committee on Foreign Affairs of the House of Representa-The committee, headed by the Honorable Walter H. Jupp, of Minnesota, said in the conclusion of its report: "The study mission believes that the United States must recognize frankly that it is the security, even the survival, of the free world that is threatened in Asia. We do not believe, in the light of our information and analysis, that a third world war is the most immediate danger in that part of the world. The first stage in the Communist program always to try to subvert the weak and divide the strong. Therefore, it is the unending the strong. Therefore, it is the unending series of local actions in Asia, including violence and subversion, and the constant attempts to sow dissension among our allies in Europe and elsewhere, to which American policies must be directed with intelligence, vigor, and determination if we are to pre-vent the gradual chipping away of the free

How are we to meet the Communist conquest in Asia? What should the course of American policy be if it is to be intelligent, vigorous, and determined? To find an answer to these questions we must explore the effect of aid aiready given, determine why it has not been successful and seek more effective means of reaching the people.

Again quoting from the report of the Foreign Affairs Committee Study Mission we find that grants of money are not the answer. The study mission said: "There is a popular assumption that appropriations of money are the solution for our problems. Money is a measure of our interest, not a yardstick of our success. If money alone could do the job, our problems in Asia would long since have disappeared. Its conversion into constructive programs and action is the real test.

"Since 1945 the United States has given more than \$6 billion in economic and technical assistance to countries in this area. About \$5 billion has been for various kinds of emergency relief, most of it immediately after the war. Since 1950 more than \$1 billion has been, or is being, spent for programs of economic and technical assistance."

In talking with hundreds of people on my recent trip I find that among the masses in the Far East, with the exception of the Philippines, the people know nothing of these vast sums which have been contributed by this country to help them. The benefits have been used to attempt to build political power, to stabilize existing governments, or carry on " a propaganda war among people who can neither read nor write and who do not have enough to eat, let alone radios to hear American broadcasts against the evils of communism. The people of these countries know of America's participation in the last war, but since the war there has been a complete blackout of publicity concerning America, American aid, and American ideals. In all my travels in about 27 countries, the only story I saw in any newspaper about America was a short paragraph in a paper in Pakistan concerning the divorce of Marilyn Monroe and Joe DiMaggio. By such standards are Americans judged in the Far East.

DEMOCRACY IN ASIA

If free southeast Asia is to be saved from communism, the West must bring its democracy closer to the hearts and minds of the uncommitted millions. This cannot be done at the high level of diplomatic missions and State Department conferences. We can reach the people only through massive invasions by democratic missions and ambassadors of culture, through technological assistance, labor-saving devices, and by teaching the people the secret of our success, the secret of our production, so that they may be able to secure for themselves the basic necessities of life.

The attitude of the great majority of the people of southeast Asia is best illustrated by a conversation I had with a laborer in Singapore. "The people just want peace," he declared. "We are tired, we do not want to fight anyone anymore. We just want a chance to make a better living."

Freedom to the common man in Asia means a small piece of land to call his own upon which he can raise enough to feed him and his family and which will afford them shelter and give them the opportunity to clothe themselves.

Until we have met this basic need of the eople of Asia all efforts to inspire them with the ideals of political freedom are futile. The minds of the people of Asia are yearning, not so much for knowledge of how bad communism is, as for assurance of how good democracy can be to their daily lives. has been denied freedom for so long a time it has forgotten what freedom can mean in terms of a prosperous economy, progressive community life, and a richer meaning of human existence. These things cannot be brought home to the people of Asia merely through the propagation of the manual of arms or the usual vituperation against the Kremlin or Peiping governments.

From my observations, based upon my countless interviews and conversations, the dollar handout is not Asia's idea of friendly assistance from the West. They believe that

experience has taught them that grants-inaid can corrupt the beneficiaries and encourage a false sense of security on the part of those who give.

In Salgon a taxi driver told me: "Yes; we have heard of America. They have given much money, but what is their purpose? They are in cahoots with the British and the French and will help these countries in their colonial policies, which means slavery for us."

In many countries I found the people who know of American aid are suspicious of our aims. Those who were not outright unfriendly were cautious in their attitude toward America. They wanted to believe in our goodness of purpose, but our close alliance with the colonial powers was uncomprehensible to them. They need a graphic illustration that we do not support the colonial policies of our allies in Europe and that we genuinely mean to stand by all people who want to be free.

Billions of dollars given to China, Korea, and France to straighten the security of the free people of Asia did not improve the position of democracy and of the West in the Pacific. One can but speculate whether these billions of dollars, if utilized to build up the economies of those nations and to expand the trade potential and to introduce democratic institutions like public schools, government sanitation services, puericulture centers and health clinics in rural areas, might not have been more effective in containing communism in Asia.

THE POINT 4 PROGRAM

The most effective use of money spent in Asia has been through the point 4 program where our technical advisors went among the people and where we were able to demonstrate our willingness to give them an opportunity to build better lives for themselves.

It is time we apply to our diplomatic relations the lessons taught by the religious missionaries. The priests, ministers, the Christion teachers and doctors who, for years, have gone among the people, humble, often barefoot, and lived with them, spoke to them in their own language, became a part of their lives, these are the Westerners who made the great impact on the peoples of Asia. Our losses can be traced to high level diplomacy where we dealt only with the leaders at the political strata and forgot the

The Christian missionaries overcame another great barrier which keeps the West from victory in Asia—the barrier of inequality. We can never successfully reach the hearts and minds of the Asians until we give honest recognition to the status of equality of the Asians.

One becomes conscious of this imperative for equal status when talking to Nehru of India. Americans who ponder as to why Nehru takes the attitude he does after this country has been so generous with India must remember that the greater part of Nehru's life was spent in white men's jails and he has tasted the bitterest dregs of being made to feel inferior. His first words to me were to remind me that he and I have a common background and then he reminded me of the years he spent in British jails and how his first important writings were prepared in jail.

Now he feels that destiny has brought him to a position for which his early suffering and persecution has fitted him, the leader of the people of Asia.

In my interview Nehru told me: "There are only four great powers in the world today. India, China, Russia, and the United States. India must be given proper recognition."

Nehru's plan for a neutral bloc of Asian nations is a practical one. He knows that the people of Asia hold the balance of power in the world struggle. If he can consolidate the Asian nations into a neutral bloc looking to India for leadership, then he is in a

i Dr. Diosdado M. Yap, editor and publisher of Bataan magazine, covered the SEATO conference in Manila last September, after which he toured all over southeast Asia. He also toured several European countries for over 2 months before returning to the United States.

better bargaining position with the other 3 great powers, 2 of which, China and Russia, threaten his borders, and the United States who must keep Asia out of the hands of the Communists.

The arguments of Nehru make sense to many people in other Asian countries. A businessman in Rangoon said his country is close to India economically, culturally, and spiritually, and will follow the leadership of India. This merchant said he was not unfriendly to the United States, but he did not trust us as he was convinced we would follow the lead of the British in any final showdown in Asia.

OBSTACLES OF DEMOCRACY

These deep-rooted feelings, born of years of hatred and distrust of the white man, are the chief obstacles democracy must overcome in Asia and are, at the same time, the chief weapons being skillfully exploited by the Communists. The West can successfully meet this challenge, if we face the issue of equality with courage and honesty.

I believe that from the geopolitical point of view, it is in the vast Pacific basin where West and East can actually learn to live together in equality, in freedom, and in abundance. On the rim of this vast ocean are the most populous continents, bountifully blessed by nature with limitless natural resources and unlimited human needs await-

ing to be met and satisfied.

The real challenge of communism to the West is—which of the two, communism or democracy, can sooner remove the stigma of penury and hunger and of inferior status from the inumerable poor in the western reaches of the Pacific Ocean. Communism falsely claims it can do it sooner, and, unfortunately, the many millions of illiterate poor of Asia have responded to that false claim. They have responded because the Communists have sent their agents, natives, among the people with glowing promises of abundance while we have been content to send them copies of the Declaration of Independence, pamphlets, bulletins, booklets describing the American way of life, and pictures of American workingmen riding in automobiles. So far removed are the simple possessions of Americans to their own poverty that they simply do not believe us.

The principal task of democracy today is not to shout against the falsity of the Communist claim, but to prove by actual performance that the system of the free world can accomplish the goal of peace and abundance for the people of Asia sooner and more completely than the Communists can.

To pursue this vast task of democracy successfully, there is one imperative that must be heeded, regardless of consequences to the existing mental attitudes prevailing in many Western countries—that imperative I have already mentioned, the imperative of equality. All Asians must be accorded equal status in concrete practical terms. It is the only principle that can bring about an economic revolution toward democracy in all the so-called underdeveloped countries.

Chinese Communist leaders won, through force, a status of equality with western leaders, first at Panmunjom and later at Geneva. The West cannot afford to wait until all the other Asian leaders win the same status through force. Yet we invite the use of force by our failure to recognize equal status for Asians while at the same time the Chinese Communists demonstrate that it can

be won.

Now let us turn our attention to the core of the problem in Asia and the solution for it. There is scarcely a country which I visited in southeast Asia that is not threatened by internal Communist subversion, in many cases by direct Soviet or Chinese pressures, operating partly through the large Chinese population living in the country and partly through the close geographical impact of Communist China itself. We can never af-

ford to forget that China is like a glant hand dominating the fingers, all the countries adjacent to it and comprising all the countries of southeast Asia.

COMMUNISM IN ASIA

Keeping in mind the strategic geographical position of China, let us analyze the causes that have helped the spread of communism in Asia. Briefly summed up, they are:

 Susceptibility of the Asian masses to new, revolutionary doctrines because of the age-old state of poverty and misery of the

people.

2. The devastation caused by the last war which wrecked the economies of many Asian countries and caused more difficulties to the peoples and their governments.

Resurgence of the spirit of nationalism.
 Lawlessness and moral decadence as a direct result of the war.

 Geographical position of Asia relative to Soviet Russia.

The one prevalent condition of which the Communists have taken the greatest advantage is the rampant poverty and misery among the millions of people of Asia. The Reds find the poor, illiterate masses ready to give a willing ear to Communist teachings as a possible remedy for their ills. And, as I have stated, the Communist agents carry their story directly to the people.

In the words of the Prime Minister of Pakistan—"The peoples of Asia have suffered for many long decades from hunger and disease and here millions of people lead subhuman existence, verging on a perennial state of almost famine. Their lives have been one long tale of misery, unrelieved even by hope. Stricken by famine and epidemic, bowed down with care, they must often wonder why destiny had made it so hard for them to live when in other countries life was so different—full of zest, full of joy. Their ignorance and illiteracy prevent an objective analysis of new way of life offered to them. Their desperation makes them accept any hazardous path of life, if it only promises relief from their sufferings."

Another prevalent situation in Asia which communism has thoroughly exploited is the economic prostration that many Asian countries have suffered as a result of the last war. Economic dislocation with all its attendant problems and difficulties has given the Communists the opportunity to use their familiar systems of sabotage, to sow confusion and chaos, to create discontent, and to interfere with the execution of national programs of rehabilitation and recovery. They know that the longer the economic sufferings and difficulties of the people remain, the easier it is for them to achieve their ends.

Prior to the war the nationalistic feeling in many Asian countries had remained suppressed. After the war, these countries, still under alien domination, found a resurgence of nationalistic feeling which they proved with intensity as they saw the opportunity to throw off the shackles of colonialism. The Communists were quick to seize the initiative and to stir up hatred against the colonial powers and present them to the masses as "imperialists" and "exploiters" and to picture the United States as the champion of "imperialism" and "exploitation."

Our failure to take a strong stand against French colonialism in Indochina only helped strengthen the Communist propaganda and lead to greater distrust of real American motives.

THE LEADERSHIP OF MAGSAYSAY

In spite of these great difficulties facing the West and the tremendous gains made by the Communists, there are some encouraging signs in Asia which, if we recognize, we can turn to the advantage of the free world.

First, there is the great showcase of democracy, the Philippines. Under the inspired leadership of President Magsaysay, the Philippines have met and conquered the Communist threat, and they have come a long way on the road to rehabilitation and economic recovery. The great success in the Philippines is due to the recognition by Magsaysay of the needs of the people to be given an opportunity to improve their condition. He has used American aid to benefit the people and he has let the people know of American assistance and contributions.

The Filipino people have close affinity with practically all Asians. In addition, the Filipinos were the only people in Asia that stood loyally with a Western Power during the war, proving beyond any question of a doubt their faith in the democratic ideal.

Because of their close and long association with the American people, and inasmuch as their educational training for almost half a century has been patterned after that of the United States, I feel that the Filipinos can serve as a human democratic bridge between the West and the Asian peoples.

In addition, the Filipinos are the only preponderantly Christian people in Asia and they were the first oriental people to establish republican institutions. From their historical background, the Filipinos have close ties with all the Asians. It includes a long record of ancient history which testifies that the Indonesians and Malays in the Federated States are their blood relatives, that the Filipino people linguistically and culturally are related with India, that the people of Ceylon (Singhalese) are their racial cousins, and so are the Vietnamese, Cambondians, that the Thailanders and Burmese are descended from the same racial stock which combined with Malay and Polynesian stock to produce the Filipino race and that the ancient Chinese people were trading regularly with the ancient Filipinos since the early centuries of the Christian era.

the early centuries of the Christian era.

Consequently, by racial ties, by identity of culture and antecedents, by bonds of friendship antedating the formation of many nations in the West, the Philippines and the Filipino people enjoyed and are enjoying an important position in the world of Asia.

THE ROLE OF THE PHILIPPINES

These are assets that the Filipino people have been able to discover and they inspire the West in that the Philippines can play the role of a Democratic bridge from the West to the vast hinterland of Asia, and vice versa.

However, in order to make this bridge strong and enduring so as to sustain the heavy traffic of conflicting ideologies and political drives of economic rivalries and social revolutions, it must have a solid foundation—strong pier and support, indestructible

beam and well-adjusted parts.

In building that bridge strong and permanent Senator Jose P. Laurel of the Philippines pointed out that "the Filipino people need American sympathy and help. We need not so much funds as concession in trade, not so much American manpower as American technology and skill. More than anything else, the Filipinos, as well as other Asians, need the assurance that they are regarded as brothers of all our democratic friends and allies in Europe, in North and South America, brothers with equal rights and privileges, equal freedom of decision as any other sovereign nation, and an equal voice in the high councils where the vital decisions are made, to claim our share of all hazards, the labors and the sacrifices, the free world may incur in the defense of freedom in southeast Asia, and we feel that we are also entitled to full equality in the rights and privileges of the union of the free."

Another great force reacting on the side of the free world is the new foothold being gained by Christanity in many countries of Asia. The modern missionaries are devoting themselves to the teaching and practicing among the people, their religion regardless of social, racial, or class distinction. They are getting across to the people of Asia that they recognize the dignity of the human spirit. There is a tremendous spiritual revival throughout the Far East which can inspire men to seek freedom and to remain free from the domination of a power that recognizes no God and regards man as only the most intelligent of the animals.

I do not believe we should seek to nationalize the missionaries, but I believe the Government should encourage their great efforts and assist them in their great task of bringing knowledge and help to the people of the Far East.

American business is contributing to better understanding among the people of Asia. There is no longer the tendency to exploit the native which was so much a part of the early history of that area. American business today is giving the natives of Asia better job opportunities at decent wages to enable them to make for themselves better lives. One had only to hear the enthusiastic praise of American enterprise by an air-field mechanic at the airport in Karachi, Pakistan—"the American company has given me much hope to live better with good wages and a chance for even a better job"—to know the important part American business is playing in spreading democracy's story. They are getting across the idea that the people are partners in business instead of mere chattels to be used and exploited.

PROGRAM TO STOP COMMUNISM

Using these factors as a base we can successfully meet communism in Asia by instituting a specific program summed up as follows:

 Amelioration of the lot of the landless population in countries, where now lands are still available for settlement.

- Acceptance of the reality of a new force in the life and history of Asian nations, according to them their rights to national freedom, human dignity, and mutual respect in their relations with the other nations of the world.
- 3. A system of economic and financial assistance with a much broader scope than the Marshall plan in order to meet the urgent requirements of both their reconstruction and development.
- 4. A system of mutual cooperation (SEATO) that will assure to the free countries of Asia the same benefits of joint action for the defense of democracy in the East that the Atlantic Pact gives to the nations of Western Europe.
- 5. A vigorous educational and information drive in Asia to save the poor and illiterate masses from falling an easy prey to Communist propaganda, to unmask the myth of communism and to demonstrate the true blessings of democracy and freedom,

Southeast Asia needs development. The dormant resources must be developed and utilized to afford the necessary income to the hundreds of millions of peoples in Asia in order to enable them to raise their standard of living. American business should be encouraged to open subsidiaries and plants such as they have done in Europe and in the South American countries. More efficient and scientific methods of agriculture must be introduced to replace the antiquated and inefficient farming methods that are still in use. Industrialization, technical know-how, modern technology must be used to raise their standard of economic development, intensify their production, and provide more sources of income and development, especially in those countries or places where agriculture can no longer adequately support the size of the population.

The most fearful thing about my whole trip was the evidence of the resurgence of

communism in Japan. Japan, more than any other Asiatic country, is feeling the lack of dollars. It is the great industrial center of Asia and must find markets for its manufactured products.

"China offers Japan the best place to sell its goods," the vice president of a large import-export house in Japan told me. "Our whole economy is based on our export—can you expect us to ignore our best potential customer while you in America offer us no alternative?"

The West must let down the trade barriers and give the Asians full opportunitity to trade freely in the markets of the world. If we do not offer them the chance to trade with us, they must trade with the Communists and, because the Communists use trade as a political weapon, it can only be a matter of time before Asia is committed, through its trade policies, to the side of communism and against the side of democracy.

To do all these things successfully, we must reach the people. This means greater stress on technical assistants who will go among the people. American business should be encouraged to expand its present policies of enlightened capitalism. We should encourage and assist the people to gain new self-respect and treat them as equal human beings.

THE PHILIPPINE EXAMPLE

Greater use should be made of the success of democratic procedures in the Phillippines. While not detracting from the good that has come from the exchange of persons program and the benefits of having Asians study in the United States under the Smith-Mundt or Fulbright grants, we could do much more to convince the people of Asia that the free world offers them greater opportunity by showing them firsthand what has been done in the Phillippines.

The Philippines is the answer to the Communist charge of American imperialism. The United States kept its word, granted Philippine independence, and unselfishly gave every assistance to the new nation so that it could be successful. President Magsaysay is, to my opinion, the natural and undisputed leader of the free world in Asia today. We ought to send study missions and exchange students from all Asian countries to the Philippines where they can observe the workings of democracy as it applies in a country which has a common culture, social and economic similarity, racial strain, and history with their own.

How well we meet the challenge of working with the people of Asia may well determine if we ourselves are to remain free. We must recognize that today the Communists control roughly one-third of the people on earth. One-third are alined with the free world. The remaining third thus become the balance of power and the free world can remain free only if the neutral one-third join the free world.

These so-called neutral nations do not fear the Communists as much as they fear us because they do not trust us. We have not shown them that we mean what we say, that we will stand by those nations of the world who want to become free or to remain free; that we will not make deals at the expense of our allies in order to achieve fancied security for ourselves.

Once we have convinced the people of Asia, as we have convinced the people of the Philippines, that we can be trusted, that we do believe in the American ideals we express, then they will welcome our friendship and aid and cooperation and we can build a safe and secure world for all the people.

H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following statement made by me before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives during hearings on H. R. 1:

Mr. Chairman, and other distinguished members of the House Committee on Ways and Means, thank you very much for your courtesy in granting me this opportunity to submit a brief statement with reference to the important proposal presently pending for your consideration.

The economic conditions now existing throughout the coal-producing areas of the United States are just about as serious and dark as it is possible for them to be. The continuing and growing unemployment is, to say the least, heartbreaking. The residents of these areas are anxiously looking forward to the Congress of the United States as a last hope for positive and definite action in order to alleviate this unnecessary human suffering and misery—the insecure and dark future they are now facing.

On a recent trip to Europe I had an op-

On a recent trip to Europe I had an opportunity to see at firsthand a number of communities where industrial recovery has been slow and real prosperity is still not in sight. Let me point out, however, that nowhere did I find the economic stagnation that has enveloped the coal-producing communities of West Virginia since foreign residual oil began its relentless surge into the fuel markets of the east coast.

In recent years the State of West Virginia has been producing nearly one-third of our Nation's supply of coal. The Fifth Congressional District of West Virginia is an important part of one of America's basic and most important industries. Over the years we have been proud of the coal—an indispensable commodity—produced by the citizens of West Virginia. As a matter of fact, this district is the second largest coal-producing district in the United States.

In 1950 the population of my congressional district, which comprises 16.5 percent of the State's population and includes the seven southernmost counties, was 330,450 men, women, and children. It is now my sad duty to report that in the intervening period West Virginia has suffered a greater population decrease—amounting to 2.9 percent of our residents—than has any other State in the Union. You can be sure my district has suffered more than a proportional loss. Most of these citizens were forced to move away due to the shortage of job opportunities. In addition, there is more widespread distress among our remaining residents than probably has been experienced by the citizens of any other State.

On December 31, 1954, in 6 of these 7 counties—Mingo, Wyoming, Mercer, Mc-Dowell, Summers, and Greenbrier—a total of 75,856 individual American citizens, living within this area, were dependent upon surplus commodities for survival.

From this, it is indisputable that more than 22.9 percent of the population of the Fifth West Virginia Congressional District or nearly 1 out of every 4 persons—that is, men, women, and children, are absolutely dependent upon Federal aid because of the lack of job opportunities.

In five of these counties-Greenbrier, Mc-Dowell, Mingo, Mercer, and Wyoming-there were 310 coal mines operating and employing a total of 31,324 men as of December 31, 1952. On October 1, 1954-just 22 months later-in these same counties there were only 213 coal mines operating—a loss of more than 31 percent—employing only 21,800—a loss of nearly 31 percent. In other words, 9,544 men—most of them responsible heads of families-and through no fault of their own-found themselves out of jobs in a basic and major American industry.

In these five important coal-producing counties in southern West Virginia, during the year 1952, 39,806,802 tons of bituminous coal were produced. During 1953 these same counties produced only 38,590,683 tons. From January through November 1954—the production figures for the month of December are as yet unavailable—these counties produced only 31,308,821 tons of coal. This represents a loss of 8,497,981 tons, or, from a percentage standpoint, a loss of 21.4 percent of our 1952 production. In any area of the United States, when we see such a rapid rise in loss of production, we are in serious difficulties. In some communities, the situation is worse. For example, in some individual areas, production has fallen from 1,771,842 tons in 1952 to a mere 502,902 tons in 1954—a loss of 1,268,940 tons.

The great railroads-the Norfolk & Western, the Virginian, and the C. & O .- serving this coal region have also found it necessary to furlough a large percentage of their employees-numbering into the thousandsbecause of the loss of coal transport.

This is a most serious problem. Every day the conditions of misery, unrest and despair are brought to my attention. Some of our men have spent more than a year diligently searching for work and are still looking. Many residents, former coal miners, railroad workers, small-business men and others, have gone away from southern West Virginia never to return. After more than a year of bitter disappointments and poverty, it is a wonder to me that a man can still retain his desire to work. These men are not asking for Government handouts. They are demanding that this grossly unfair competition to the coal industry—this unre-stricted import of foreign oil—be restricted now. Today there is very little incentive to our younger generation to remain at home. For 2 years many of them have been forced to go elsewhere to search for employment.

In the entire history of our country, the coal industry has never failed to stand by the United States Government. It is now time for the United States Government to stand by the men and women of the coal industry.

From the national security standpoint, in 1952 there were 466,840,782 tons of bituminous coal produced in the United States. In 1954, our entire production amounted to only 391 million tons of this most valuable product.

It is an unquestioned fact that the production of coal is essential to a rapid industrial expansion. Unless coal is readily available, we cannot expand our industrial production capacity as quickly as would be necessary in the event of a national emergency.

Outstanding fuel experts estimated that, in the event of a national emergency—that is, if we are attacked by a hostile foreign power—we would need a minimum of 650 to 700 million tons of bituminous coal during the first year of such emergency. These same fucl experts also insist that, in order to meet this requirement, we must maintain an absolute minimum production of 500 million tons of bituminous coal each year. Last year, as has been previously Pointed out, we produced less than 400 mil-

lion tons of bituminous coal, which is over 100 million tons of coal less than the minimum required for the protection of our own

national security.

This is a grave situation—one that demands immediate congressional corrective measures. We must now, at this time, limit the importation of foreign residual oil and crude. This foreign oil competition is grossly unfair. The Members of the Congress of the United States have an inescapable obligation to our own people here at We must now face that responsibility squarely and stand up to be counted.

In conclusion, Mr. Chairman, I feel quite strongly and most respectfully urge this com-mittee to extend its hearings in order to permit members of your committee an oppor-tunity to go into the coal areas for firsthand observations of the widespread destitution now current. In my considered opinion, a full understanding of the prevailing situation in the coal industry is a prerequisite to judicial determination of matters pertaining to international commerce.

As this committee is aware, the Randall Commission, which is admittedly responsible for the recommendations contained in the bill now under consideration, made no effort to obtain firsthand information on coal status. For that matter, it seems to me that Congress has a responsibility to obtain authoritative information of this type regardless of the course taken by the executive branch of the Government.

In recent years, it has been customary to send delegations from both the House and the Senate on missions into the four corners of the globe so that the Congress might be properly advised. In this light, what excuse can be offered for refusal to treat particular areas of our own country in the same manner?

My congressional district is little more than an hour away from Washington by air, or you may make the trip overnight on the train. I can assure you that our mine operators and mineworkers will be glad to assist any delegation in making a thorough study of conditions in our communities.

Mr. Chairman, inasmuch as the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act will continue in force for the next 5 months whether or not a report comes out of this committee in the interim, am I asking too much in the interests of my people's welfare and my country's security?

Aid for Crippled Slated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. WAINWRIGHT. Mr. Speaker, I would like to call to the attention of my colleagues in the Congress the wonderful work being done for the physically handicapped in Suffolk County, N. Y. undertaking is being handled by Richard Gilmartin, of Montauk Point, a leader in all forms of civic activity. The following report from the New York Times of Sunday, January 30, 1955, called this matter to my attention:

AID FOR CRIPPLED SLATED-SUFFOLK PROJECT AIMS TO TRAIN ADULTS FOR INDUSTRIAL JOBS

RIVERHEAD, LONG ISLAND, January 29.—A paraplegic is leading a Suffolk County survey that aims at creating a workshop where disabled adults can be trained for jobs in pri-

The survey organization calls itself Skills Unlimited. Its chairman is Richard Gil-martin, of East Hampton, a former Suffolk welfare commissioner. He became paralyzed years ago in an automobile accident. The workshop would be for people with

disabilities of all kinds, with adequate medical supervision.

The Suffolk County Tuberculosis and Public Health Association is taking the initiative in getting the workshop started. Other Suffolk agencies participating include the Cerebral Palsy Association, Heart Committee, Multiple Sclerosis Society, Association for the Help of Retarded Children, and Welfare Department. The State Department of Education is also aiding.

Electoral Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the remarks of J. Harvie Williams, executive vice president of the American Good Government Society. It is to be noted that his analysis of the proposed reforms of the presidential electoral system points to the advantage of the congressional district method of selecting electors, introduced in the House by myself—House Joint Resolution 4-and in the Senate by Senators MUNDT, DIRKSEN, and GOLDWATER-Senate Joint Resolution 3:

THE ELECTORAL COLLEGE SYSTEM

(Remarks of J. Harvie Williams, executive vice president, American Good Government Society, substituting for Edward R. Burke, president, initiating round-table discussion on the stated question)

CONSTITUTIONAL REFORM OF THE PROCEDURE FOR ELECTING PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

The President and Vice President of the United States are elected by the electoral college which has 531 members-1 for each United States Senator and 1 for each Member of the House of Representatives-who, in turn, are elected by the voters in the several States. In each State all of its electors are elected statewide en bloc, as though all corresponded to Senators. In most States party candidates for elector run as a group in the name of the party's candidate for President. This permits election of the group whose candidate carries the State by a onevote plurality, and permits no division of a State's electoral weight between the parties, although its weight in the Congress is so di-Members of the electoral college in each State meet at its capital and, being all of the same party, cast a solid block of votes for its candidates for President and Vice President.

This uniform method of electing the electoral college came into general use during the first quarter of the nineteenth century when the stronger party in each State, con-trolling the State legislature, arrogated to itself the State's full electoral weight. In each State the weaker party opposed the ac-tion. So it was that both "national" parties supported and opposed the development according to its strength or weakness in particular States.

The central provision of the Constitution

for the electoral college reads;

"Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a num-

ber of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress; but no Senator or Representative * * * shall be no Senator or Representative * * appointed an elector" (art. II, sec. 1).

Upon thoughtful reflection it is readily seen that the Founding Fathers established a plan of election of the President which (1) combined the Federal basis of the Senate with the national basis of the House; (2) gave full effect to the principle of separation of powers; (3) gave each State the same representation in electing the President that it has in the Congress; (4) established the electoral majority system which permits the existence of only two significant parties; and (5) left to each State, as a means of selfprotection, the determination of voter qualifications. No valid complaint has been made against the operation of these elements of the constitutional plan for electing the President.

The sole valid complaint against the electoral college system is against the consolidated electoral weight of the States. question now is how best to make divisible the electoral weights of the States, so as to eliminate the present high premium on onevote pluralities in the large pivotal States

that are vital to victory for each party.

Now a word about New York's 45 electoral votes. New York City dominates the State's electoral vote, which turns on a onevote, statewide plurality and, therefore, dominates the political thinking of the White House and the executive branch of the Federal Government. National leaders of both parties believe New York's electoral vote to be absolutely necessary for victory. It is included in the minimum planned majority of 266 votes by the managers and candidates of each party. The reason for this is that in 100 years only 1 Republican has become President without winning New York's vote— Hayes in 1876. That victory was by a single vote in the electoral college, and after a special electoral commission had examined disputed votes from some Southern States and, I believe, Oregon. All of the disputed votes were awarded to Republican Hayes.

During that same period, only three Democrats have become President without New York's support—Buchanan in 1856, Wilson in

1916, and Truman in 1948.

It is the inordinately high premium on a one-vote plurality in the State of New York which is largely responsible for the proposed constitutional amendments to make its weight in electing the President divisible between the parties.

Proposals to amend the Constitution in this particular are based on one or the other of three principles: (1) Abolition of the electoral college and election of the President by direct popular vote without regard for State boundaries; (2) abolition of the electoral college but retention of the electoral vote with this divisible between the parties in each State according to the popular vote of the candidates; and (3) election of members of the electoral college in each State in the same manner in which its Senators and Representatives are elected.

Abolition of the electoral college, the indispensable condition of any plan of voting directly for the President, would create in the Constitution interstate candidacies for President to replace present intrastate candidacies for the electoral college. This would open the door for ultimate Federal control of elections, including the qualifications of voters, now a State matter.

Direct popular election of the President would reduce the relative weights of the smaller States in the election. Since States have 6 or fewer electoral votes they could prevent ratification by rejection or inaction. Senator Lodge abandoned this proposal in favor of retaining the electoral vote on the present basis and dividing it propor-

tionally among candidates within each State.

The Lodge-Gossett plan would introduce into the Constitution the new and novel principle of proportional representation which is the basis of the multiparty systems on the European Continent and which soon will be validly urged as the proper manner of election for Members of Congress. future danger would be in addition to those of interstate candidacies.

Election of members of the electoral college in the same manner as Senators and Representatives would merely compel the State legislatures to abide by the structure of the Constitution as a whole, as was intended by the Founding Fathers. This plan introduces no new principles of representation and would require no adjustment in any other part of the Constitution. Moreover, it would give the President the same broad footing in the electorate now enjoyed by the Congress as a whole, would bring the elective bases of the executive and legislative branches into the closest possible balance, and at the same time would bring the election of the President as close to the people as our Federal political system permits.

While all three plans of election would divide the electoral weights of the States between the parties, only the State-district plan conforms to the Constitution well enough to leave its other parts untouched and in balance.

Certainly we do not wish to undo what the Founding Fathers did well. Rather, we should adjust to the general plan of their handlwork those things they did not foresee.

The Greatest Good

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF HON. HAMER H. BUDGE

OF IDAHO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BUDGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include an interesting and informative editorial from the New-Examiner, of Montpelier, Idaho.

This editorial is an excellent comment on the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the United States Forest Service and the related growth of the intermountain region. The editorial follows:

THE GREATEST GOOD

The year 1955 will make the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Forest Service in the United States Department of Agriculture. Quotes from a letter of Secretary of Agriculture James Wilson to Gifford Pinchot, Chief Forester, on February 1, 1905, outlined the policies for the administration of the forest reserves (now national forests) as follows:

"In the administration of the forest reserves it must be clearly borne in mind that all land is to be devoted to the most productive use for the permanent good of the whole people and not for the temporary benefit of individuals or companies. * * *

You will see to it that water, wood, and forage of the reserves are conserved and wisely used. * *

"Where conflicting interests must be reconciled, the question will always be decided from the standpoint of the greatest good of the greatest number in the long run.'

At first the creation of these public forests were opposed by many who thought that the reserves were to be locked up, thus thwarting

the development of local industry and sacrificing the present to the future. President Theodore Roosevelt insisted that forestry is the preservation of forests by wise use; that forestry means making the forests useful not only to the settler, the rancher, the miner, the men who live in the neighbor-hood, but indirectly to the men who may live hundreds of miles off down the course of some great river which has had its rise among the forest-bearing mountains.

The intermountain region of the Forest Service is one of 10 such regions-9 in the United States and 1 in Alaska. National forests in the intermountain region (Utah, Nevada, southern Idaho, and parts of Wyoming, Colorado, and eastern California) were created from 1897 through 1908. In 1905, when the Forest Service came into being, the population of the area within the intermountain region was around 650,000 and in 1950 it was 1,340,000. Between 1950 and now, populations have increased from 10 to 26 percent in the different States. Roads into the national forests were few and difficult to travel. Forest boundaries were not surveyed and most of them unmarked. Timber was being cut in small amounts, due to its inaccessibility. Recreation use limited and there were few facilities for picnicking, camping, and winter sports.

Today, after 50 years of progress in the

Forest Service intermountain region-

There are over 14,000 miles of forestdevelopment roads and highways, and 27,600 miles of trails.

There are 624 improved campgrounds and

picnic areas with a capacity to serve about 67,000 people. Even with this number, the capacity of the recreation facilities are outstripped on summer weekends and holidays.

The sawtimber cut in 1954 was around 185 million board-feet—or enough lumber to build 18,000 five-room homes.

Over 300,000 head of cattle and a million sheep are grazed. They are owned by about 6,500 ranchers who depend on the national forests for summer grazing. There are 4,400 miles of range fence, 1,350 miles of stock driveway, and 4,300 range water develop-ments constructed by the Forest Service to aid in grazing management.

An estimated 200,000 hunters and 360,000 fishermen visit the national forests each year to harvest the game animals and fish under State laws. Blg game animals spend 75 percent of their time on national forests. There are 11,000 miles of fishing streams, and 145,000 lakes or ponds in the national forests

of the intermountain region.

Perhaps of greatest importance to the people of this portion of the United States is the part the national forests of the intermountain region play in furnishing usable These national forest watersheds produce nearly 25 million acre-feet of water per year. Water is the common denomina-tor of all resource use and industrial development in the intermountain region.

With increasing demands for water, timber, forage, recreation, and other products and services of the forests, it may be expected that in the 50 years ahead, development of national forests will continue in response to growing needs. Fifty years from now, as today, the strength of the Nation will lie in its people and its resources. In the public interest, the policy of using our national forests to provide the greatest good to the greatest number in the long should continue to guide the Forest Service in its management of these public forests.

Located as we are here in the midst of national forests, all of us, regardless of occupation, have daily reasons to know of their existence, and often have direct dealings with the Service. Many persons in the Bear Lake Basin have lived through and identified themselves with 50 years of progressive management of our resources. and large the Forest Service personnel, aside

from their training, technical knowledge, and record of getting the job done, have been and are high type civil servants who meet, treat and deal with the private citizen in a way that engenders mutual respect and has contributed greatly to an acknowledged successful operation.

Problems of the Dairy Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, despite the best efforts of hundreds of sincere and earnest men, in Government as well as in private life, the dairy industry of the United States is in difficulty today, faced with problems of low producer prices, inadequate marketing systems, and an excess of production that cannot be used even though our Nation includes thousands of people who have an inadequate supply of dairy products.

As the representative of an extremely important dairy region, I am one of those who is seeking a solution to the problems of this vital industry. Today I have reintroduced for the consideration of the Congress and all those connected with the dairy industry the self-help bill that I sponsored originally in the 83d Congress. I offer it as a possible solution to the problems of American dairymen. I am happy to state that it already enjoys the support of a great many of them

This bill proposes to permit the dairymen to do for themselves those things that the Government is now trying to do for them. In short, it is a program by which the dairy industry itself may control production, promote distribution, and establish a system of prices fair to both the producer and the consumer of dairy products.

Our objective is to provide the American people with a continuous and ample supply of milk and dairy products at a fair price—a price that will encourage greater consumption of these vital, health-building foods.

The first prerequisite is a fair return to the original producer, plus assurance of a steady and growing demand. The Department of Agriculture is working toward these same objectives, but it is slow work, indeed. I feel very strongly that the industry itself can do the job, do it more quickly, without expense to the Government, and without the Government controls that are so onerous to our independent and self-reliant dairy farmers.

The self-help bill proposes establishment of a Federal Dairy Stabilization Board appointed by the President from nominees selected by the industry. The Board would be empowered to collect a fee from all producers to finance its operations. The amount of the fee is to be related directly to the production of each farm so that each will pay his fair share of the cost of the marketing program. In years of surplus production a high fee will be charged. When

production is low and the marketing problems are thereby simplified, the fee may be very small.

The present Government system of flexible price supports tends to aggravate the problem it seeks to correct. By lowering price supports to 75 percent of parity, the Government encourages many dairy farmers to increase production in order to maintain their usual level of cash income. Milk production did increase last year in the face of reduced supports and outlook for this year is that it will remain high. The self-help program would have the opposite effect.

Our colleague, the gentleman from Washington [Mr. WESTLAND], estimates that this program would have permitted farmers to improve their income by 37 cents per hundredweight in 1954, if the proposed Board had set price supports at 90 percent of parity. The gross income to farmers would have been 60 cents per hundredweight greater than under the Government's 75-percent support program. The self-help fee would have averaged about 23 cents per hundredweight even if all of the surplus production acquired by the Board were a total loss, and the difference-37 cents per hundredweight-would have been added to the income of every participating producer.

The normal functions of supply and demand, the relationship with the prices of other foods, and the marketing program of the Board should insure that the self-help plan establishes prices that are fair to the consumer and to the producer. Government has never been able to control prices successfully. There is reason to hope that a cooperative effort of the kind here proposed could do a better job.

In the event the program does not operate as anticipated, the bill contains provisions that will permit the Secretary of Agriculture to intervene.

The bill also creates a 12-man dairy advisory committee, representing all interested parties. The advisory committee should serve as a useful agent in counseling and guiding the administration of the program and enlarging the demand for dairy products.

One objective of this bill, Mr. Speaker, is to relieve the taxpayers of this Nation of the costly burden of the price-support program for dairy products. Another is getting the Government out of the dairy business and permitting the dairy farmers to operate their own program of price stabilization, surplus proposal, and production stabilization.

Mr. Speaker, the dairy industry accounts for 20 percent of our total farm income. Thousands of independent farmers throughout the country make this the largest single branch of agriculture. I hope that these men and women will consider and study the self-help proposal, and will give us their advice and counsel. I know of their dissatisfaction with Government controls. I am confident of their desire to operate the dairy industry in the traditional pattern of American free enterprise.

I trust that the measure will have the earnest consideration of the Congress this year.

Annual Ukrainian Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the resolutions adopted at the mass meeting of Americans of Ukrainian descent living in the area of Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minn., in celebration of annual Ukrainian Day.

The resolutions are as follows:

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED AT THE 17TH ANNUAL URRAINIAN DAY OF THE TWIN CITIES, NOVEMBER 14, 1954

On the occasion of the mass meeting of the Americans of Ukrainian descent and those Ukrainians who were so fortunate as to come to the United States in recent years, and who are now resident in the Twin Cities and vicinity, assembled in the auditorium of Edison High School, Minneapolis, Minn., for the purpose of the celebration of the annual Ukrainian Day on October 14, 1954, have passed the following resolutions:

"1. As blood kinsmen of the Ukrainlans who are living in their native Ukraine, we solemnly attest by our knowledge that they are deprived of personal, national, and political freedom under the ruthless and cruel Communist regime of Soviet Russia and Moscow imperialism. The Kremlin strives to denationalize Ukrainians and other conquered peoples, exploiting and preparing them for the purpose of world conquest in due and opportune time.

"2. Ukraine was the first independent nation to be conquered by the Russian Communist military aggression, and it is important for the freedom-loving American people and of the world to understand the pattern of the Communist subjugation of Ukraine, since the Kremlin has been continuously using this pattern from October 1917 for the Communist penetration and for the conquest of freedom-loving nations of Europe, Asia, and of the world.

and of the world.

"3. In spite of the Muscovite Communist aggression, and in spite of the political, military, and ideological occupation of Ukraine by the Russian forces, and in spite of unheard of persecution of Ukrainian people, and of the exploitation of Ukrainian natural, economic, and human resources, the Ukrainian masses have not ceased their struggle against the Russian and Communist imperialisms. Until recently the Ukrainian nation was almost alone, who valiantly has carried her mortal struggle against the Russian imperialism and the Communist conquest of the world. This struggle continues and the Ukrainians are seeking and awaiting real help from the western freedom loving world, before the West loses its own freedom and the ability to resist the Russian and Communist imperialisms, due to Communist penetration and our own efforts of only containment, peaceful coexistence, and appeasement of Moscow aggressors.

"4. It is of historic record that at present the peoples of the world are under the sign of insurgent nationalism, whether we acknowledge it or not, and nothing will stop the conquered and disfranchised peoples, short of annihilation, in their heroic struggie for their political freedom and national independence of their countries.

"5. Recognizing this nationalist struggle of the various peoples in the colonial world of today, the Kremlin regime of Communist Russia utilizes these movements for the purpose of Russian imperialist aggrandizement

against the American and free world inter-

ests.

"6. In order to gain a breathing spell in her preparation for further conquest by military aggression, Soviet Russia endeavors to deceive the Ukrainian people by offering them some national concessions such as a Ukrainian national hymn, distinct Ukrainian flag, and other national privileges so as to appease the Ukrainian nationalist aspirations and to build up the Russian Communist strength for aggression against the United States of America and other nations.

"7. The question of the national independence of Ukraine and of other non-Russian peoples, oppressed in the U. S. S. R., should receive greater appreciation in the United States, and America should extend her adequate and benevolent help to Ukraine as to the foremost and consistent leader in the superhuman struggle against Russian imperialism and world communism. America should become the faithful friend and leader of the oppressed and disfranchised non-Russian peoples in the U. S. S. R. not only for humane and cultural reasons, but also for the reasons of American interests and national security by the promotion of national freedom of these disfranchised nations."

A. A. GRANOVSKY, Chairman of Resolution Committee.

Political Revolution in Southern Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HUGH J. ADDONIZIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, from August 15 to 28, 1954, the Second General Assembly of the World Assembly of Youth met in Singapore. Fifty nations of the free world sent delegates to this important international youth meeting which had as its theme Youth in Action.

Following are the interesting addresses made to the delegates by the Right Honorable Malcolm MacDonald, British High Commissioner for southeast Asia, and Madame Vijayalakshmi Pandit, of India, President of the General Assembly of the U. N.:

POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN SOUTHERN ASIA
(By the Right Honorable Malcolm MacDonald, United Kingdom Commissioner General for southeast Asia)

In southern Asia in these days one of the great events of history is taking place. During the last few years nearly half a score of countries and nations have emancipated themselves from foreign rule, from what is called colonialism.

Their peoples have assumed control of their own destinies—that is, insofar as any individual nation can determine its own destiny in this age of inextricable international interdependence.

So thas is a period of political revolution in southern Asia—of vast transfers of political power. At the same time, in addition, several of the new governments are attempting something in the nature of an economic and social revolution—freeing their populations from feudal systems of land tenure and overloading.

These economic parts of the transformation will take longer to accomplish; the political side of the change has been swiftly done, and is almost complete. Nearly every people throughout the continent have now gained their national sovereignty and independence.

So these are very important, enthralling, but in some ways destructive and in other ways wonderfully creative years in southern Asia. And—as often happens in human affairs—the testing times have produced men worthy of them.

There are great leaders alive in the East today—men like Nehru in India and Sukarno in Indonesia and U Nu in Burma and others who are making deep personal impressions upon contemporary history.

We westerners must understand that these statesmen have a lofty significance for their peoples similar to that of George Washington for Americans, and Oliver Cromwell for us Britons, and of other national liberators in Europe and South America for their grateful posterities.

Like all their fellow Asians, Malayans wish for national freedom. And they must, of course, have it, and so far as we British are concerned we welcome the prospect of selfgovernment in Malaya- as readily as we greeted its advent in India and Pakistan, in Ceylon and in Burma.

There is one difference in the case of Malaya, which explains why the development here is slower than it was in these other countries. If the population of this land were homogeneous, belonging mainly to one race, they would be self-governing today.

But the citizens here are very mixed. They belong to several different races of markedly divergent characters. There are about 3 million Malays and about 3 million finese, about three-quarters of a million Indians and Pakistanis, and there are communities of Sinhalese, Eurasians, and others.

And these peoples are now engaged in the exciting task of combining themselves into a new nation—the Malayan nation—in which men and women of different races and creeds shall be absolute equals together as citizens, sharing the same patriotic love and loyalty to their common homeland.

Well now, this creation of a united and yet multiracial nation is a difficult experiment, but it is making very promising progress. I do not agree at all with those gloomy prophets who declare that if the British left Malaya tomorrow the Malays and Chinese would fly at each other's throats and spill each other's

Both the Malays and the Chinese have a great deal too much sense for that; there is already a sufficiently strong and instinctive resolve for national unity in both communities to prevent it; and the common dangers which would face both communities if they indulged in the luxury of fratricidal, interracial strife are so obvious that they would certainly find ways and means of combining in order to avert them.

Nevertheless, the extraordinary mixture of races here does create many delicate problems of cooperation, many of which at least it is wiser to solve before, rather than after, the acquisition of complete self-government.

These problems are being progressively resolved; and next year both in Singapore and in the Federation radical constitutional advances will be made which will carry the Malayans a long way toward democratic selfrule.

Yet we must realize, both in the West and in the East, that in the mid-20th century, nationalism is at least partly out of date. The historically inevitable and right upsurge of nationalism in Asia and in some other regions of the world is occurring at a time when the, in some ways opposite, sentiment of internationalism is more urgently necessary than at any time in the story of mankind.

And the apparent conflict between nationalism and internationalism will, I am sure, be the most important question which keeps intruding upon your deliberations in this

Assembly, and which you leaders of the young generation will have to deal with in practice afterwards as you assume more and more responsibilities in the governments of your countries.

Sometimes it is given to children to see things with fresh clarity and to speak startling truths. I have a young Asian friend, a child in her early teens, whose intellect is like a small bright flame. Her parents want her to become a naturalized British subject, and the other day they asked her what she thought of the proposal. She answered it at once, "I don't believe in nations."

She happens to be intensely proud of her racial origin and also to feel a certain admiration for the British; but what she was trying to express was that somehow national loyalties were inadequate, they were not enough in the modern world; in addition to this we must all feel a higher allegiance to the human race as a whole. Her remark was a forthright statement of a profound truth.

The fact is that, in the present circumstances, excessive nationalism in any part of the world can be dangerous; it might become a deplorable force leading to a devasting result. There are many very perilous weapons lying around in these days. There is, for example, the notorious hydrogen bomb.

If nationalism is expressed in ways which provoke international rivalries, then nationalism might become the spark to set alight a fire to consume the whole of humanity.

I spoke a few minutes ago about an apparent conflict between nationalism and internationalism—but no such conflict need exist. The two forces should be complementary to each other. It is very proper that we should all feel a pride in our national heritages.

Whether we be Africans or Englishmen, Americans or Chinese, Indians or Australians, Japanese or something else, we each have many things to cherish lovingly in the history and the traditions and the achievements of the tribes and the clans and the nations to which we belong.

Human civilization is like a huge treasury

Human civilization is like a huge treasury into which peoples of every race pour their own contributions, and part of civilization's fabulous richness depends on their variety and diversity. So certainly let us maintain our pride in our distinctive national and racial qualities.

But at the same time, we in the mid-20th century must rise above our national prides and acknowledge a higher allegiance to the whole international community. We must forget our racial prejudices—and stupid old superiority and inferiority complexes—and recognize that without distinction of color or creed we are all brothers and sisters, equals in the sight of God.

We must understand that there is only one race that matters—and it is the human

We must all become citizens not only of our separate countries but also citizens of the world.

YOU MUST LEAD THE WAY

(By Mme, Vijayalakshmi Pandit)

During the course of my tour, in Kuala Lumpur, I was asked a question, a very personal question. The person who asked me stated: You are being feted by all the rich and the great of this land, you who have the opportunities to address these great mass meetings, where police come and keep order and where great arrangements take many days to make. Are you aware of the fact that there are people who are uneducated, people who want help, people who want encouragement, people who in every sense of the word are down and out and will be the stumbling block to the progress of any nation as such, as such people must be the stumbling block to the progress of any nation?

And of course it is not always possible to meet people, to give replies to them, but I gave a reply at the meeting and I will repeat to you what I said then, because it might be of some use to you: I was aware of conditions not only here, also in other parts of Asia, but because, being an Asian, I myself come from a nation which is still-in many senses of the word-an underprivileged area; because I know the difficulties that my government has had in trying to build up a nation which can march ahead with all the more progressive nations of the world; because I know that unless we can build up our international strength we cannot hope to contribute to the international pattern which we must create if we are to succeed in establishing a permanent peace.

So I would like you, delegates to this Assembly, to just keep somewhere in the back of your minds the idea that there are all sorts of problems right here in the very city that is entertaining you and that some of them will have to be solved before the quest

for peace can end.

Mr. MacDonald has so very vividly spoken about the revolution in Asia. There is nothing I can add to the picture which he has painted already for you, but I would like to say just this—that it is not only some of the leaders of Asia that we admire today or that demand our respect and admiration, but also the common peoples of Asia who today are expressing their faith in God by their service to humanity; who instead of building those temples of stones, those monuments which have come to us in the East and in the West-great poems in marble and in stone-today the people are expressing their faith in Asia in building the little mud schoolhouses that will give their children knowledge, and in building those little maternity centers where a mother can go and have her baby in safety and know that she and it will live.

In all these various community projects where we are teaching the people a harmonious pattern, living together, recognizing each other's weaknesses, conscious of our strength, conscious also of the fact that only by both the unity and strength of the community can a real pattern of life be evolved, which will strengthen that community through the community-the nation.

That is what the people of Asia are doing today and for this I believe that they are entitled to admiration, because it is only a short while ago that Asia was still dependent.

I speak to you today on a day which is significant for two Asian nations—Pakistan and India—for it was on this day 7 years ago that the transfer of power took place from British to Indian and Pakistani hands. But the real significance of this day is not because of the transfer of power, but the method in which that transfer was made, in the manner in which the recognition was made, that the time had come for certain things to be changed and they were-with a minimum of hatred and a minimum of distrust-and the result was that we have today a cooperation with the people of the United Kingdom, which is firm and which is one which will be lasting because it is based on true understanding and faith in the purpose of each other.

Now how did this happen? How did this come about? I would like to speak of this as a miracle of the modern age, because even in this age, we do sometimes see a miracle, and one of the miracles that has happened in the modern world was Gandhi. Because he came to us and he told us certain things which have made it possible for us in the 7 short years since our freedom to raise our heads and to walk with people on the international plane, and have their respect and confidence. And the way he taught us was the way which all of us must adopt, both in our national lives and on the international plane, for it was the way of nonviolence and tolerance and love.

What he said to us was that if you are moving toward a noble end you cannot fol-low ignoble means, because they defeat the end in itself. Therefore, means and ends must both be equally good-that is something which we should do well to remember in this age, when expediency often takes the place of principle.

He taught us that we must in no circumstances mix up systems with individualsthat a system might be bad, and that it must be destroyed, but that individuals should not be destroyed; nor does one fight against the individual, and so we fought a system which we considered to be wrong and we made friends with the individuals; and I think that it is well for the world to remember this great event of modern history.

It is right that youth with its great idealism, its vision, its courage, its faith, should be in the forefront of the quest for peace, but you must remember that even in this quest there are certain things which must be observed.

The first thing is not to lose yourself in a mass of resolutions, in a mass of discussions which have no meaning today, because there is no single subject in the world that has not been discussed a great deal. And if you, the representatives assembled here, have not already been able to grasp all the various complications of the problems that face us, there will never be any time in the future when you will ever know them, and if you are to live up to your slogan of "Youth action," there must be the minimum of discussion.

Do not fall into the trap into which we, your elders, have fallen-do not fall into a mass of words, wonderful slogans and isms which keep on popping up in different parts of the world and above all let me plead with you to have a positive approach to your problems and not a negative one.

That is what I really want to say to you tonight. I am tired of the manner in which people run down things they do not un-derstand or do not like. If, instead of running down the systems that we do not care we would try and talk about the ones we have faith in, the things which we believe in, then indeed we could build up a great body of opinion which will grow strong and which will help in offering solutions for the problems with which we are faced today.

But instead of this we are diverted by the negative approach to various aspects. of the greatest nations spend their time in criticizing or condemning certain ways of life which they do not appreciate or do not like. Now, I would like to say to you today, as one who believes in democracy, as one whose nation is pledged to the democratic pattern, why don't you and I try to sell democracy instead of denouncing communism?

Because I would like you to remember that in the final analysis that ideology will win which gives the greatest good to number of people, and if we believe in democracy and we feel that that is the answer to the needs of the world, then we must take democracy into the homes of the people, into the lives of the people and raise them to the standard by which they will understand not only the value of democracy, but also all the other values that flow from a recognition of that political principle.,

The United Nations is attempting to do just that, but the United Nations can only be as strong as the weakest member nation in the United Nations General Assembly in New York and if there are nations which are still adhering to the principles and development of the charter, yet denying them when it comes to actual action, then the United Nations cannot be strong.

I have heard a great deal of criticism of the United Nations. I resent that criticism,

because I believe that there is nothing at the moment that anyone has devised that can replace what the United Nations stands for, and I think that if instead of merely pledging ourselves on paper, we could do all what Mr. MacDonald said just now—pledging our hearts to certain principles and purposes-then we could indeed make United Nations, as it is, with all the difficulties that confront it, a successful organization.

People often say, people who should know better, "What has the United Nations donethere is no peace in the world?" would like you to remember that there is no war in the world and that the United Nations has localized the various conflicts that do exist and have existed, and that twice in recent years the United Nations has done something which has never before been

tried in history.

The first was in the case of Korea, the second in the case of Indochina. results will be: we will have to wait and see. But an experiment of great magnitude has been made, and if we want such experiments to succeed and if we believe that we can only progress through the pacific settlement of disputes, rather than by flying at each other's throats, then the only way is to support the United Nations and to see to it that in our communities, in our nations, wherever our voice and strength can be heard, it shall be used for peace and not for creating greater fear and greater hysteria about war among the people.

We all know that there is a great threat to the world today because of the invention of great weapons of destruction, we are all aware that, if such weapons have to be used, all of civilization that has been built up through thousands of years would be de-stroyed. But it is no use keeping these things to ourselves--we have to make each

other aware of the facts.

Just as you throw a stone into a pond and the ripples go in increasing circles round and round until they reach the edge, so if we throw a stone into this great pond of the world, the ripples will increase and ultimately have some effect on the thinking of mankind. So the ripples of peace will grow larger and larger until the entire race reaches a point where it will understand that war is no use because it solves no problems.

I, for one, have not discovered who won the last war-I am constantly asking people, but I have received no adequate response. do not think that anybody knows who could win the next war, because war itself leaves problems which are gradually becoming more and more unsurmountable, more and more beyond the economic grasp of the nations concerned.

We have had our share of problems not due to the war, but as a product of partition. Many of the nations assembled here have seen the aftermath of war. I do not understand how any person who thinks can believe that war will solve any problem or that anyone will be the victor in another war.

Therefore, if we want peace, let us stop talking: we have talked so much that the world is drowning in the floods of its own words. Let us now get together and try to put into practice some of the resolutions that we have made—some of these principles that have been put before us-let us try them out.

They can be no worse than war. Today with the threat of war over us, let us practice tolerance, let us not doubt it if our neighbor says he means to preserve the peace, let us give him peace, and if he doesn't live up to it, then the world community can take the matter in their hands, but let us not follow that negative line of not doing anything ourselves, but shouting to one another on any point we do not fully understand.

The letters that form your name— W. A. Y. and the word that it spells—

WAY-has a special significance for Indians, because in our philosophy the word for the ultimate destination is WAY=MARG=the path. We all travel on this path.

We are comrades of the world traveling to an unknown destination; whether that road will lead us to the promised land, or whether we shall end up by destroying ourselves, it lies in our grasp.

Never before has mankind been so powerful, never so much in a position of being able to save itself and give to humanity all the benefits of the great scientific achieve-

ments that lie to its credit.

With all this frankness, because we do not have enough tolerance, because we do not have enough patience, because we will not walk the straight and narrow path, but prefer the easier ones of compromise and expediency-we talk in terms of war until war actually comes.

But I would beg of you who are young— Why don't you lead the way? Do something spectacular—forget about us, the older gen-

We have tried to do our part, good or bad, but why don't you try and take the initiative and try to work for positive ends-unceasingly and with the thought that you have it in your power today to lead us out of this slough of despondency into the land of

The Atomic Energy Commission Should Take Advantage of the Opportunity Presented To Salvage Its Position of National Respect and Nonpartisanship and Abandon the Dixon-Yates Contract

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOE L. EVINS

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. EVINS. Mr. Speaker, it is clear beyond contradition that the Atomic Energy Commission has lost face-indeed perhaps even the admiration and respect of the Nation-by its blind insistence in putting over the Dixon-Yates deal. It is equally clear now that the Atomic Energy Commission is further jeopardizing its nonpolitical, nonpartisan position in our Government by its continued one-man rule bordering on dictatorship. Such a position as the Atomic Energy Commission finds itself, because of its participation in the Dixon-Yates deal, can be rescinded and the prestige of this vital agency restored if the AEC is willing to admit its past errors and mistakes.

It is unthinkable that this vital agency of our Government should continue in the errors which it has committed-that is, the Dixon-Yates error.

Along this line, Mr. Speaker, I desire to have included with my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD two editorials from two widely separated and widely read newspapers. Both editorials, the one entitled "Stop Sign for Dixon-Yates" from the January 30, 1955, edition of the Nashville Tennessean, and the editorial entitled "Cancel It" from the Washington Daily News of February 1, 1955, are in full agreement on the point that Dixon-Yates is bad for the Nation and that the AEC should withdraw itself from any such deal.

The editorials follow:

[From the Nashville Tennessean of January 30, 1955]

STOP SIGN FOR DIXON-YATES

Acting on the reasonable belief that the joint congressional committee on atomic energy can undo anything that it has done, that body has voted to rescind its previous approval of the Dixon-Yates contract and to recommend that the Atomic Energy Commission cancel it.

Commenting on the action, Mr. Ken Whitaker, of the Tennessee Valley Public Power-Association, says, "it is unthinkable that Admiral Strauss and the Atomic Energy Commission now will proceed with the con-

Unfortunately this was an overstatement, because it is not unthinkable that the AEC and its chairman will do everything in their power to make the White House-inspired contract effective, provided they can find a legal Their determination to rush way to do so. this rigged deal through has been apparent,

from the first.
"Illegal," cry Republican members of the toint committee, but in making such a claim they are only accenting the point that the issue will now become a matter for litigation—the last thing desired by its supporters.

For our part, we hold it to be unthinkable that Senator ALBERT GORE'S resolution defining the committee's present attitude should not prevail. But if there is an administration intent to ignore it, the courts will be faced with an interesting legal question which, incidentally, may not be decided before several years have elapsed.

Because of what happened last November, an "in" with the White House is no longer the sole requisite for success in the strange

Dixon-Yates venture.

[From the Washington Daily News of February 1, 1955]

CANCEL IT

Now the clear and unmistakable duty of the United States Atomic Energy Commission is to cancel the Dixon-Yates contract,

If Adm. Lewis Strauss, Chairman of AEC, continues to be stubborn and fights for the contract, the responsibility will be entirely his. The responsibility is twofold: For putting his agency into the awkward role of power broker for TVA, and for making the Government, at a later date, pay possible penalties it can now escape.

He now has the chance to get his agency and the Eisenhower administration he supports so completely, off a hook on which they should never have been hung. a damaging political issue which will embroil the administration, to its great disadvantage,

for a long time.

Admiral Strauss' opportunity came by reason of the majority vote of the joint con-gressional Atomic Energy Committee recommending cancellation of the contract

The committee, by a 10 to 8 strict party vote, pointed out that the contract is not yet effective. And since it is not, a Government decision to cancel it will not now entail any penalties. Later, these might be great.

The Atomic Committee's majority vote was not a reckless, publicity-seeking move. It was the result of a studied and solemn decision by responsible, stable, and patriotic

Cancellation now of the Dixon-Yates contract will not, as some proponents claim, deprive the growing city of Memphis, Tenn., of power it will need badly in a few years, which is no business of the AEC anyway; its primary job is to make and keep us strong militarily.

If, after cancellation, the Congress-as it probably will-again refuses to appropriate money to TVA to construct a new power generating plant, then Memphis can go ahead with its own plans to build such a plant. And Memphis' plans are well along.

Another alternative would be for Congress to set TVA up on its own bottom, provide it with authority to issue revenue bonds to be liquidated by power revenues, and permit it to decide on this basis whether to build more generating facilities to serve west Tennessee. Or, Congress can direct TVA to supplement its present power supply by buying more electricity directly from private companies around the periphery of the watershed it

Finally, cancellation of Dixon-Yates will in no wise affect the power supply to AEC's great plants in Tennessee, in Ohio, or in Kentucky. It has an undoubted first priority under law for TVA power for defense purposes. And it has available growing sources of power from private companies with which it has immense contracts in Ohio and Ken-

The Dixon-Yates contract is bad.

AEC has just been given the opportunity to cancel it.

This it should do-and now.

More Say for Congress in Tariff Changes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, WILLIAM A. DAWSON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, while realizing the need for a healthy export market, many of the Members of Congress from raw-material-producing States have been concerned over the apparent determination of the State Department to oppose any increase in any selective tariffs even when those increases have been recommended by the United States Tariff Commission as the only means to prevent serious injury to a domestic industry.

Recently I introduced a measure that would make a fundamental change in our Reciprocal Trade Act without depriving the President of the power he requests to negotiate further reductions in tariffs. The measure is numbered H. R. 3246 and I would appreciate hearing the views of other Members of Congress on its provisions.

I wish to insert at this point an editorial from the Salt Lake Tribune, Salt Lake City, on this proposed legislation:

More SAY FOR CONGRESS IN TARIFF CHANGES

Representative WILLIAM A. DAWSON proposes a fundamental change in the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act, which Congress should seriously consider.

President Eisenhower has asked for a 3year extension of the act. Mr. Dawson con-He would give the President the requested power to negotiate reciprocal trade agreements, but he would transfer to Congress the final say in granting tariff changes for the relief of domestic industries.

Under the present law, the need for higher tariff is first determined by the United States Tariff Commission. If changes are found advisable, action is recommended to the President, who either accepts or rejects revision.

Under Mr. Dawson's proposal, Tariff Commission recommendations would be sent to Congress and would become effective unless vetoed within 60 days by either Senate or House. This is similar to the provision of the Reorganization Act of 1946, under which the President may make changes in executive agencies subject to congressional veto.

Mr. Dawson's move is prompted by recent experiences of the lead-zinc mining industry. Heavy imports depressed the domestic market, with serious effect on the economy of several Western States, and the industry appealed to the Tariff Commission for relief. After extensive hearings, the Commission recommended upward revision of lead-zinc duties, but the President rejected the recommendations.

If Mr. Dawson's proposal is accepted, it will mean the return to Congress of some powers which it previously held, but it will not mean a return to the days when Congress ruled supreme in the tariff field. The President, through the State Department, will still have the power to alter tariffs through negotiation of reciprocal trade agreements, but the need for tariff relief will be subject to congressional authority.

will be subject to congressional authority. We would not want to go back to the days when the tariff was a matter of horse trading on Capitol Hill, but we do not think, on the basis of what has happened to lead-zinc production, that the present system is wholly desirable. As Mr. Dawson says, "There is something wrong with a setup which puts the decision to change a trade agreement in the hands of the same person who made it, when it later turns out the agreement * * * is failing to work."

In considering tariff relief, the executive branch might be governed more by international aspects and Congress by domestic. However, the Dawson proposal does not give Congress power to revise trade agreements, but only the power to accept or reject revisions recommended by the Tariff Commission. The President would still be able to make his opinions known to Congress and thus affect the outcome. A little domestic as well as international thinking could be wholesome.

We think that Mr. Dawson has hit upon an excellent approach to a difficult problem and that his proposal, if accepted by the administration, would be very helpful in getting extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act through Congress.

Regulation of Water Levels of Lake Ontario

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HAROLD C. OSTERTAG

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. OSTERTAG. Mr. Speaker, for more than 2 years now, property owners on the shores of Lake Ontario have been faced with the threat of severe flood damage as a result of the joint development of the United States and Canada of the great power potential of the St. Lawrence River.

Under an order of approval issued by the International Joint Commission on October 29, 1952, the two Governments were authorized to proceed with the Power development under a so-called method of regulation No. 5 which would permit the raising of the water levels of Lake Ontario to disastrous heights.

While the order of approval set forth as one of its findings that the shorefront property owners have adequate Drotection against such damage under the Constitution and laws of the United

States, experience has given the affected property owners no reason for any such sanguine view of the matter. In an analagous situation, where a dam was built by Canada across a portion of the St. Lawrence River, the property owners who sustained resultant damage were unable to get any satisfaction in the courts.

The fact of the matter is, Mr. Speaker, that the International Joint Commission has itself recognized in the past that the Constitution and laws of the United States do not by themselves provide necessary protection to property owners whose lands are damaged by waterpower developments on the United States-Canadian border. In at least 2 instances—one involving the Lake of the Woods in Minnesota, and 1 involving development of the Kootenay River in Idaho-the Commission has itself arranged for the protection and indemnification of property owners. I have urged this course on the Commission, in connection with the St. Lawrence power development, and shall continue to do

Meanwhile, however, I am happy to report that the Commission itself, acting under a reference submitted to it by the Governments of Canada and the United States in June 1952, is seeking to establish a range of fluctuation of the Lake Ontario water level which, if maintained with due regard to natural factors, would go far to protect the shorefront property owners.

Moreover, I am in receipt this week of a letter from the chairman of the United States section of the International Joint Commission, the Honorable Len Jordan, stating explicitly that the objectionable and hazardous method of regulation No. 5 has been abandoned, and that the method of regulation which will be substituted for it will be calculated to reduce, rather than aggravate, flood damage along the Lake Ontario

Mr. Speaker, I wish to applaud and commend this forthright statement on the part of former Governor Jordan. I am certain it will be welcomed by the lakefront property owners, and will give them reason to hope that the added steps necessary to insure their protection will be taken.

The problem is not one affecting Lake Ontario properties alone, of course. It is a potential problem wherever power developments affect the water levels along the entire length of the United States-Canadian border. Its proper adjudication now will therefore prevent limitless confusion in the future as the development of these international water resources proceeds.

Under leave to extend my remarks, Mr. Speaker, I include in the Record at this point Governor Jordan's letter, together with the correspondence from Representative Kenneth B. Keating and myself which preceded it:

INTERNATIONAL JOINT COMMISSION,
Washington, D. C., January 31, 1955.
Hon. Harold C. Ostertag,
House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Osterrac: This will acknowledge
the joint letter dated January 21, 1955, signed
by Representative Kearing and yourself, rela-

tive to possible injury to property owners along the shores of Lake Ontario in your State after the power project in the International Section of the St. Lawrence River is completed and commences operation.

Pursuant to the reference submitted to this Commission by the Governments of the United States and Canada on June 25, 1952, the Commission is now causing a study to be made with a view to reducing the range of fluctuation of the level of Lake Ontario heretofore experienced, which means that the extreme high levels such as have heretofore damaged shore properties, would be readuced, with consequent benefits to the property owners.

These matters of concern to you were discussed quite fully at a special meeting of the Commission in New York on January 26-27, 1955, and I am pleased to inform you that the Commission contemplates being able to submit to the two governments a recommendation of the fluctuation range through which Lake Ontario shall be operated, together with upper and lower limits of the range expressed in feet above mean sea level. Tentative figures may be available by May of this year. You know of course that the Commission does not contemplate regulating the lake level in accordance with method of regulation No. 5 which is now known to be unsuitable for use.

No basis exists for thinking that the method of regulation to be substituted for the objectionable method No. 5 will cause injury to the owners of shore properties in excess of that which they would suffer if the lake and river were in a state of nature.

the lake and river were in a state of nature. It should be reassuring to you however, that the Department of State has concluded, with the Department of Justice concurring informally, that such property owners, if injured would have a remedy in the courts of the United States and Canada; and that while this Commission apparently considered the internal laws of the United States and Canada to be sufficient to take care of the claims for compensation to property owners, the Commission nevertheless retained jurisdiction over the subject matter of the applications and kept itself free to make such further order concerning such subject matter, which of course would include indemnification, as it might consider desirable.

You may be very confident that the Commission will spare no effort in evolving and putting into effect a method of regulation calculated to reduce in some measure rather than aggravate flood damage to properties along the shores of Lake Ontario.

I trust the information contained herein will reassure you. A similar letter is being sent to Representative Keating.

Sincerely yours,

LEN JORDAN, Chairman, United States Section.

JANUARY 21, 1955.

Hon. LEN JORDAN,

Chairman, United States Section, International Joint Commission, Federal Trade Commission Building, Washington, D. C.

DEAR GOVERNOR JORDAN: We are in receipt of a letter from the Department of State, under date of January 20, with respect to adjudication of claims of owners of property bordering on Lake Ontario, which may arise out of construction and operation of the St. Lawrence power project.

The letter points out that, in issuing its order of approval of this project, the International Joint Commission indicated its continuing responsibility for the protection and indemnity of all interests which might be injured by it, but that no provisions were made in the order for submission of claims to the Commission. The letter further points out that the Commission alone can decide whether to take further action in this matter.

We respectfully submit that, as a result of certain international undertakings in the past affecting the water levels of Lake Ontario, of which the Commission is cognizant, the legitimate interests of shorefront property owners have been injured, but they have thus far been denied indemnity and are deprived of the protection guaranteed to them under the Constitution and laws of the United States. The serious threat of further injury under the pending international power developments on the St. Lawrence River therefore creates the greatest apprehension as to the protection to be afforded these citizens.

In the light of these facts, we urgently request that the United States section of the International Joint Commission act now to allay these apprehensions, by reaffirming, in concrete terms, its mandatory responsibility to protect the interests of citizens of the United States against injury.

Specifically we request that the Commission place on its agenda for the forthcoming meeting on January 26 the matter of amending the order of approval to provide for the establishment of concrete and orderly procedures under which property owners on the Lake Ontario shores may know (1) the conditions under which shore property damages are to be compensable under the provisions of the Boundary Waters Treaty; (2) who is to be responsible for the payment of damages; (3) the means of making claims for damages; and (4) that whoever is responsible for payment of damages shall provide reasonable assurances of ability to pay.

Trusting that we may have an early and favorable response to this request, we remain

Sincerely yours,

HABOLD C. OSTERTAG,

Member of Congress.

KENNETH B. KEATING,

Member of Congress.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, January 20, 1955.
The Honorable Harold C. Osterag,

House of Representatives.

Dear Mr. Osteriac: Reference is made to your letter of June 17, 1954, also signed by Representative Kenneth B. Keating, in which you raised questions concerning the adjudication of claims of owners of property bordering on Lake Ontario which may arise out of the construction and operation of the St. Lawrence power project undertaken

by the United States and Canada.
Your letter states that the level of the lake will always be controlled by one or more of the structures to be built by the Power Commission of the State of New York and the Ontario Hydroelectric Power Commission, and that in every instance involving injury to the shore properties, the injury will result from the joint action of the two power authorities. You add that a United States citizen cannot sue a Canadian entity in the United States courts, and that a Canadian citizen cannot sue a United States entity in the Canadian courts. You, therefore, apparently feel that the International Joint Commission, created under the Boundary Waters Treaty of 1909, should establish procedures for the indemnification of property owners who may be damaged by the power project. However, in this connection, you call attention to a reported difference of view between the American and Canadian sections of the Commission as to its authority to determine and approve indemnification that might be due on account of injury to owners of shore property, and you request that the Secretary of State take steps through diplomatic channels to establish appropriate international machinery for the solution of the problem.

If the Department understands your letter correctly, it raises two fundamental questions. First, whether, under existing law, property owners who may be injured through the construction or operation of the power

project have adequate remedies without resort to the International Joint Commission, and, second, whether the Commission should provide the machinery to deal with such damage.

After careful consideration, the Department has reached certain conclusions concerning these matters which have been informally concurred in by the Department of The first is that owners of lakefront property have a legal remedy in New York against the Power Authority of the State of New York for flood damage, either under section 10 (c) of the Federal Power Act or under general principles of law relat-ing to the joint and several liabilities of This remedy is probably joint tort-feasors. open in the courts of New York to both United States and Canadian property owners. Similar remedies appear to be open to both United States and Canadian property owners against the Ontario Hydroelectric Power Commission under arbitration procedures of Ontario.

The second conclusion which the Department has reached is that, while the International Joint Commission was concerned with the possibility of injury to property owners, it apparently considered that internal laws of Canada and of the United States are sufficient to take care of claims for compensation to property owners. In its order of approval, the Commission made a finding, set out in the preamble, "that suitable and adequate provision is made by the laws in Canada and by the Constitution and laws in the United States for the protection and indemnity of all interests on either side of the international boundary which may be injured by reason of the construction, maintenance, and operation of the works." arder made no provision for submission of claims to the Commission. Nevertheless, the Commission "retains jurisdiction over the subject matter of these applications, and may, after giving such notice and opportunity to all interested parties to make representations as the Commission deems appropriate, make such further order or orders relating thereto as may be necessary in the judgment of the Commission." So, the Commission has kept itself free to make such further orders concerning the subject matter of the applications, which, of course, would include indemnification, as it may consider desirable.

Whether the Commission, having decided that suitable and adequate provision is made by the laws in Canada and by the Constitution and laws of the United States for the indemnification of injured interests, should take further action is a matter which it alone can decide.

In the circumstances, the Department sees no reason for approaching the Canadian Government with a proposal for the establishment of further procedures for the settlement of such claims.

Sincerely yours,
THAUSTON B. MORTON,
Assistant Secretary
(For the Secretary of State).

Cyprus and Macedonia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include a copy of the petition presented to the United Nations by the Macedonian Political Organization of the United States and Canada, submitted to me by Mr. M. D. Chaneff of my district. Mr. Chaneff is president of this organization of Americans of Macedonian birth or extraction, and I am glad to comply with his request that this statement be made available to the Members of Congress. The long and troubled history of the Balkan peoples contains many tragic conflicts between ethnic groups, one of which is related in this petition. Certainly all of us hope that these conflicts, including both the Cyprus and Macedonian difficulties, may be resolved in our time.

The petition follows:

CYPRUS AND MACEDONIA—A PETITION PRE-SENTED TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS ON NOVEMBER 18, 1954

His Excellency Dag Hammerskjold, Secretary General of the United Nations,

New York, N. Y.

Your Excellency: Recently the Greek press has raised the issue for the annexation of the Island of Cyprus to Greece. The local demonstrations at Cyprus itself, as well as those in Athens, appear to be the result of a well planned campaign by the Greek Government. Not only the official political factors of the Athens regime but also the ecclesiastical dignitaries—priests and bishops—have joined in arousing these Anti-British demonstrations. Greece's demand for the annexation of Cyprus is not necessarily a new manifestation. Similar demands have taken place before.

In her dispute with Great Britain over the Island of Cyprus, Greece has appealed now to the United Nations asking for the right of self-determination of the Cypriotes. The official announcements made by the Athens Government state that since 80 percent of the population of the Island of Cyprus is Greek, Great Britain should renounce her domination of the Island and turn it over to Greece. The fact that 20 percent of the population of Cyprus is Turkish does not seem to concern the Athens Government. The Greek representative at the United Nations said that the right of self-determination was written into the charter and could not be ignored by the United Nations.

No one would deny the self-determination right of the people. Indeed, it is a sacred fundamental right. Since Greece has made such an issue in regard to Cyprus Island, it is important for the free and democratic world to know by what humanitarian principles does the Athens regime determine its policy toward the ethnical minorities in Greece.

North of Mount Olympus and Bistritsa River, there is a territory known for centuries with the name of Macedonia. This country has an area of 25,000 square miles with a total population of nearly 3,000,000 people. It occupies the heart of the Balkan Peninsula and its important Vardar Valley with the seaport of Salonika.

The population of Macedonia consists of the following ethnical groups: Bulgarians, Turks, Greeks, Albanians, Arumanians and others. Until 1912 Macedonia was dominated by the Turks for nearly five centuries.

But the Balkan wars of 1912-13 changed the whole political structure of the Balkans. Macedonia, which was supposed to be liberated from Turkish rule and organized as an independent state unit, was divided mainly between Serbia (now Yugoslavia) and Greece, and a small part left to Bulgaria. This was done against the wishes of the great part of the population who fought for its freedom and independence.

When Greece finally annexed her share of Macedonia (Bucharest Treaty, 1913), she found there 378 Bulgarian churches with 300 priests and 340 elementary and secondary schools with 720 teachers. While this part of Macedonia was under Turkish domination, all of the above mentioned Bulgarian institutions were enjoying free development. In Salonika the newspaper Pravo was published in the Bulgarian language. With the advent of Greek rule in Macedonia, all Bulgarian schools and churches were closed. The teachers and the priests were forcibly driven out of their country or put into prison. No Bulgarian newspapers and books were allowed to be published or permitted to be read. Even the Bible in the Bulgarian language was forbidden. All Macedono-Bulgarians are now forced to go to Greek schools and churches and coerced to use the Greek language.

While the country was under Turkish rule, the Arumanians of Macedonia had a total of 120 schools of their own. In Salonika and Grevena they even had vocational schools. By a special decree issued by the Turkish Sultan in May 9, 1905, the Turkish Government recognized the national character of the Arumanians as a district nationally. They were no longer to be considered as Greeks. In their schools and churches the Arumanians, of Macedonia, taught their children and worshiped God in their new native language.

With the annexation of southwestern part of Macedonia, the Greek authorities had also denied the cultural, religious, and language privileges of the Arumanians. The Greek language was forcibly imposed in the Arumanian schools and churches, and many of the priests and teachers were persecuted, maltreated, and imprisoned.

Turkey, which was considered at the beginning of the 20th century as the "sick man of Europe," and against whose administration of the country was raised so much complaints, had been far more humane to the Christian population in Macedonia than Greece has ever been. The language, schools, and religion of the Bulgarians and Arumanians in Macedonia were respected by the Turks. Many old inhabitants in Macedonia now lament and say, and rightly so, that the Turkish regime over Macedonia was far better than the present Greek rule.

Greece has signed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a document adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on December 10, 1948. On March 28, 1953, Greece signed and ratified also the European Convention on Human Rights. Both these historical documents contain clauses for the freedom of thought, conscience, and religion; freedom of expression, etc. Greece has never granted these fundamental rights to the Bulgarian and Arumanian people in Macedonia.

On July 31, 1954, the 400 delegates of the World Presbyterian Alliance assembled in Princeton, N. J., and representing 66 self-governing church bodies from 45 countries, unanimously approved a resolution which took sharply to task the Greek Orthodox Church for imposing restrictions on the Evangelical Church of Greece. Knowing that the Greek Government does not allow religious freedom to its own Greek-speaking subjects, one can imagine what the attitude of the same Government would be toward those who will dare to read even the Bible in a language different than the Greek one.

It is significant to note that Greece does not complain about England's treatment of the national and religious rights of the Greek inhabitants of Cyprus. For the Greek population there enjoys the privilege of having their own schools churches, newspapers, and the use of Greek language. Freedom is not suppressed. One-third of the population of Cyprus is even free to proclaim its communistic feeling. Unfortunately, the same cannot be maintained as to Macedonia under Greek rule, where people are arrested and exiled in remote islands if they have an in-

clination to manifest their ethnical, Bulgarian, or Arumanian conscientiousness.

The Bulgarians and Arumanians under Greek rule will be very happy, indeed, if they were granted those fundamental rights which the peoples in the island of Cyprus are enjoying under British rule.

We know that the Greek representative at the United Nations will deny the existence of Bulgarian and Arumanian speaking peoples in Maccdonia. He will dramatically emphasize that the whole population of Macedonia since the time of Alexander the Great belongs to the Greek race. Alexander faded into eternity 23 centuries ago. During those times many a change took place all over the world. The ethnical physiognomy of Macedonia changed also.

We do not insist to take the Macedonian territory away from Greece and have it handed over to a neighboring country. The best solution of the Macedonian problem is to create an independent state of Macedonia out of the three divided parts among Yugoslavia, Greece, and Bulgaria. At this moment we do not ask even that. But we do challenge the Greek Government to allow a special United Nations commission to go on the spot, in Macedonia, in order to find out:

A. Are there any Bulgarian and Arumanian speaking people in Macedonia under Greek rule?

B. If there are such ethnical groups, why the Greek Government has not yet recognized and given those peoples their sacred fundamental rights? Why the churches and the schools of these peoples are not free, not open?

If the United Nations Charter is to be invoked in order to transfer a territory from one sovereignty to another sovereignty, why should not the same charter be invoked in order to efface an ugly injustice inflicted upon the unfortunate peoples of Macedonia?

Your Excellency, in presenting to your enlightened attention the above-stated facts, we sincerely believe that they will come under your serious consideration and will be made known to all members of the United Nations.

Respectfully yours,
Central Committee of the MaceDONIAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION OF
THE UNITED STATES, CANADA, BRAZIL,
AND NEW ZEALAND,
M. D. CHANEFF, President.
LUBEN DIMITROFF, Secretary.
MACEDONO-BULGARIAN EASTERN ORTHODOX CHURCHES OF THE UNITED
STATES AND CANADA,
Very Rev. George Nicoloff.
Rev. Vasil Minailoff.

Social Security Is Here To Stay

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN F. SHELLEY

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. SHELLEY, Mr. Speaker, the fact that our social security system is here to stay is accepted by 99 percent of the people of this country. There are, however, a few carping critics who persist in taking potshots at the system for reasons best known to themselves. The public statements they make are based on fallacious reasoning and proven misconceptions. A fair percentage of these shortsighted critics are to be found in the insurance industry, despite the fact

that the advent of social security brought with it a tremendous expansion in almost every form of insurance business. The industry as a whole recognizes that social security has not only been a boon to the people of the United States, but that it has also brought a stabilizing influence into their own field.

The December 1954 issue of Life Insurance Courant, a trade publication, carried some telling editorial comment aimed at members of the industry and other critics of social insurance who refuse to accept the facts of life on the permanence of social security. Lane Kirkland, writing in the AFL News-Reporter, has emphasized the importance of this editorial as a useful antidote to the propaganda against social security emanating from professional doomsters and lobbying groups. I include the editorial and Mr. Kirkland's comments in the Congressional Rec-ORD so that this antidote will become more widely available.

[From the Life Insurance Courant of December 1954]

SEEING THINGS IN PERSPECTIVE

With your indulgence we should like to trace some of the history of social security with the intention of leading up to recent developments in this field and commenting on them.

Social security rests on the idea that if the individual does not prepare for his old age—or for his dependents—someone else

must do it.

A second premise is that even in relatively prosperous times a very large number of people have no money for retirement purposes when they reach age 65, and that others can make only a minimum provision for their dependents in case of their early death.

COOPERATIVE PLAN

Since these ideas are accepted and since there are said to be good philosophical and practical reasons for putting part of the social insurance cost on industry, the social security system in America was devised as a cooperative plan, under the sponsorship of Government, to require people to make minimum provision for their old age and their family's dependency. The alternatives to social security seem to be as follows:

1. No help from Government in any way, in other words, complete independence of the individual except for what private charity may give him. The record of the 1920's and 1930's shows that a majority of people, on their own, cannot or will not prepare for their later years. Is private charity up to

filling the gap?

2. Assistance by local government. When this broke down in the 1930's the Federal Government had to step in with relief and work projects. Besides the historical failure of relying on local government alone, there is the objection that this kind of assistance is particularly susceptible to political mismanagement when conducted on a large scale.

3. Reliance on the Federal Government for support of the aged on a charity basis. The difficulties in attempting to administer a means test for the country from a centralized authority are so obvious as to require no elaboration.

NOT YET PRODUCED

While it is possible that a better system of cooperation between industry and workers to provide for people's old age and for their dependents can be devised, one has not yet been produced which is satisfactory to the people at large. Perhaps this system is going to cost the Government (and of course through it the taxpayers) a great deal of money in the future. This point seems far

distant at this time. A large reserve could be accumulated in anticipation of this distant date, but that proposal was defeated and is not seriously promoted by any number of people today. The public, however, seems willing to pay the cost—at least, their elected representatives think so.

STRONG INSURANCE SUPPORT

The reason for going into some of this history is to describe the system that the life insurance industry has generally been supporting since it first accepted the principle of social security and the plan adopted.

Outstanding individuals in the business have given a great deal of time in assist-ance to the development of the program in an orderly way. These people have differed in details with some legislation, but this has not prevented them from continuing to give their good will and best intelligence the development of social insurance in America. The public should be grateful for the efforts of life insurance people in the development of a sound program. It should be grateful too, to the companies that these men represent who have lent them for this purpose.

BENEFIT FOR INSURANCE

Conversely, by the development of a reasonable program, the life insurance industry has benefited enormously. Billions of dollars of insurance has been sold partly because people have had a base upon which to build their retirement income and security plans for dependents. Agency departments in company after company base their selling plans on a social security approach.

There are opponents of social security. They have every right-and, naturally, a responsibility—to speak out and state their views. Some of these opponents are in the life-insurance business. There is some danger, however, that the public, or part of it, may think that these objectors are speaking for the life-insurance industry. Of course, this is not the case.

Let us examine some of the more common objections recently raised. One of these is the mistaken one that social security hurts the sale of life insurance. There is no worse ground on which to stand if one wishes to convince the public than the basis of sheer self-interest. It is bad even to seem to have this as a basis for opposition.

The life-insurance industry should dissociate itself from some of the petty criticisms that a few people have made of social security. For example, there was general agreement among financial experts that the building of a gigantic reserve was undesirable. Those who say we should built a large reserve do not have much company.

PAYING TWICE

From time to time some people-fortunately, not many of them insurance people-suggest that social security has to be paid for twice. It is true that there is a constitutional requirement that social-security taxes be considered general revenue. This clouds the actual financial process involved. Any person with some amount of financial training, however, knows that the suggestion that we have to tax ourselves twice for social security is as absurd as the idea that when a person buys utility bonds he must pay for them twice. We should dissociate ourselves from this kind of hokypoke charge.

Some people are trying to get the word "insurance" removed from the phrase "oldage and survivors insurance." This is apparently an activity chiefly of members the insurance business. It is based on the idea that social security does not meet the requirements of commercial insurance and therefore should not be entitled to the term. It seems to us that this quibbling about terminology is weak on two scores.

THE DEFINITION BUSINESS

First, social insurance, which began in Bismarck's time in Germany, has been dignified by definition in Webster's Unabridged Dictionary for decades. Secondly, the general public does not use the phrase "old-age and survivors insurance" but say "social security.' Why make such a fuss about this that people are likely to go to their dic-tionaries to check up on us? We certainly don't want that.

While the public does not really believe that the Government plans are guaranteed, it knows that no political administration is going to commit suicide by reneging on the promises made, and paid for.

NONPAYING RECIPIENTS

Another quibble that does us little credit is the objection that some people soon to retire will pay little compared to what they will receive. This problem, to hear some will receive. This problem, to hear some people talk, is confined to social security. Every employer who has been operating long enough to have employees in late middle age is faced with the same problem. Insurance people meet it time after time in setting up pension plans.

It seems that there is a simple choice between having these older people receive social security and not having them receive social security. Apparently there is almost univer-sal approval of the idea that they should receive social security income. But suppose that the alternative were to be acceptedthat they were to receive no social security income unless they had paid commensurate taxes. If they do not receive social security income they are in the same position that most other people of 65 would find themselves-and which was referred to earlierthat is, without enough money to retire.

PUBLIC ASSISTANCE

For some years we have had a large number of elderly people on the public assistance roles, with the Federal Government contributing a considerable part of the income that they receive. A number of spokesmen for the insurance industry have ably shown that the wide variations in payments among the States (and other difficulties) have made public assistance a less acceptable means of providing for most elderly people than social security. We might even suggest that the recipient would be content with a slightly smaller social security payment which he could receive without shame than he would be with a public assistance check to which a means-test tag is attached.

Finally, those individuals who object to social security on philosophical grounds have a right to speak out—as individuals. It often happens that where they are opposed to social security they have no fears of their own personal security, but it is also true that very likely they would feel the same way if they were not financially independent. Their intelligent criticisms can provide needed balance.

The life insurance business, however, is so overwhelmingly in favor of social security that the public should know that those who oppose the principles or who make carping criticisms such as we recounted talk only for themselves. We hope the public realizes this. And we hope the leaders in our industry who have helped to develop a sound social security program will continue to cooperate to produce a better one.

[From the AFL News-Reporter, Washington, D. C., of January 14, 1955]

INSURANCE INDUSTRY IS TOLD RELAX, ENJOY SOCIAL SECURITY

(By Lane Kirkland)

One source of encouragement to those who believe in a strong social security system is the fact that calm reason sometimes pene-

trates even the darkest corners-including, believe it or not, the inner recesses of the commercial insurance industry. does, it often provides a useful antidote to the propaganda that emanates, like a poisonous smog, from the chamber of commerce, such lobbies as the National Association of Life Underwriters, and professional doom-sters such as Clarence Manion.

RELAX AND ENJOY IT

A case in point can be found in the December issue of the Life Insurance Courant, a trade journal published in New York. In this issue, the editor was moved to bring a few basic home truths about social security to the attention of his colleagues in the insurance industry, and to suggest that they calm down, relax, and enjoy it.

Opponents of social security within the insurance industry, he infers, are guilty of biting the hand that feeds them, for the system has stimulated, rather than injured, the commercial insurance business:

* * by the development of a reasonable program, the life insurance industry has benefited enormously. Billions of dollars of insurance has been sold partly because people have had a base upon which to build their retirement income and security plans for dependents. Agency departments in company after company base their selling plans on a social security approach.

"There are opponents of social security * * * Some of these opponents are in the life insurance business. There is some dan-ger, however, that the public or part of it may think that these objectors are speaking for the life insurance industry. Of course, this is not the case."

LEVELS AT PROPAGANDA

The Life Insurance Courant then proceeds to tick off some of the propaganda arguments leveled against the old-age and survivors insurance system by these opponents. As to the spurious complaint that social security "hurts the sale of life insurance," the edi-"There is no worse ground on torial says: which to stand if one wishes to convince the public than the basis of sheer selfinterest. It is bad even to seem to have this basis for opposition."

Taking up another threadbare argument,

the journal notes that:

"From time to time some people • • • suggest that social security has to be paid for twice. * * Any person with some amount of financial training, however, knows that the suggestion that we have to tax ourselves twice for social security is as absurd as the idea that when a person buys utility bonds he must pay for them twice. We should dissociate ourselves from this kind of hokypoke charge."

Another line, propounded by the chamber of commerce and ridden very hard by the late unlamented Curtis subcommittee during the 83d Congress, is the allegation that old-age and survivors' insurance isn't really "insurance." The Life Insurance Courant disposes of that bit of word-play in short order:

"It seems to us that this quibbling about

terminology is weak on two scores.

"First, social insurance * * * has been dignified by definition in Webster's unabridged dictionary for decades. the general public does not use the phrase age and survivors insurance' but says 'social security.' Why make such a fuss about this that people are likely to go to their dictionaries to check up on us? certainly don't want that. We

While the public does not really believe that the Government plans are guaranteed, it knows that no political administration is going to commit suicide by reneging on the promises made, and paid for."

The journal closes this "dutch uncle" lecture to its colleagues by soliciting the charitable indulgence of the public toward the wayward members of the trade:

"The life-insurance business, however, is so overwhelmingly in favor of social secu-rity that the public should know that those who oppose the principle or who make carping criticisms such as we recounted talk only for themselves. We hope the public realizes this."

All in all, it would be hard to improve upon this insurance journal's rebuttal of the insurance lobby's propaganda. It is good to know that the industry is not entirely without a conscience.

Ukrainian Independence Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, ROY W. WIER

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. WIER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a resolution adopted at the Ukrainian Independence Day celebration on January 22, 1955, in Minneapolis, Minn.

The resolution is as follows:

RESOLUTION PROCLAIMED AND ADOPTED AT THE CELEBRATION OF THE UKRAINIAN INDEPEND-ENCE DAY HELD ON JANUARY 22, 1955, IN MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.

Thirty-seven years ago the Ukrainian people renewed their sovereign rights on Ukrainian territory. The Ukrainian Parliament, the Central Council (Rada) proclaimed the renewal of the independent Ukrainian State on the 22d of January 1918 in capital Kiev.

The free and independent Ukrainian National Democratic Republic was recognized by England, France, Germany, Austria, Hun-gary, Bulgaria, Turkey, Latvia, Estonia, Fin-land, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Italy, the Vatican, Argentina, Georgia, the Don Cossack Republic, and Russia.

But continuing along the old path of Russian imperialism, Communist Moscow attacked the independent Ukrainian Republic and overran it despite the desperate resistance of the Ukrainian people. Thus the new republic became the first victim of Communist Russian aggression. It also became the first nation to resist the aggression of Communist Moscow which today threatens the entire still-free world.

The Ukrainian Government of the independent Ukrainian Democratic Republic went into exile. Communist Moscow set up by force and violence the Communist regime and government in Ukraine. But the people, faithful to their democratic traditions continue to fight against this regime

and the Soviet Government.

We Americans of Ukrainian descent, gathered at the celebration of the 37th anniversary of the proclamation of the independent and free Ukrainian Republic, in Minneapolis, Minn., on January 22, 1955, appeal to the Government, representatives, and people of the United States of America to help the Ukrainian people to restore their own demo-

cratic government.

We declare that the proposal to exclude Ukraine from the United Nations is against the interests of our country, against our American policy of liberation. The present regime in Ukraine and its right to represent the Ukrainian people can and should be questioned. But no one can question the right of Ukraine to be a member of the United Nations.

Dr. ALEXANDER LUTY-LUTENKO, Chairman of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Branch Minneapolis, Minn. MINNEAPOLIS, MINN., January 22, 1955.

Stampede?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I desire to direct the attention of my colleagues to an article in a recent issue of the Los Angeles Examiner under the caption 'Stampede?"

This article raises the question of why the haste in rushing through the extension and enlargement of our Trade Agreements Act.

The article follows:

STAMPEDE?

For no obvious reason, a great effort is being made to induce Congress to extend immediately the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act.

This act, which many persons do not understand, empowers the State Department to reduce or abolish American protective tariffs by making deals with foreign countries. Once again, the act is about to expire, and the proposal before Congress is

to keep it going.

This is not emergency legislation, like the Formosan defense project. In fact, its history is getting stale. For the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act is now 20 years old. It was first enacted in 1934, and it has been extended several times, and also amended, since them. Nonetheless, the leadership in Congress has made the routine renewal House Resolution No. 1, and the Ways and Means Committee has been holding hurried and hectic hearings on the bill.

But, what is the urgency?

Last year, when for the sixth time the same act was about to expire, President Eisenhower asked for another 3-year continuance.

Congress rather reluctantly voted a 1-year extension, relying on a promise that the State Department would not exercise its tariff-slashing powers during the year.

Congress also authorized the Tariff Commission to study the operations of the act, to determine any damage that had been inflicted upon our native industries or labor by low-wage foreign competition, recommend any necessary or desirable changes.

The Tariff Commission was instructed to report to Congress in March of this year.

Yet, here is a high-pressure campaign to get the Trade Agreements Act again prolonged without awaiting the Tariff Commission's authoritative findings.

Now, why?

Perhaps the American Tariff League has the answer.

The League notes that, under the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, our protective tariff level has fallen 70 percent since 1934, and a great deal of injury has already been done to many industries in many States.

The League suggests that doctrinaire freetraders, and some commercial interests who want our protective tariff system obliterated entirely are striving to get the Trade Agreements Act renewed, perhaps permanently, before the full extent of the harm caused by tariff wrecking can be adequately disclosed.

In sum, they want the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act extended before the Tariff Commission can tell Congress what the act is doing and has done to employment and industry in our country.

In the circumstances, Congress should certainly await and consider the Tariff Commission's report, which Congress itself requested, before taking any action whatsoever on House Resolution 1.

Persons Entering Armed Services for the First Time On or After February 1. 1955, Will Be Regarded as Peacetime Veterans When They Leave Military Service and as Such Will Be Entitled Only to Peacetime Benefits

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, according to a statement released recently by the Veterans' Administration, the following benefits will be available to persons entering the Armed Forces on or after February 1, 1955, when they leave the service under honorable conditions.

These veterans will be regarded as peacetime veterans and, under present laws, will not be eligible for any of the benefits provided by the Korean GI bill, nor for any wartime service benefits payable to veterans of the Korean conflict

Peacetime veterans may be entitled. under certain conditions, to medical and domiciliary care, disability compensa-tion, aid for the blinded, "wheel chair" homes, servicemen's indemnity, guaranty of commercial life-insurance pre-miums, burial expenses, burial flag, guardianship service, and appeals. Their dependents may be entitled to death compensation where the veterans die of service-connected causes.

The benefits and conditions are:

Medical and dental care: A peacetime veteran may be entitled to hospitalization, outpatient medical and dental treatment and prosthetic service, provided he was discharged under other than dishonorable conditions for a disability incurred in line of duty or is receiving compensation for a serviceconnected disability.

Domiciliary care: A peacetime veteran may be entitled to domiciliary care if he meets the above eligibility requirements and is incapacitated from earning a living and has no adequate means of support.

Disability compensation: A veteran disabled by injury or disease incurred in, or aggravated by, peacetime service may qualify for disability compensation. Discharge must have been under other than dishonorable conditions.

Monthly rates range from \$14 to \$145, depending on the degree of disability, plus statutory awards for amputations, blindness, and so forth, up to a maximum of \$336.

Where the disability resulted from extrahazardous service, such as simulated warfare, the veteran may be entitled to wartime rates. These are \$17

maximum of \$420.

Veterans rated 50 percent or more disabled may be entitled to additional compensation for a wife, children, or dependent parents.

Aid for the blinded: VA may provide special aid to veterans who are blinded and are entitled to compensation for service - connected disabilities. blindness itself need not be serviceconnected.

Aids include approved electronic and mechanical equipment, as well as seeingeye or guide dogs. VA also pays the expense of training the veteran to use the dog and for the dog's medical attention.

Wheelchair homes: Seriously disabled veterans who cannot get about without the aid of wheelchairs, braces, crutches, canes, or the like, may be entitled to a grant from VA for a wheelchair home, especially adapted to their needs.

These veterans must be entitled to compensation for permanent and total service-connected disability for the loss, or loss of use, of both legs due to certain specified conditions.

Eligible veterans will receive a Federal grant of not more than 50 percent of the cost of their homes up to a maximum of \$10,000. This grant may be used to pay part of the cost of building or buying such homes, or to remodel existing dwellings for their requirements.

The grant also may be used to pay off the indebtedness on such homes already acquired by eligible veterans.

Servicemen's indemnity: Persons entering active service on or after today are automatically covered against death in active service for \$10,000—less any other Government life insurance in force at time of death.

For those called to active duty 31 days or more, this free indemnity protection continues for 120 days after separation or release from active service.

After their separation from service. these veterans may obtain two types of postservice Government life insurance under certain conditions.

The first type is a 5-year level-premium term policy that is renewable every 5 years at the premium rate for the thenattained age without medical examination. This type of term policy is not convertible to any other form of Government life insurance; nor does it pay dividends.

Veterans who may apply for this insurance are those who were ordered into active duty for 31 days or more and who were entitled to indemnity protection while they were in service. They must have been released from such active service.

These veterans may apply to VA for the insurance within exactly 120 daysnot always 4 months-of their separation or release. While they do not need a physical examination, they must pay the required premiums. They may take out up to \$10,000 of this term insurance, less any other Government life insurance in force at the time of application.

The second type of insurance is available to eligible disabled veterans. This coverage is a special form of national

to \$181, plus statutory awards, up to a service life insurance—NSLI—on either term or permanent plan policies.

Veterans eligible for this special insurance are those released or separated from active service on or after April 25, 1951, under other than dishonorable conditions and who are found by VA to be suffering from a service-connected disability or disabilities for which VA compensation would be payable if the disability is 10 percent or more in degree. They must not be suffering from nonservice-connected disabilities that make them uninsurable.

These veterans must apply to VA for the special NSLI within 1 year from the date that VA finds their disability or disabilities to be service-connected. Each application must be accompanied by the required physical examination and the necessary premium.

This special NSLI is issuable to eligible disabled veterans on either term or permanent plans in amounts ranging up to \$10,000, less any other Government life insurance in force at the time of appli-

If such veterans are totally disabled, they may apply for any of the special plans except those issued under endowment contracts. They also may apply for waiver of premiums at the time they file applications for the insurance, but they should tender the full premiums with their applications and continue to pay such premiums on time until they are notified by VA that their waiver has been granted. Premiums paid during waiver will be refunded.

Guaranty of premiums on commercial life insurance policies: Persons entering or in the Armed Forces, who have commercial life insurance, may apply to VA for the guaranty of premiums, indebtedness, or interest up to \$10,000 of insurance per person. The VA guaranty covers the period of service and for 2 years thereafter.

Any amount paid by VA to an insurance company for a protected policy becomes a debt due the United States by the policyholder and must be repaid.

Burial expenses: Funeral and burial expenses up to \$150 may be paid by VA in the death of certain peacetime veterans. The veterans must have been receiving compensation at the time of death or must have been discharged or retired from service for disability incurred in line of duty.

Payment is made only to the undertaker or to the person who paid the expense involved. Claims must be filed with VA within 2 years from the date of permanent burial or cremation.

Burial flag: An American flag to drape the casket, which may be retained as a memorial by the next of kin, may be supplied in the death of peacetime veterans who have been discharged under conditions other than dishonorable after serving a full enlistment, or for disability incurred in line of duty. Such flags may be issued, upon application, by VA field offices, most first-, second-, and third-class post offices, and those fourthclass post offices located in county seats.

Death compensation: The widow, children, and dependent parents of deceased peacetime veterans may qualify for compensation where the veterans' death was due to service.

A widow loses her entitlement upon remarriage. Unmarried children normally lose their entitlement upon reaching age 18, but if they are attending a school approved by VA they may continue to receive death compensation while attending this school, but not after 21 or married.

Monthly amounts vary according to the number and relationship of the dependents. Examples are: Widow, no children, \$69.60; one child alone, no widow, \$53.60; one parent, \$60. Corresponding rates where death was due to extra-hazardous service are \$87, \$67, and \$75.

Guardianship service: Incompetent peacetime veterans, their minor dependents, and incompetent beneficiaries are entitled to protection of their estates derived from benefits paid by VA under acts of Congress.

Such protection is provided by the chief attorneys of VA regional offices in accordance with State and Federal laws and VA regulations.

The chief attorneys maintain supervision over guardians appointed by State-probate and county-courts, as well as legal custodians recognized by VA in their respective jurisdictions.

Appeals: The Board of Veterans' Appeals is available for rendering final decisions in all cases appealed to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, wherein a claimant has been denied benefits to which he claims entitlement. The board has no original jurisdiction: its work is similar to that of a court of appeals.

Higher Minimum Wage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN A. BLATNIK

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BLATNIK. Mr. Speaker, the following letter to the editor, which appeared in the Washington Post and Times Herald for January 31, 1955, written by John W. Edelman, Washington representative, Textile Workers Union of America, CIO, and Solomon Barkin, director of research, CIO, is as penetrating and concise a statement as I have seen on the necessity of raising the minimum wage to \$1.25:

HIGHER MINIMUM WAGE

We welcome your support for a higher minimum wage in your editorial of January 17.

We support your view that "the administration figure should be raised," but we cannot agree that the increase over the administration's proposed 90 cents should be only 5 to 10 cents. A minimum wage of 95 cents or \$1 is not in keeping with economic trends, nor would this figure provide anything like a decent American standard of

The \$1.25 minimum, which the CIO and AFL recommend, is justified by several factors, all of which are touched on in your editorial.

The cost of living for the low-income group has risen by some 18 or more percent. Manhour productivity, according to the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report, rose some 15 percent from 1949 to 1953. Extending this trend to 1954, and allowing for both the rise in the cost of living and the growth in national productivity, would jutify a minimum of at least \$1.06.

Actually, wages during this period in the better organized industries have risen by 45 to 59 cents per hour. Prevailing minima in most industries exceed \$1.25 per hour, as indicated by the minimum of \$1.75 in autos, \$1.61 in the ship building, \$1.57 in the steel industry, etc.

Actually, the 1950 increase from 40 to 75 cents-as demonstrated by the current Department of Labor study to which you referwas more substantial than the rise now recommended by the President. In 1950 we had a 99 percent increase on the then 40cent-an-hour rate which directly affected just over 6 percent of covered employes. A 90-cent minimum would be a 20 percent boost on the 75-cent rate and would directly affect less than 5 percent of eligible workers.

The President misses the point when he states that "minimum wages do not deal with the fundamental causes of low incomes and poverty." The fact is that the weak bargaining power of unorganized workers in certain industries and areas is a fundamental cause of their not receiving decent wages.

The minimum-wage law partly corrects this imbalance in bargaining power, which is the principal cause of substandard wages. The purpose and actual result of minimumwage legislation is to enable workers who have little or no bargaining power to achieve a progression in wages not too far behind the

level enjoyed by other American workers.

The major impact of the 1955 increase in the statutory wage will be felt in industries where workers have weak, if any, bargaining power and where chiseling employers have prevented the fair-minded employers from following national wage trends. There is no ground for your fears that some few manufacturers in outlying areas might go out of business if a higher minimum was required. The experience of 1950 demonstrates that clearly.

The adoption of a realistic minimum wage in 1955 will have no greater consequences than those experienced in 1950. A statutory wage of \$1.25 is justified by the rise in living costs and the sharp increases in man-hour productivity during the past 4 years. A minimum rate of \$1.25 per hour is required to enable large numbers of underprivileged employees to achieve living standards not too much below what could properly be described as a decent American standard.

SOLOMON BARKIN, Director of Research. JOHN W. EDELMAN,
Washington Representative, Textile
Workers Union of America-CIO. WASHINGTON.

Little Red Federal Schoolhouse or No Controls, Except as Provided Herein

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BURR P. HARRISON

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. HARRISON of Virginia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix, I include an edi-

torial which appeared on January 28, 1955, in the Richmond News Leader.

LITTLE RED FEDERAL SCHOOLHOUSE OR NO CONTROLS, EXCEPT AS PROVIDED HEREIN

One of the most bitter fights of the 84th Congress will be waged in coming months on the issue of Federal aid to school construction. Already more than half a dozen bills are in the hopper, and more will be coming along before formal hearings begin. movement will gain impetus on February 15, when the President transmits to Congress his affirmative program for dealing with the classroom shortage.

If this invasion of State and local responsibility is to be thrown back, those who believe in a tightly limited Federal Government should be mobilizing now. The pending legislation carries with it—be dead certain of the fact-the ultimate surrender of local control over our schools.

That assertion, of course, will be denied. Proponents of this legislation will point to specific clauses in their bills that appear to forestall Federal control. The measure sponsored by 30 Democratic Senators (S. 5). for example, contains a section declaring that "except as specifically provided by this act, no department, agency, officer, or employee of the United States shall exercise any direction, supervision, or control over, or prescribe any requirement with respect to, any State agency, school agency, or school to which any funds have been or may be paid under this act."

But let us look at what would be specifi-

cally provided by this act.

Section 1 of the bill provides a title-the "Emergency Public School Construction Act of 1955." Section 2 would appropriate \$500 million a year for the next 2 years. Section 3 would direct that the sum be expended "only for the construction of public elementary and secondary school facilities."

Section 4 gets down to the meat of the coconut. Here a formula for distribution of the fund would be set up, in which the key factor would be determined by the Commissioner of Education. He would promulgate the allotment percentages, "and the percentages so promulgated shall be conclu-These grants would be paid out only for school projects that met standards ap-

proved by the Commissioner.

Some of these standards are defined in section 5. In order to participate, a State government would have to submit satisfactory evidence to the Federal commissioner that its State Department of Education had authority to carry out a school plan. Then the State would have to describe the steps, if any, which have been taken toward making full use of State and local financial resources in the construction of school facili-The State would be required to show that it had formulated sound long-range school-construction programs in the local areas, and that it had attained a more efficient organization of school districts in the State.

The sovereign States of the Union then would have to submit satisfactory evidence to the Federal commissioner that they would use any Federal grants in addition to and not as a substitute for State and local funds available for school construction. They would be required to establish accounting procedures acceptable to the commissioner. They would be required to provide acceptable standards for locating, planning, and constructing school facilities.

But the end is not yet. Section 5 (a) (10) would require the States to see that every laborer and mechanic on a Federal-aid school construction job is paid at not less than prevailing wages in the area, with time-anda-half for overtime after 40 hours in any workweek. If the States fail to comply with all of these requirements, extending over four printed pages of the bill, the commissioner

is directed to withhold Federal grants in whatever fashion he determines to be appropriate under the circumstances.

Other sections of the bill deal with the filing of reports and audits, the procedures for judicial review, and with definitions of terms. What all of this adds up to is a beginning, a foot in the door, a first mild draught of a habit-forming drug. To localities, hard pressed for school facilities, the prospect of a \$500 million pot of gold is as

pretty as a rainbow.

And it is just as deceptive. For it is only one soft little creeping step from a control over where a school may be built to a control over what may be taught there. a basic statute is spread upon the books, the process of subtle amendment may begin, to the end that Federal grants will grow ever larger and local responsibilities ever smaller. And just as the Virginia State government, by reason of its financial assistance, now exerts great control over local school grams and textbooks, so the United States Government, for precisely the same reason, ultimately would exert tighter and tighter controls over the operation of our local schools.

What is involved here is not a few thousand dollars for brick and mortar; what is involved is domination over the minds of the next generation. For once, let us not be fooled by the sweet-talk of those who argue lyrically that this time Federal control would not follow Federal grants. Federal control always follows Federal grants, and ultimate control of the public schools is the richest prize the Fabian Socialists could hope to win.

A Wise Precaution

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Steuben Republican of Angola, Ind.:

A WISE PRECAUTION

President Eisenhower's message to the Congress asking for support for such use of force as he may deem necessary to halt threats of invasion of the island of Formosa by the forces of Red China was a wise precaution. No doubt he has taken advantage of the unhappy experience of former President Truman, who, without consulting Congress, hastily ordered American forces to halt the invasion of Korea, exercised under the authority extended him by the Charter of the United Nations.

The people of the country were grievously offended by this exercise of power by the Chief Executive, although doubtless from a literal legal interpretation President Truman had the authority for such action. course of history reveals that it is a better policy on issues which are not closely defined to gain the consent of Congress before undertaking a position which would give rise to argument and to support from only part

of the people.

President Eisenhower has already demonstrated his unwillingness to plunge our country into a war regardless of how grievously we have been offended and of the trying attitude which has been exhibited by Red China toward the safety of our nationals. Indeed, it has been difficult for the people to withhold an expression of their impatience in this regard.

The President's message should develop more unanimity of opinion that the President is right in his conduct of these ticklish affairs no matter how irksome these policies may be to the people whose lives and safety are not seriously jeopardized. The use of force should only be the last extremity for the safety of our Nation. In war the victorious nation is likely to suffer as grievously or more so than the conquered who became the wards of the victors.

The Dark Tunnel

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an article by the noted commentator and author, Walter Lippmann, in the New York Herald-Tribune on February 1. In view of the dangerous situation in the Formosa area, I commend Mr. Lippmann's calm, objective appraisal to the attention of Members of Congress and other readers of the Record.

TODAY AND TOMORROW (By Walter Lippmann) THE DARK TUNNEL

It would be a mistake for the country not to take very seriously the difficulties and the dangers which have been raised up in the Formosa area. We are living in anxious days. There is a danger of hostilities of which no one could see the end, once they had begun. And there is danger that we may find ourselves in a very difficult position among our allies and among the uncommitted nations of Asia and elsewhere. Our case has not been well worked out and stated and we are not invulnerable. Let no one suppose that another blistering statement by Senator Knowland or by an admiral can do anything but magnify the danger and compound the difficulties of our position.

On the face of it the position taken publicly by the parties to the great dispute are irreconcilable. Is there, then, the responsible statesmen are asking themselves, any light at the end of the tunnel? There may be some light. It is a dim light and distant. But perhaps with the fate of man at stake, there may be enough reason left in the high places to keep that light burning.

The light is this. The conflict of positions, irreconcilable as it is, is just one stage short of being as bad as it could be. Nobody has delivered an ultimatum and nobody is committed to taking any military action beyond what he is now doing. Neither side is compelled to take military actions now, next week, next month beyond the status quo. The only exception to this is the decision to evacuate the Tachens, and that is an action not to engage forces but to disengage them.

It must obviously be the business of every friend of peace to bring pressure to bear against any action to disturb the status quo. This is not a cease-fire, and certainly not even a beginning of any kind of settlement. It is, however, the necessary condition—as yet not precluded by the official statements of either side—for exchanges and for negotiation. This country will assume that the President has taken every precaution that can be taken to see to it that neither the

Nationalist Chinese nor any of our units in the Far East disturb the status quo.

If eventually there are to be negotiations for a cease-fire, it is evident that they cannot deal with the ultimate issues. We cannot expect Pelping to sign any kind of truce which implies the surrender of her claims to Formosa. Nor should we at this time confuse the juridical issues by recognizing in a formal treaty Chiang's claims to Formosa. The only sound and the only safe position is to treat the ultimate disposition of Formosa as a matter which cannot be settled now even by negotiations, much less by force.

The world's best hope is to play for time, recognizing that a final settlement cannot be contemplated until the Chinese civil war comes to its final end. There are now two Chinas. But it is a great question whether we should treat that fact as the permanent historical nature of things. Neither China will accept the two-China view, and therefore we must in fact treat the two Chinas as provisional. Nobody knows what 10 years will do to either or both of the Chinas.

What is certain is that the issue of the civil war cannot now be decided by military force. The mainland Chinese cannot conquer Formosa. Chiang is unable, and the United States will not attempt to conquer the Chinese mainland. Except for a few unimportant offshore islands, which are negotiable, there is a military deadlock in the Formosa Strait. Let us hope that it can be maintained.

Bank Merger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following press release issued on January 15, 1955, by my good friend George J. Burger, vice president of the National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., upon the announcement of the Manhattan and Chase National Banks proposed merger:

The announcement of the Manhattan and Chase banks merging, which the report discloses will result in the second biggest banking institution in the United States, and which the press reports is a record merger, appears to be following in the footsteps of gigantic mergers both in industry and finance during the past 12 months or more, said George J. Burger, vice president, National Federation of Independent Business today, and, he continued that this merger trend should call for special attention by the administration and by the Congress as to what effect this trend will have as to the future of small business throughout the Nation.

He adds that this situation is being noted by small business throughout the Nation and they are very much concerned as to the effects it will have on their future, both at the production and distribution levels.

Burger adds that the neighborhood bank has been the lifeblood for small business in their respective localities and with finances being controlled in the hands of a few large banking institutions it doesn't offer a bright future for small-business needs. It must be self-evident that if the trend continues in larger and larger banking institutions then the responsibility must rest with the Government in giving to small business a stronger and more influential Small Business Administration which will be able to grant the needed capital loans to small business where the credit responsibility warrants such help by the Federal Government.

Burger concludes that the administration and the Congress cannot delay immediately investigating the effects of these mergers.

Surplus Disposal Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include the text of a statement by the Secretary of Agriculture, Hon. Ezra Taft Benson.

Mr. Speaker, I have been disturbed in recent days by statements on the disposal of surplus agricultural commodities that give a completely erroneous impression of the program and the achievements of Secretary Benson. I refer to a news-paper article on Monday quoting the gentleman from North Carolina COOLEY | as being highly critical of the Secretary, and to an address at the an-nual meeting of the National Agricultural Limestone Producers by the gentleman from Mississippi [Mr. WHITTEN]. This address has now been inserted in the RECORD, where it appeared on pages A467-A470, and I feel that it is unjustly critical of the Department of Agriculture. Many members who attended the annual meeting of the limestone association will recall the following statements by the gentleman from Missis-

What was not in the President's speech is the fact that his administration is trying to give these commodities away under Public Law 480 without even offering them for sale for dollars, under the general authority of the law. The administration's approach would continue to hold an umbrella over world prices.

Representatives of the United States Government are going around the world trying to give away to foreign countries that which they will not offer for sale, commodities which they have the authority to sell but which they will not sell, all to add to foreign aid.

In another part of this talk Mr. WHITTEN says:

The prices of farm products have declined about 25 percent since February 1951. The cost of farming continues to increase. The net farm income in 1954 was down about 30 percent from 1951.

And the outlook is for still further declines in net farm income in 1955 because of the reduction in acreage of controlled crops and the low prices of nearly all farm products.

In reading these remarks and others in Mr. Whitten's speech, a totally erroneous impression of the efforts of the Department of Agriculture and of the condition of the American farmer would be gained.

On January 19 the Secretary of Agriculture. Mr. Benson, appeared before the Senate Committee on Agriculture, and I am sure that if Mr. WHITTEN had heard the testimony of the Secretary at that time he would not have made some of the remarks found in his address. I am not going to burden you today with all the testimony, but I do want to place in the RECORD portions of Secretary Benson's presentation before the Senate Agriculture Committee so that you may have a clear and accurate understanding of the handling of surplus farm commodities and the financial condition of the American farmer.

Mr. Benson had this to say:

GENERAL ECONOMIC SITUATION IS GOOD

At no time since the end of the Korean war has business optimism concerning the future of the American economy generally been stronger or more widespread than now, The longtime outlook for America is good.

Our country has been enjoying a period of relative economic stability during the past year. The widely advertised business readjustment of 1954 evidently reached its bottom about last July. The slow erosion of prices and business activity which had been in progress since shortly after Korean boom halted then, and has turned up modestly. The upward course has been fairly steady, although not spectacular, for the past several months. Our economy is growing at a healthy rate, production is increasing absolutely and on a per worker basis, consumer incomes are rising, and higher average standards of living are in prospect.

Nineteen hundred and fifty-four was the second biggest economic year in the history of America. This was accomplished without war, with Federal Government expenditures down \$11 billion and Federal taxes reduced over \$7 billion. During 1954, for the first time in several years, American soldiers were not being shot at anywhere around the world. And yet we achieved a stable economy at a high level. The transition from post-Korean inflation to semipeace condi-tions was made with the least disturbance to our economy of any post-war economic adjustment in our history.

Truly the economic health of America is good.

Gross national production in 1955 will equal, probably exceed the 1954 level of \$357 billion. It could even equal the record of \$365 billion in 1953. It is reliably predicted that our gross production will reach \$500 billion by 1965. This will mean an average increase of 20 percent for each of us, above our present living standards.

American agriculture will share in the growth and prosperity ahead of us, to the extent it continues to apply science and technology to its production and merchandising. Continued high levels of employment and growing consumer incomes in this country will provide a continued strong domestic demand for the products of our farms. Moreover, we expect export outlets for farm products to be significantly larger than last year. This should also add strength to our domestic farm economy.

1954 PRODUCTION

Total agricultural production last year was substantially the same as the 1953 alltime high, despite widespread drought. With average growing conditions, another record or near-record output is expected in 1955. Some further reduction in wheat acreage is likely to be offset at least partially by increases in other crops, principally feed crops, since restrictions on the use of diverted acres have been relaxed.

Total output from agriculture in 1954 was 14 percent greater than in 1947, the year when net realized income from agriculture was at an all-time high. This output was produced by 18 percent fewer workers than we had on farms in 1947. This means that output per man was about 40 percent above the 1947 level and nearly double 1939, when World War II began. These comparisons give eloquent proof of the continuing technological revolution that has made American agriculture the most efficient in all the world.

FARM FINANCIAL SITUATION HAS STABILIZED

In this overall environment of a stable to strong general economy, American agriculture may also look forward to economic stability and continued growth. Although farm income has declined slightly more in the last year than has that of the general economy, it is significant that its decline has been very markedly slowed from the rapid drop of 2 years ago. The most rapid drop in farm prices and income occurred in 1951 and 1952 following the Korean inflation.

The price-parity ratio has been remarkably stable during the past year. last month at 86, only 8 points below the figure for 23 months earlier when this administration assumed office. In the 23 months before January 1953, the price-parity ratio had dropped a total of 19 points.

Realized net income of farmers last year was approximately \$12.5 billion. The United States farm income has about stopped its postwar decline. Net farm income in 1955 should approach that of 1954. Prices received by farmers may be expected to average close to the levels prevailing at the present time, and cost rates or prices paid by farmers probably will not change much in the year ahead. This means that the parity ratio, likewise, will remain fairly stable in the year ahead.

The small changes in farm income and farm prices between 1953 and 1954 suggest that most of the postwar adjustment has been completed, and that we are in a period of comparative stability. The adjustment agriculture has undergone the last few years has been difficult. However, statistics alone don't tell the full story.

While our total farm income was declining

from 1947 to 1954 by some 25 percent, our farm population was also declining about 20 percent. This means, therefore, that per capita income in agriculture has declined markedly less than has total income. In the last 7 years, per capita income from agriculture has declined only about 5 percent. If we take account of the income that farm people receive from nonfarm sources, the realized per capita income of farm people from all sources actually increased 6 percent from 1947 to 1954.

It is essential that we maintain fluidity in our agricultural population. As we increase efficiency of our production of food and fiber, it is possible to do our production job with fewer workers on farms. This results in a higher living standard for our farmers as well as for our urban people.

PRODUCTION CONTROLS AND DIVERTED ACRES

Marketing quotas approved for wheat and cotton, along with the impending rice referendum, call for a reduction of about 91/4 million acres in 1955 from the acreage planted to these crops in 1954. Most of this reduction is in wheat. The 1955 acreage allotment for the commercial corn producing area may be larger than the 1954 allotment, however,

This is the second consecutive year in which wheat and cotton acreages have been curtailed, and likewise the second successive year in which quotas for these crops have been established. In the absence of any minimums, the national wheat acreage allotment for 1955 would have been about 19 million acres instead of the 55 million acres proclaimed, and the cotton national acreage allotment about 15 million acres instead of the 18.1 million acres proclaimed.

This situation points up the fact that in 1955 we again face the question of how best to use acreage taken out of production of the basic commodities. In 1954 feed-grain plantings increased by 13 million acres over 1953 and flaxseed and soybeans increased by 4 million acres.

The sole purpose of production controls is to balance production with markets-actual prospective. New market imbalances created by crops produced on diverted acres can offset in considerable measure the purpose of the original controls.

In 1955 we will be operating for the first year under our new farm program. In sub-mitting that program we expressed the hope would increase both domestic consumption and exports to the point where controls would be reduced to a minimum. However, we must recognize that achievement of this objective will take time for some crops, such as wheat, where there are exceedingly large surpluses. In addition, it will depend upon the extent to which the acreage reduction is offset by higher per-acre

SURPLUS DISPOSALS

The primary authority of the Department of Agriculture in the disposal of stocks acquired in price-support operations is contained in the Commodity Credit Corporation Charter Act and the amendments acted by Congress from time to time. Under this authority, sales have been made from Commodity Credit Corporation stocks to the private United States trade totaling approximately \$940 million during 1954. About \$500 million of this total have been sold for export. The total value of all dispositions of Commodity Credit Corporation stocks during 1954 have totaled about \$1,400,000,000.

Public Law 480 enacted by the 83d Congress broadened the existing authority for the disposal of price-support stocks. sales for foreign currency were authorized in addition to that provided in the mutualsecurity program administered by the Foreign Operations Administration. Second, the authority of the President to provide emergency relief abroad was broadened and made effective for a period of 3 years. Third, existing authority to make donations of price-support stocks to meet domestic and foreign relief needs was liberalized. Fourth. new impetus was given to the Commodity Credit Corporation's existing barter authoritv.

Since there has been so much interest expressed in the sales for foreign currency under title I of Public Law 480, I would like to give you a fairly complete report on this operation.

TITLE I, PUBLIC LAW 480

We are making real progress in the implementation of this authority. Agreements have already been signed with Turkey and Yugoslavia. We expect to be in position to issue purchase authorizations under the \$85 million Japanese program by the end of January or early February. Some of the negotiations with other countries are now being concluded, and we believe we will be able to sign agreements with 2 or 3 of them by the end of this month. Programs negotiated or under negotiation total approximately \$453 million against the \$700 million authorized by the law. Therefore, present programs will utilize about two-thirds of the total funds authorized for a 3-year period. Finally, purchase authorizations have already been issued totaling about \$60 million at export market value, including ocean transportation for wheat, barley, oats, and cotton under the Turkish and Yugoslav programs. Six cargoes of wheat have already been sold for prompt shipment by the private trade under the latter program.

This is concrete progress.

I know there has been some comment that there was delay in getting this program

In this connection, I want to emphasize that the safeguards and requirements contained in the statute necessitated careful planning of integrated country programs. This careful planning had to be implemented by painstaking and extended negotiations with the governments of the countries involved, in order to assure achievement of the purposes of the act, before agree-ments could be signed and sales made.

I said this is a new law. It is also a complex law affecting the interests of other agen-cies of the Government in addition to the Department of Agriculture. The law provides that agreements must be negotiated with foreign governments covering necessary standards and safeguards prior to sales for foreign currency. In addition to these matters directly affecting the sale and utilization of the agricultural commodities, it is necessary in negotiating agreements under the act to make provision for:

- The protection of our usual marketings. 2. The uses of the foreign currency payments among the eight categories permitted
- under the law. 3. Appropriate exchange rates governing
- initial payments and exchange rate guar anties.
- 4. The terms, and method of administration and supervision of, any economic or multilateral trade development loans.
- The deposit of foreign currency payments to special United States accounts.
- 6. United States cargo preference requirements.

It has been said that title I programs may endanger our normal marketings. certainly a possibility unless programs are carefully developed and carried out. We believe we are taking the necessary steps to prevent such interference. For example, in the Japanese program, we have obtained firm assurances from that government that purchases of about 175,000 bales of cotton yen will be in addition to 775,000 bales which they will purchase with dollars. I think you will find general agreement in the cotton trade that this usual marketing figure is realistic in view of Japan's balance of payments situation.

The statement has been made that title I is a "give-away" program. Let's analyze this statement. The test of this point is the use to which the foreign currencies are put, Analysis of the programs within the \$453 million target show that about 25 percent of the foreign currencies will be used to meet United States obligations. These obligations would otherwise be paid with appropriated funds. These are in effect dollar sales. About 5 percent of the currencies will be used to expand markets for United States agricultural commodities-about 12 percent to purchase strategic materials for the supplemental stockpile and 7 percent for other uses beneficial to the United States, authorized under the law. All of the above United States uses which total 49 percent are for the primary benefit of the United States.

About 38 percent of the foreign currencies will be loaned to foreign governments for economic development and multilateral trade purposes. These are not grants. They are purposes. These are not grants. They are loans which are to be repaid with interest, either in dollars or in foreign currency which can be used for any purpose of the United States. I can assure you that foreign governments do not consider the terms of those loans as "give-aways."

About 13 percent of the proceeds are scheduled to be used to strengthen the armed forces of friendly countries. While this use results in no return of materials to the United States, it will further the common defense effort of the free world.

We have been asked on several occasions for our estimates of the different commodities that will be included in the first year's program. It is not possible at this early date to give a clean-cut answer to this question because several of the negotiations are still underway. However, based on our experience to date, it appears that about 43 percent of the export market value of programs will be spent for grains, about 28 percent for cotton, 14 percent for tobacco, 7 percent for other commodities, and 8 percent for ocean transportation. These percentages are based on export market values rather than on CCC costs since the purchase authorizations to foreign governments will reflect export market values.

It is possible to indicate a tentative breakdown of the \$453 million target by geo-graphical areas. This breakdown is as follows:

1	Millions
Western Europe	\$205.5
South America	44.0
Middle East (Turkey)	30.3
Southeast Asia	173, 0

Total ____

Title I is one of the immediate tools that we have for moving our surpluses abroad in constructive manner. It is particularly helpful in assisting us to overcome the obstacles that have been confronting American agriculture in seeking markets abroad under the prevailing conditions which have resulted from foreign-exchange problems and restrictions on imports from the dollar area. But we must not lose sight of the fact that in the longer run our primary emphasis must be directed to sales for dollars based on our ability to deliver quality merchandise at prices competitive in world markets.

Under Title II of Public Law 480, surplus agricultural commodities may be furnished, out of CCC stocks and on a grant basis. to friendly governments or friendly peoples to assist in meeting famine or other urgent relief requirements. Of the \$300 million authorized for 3 years, on the basis of CCC investment in the commodities, programs already authorized or under active considera-tion in the first half of this year approximate \$125 million. It has been estimated that additional commitments of \$25 million be required during the remainder of the first fiscal year under the program. Shipments authorized up to this time total \$68 milion of which \$52 million is grain, \$10 million is fats and oils, and \$6 million in other categories.

SECTION 416 DONATIONS

Title III of Public Law 480 amends and liberalizes the provisions of the Agricultural Act of 1949 providing for the donation of price support commodities under Section 416. The new legislation authorizes CCC to pay reprocessing, packaging, handling, and distribution charges of commodities donated up to the time of delivery to a designated agency for domestic distribution or to shipside in case of distribution abroad.

The broadened authority has been extremely helpful in expanding the distribu-tion of surplus foods to eligible groups in this country and abroad. During the July through December 1954 period, foods donated under this authority totaled million pounds compared with 602 million pounds during the entire previous fiscal year. Donations to groups in this country totaled 244 million pounds in the last 6 months of 1954 compared with 418 million pounds during the previous fiscal year. Donations to welfare agencies for distribution abroad totaled 198 million pounds in the last half of 1954 compared with 184 million pounds during the entire 1953-54 fiscal year.

BARTER

No new legal authority for barter was added by section 303 of Public Law 480, but this legislation established a policy of encouraging the barter of surplus commodities for strategic materials or for goods required in the foreign assistance program or off-shore

construction. Prior to the enactment of this legislation, the Department generally limited its barter activities under the CCC Charter Act to those materials which could be immediately transferred to the stockpile or to other agencies with full reimbursement to CCC. Under this policy, during the first 5 years of the barter program through last July 1, about \$110 million in surplus agricultural commodities were exported under the program.

After Public Law 480 was enacted, the Office of Defense Mobilization established long term stockpile goals and agreed that it would request appropriations for strategic materials acquired by CCO within these long term goals. Under this arrangement, the CCC broadened its policies and is now accepting strategic materials for its own account within these goals for transfer at an appropriate time to the national stockpile.

As a result of the broadened program, barter activity has about doubled over the amount of barter previously being carried out. Over the last 6 months, barter commitments have been made for about \$93 million, an amount almost equal to the value of total barter activity during the 5 years up to July 1, 1954. We expect that the barter program will reach a total of \$200 million during the current fiscal year.

All operations are conducted through private United States trade. The materials acquired are accepted by CCC at prices not in excess of fair market values. CCC arranges to release from its own inventories against the barter contracts an equivalent value of agricultural commodities based on the export market prices established for sales within friendly nations of the world.

SECTION 402 OF THE MUTUAL SECURITY ACT OF 1954, PUBLIC LAW 665

In addition to the sale of surplus agricultural commodities for foreign currencies authorized by Public Law 480, section 402 of the Mutual Security Act of 1954, Public Law 665, also provides for sales for foreign currencies. It requires that \$350 million of the funds appropriated for FOA programs must be used for the sale of surplus agricultural commodities for foreign currencies. Nearly one-third of this minimum, \$103 million, had been authorized by the end of December. The Foreign Operations Administra-tion has estimated that about 50 percent of these funds will be used for cotton, 30 percent for grains, 15 percent for fats and oils and the remaining 5 percent for other agricultural commodities.

COTTON

Cotton exports this year are expected to be about 20 percent above those of a year ago. Excessive foreign stocks had been reduced at the beginning of the season and demand has been good. In addition, the private cotton trade in this country is doing an excellent selling job. I know that many people within the trade are firmly convinced that the way to build world markets for the long pull is through aggressive and competitive selling, rather than through outright dumping or other Government action which would adversely affect trade.

American cotton today is being offered for sale upon a competition basis which reflects generally better quality.

Prices received by American farmers for cotton have been at or above the 90-percent support level since last April. They will be supported at the same level next year.

Disposition commitments of CCC commodities, Jan. 1 through Dec. 31, 1954

- A. Commercial sales (to pri-
- vate U. S. trade): 1. Domestic sales____
- \$439,099,312 2. Export sales_ 499, 783, 561 B. Noncommercial sales (to
 - foreign governments, relief societies and others) -

16, 269, 466

Disposition commitments of CCC commodities, Jan. 1 through Dec. 31, 1954-Con.

C. Intragovernmental transfers (to FOA, including title II, Public Law 480, armed services, sec. 32, drought emergency program and other U. S.

\$133, 228, 105

agencies) _______ D. Barter (under CCC Charter Act and Public Law

68, 663, 383

Total returns ... _ 1, 157, 043, 827 E. Donations (title III, Public Law 480 and Public Law 690) _____ F. Fire, theft, spoilage, etc ...

246, 899, 165 2, 729, 792

Total value, all dispo-

sitions_____ 1, 403, 942, 992

By way of conclusion, let me assure you that we see a great decade ahead for American farmers. American agriculture is still a good stable industry and it always will be. Those who are actively engaged in it must never lose confidence in its future.

The basic philosophy underlying the Agricultural Act of 1954 will encourage individual farmers who are efficient and ambitious to participate profitably in the thrilling opportunities immediately ahead of us in the

growing science of agriculture.

Agriculture offers equally as good an opportunity over the next generation as any other comparable vocation for the young man or young woman who desires a factory living standard, an opportunity to live and rear a family in a wholesome environment, and the ability to provide one's own security for his declining years.

Our constant objective in the United States Department of Agriculture is to do all in our power to promote a stable, prosperous and free agriculture.

Mr. Speaker, for further light on this subject, I would like to refer to the hearings on the Urgent Deficiency Appropriation bill for 1955 in the Committee on Appropriations of the Senate. On page 21 of the printed hearings, Senator Dirk-SEN asked Undersecretary True D. Morse to explain the operations. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include as a part of my remarks the pertinent sections of the Senate hearing:

HOUSE REPORT

Senator Dirksen. Mr. Morse, what I am getting to, and I don't want to belabor this, Mr. Chairman, but doubtless you have seen the House report, and they write on page 1, and they are speaking now about a majority of the members of the committee over there on appropriations who heard your testimony:

They believe that this difficulty is due to the failure of the Corporation to discharge its responsibility under its charter to sell its commodities competitively in world markets. Testimony before the committee shows that none of the large stocks of cotton, cheese, corn, rice, seeds, naval stores, tobacco, and wool have been or are being offered for sale on a competitive basis, despite basic authority in law to do so."

Now, if that is not correct, I would not let that stand, if I were sitting over on your side of the table. That can be considered as something of an impeachment of your operations unless you have got an answer for it, and I am just trying to find out what the answer is.

SALES UNDER INTERNATIONAL WHEAT AGREEMENT

Mr. Morse. I believe, sir, that the reading of the total hearing will develop the answer. I would like to further state here that the largest single item that we own is wheat.

As the committee well knows, and the Senate well understands, under the International Wheat Agreement, we are selling wheat at a subsidized price, and outside of the wheat agreements we are meeting world markets by selling wheat competitively. That is being done right along. Corn is not much of an export item, and that is an item on that list.

When you take our holdings of wheat and corn and add to it the commodities which CCC holds which are being sold competitively, it leaves a total for the group that is named of \$661 million against an inventory of \$3,779 million.

One item named is naval stores. Because of the drought supplies of naval stores are quite low, the market is about at the support price, and we might run the risk of domestic shortages if we were trying to push naval stores out into export.

Also, I would like to call the attention of the committee to the fact that in the case of cottonseed oil, for instance, we reached a peak inventory of 1,035,000,000 pounds, but primarily through export sales, our present inventory as of January 5 is down to about 314 million pounds. That is about a third of the peak amount.

We are aggressively making efforts to sell, and we have had success in selling. Furthermore, may I call the committee's attention to the fact that this Public Law 480 authority is used in a way which will not disturb regular marketings. After we have gone as far as we can in moving these products to market and if it then appears there can be disposal in a constructive way to help in our own development of future markets. military uses and technical assistance, and so on, then we utilize the authority under Public Law 480.

CLARIFICATION OF HOUSE REPORT

Senator DIRKSEN. May I make this suggestion? I do believe because of the tremendous interest in this matter that Mr. Morse ought to submit perhaps a 1-page memorandum that is responsive to this item in the House report.

I would not care to let that stand. If that is not a correct estimate, I think that should be done. And do it in ordinary lan-guage so that we have a pretty clear picture of what you are doing in the competitive field and in this assistance field.

I do not want to fool anybody on this. If half of this is grant and it is turned over for administration to FOA, or to the Department of Defense, I just want to know what additions these are getting. just like providing them the money.

You say, "All right, money comes from another source," but you are going to manage the money and the supplies over there.

This gives point to what Senator ELLENDER said, that actually without the knowledge of Congress you could be building up a fund that is going to require a good many people in all countries where foreign aid goes on to continue this long after that agency may have been liquidated.

Senator Ellender. As I pointed out, I came across at least a dozen countries in which I obtained from our FOA representatives, information to the effect that they expected to get money from that source in order to keep themselves in the picture.

Senator Dirksen. I would just like to know.

Senator ELLENDER. Certainly.

Senator DIRKSEN. Mr. Chairman, if you are amenable to that suggestion-Chairman HAYDEN. I think we would be

glad to have Mr. Morse do that.

Mr. Morse. We will do that, and I would call attention to this report which gives on page 98, at the end of 1954, this greater utilization of surplus foods will give you the donations domestically and abroad. bears on this, and we would be very happy

to provide the other, and we would be very happy to sit down with congressional committees and explore this whole thing. It is a new program. We are getting started in it and we would like to discuss it with the appropriate committee of the Senate.

(The statement referred to follows:)

"EXPORT SALES AT COMPETITIVE WORLD PRICES

"The Department is keenly aware of the effect large Government stocks can have on the domestic market and of the need for effective action to dispose of these surpluses

in an orderly manner.
"We also recognize that exports are an important outlet for our agricultural commodities and that a policy of encouraging exports should be followed. In line with this policy, we now are offering a large number of commodities now in inventory for export on a competitive-bid basis.

"At the same time we must recognize that use of our authority to reduce prices for export sales must be resolved on a commodity-by-commodity basis in which major consideration is given to the effect of such action on farmers and the farm program.

"There are many factors that must be con-sidered in determining whether such reduced sales prices have advantages to farmers and the farm program. For example, we must consider the cost to the whole farm program, the effects upon other farm commodities, the extent to which exports will be increased, the genuine longtime benefits. if any, to the commodity, the world commercial demand for the commodity, and the likelihood that other exporting countries may match or shade any price we may establish

'It might be injurious to the interests of farmers to adopt a blanket policy under which all our stocks not required for reserve purposes would be offered for export sales at world price levels. We must constantly consider whether such action would greatly weaken world commodity markets whether other producing countries would have no alternative except to lower prices still further. If buying countries delayed purchases as long as possible, with repercus-sions on our regular commercial sales, we might have no alternative except to follow prices down.

"As pointed out in the committee report, at present the Department is not offering for export sale on a competitive bid basis its stocks of these commodities: Cotton, naval stores, tobacco, cheese, corn, rice, seeds, and wool. The reasons why we are not doing this are as follows:

"COTTON

"The Commodity Credit Corporation has in its inventory approximately 1.8 million bales of cotton.

"The Department's policy has been to not sell its inventory stocks in competition with producer cotton during the heavy marketing season since whenever the available supply of producer's cotton exceeds the demand the surplus will go into the pricesupport program. At present CCC has loans on approximately 7 million bales of cotton in which the individual producer still has an equity. A policy of offering cotton for sale on a basis competitive with world prices would result in all export sales of cotton first moving through the loan program into the stocks of the Corporation and back out to the trade rather than through normal trade channels. Such a program would result in materially larger administrative costs to the Corporation and in our opinion find little, if any, support from any segment of the cotton trade, including the cotton producer. It also would tend to depress the world price, widening the spread between domestic and world prices and increase CCC's losses, because we export such a high percentage of cotton sold in world trade. In the 1953-54 marketing year cotton exports totaled 3.2 million bales.

The estimate for the 1954-55 marketing year is 4.5 million bales.

"NAVAL STORES

"Commodity Credit Corporation stocks of rosin and turpentine represent the bulk of these commodities available both in the United States and abroad. CCC turpentine stocks represent less than 1 month's supply and its rosin is equal approximately to 3 months' supply. There is no surplus in naval stores.

"CCC is offering its turpentine and rosin available for sale at stated weekly prices in line with market prices. In view of domestic and foreign short supply position, which has been gradually building up for the past year as evidenced by an increase in rosin exports of 27 percent in the 1954 crop year, there would be no justification in pricing export shipments at less than prices for domestic sales.

"TOBACCO

"The small lot in CCC inventory is cigartype tobacco of qualities normally used domestically for chewing tobacco and is available for sale on a list-price basis by the grower cooperative association along other tobaccos still pledged for loan by these associations. Practically all tobacco under price support still is under loan through grower cooperative associations which receive, pack, store, and sell the loan tobacco. These tobacco grower organizations, as well as the industry, have consistently opposed the sale of loan stocks at reduced prices except into new markets. Tobacco pledged for loan may not be redeemed. Instead, the associations apply all proceeds of sales to reduce the indebtedness to CCC until the loan is fully repaid or the tobacco is all sold. The associations offer the tobacco on a catalog list-price basis, and the sales price is the same without regard to whether the tobacco is to be used domestically or exported.

"CHEESE

"Our current inventory consists of Cheddar cheese. World trade in Cheddar cheese is limited almost entirely to imports by the United Kingdom, which generally buys on the basis of long-time contracts from Commonwealth countries. CCC has offered Cheddar cheese for export sale at 25.5 cents per pound for grade A and 24.5 cents per pound for grade B, since May 1954. These prices were established at levels in line with world market prices. Despite the fact that these prices are close to 10 cents a pound below domestic prices, we have sold only a very small quantity. We have recently of-fered limited quantities of butter on a competitive bid basis and intend to utilize our experience under these butter operations in connection with future disposals of cheese and other dairy products.

"WOOL

"CCC stocks of wool have never been offered on a competitive bid basis for export. For many years, the United States has imported from 2 to 3 times more wool than has been produced in this country. Wool imports are subject to a fairly high duty, and domestic prices of wool are usually substantially higher than prices in foreign markets. Under such conditions sales of CCC wool can be made much more advantageously in the domestic market to replace imports than they can be made in foreign markets. Under the provisions of the National Wool Act of 1954. an incentive program for expanding wool production was recently announced. program provides for price support at 106 percent of parity with payments being made to producers for the amount by which average prices of wool fall below the support level. Thus after CCC takes over defaulted loans under 1954 wool program, no more wool will be acquired by CCC. The Secretary announced on October 12, 1954, that through May 1955 no CCC stocks of wool would be

sold for less than 103 percent of the 1954 loan rate plus sales commission. This was done to protect farmers in selling the balance of the 1954 wool clip at prices at or above 1954 loan rates. At the same time the Secretary also announced that after May 1955, CCC would proceed in an orderly manner to liquidate its wool holdings over a 2-year period.

"CORN

"The United States has never been a large seller of corn for export. It is probable that the United States will export a normal quantity without CCC selling its corn at less than the market price. Last summer CCC had a 15-cent per bushel export subsidy on corn. Sales under that program were small. subsidy on corn exports was suspended at the beginning of the heavy marketing season for corn because it was felt that CCC sales for export at reduced prices should not be made at a time when farmers were making large sales of corn. Sales are now made at the market price. Because corn is widely used for feed in the United States, feeders might object if CCC corn were sold for export at substantially less than it is available to them.

"RICE

"CCC rice inventories are small relative to the total carryover, but loans are at record levels, in excess of 15 million 100-pound bags. Rice producers have repeatedly requested that CCC not offer rice for export because of the large 1954 crop, which caused the domestic price to be below support and because CCC sales for export would interfere with commercial export sales,

"SEEDS

"CCC stocks of seed have been reduced sharply in the past year. Some of the seeds were sold for export on a competitive bid basis. There is no current support program for seeds. In view of the 1954 drought and other factors increasing domestic seed requirements, it is expected that most of the remaining stocks can be moved in domestic channels.

'In addition to the above comments on the commodities mentioned in the House committee report, the following information is pertinent in the case of wheat, tung oil, and cotton linters:

"WHEAT

"CCC has sold substantial quantities of wheat, about 130 million bushels from July 1954 through December 1954, from all three coasts under both IWA and non-IWA. Additional quantities are under negotiation under Public Law 480 and will move in the immediate future. Wheat sales are made at the market price less the IWA subsidy in effect at the time of sales. This gives exporters an opportunity to compete at world prices. Such sales, because of the futures market, do not lend themselves to competitive bids.

"TUNG OIL

The United States usually imports substantial quantities of tung oil, and large foreign supplies of this oil are available. Sales of tung oil by CCC for export would simply result in United States tung oil replacing foreign tung oil in normal foreign markets, which in turn probably would result in larger imports of tung oil into the Sult in included States.

United States.

"COTTON LINTERS

"CCC has not offered its stocks of cotton linters for export sale primarily because such sales would interfere with commercial ex-port sales of linters or products made therefrom. So long as the present cottonseed price support is in effect, any export sales of price support is in effect, any export sales of linters by CCC would result in an equivalent quantity of linters being acquired by CCC under the support program. In its current support program, CCC has attempted to value linters at a level low enough so that little, if any, linters would be acquired by CCC, but no sales are currently being made from CCC stocks,"

Wiretapping

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD. I include an important decision and opinion in the supreme court, New York County, by Mr. Justice Hofstadter, one of the most respected members of that bench.

Judge Hofstadter's searching observations about the difficult and delicate subject of tapping telephone wires in search of evidence in criminal proceedings are well worth the attention of every Member of Congress and citizen. His comments are of particular interest to me, because the statute under which the decision was rendered, requiring a court order to authorize such tapping of wires, was enacted under my sponsorship while a member of the New York State Senate: SUPREME COURT, NEW YORK COUNTY—TELE-PHONE COMMUNICATIONS—INTERCEPTIONS

TO OBTAIN EVIDENCE OF GAMBLING

The interception of telephone communications by court order entered pursuant to article I, section 12, of the State constitution and section 813a of the code of criminal procedure is a direct invasion of the right of privacy and the court's discretion granting such an order should be carefully and sparingly exercised. An application for such an order for the purpose of obtaining possible evidence of gambling should be denied in the absence of a showing of circumstances justifying the exercise of discretion.

IN THE MATTER OF AN APPLICATION FOR AN ORDER PERMITTING THE INTERCEPTION OF TELEPHONE COMMUNICATIONS OF ANONY-MOUS-DECIDED JANUARY 10, 1955

Hofstadter, Judge: Application is made to me for an order permitting the interception of telephone communications over a line specified in the proposed order submitted for my signature. The purpose of the requested interception, as stated in the papers in support of the application, is to secure evidence of the commission of the crime of bookmaking. The application now made follows the general pattern of like applications heretofore made to me, which also, in the main, had as their objective the detection of gambling in some form. Though I have in the past signed such orders I have done so with much misgiving. Prompted by this misgiving, I devised certain expedients as a curb on excessive or unwarranted resort to such orders.

Some years ago I instituted the requirement that every application to me for an in-terception order be supported by the endorsement of an officer of rank in the police department, and that written reports of the results obtained from any interception ordered be thereafter submitted to me. Even with these restrictions, I have granted the orders with reluctance. The reports received by me, instead of allaying my anxiety, meredeepened it. These showed some arrests and fewer convictions and then rarely, if ever, for a heinous offense. The sense of uneasiness born of this situation, as well as the current discussions of wiretapping, have led me to give the problem further study.

The application is made under a provision of the constitution of this State and a statute implementing it. After intense and pro-longed debate the constitutional convention of 1938 adopted the following provision, now part of article I, section 12, of the con-

"The right of the people to be secure against unreasonable interception of telephone and telegraph communications shall not be violated, and ex parte orders or warrants shall issue only upon oath or affirma-tion that there is reasonable ground to believe that evidence of crime may be thus obtained, and identifying the particular means of communication, and particularly describing the person or persons whose communications are to be intercepted and the purpose thereof."

The statute is section 813-a of the Code of Criminal Procedure, effective in 1942. So far as here material it reads:

"An ex parte order for the interception of telegraphic or telephonic communications may be issued by any justice of the supreme court or judge of a county court or of the court of general sessions of the county of New York upon oath or affirmation of a district attorney, or of the attorney general or of an officer above the rank of sergeant of any police department of the State or of any political subdivision thereof, that there is reasonable ground to believe that evidence of crime may be thus obtained and identifying the particular telephone line or means of communication and particularly describing the person or persons whose communications are to be intercepted and the purpose thereof. In connection with the issuance of such an order the justice or judge may examine on oath the applicant and any other witness he may produce for the purpose of satisfying himself of the existence of reasonable grounds for the granting of such application. * • •"

I am not confronted with the use as evidence of the fruits of wiretapping; the sole question I am concerned with is whether the wiretapping itself should be allowed.

A review of the pertinent decisions shows that in New York there is no limitation on the use of wiretap evidence. In accordance with the weight of authority in this country the New York rule has consistently been that evidence is admissible, however tainted its source, and though obtained through violation of law. (People v. Defore (242 N. Y., 13, 126)). Nor has the prohibition of unreasonable search and seizure, introduced into the State constitution in 1938 (article I, sec. 12)-before 1938 the prohibition was to be found only in the civil rights law (sec. 8) altered this rule. An article seized in defiance of the constitutional provision may still be received in evidence. (People v. Richter's Jewelers, Inc. (291 N. Y., 161, 1943)).

Unauthorized telephone interception is a crime in this State (penal law, secs. 552, 1423, subdiv. 6). Yet unlawful wiretaps may be received in evidence. (Matter of Davis (252 App. Div., 591, 598, 1937); People v. McDonald (177 App. Dic. 806, 809-810, 1917)). Even since the adoption of the 1938 constitution it has been held that wiretap evidence is admissible, though the order authorizing the interception is void or irregular. (People

v. Katz (201 Misc., 414, 1952).

The decisions of the Federal courts in no way impair the authoritative effect of the foregoing rulings. Not alone do the fourth and fifth amendments to the United States Constitution, which proscribe unreasonable search and seizure and self-incrimination, not operate on the States (Twining v. New Jersey (211 U. S. 78, 92-93, 1908)), but the Supreme Court has held that the tapping of telephone wires and the use of the resultant wiretap evidence do not violate either of these amendments (Olmstead v. United States (277 U. S. 438, 1928)). The later cases in the Supreme Court, in some of which intercepted telephone conversations and evidence derived from them have been excluded in the Federal courts, deal mainly with the interpretation of section 605 of the Federal Communications Act (47 U. S. C.) (Nardone v. United States (302 U. S. 377, 1937); Nardone v. United States (308 U. S. 338, 1939); Weiss v. United States (308 U. S. 321, 1939); Goldstein v. United States (316 U. S. 114, 1942); Goldman v. United States, 316 U.S. 129, 1942)).

Despite the ruling in Weiss v. United States (308 U. S. 321) that section 605 of the Communications Act extends to intrastate communications our courts have uniformly held that the section does not forbid the reception in evidence by them of the fruits of

wiretaps obtained in compliance with section 813a of the Code of Criminal Procedure (Harlem Check Cashing Corp'n v. Bell (296 N. Y. 15, 1946); People v. Stemmer (298 N. Y. 728, 1948, aff'd sub nom); Stemmer v. New York, without opinion, by evenly divided court (336 U. S. 963), rehearing denied (337 U. S. 921, 1949); People v. Feld (305 N. 322, 329-330, 1953); see also Black v. Impelliteri (201 Misc. 371, 1952, aff'd 281 App. Div. 671, 1952, appeal dismissed (305 N. Y. 724, 1953)). Any inconclusive effect which might perhaps be attributed to the Supreme Court affirmance of the Stemmer decision by an evenly divided court seems to have be come academic. For, in Schwartz v. Texas (344 U. S. 199, 1952), the Court held that interceptions obtained in violation of section 605 of the Federal Communications Act may nevertheless be received in evidence in a State court. In the Court's opinion, the

It thus becomes obvious that the fruits of telephone interceptions made pursuant to an order under section 813-a of the Code of Criminal Procedure can successfully withtand legal attack and may be received in evidence in the courts of this State without let or hindrance

Federal act was not intended to impose a

rule of evidence on the State courts (344

U. S. 199, 203).

The very immunity so given to the wiretaps is alarming. The question before me now, however, is not the use which may be made of the fruits of an accomplished interception, but whether the interception itself should be authorized in the first place. Whatever the purpose of the interception, the stark fact remains that it is an intrusion on the right of privacy. Justice Holmes, in his dissent in the Olmstead case, referred to wiretapping as "dirty business" (277 U. S. 438, 469). Justice Roberts, in the first Nardone case, called it "inconsistent with ethical standards and destructive of personal lib-

erty" (302 U. S. 378, 383).

Nor can we forget the words of Justice Brandeis in his memorable dissent in the Olmstead case:

* The makers of our Constitution undertook to secure conditions favorable to the pursuit of happiness. They recognized the significance of man's spiritual nature, of his feelings and of his intellect. They knew that only a part of the pain, pleasure, and satisfactions of life are to be found in material things. They sought to protect Americans in their beliefs, their thoughts, their emotions, and their sensations. ferred, as against the Government, the right to be let alone—the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized men * * *" (277 U. S. 438, 478).

This expression is an accurate appraisal of human values and of the things men hold dear in life. These are concepts not to be brushed aside when judicial action is invoked by which a realm, ordinarily inviolable, is exposed to official invasion and surveillance.

Though I may deplore the fact that the views of Justices Holmes and Brandeis in the Olmstead case did not prevail in the constitutional convention of 1938, I am bound in duty by the quoted provision of the State constitution (art. I, sec. 12) as the expression of the will of the people of the State that wiretapping should not be outlawed, however unsavory in character. But when

the people declared that "the right of the people to be secure against unreasonable interception of telephone and telegraph communications shall not be violated," they did not speak only hollow words. The recognition of privacy only dimly presaged in older systems of law is part of the expanding concept of the individual's right to be free from unwarranted intrusion (civil rights law, secs. 50-51). The right of privacy is the right "to be let alone"—the right of "inviolate personality." A tapped wire is the greatest invasion of privacy possible. However rationalized, its authorized use has its roots in the amoral doctrine that the end justifies the Hence, the most drastic safeguards cannot be too stringent.

The safeguards prescribed in the constitution itself reveal a clear recognition of the danger which lurks in too ready a use of the power to tap wires. The exercise of the power given by law to authorize a telephone interception is within the broad discretion of the judge to whom application for an order is made. And the real—not nominal—exercise of a true—not formal—discretion is a supremely important procedural safeguard. Dean Griswold, of the Harvard Law

School, put it:

"Liberty is preserved by the maintenance of proper procedures. It is through procedural rules that the individual is protected against arbitrary governmental action. The complaint against the Star Chamber was chiefly one of bad procedures. procedures are of the essence of due process. Mr. Justice Brandeis wrote some 30 ago, 'in the development of our liberty insistence on procedural regularities has been a large factor' (Burdeau v. McDowell (256 U. S., 465, 477, 1921)). More recently Mr. Justice Frankfurter has put the same truth in these words: 'The history of liberty largely has been the history of observance of procedural safeguards' (McNabb v. United States (318 U. S. 332, 347, 1943))."

The need for the suppression of the crime of gambling is not a consideration exclusive all other social imperatives. longer tolerate the rack and the thumbscrew

and like instruments.

The primacy of the community's right to protect itself certainly "is a postulate in-herent in the life" of social order. But we must be zealous to appraise justly the relative spheres of individual right and public interest, and maintain an exacting though delicate balance between them. The balance may become precarious at times; and when the sacrifice of privacy does not produce a commensurate advantage to the community the price is too high—to adapt the words of England's new Lord Chancellor. ons designed for the protection of law become the instruments of tryranny," he said recently, echoing Coke's classicism that "every oppression by authority is a kind of destruction * * *; and it is the worst oppression that is done by the color of

The telephone is in such general use that it is truly a part of our everyday life. It is a ready vehicle of communication for people of every station and everything of mutual human concern, whatever its nature, passes over its wires. Interference with its privacy is a direct assault on liberty, and the mainte nance of an interception differs in no substantial sense from stationing a police officer at the elbow of the person using the telephone to record what he says.

A telephone interception is a far more devastating measure than any search warrant. A search warrant is confined to a definite place and to specific items, or, at least, to items of a stated class or descrip-Those in possession of the searched premises know the search is going on and, when the officer has completed his search, whether successfully or not, he departs. Not so in the case of a telephone interception.

The interception order is obtained ex parte, and the person whose line is to be tapped is, of course, in ignorance of the fact. The tap is maintained continuously, day and night. Everything said over the line is heard, how-ever foreign to the stated objective of the law-enforcement officers. The most intimate conversations, personal, social, professional, business, or even confidential, of an unlimited number of persons may be laid bare. In effect, the line of everyone who is called from or makes a call to the tapped line at any time is being tapped during the maintenance of the tap. When a line in a public telephone booth is tapped, as has on occasion been done, the conversations of people having no relation of any kind to the operator of the place in which the booth is situated or the person whose line is tapped are overheard. It is little wonder that Justice Brandels was moved to say in the Olmstead case:

"As a means of esplonage, writs of assistance and general warrants are but puny instruments of tyranny and oppression when compared with wiretapping" (277 U. S., 438, 476).

It cannot even be said in partial extenuation of this revolting practice that it yields worthwhile results. The reports submitted to me in the past refute any such claim. As evil as an actual interception is the fear bred in the mind of the average citizen that he may at any time become the victim of one. "The freedom of private communication is a value which will not permit wiretapping except when other vitally important social values require it" (Westin, The Wiretapping Problem, 52 Col. Law Rev., 165, 201, 1952). In his thoughtful study Freedom, Loyalty, Dissent, Prof. Henry Steele Commager observes that "if in the name of security or loyalty we start hacking away at our freedom * * we will in the end forfeit security as well."

No fact appears here sufficiently compelling to justify the order sought. Indeed, beyond the formal matters prescribed by the statute, the papers disclosed little beyond the desire of the applicants for the requested order. It is unnecessary to lay down any absolutes. The court need go no further than determine the pending application, for, as Judge Cardozo said in Matter of State Industrial Commission (224 N. Y., 13, 18):

" * We deal with the particular instance, and we wait till it arises."

The constitutional right to be free from unreasonable interception of telephone communications is fundamental to ordered liberty. The right should be stoutly preserved, not frittered away. This is not a proper instance, for the exercise of the drastic power lodged in the court. The sacrifice is disproportionate to the possible gain.

What I know as a citizen I would not ignore as a judge. Our city has been the symbol of the Nation, the seat of its culture and of our commerce—the center of its influence. It is melancholy to behold her rife with violence, an admittedly lawless community, its inhabitants no longer safe by hight or day, in their persons or their homes. To be redeemed as part of the great American community, its police department needs external aid, i. e., a larger force, with more pay for the men, and a renewed spirit from within—which its valiant commissioner seems to be generating—but not more wiretaps. Application denied.

Middle East Setbacks

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following editorial which appeared in the January 28, 1955, edition of the New York Times emphasizes a grave situation. I direct it to the attention of our colleagues.

MIDDLE EAST SETBACKS

The projects for strengthening the defenses of the Midle East have suffered at least temporary setbacks as a result of two developments caused by still unresolved rivalries and ambitions in that area.

One of these developments, which is likely to delay the construction of a "northern tier" for the Middle Eastern defense structure, took place at a meeting of the Arab League in Cairo. There Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, and Saudi Arabia have thus far turned down invitations to join the projected defense pact between Turkey and Iraq. There are even reports that they have approved an Egyptian proposal for unifying the Arab armies under a single but independent command in a kind of Arabian NATO. Such action would mark a victory for Egypt, which has led the opposition to the Turkish-Iraqi Pact and has not only assailed Iraq for breaking Arab solidarity but has also vetoed a proposed visit to Cairo by Premier Menderes of Turkey.

The Egyptian opposition is officially based

on the contention that by alining itself with Turkey, a member of the North Atlantic and Baltic alliances, Iraq, as a member of the Arab League and the Arab collective defense pact, could easily involve the whole Arab world in hostilities should Turkey be attacked. That argument has, however, only formal validity, since all Arab leaders admit that an attack on Turkey could come only from Soviet Russia, and that in such a case every state from the Bosporus to Pakistan would be inevitably and automatically in-They even concede that Iraq is moving in the right direction by seeking at least indirect ties with the West to strengthen the barriers against such an attack.

But Egypt resents and fears an alliance between Turkey and Iraq as a threat to its claim to leadership in the Arab world. And both Egypt and Saudi Arabia strenuously oppose Iraq's ambition to federate with Jordan, Syria, and Lebanon in a Greater Syria, which the alinement with Turkey might promote. The efforts of Lebanon, and presumably Jordan and Syria, to mediate the dispute seem to be unsuccessful.

The situation is further complicated by the conviction of 8 Jewish prisoners in Cairo on charges of spying for Israel, 2 of them being sentenced to death. Israel, left out of middle eastern defense plans, strenuously opposes any western aid to the Arab States, and the execution of the prisoners could easily aggravate existing animosities, from which only the Communists can gain. It might be wise as well as humane if Egypt would temper justice with mercy, and thereby ease the tensions that now afflict the Middle East.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Door-keeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily Record, of which I shall be delivered at his residence, I at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

Appendix

Resolutions Adopted by the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies at Its Annual Convention, January 13, 1955

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS A. JENKINS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 17, 1955

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert the following resolutions adopted by the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies at its annual convention January 13, 1955:

RESOLUTIONS

(Following wide consultation with our leaders in all parts of the United States, in addition to a careful review of the outstanding issues involved, the following resolutions were adopted by the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies at its annual convention in Washington, D. C., January 13, 1955. The coalition was organized in 1929 to coordinate the efforts of (currently 100) patriotic, civic, and fraternal societies (representing a membership of something over 3 million people) in the promotion of patriotism.)

DEDICATION

The American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled, reaffirms its abiding and fundamental interest

1. Promoting undivided allegiance to the unique principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States:

2. Combating the economic and political fallacies of socialism and communism;

3. Defending this Nation against all enemies, domestic and foreign;

4. Reaffirming Gen. George Washington's admonition in his farewell address concerning the exposure of any "innovation * * * however specious the pretext * * * that would undermine what cannot be directly overthrown":

5. Calling upon each of its participating organizations to bring the information contained herein to the attention of their members, and through them to mobilize the American people to a greater consciousness of their obligations as a free people; and

6. Reporting the results of all such actions to the national office of the coalition and through it to the next annual meeting.

PRESERVATION OF THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

Whereas, the United States of America has prospered as no other nation, under a system of constitutional government; and

Whereas the use of unconfirmed agreements with foreign powers since 1933 have served to undermine the peace and security of this Republic and the continued existence of its constitutional form of government:

Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention

assembled:

1. Affirms the principle that no treaty or executive agreement shall infringe on the rights and liberties contained in the Con-stitution and Bill of Rights;

2. Declares that no treaty or agreement shall be in effect until implemented by an act of Congress following its promulgation by the President;

3. Demands that no measure be considered or adopted by any individual or agency of this Government that will affect the independence of the United States or subject any of its citizens either to the laws or decrees of a foreign or world power;

4. Requests Congress to refuse moneys for use in any form by or with any agency or government which favors or practices any-

thing foreign to the above;

5. Demands that the American flag, and it alone, be used to symbolize this fundamental statement of position; and

6. Believes that the proposed Bricker amendment in principle will implement the above and should be adopted.

NATIONAL DEFENSE AND ECONOMY

Whereas the new defense concept veers from mass armies and places principal re-liance in overwhelming air power first and primarily as a war deterrent, and second as a weapon of massive retaliation if war is forced upon the United States; and

Whereas this increased military strength justifies reduction in surface forces and the drastic curtailment of foreign aid, with a resultant balanced budget, lower taxes, and a greater measure of freedom and prosperity: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled, supports the new defense concept which is based upon the preeminence of air power as our first line of defense.

THE IMMIGRATION AND NATIONALITY LAW

Whereas the immigration and nationality law, more commonly referred to as the Mc-Carran-Walter act (Public Law 414, 82d Cong., 2d sess.) became effective on December 24, 1952, after enactment by the Congress over a Presidential veto; and

Whereas this act provides a codification and revision of our immigration and nationality laws and permits a sane and sound immigration and nationalization system with primary emphasis upon the protection of this country; and

Whereas the act is operating effectively in the best interests of the American people; especially in the denaturalization, debarment, and deportation of criminals and subversives; and

Whereas there have been a continuing series of assaults to discredit its provisions since the act became law; and

Whereas the Communist records of many of the participants in these attacks have been revealed from the House of Representatives Committee on Un-American Activities files; and

Whereas pressures have been exerted by and on behalf of certain minority groups seeking special privileges for prospective additions to their own groups: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled reaffirms its conviction of the soundness of the immigration and nationality law, and its support of that law; and be it further

Resolved, That the American Coalition calls upon all patriotic citizens to resist any weakening amendments or changes to the immigration and nationality law; and be it

Resolved. That the American Coalition earnestly requests the Committee on the Judiciary of the United States Senate and the Committee on the Judiciary of the House of Representatives to refuse the use of their committees as forums for the dissemination of propaganda under the guise of "hearings" on alleged substitute bills which would destroy our immigration and naturalization systems as presently maintained by the immigration and nationality law.

REVISION OF THE UNITED NATIONS CHARTER

Whereas the United Nations charter automatically comes up for revision in 1955 and world government proponents already have their plans in print for destroying the sovereignty of the United States under the specious title of "strengthening" the United Nations charter, in which the United States is to be divided into four unrelated zones each ruled by a commissar who cannot be a citizen or former citizen of the zone he rules: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled, urges every member of the United States Senate to refuse to ratify any treaty or other international document stemming from the United Nations or other international organization which will in any degree affect the sovereignty or internal law of the United States.

UNESCO-UNITED NATIONS EDUCATIONAL, SCIEN-TIVIC, AND CULTURAL ORGANIZATION

Whereas UNESCO, or the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization is a source for publications and programs that encourage world citizenship and clearly contribute to the undermining of loyalty on the part especially of young Americans for their great country; and Whereas the U. S. S. R. has become a mem-

ber of UNESCO and additional subversive propaganda of this sort can be anticipated: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled rebukes those who would foster and use such propaganda in American schools and urges the Congress to withdraw its support of UNESCO.

GATT-THE GENERAL AGREEMENT ON TARIFFS AND TRADE

Whereas GATT, or the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, permits the acts of Congress and policies of our Government to be reviewed, revised, and exploited by such an international organization, and places the authority for regulating American industry in the hands of foreign nations; and

Whereas the announced plan of world federalists is to divide the resources of the world among all peoples, thus impoverishing the United States: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled, urges the Congress of the United States to enact legislation that will prevent our participation in multilateral trade agreement negotiations within the framework of GATT, or any similar international organization.

REGULATION OF FOREIGN COMMERCE

Whereas the reciprocal trade agreements program represents an unwarranted encroachment of the executive branch of our Government upon the legislative responsi-bility conferred upon Congress by the Constitution of the United States; and

Whereas as a result of reduction of tariffs under the reciprocal trade agreements program various industries important to healthy economy and strong national defense have been injured or forced out of business with consequent injury and loss of jobs by the American workingman: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled, urges Congress to allow the 1934 Trade Agreements Act (Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act) to expire June 12, 1955, and upon Its expiration, the Congress should resume its constitutional responsibility of regulating foreign commerce through its agent, the Tariff Commission.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION

Resolved. That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled, opposes the expenditure of any of our resources on the sending of any migrants into the Western Hemisphere who have not been thoroughly screened by our security people.

SEVERANCE OF DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH THE U. S. S. R.

Whereas the Soviet Government continues its gross abuse of the immunities and privileges accorded its diplomatic representatives to our Nation, and also, through the members of the Communist Party in our midst who give allegiance alone to the Soviet Govern-ment while striving to foment strife and insecurity among our people; and

Whereas there would be no Red China, Korean War, or the present troubled conditions prevailing in Indochina and other parts of the world except for the Soviet Government;

Whereas the Soviet Government maintains its avowed purpose of destroying liberty, by whatsoever means, throughout the world and bringing all lands and people into the orbit of Communist rule: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition of Patriotic Societies in annual convention assembled, concludes that the American Government has every right and justification for severing diplomatic ties with the Soviet Government, and that with a view to such action, final and realistic consideration should be given to this subject.

COMMENDATION OF EMPIRE STATE SOCIETY, SAR

Whereas one of the bulwarks of our liberties is our system of public education, based on preserving in our schools and col-leges the ideals and principles of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitu-tion of the United States; and

Whereas the American Coalition, a firm supporter of our public schools, has noted in recent years wide departures from these sound principles in public education, and has alcrted its members accordingly; and

Whereas the Empire State Society, SAR, under the direction of Col. Augustin G. Rudd. chairman of the educational committee, has completed a long study of the revolutionary changes which have occurred in public education during the last three decades; and

Whereas this comprehensive and welldocumented book, Bending the Twig, to be published with all rights vested in the SAR, is urgently needed to help the American people understand this complicated but extremely important problem: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Coalition commends the Empire State Society, SAR, for this outstanding public service and will assist in the distribution of the book, Bending the Twig, in order to get its vital message to the American people.

Address of Hon. Renah F. Camalier

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I wish to include the following address made by the Honorable Renah F. Camalier, Commissioner of the District of Columbia, before the District of Columbia Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution, on January 25, 1955:

Mr MacDonald and Sons of the American Revolution, I am deeply appreciative of the opportunity to be with you this evening.

"This is the place; stand still, my steed, Let me review the scene, And summon from the shadowy past The forms that once have been."

Henry Wadsworth Longfellow is not reminiscing, he is living again the daring and the courage of the Pilgrims who had faced the rigors of Plymouth Rock in search of peace and contentment and freedom from harassment. He is viewing the ramparts, battlements, the battlefronts; gazing at Lexington, Bunker Hill, Concord, the tea party. Old North Church; and he is recalling the redcoats as they landed in

Boston Harbor.
Tonight, we are reviewing the scene, we

are living again.

The depth and the power of the tenets underlying the Sons of the American Revolution become immediately apparent to every thinking citizen of our land, and in line with their all-embracing aim and purpose to preserve, to maintain, to perpetuate, educate, and cooperate, and with the idea that inspiration comes from deeds performed, let us bring our steed to a halt and stand on the bulwarks of past achievements, there to review the happenings of the years.

Let us counsel again with the personalities who have traveled the road ahead; but only in the light of their determination to escape the tyrannies, the inhibitions, and even the human slavery-mental and physical-im-posed by self-appointed guardians of men's consciences and intellects and their further determination to preserve national heritages.

The task is now yours and mine and those who follow, the incentive is ever-compelling.

Your speaker is proud to have been the recipient at the hands of Paul, the King of the Hellenes, of the Cross of Commander of the Royal Order of the Phoenix, the origin of which is grounded in the religion of the ancient Egyptians.

The Phoenix is a bird, portraying emergence from the ashes of the past; and its periodical resurrection was viewed as a guarantee of the resurrection of the dead-but not to die-having been consumed in fire by its own act, following a fabled life of 500 years, it rose in youthful freshness, from its own ashes to engage again in mortal combat with the inhumanities of man, the oppressions of the masses, the attempts to thwart the natural desires of humans to be free in thought and in action.

What a lesson it teaches, what a moral it holds. How comparable to the cause of America and her ideals. For out of the ashes of succession after succession of cruelties and hardships, deprivations, and tyrannical practices of the rulers of the past came this Nation of ours.

Let us think about the American scene The stage was set but a few years ago and it was a vital and moving drama, and across the footlights of time march thousands where, in brilliance, may be seen the forms of Baron Johann DeKalb, the Polish patriots, Thaddeus Kosciusko and Casimir Pulaski, and those heroic sons of France, Gen. Jean Rochambeau and the Marquis Marie Joseph Lafayette, men and soldiers responding to the urge that liberty and freedom, whereever in jeopardy, is worth fighting to pre-

The history of this Nation is replete with deeds of valor and heroism, daring and ac-complishment, but what caused these forbears of yours and mine to struggle so vallantly and unceasingly through strain and stress greater than the human mind and soul and body should ever be called upon to bear?

It was the cause of justice, freedom, and peace. What inspired them; what fired William Bradford, Patrick Henry, Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Adams (Boston Tea Party), "Light Horse" Harry Lee, Prescott, Putnam, and Stark, Morgan and his Cavalry, Sergeant William Jasper, Jefferson, Monroe, Madison, Morris (services and fortune), and their brothers, into action?

The complete disassociation from the mother country of the American colonies was not the controlling factor. It was the longing for freedom from persecution and oppression, growing out of a burning desire redress from wrongs; and failure here whipped the idea of complete independence the forefront.

Adding to the fires of discontent was the presence on our shores of those visible evidences of the domination of the King, his colors, the red ensign; the white, with the red cross of St. George; and into the history of our Nation came various emblems pro-claiming the intention of the colonists to face the problems of the new land alone.

I like the inscription "God give us men to match the mountains"; and that must have been in the minds of the colonists when they selected the pine tree as the symbol of the sturdy manhood of New England, while the colonists to the south accepted the conclusions of Benjamin Franklin that the rattlesnake distinctively represented the qualities of the hardy ploneers.

Then we see the New Bedford, the Taunton, the Bunker Hill, the Continental, the Liberty Tree; while down South the Gadsden with its awe-inspiring challenge, "Don't tread on me;" the Culpeper, the Moultrie, and others both north and south; until the inspiring Cambridge flag was holsted at Cambridge, Mass., on January 2, 1776, by the commander in chief of the colonial defenders; and from this first definitely American banner, pat-terned after the Washington family coat of arms, can be traced the real beginning of our national existence.

It floated from the mastheads of the ships of our Navy, it guided our troops on land, it made its appearance on the housetops, until the Congress adopted the Stars and Stripes on June 14, 1777.

Many are the tributes of adoration and even veneration by those who fought for this new constellation in the firmament of nations and for the cause of the Union and its perpetuity.

One is particularly thrilling and appropriate—the words of John C. Spooner, Member of the United States Senate from the

State of Wisconsin, which give added impetus to the sentiment expressed by the Sons of the American Revolution—that our people, especially the young, should be imbued with the true meaning and the glory of the Stars and Stripes and his message bears repeating and rerepeating:

"Teach the young among you to look with eyes of love and pride upon the flag, wherever they see it floating, to remember always

that-

"'For every star in its field of blue, For every stripe of stainless hue, Ten thousand of the tried and true Have laid them down and died.'

"Keep it forever floating in the midst of our people, high up where the morning sun may transfigure it. Spread it where the schoolchildren may look upon it. Let it float over the halls of justice, for liberty is the twin sister of justice and this is the flag of liberty."

History thus becomes not only interesting and entertaining, but it denotes progressive steps. The present day witnesses the building of history in its infancy. It studies the past, and from it builds the future; and those who follow will evaluate what we do, to ascertain whether what we do is progressive, to the point that the human race is better for our having passed this way.

We dare not look upon the achievements of our forefathers as something sacredsacred to the exclusion of our own contributions-for what we do is a continuation of

what they have done.

Their experience is ours, and we show profit. The generations now living and yet to be are entitled to our experience, but whether they profit depends upon the char-

acter of the deeds we perform.

We dare not neglect or submit to modern attempts to destroy the benefits of the past: to do so turns our civilization into the slums of dehabilitation, from the ashes of which

it will be difficult to rise again.

As we study those who have contributed to the upbuilding of the human race we become more and more aware that our forefathers were men of stamina and a courage filled with zeal against which the enslaughts of the rulers by hate and lust could not obtain.

But let us contemplate the more recent and more hopeful aspects of man's continuing determination to rise from the ashes of

lethargy, subjection, and slavery.

Prior to the turn of the 20th century, during the Presidency of William McKinley, a member of the Sons of the American Revolution, a mighty personality, Theodore Roosevelt-another of your outstanding workers, revered as the intrepid leader of the Rough Riders, who, by his zeal for freedom and his love of humanity and of country, forced the dictators of his time to recant or face defeat-lived within your time and mine.

Face defeat those self-seeking conquerors did, and down went the crumbling empire of Spain, possibly never to rise again to

the heights of its spent glory.

Then came the Kaiser and his coterie of allegedly superior men, super intellects, destined, in their feeble thinking, to be the

saviors of humankind.

In later array, across the horizon of the Fatherland, appeared the form of the house painter of Vienna and Berlin, the demagogue of Italy became one of the characters in the ill-fated play of the world, and other of the satellites of the Hitler regime made their burlesque entry upon the stage; and, as in the past, men, loving freedom and determined to preserve it, fully realizing the trials and tribulations of those who had gone before, came into being in the countries of Prance, Belgium, England, the Philippines, and all other allies in World Wars I and II; and, like their evil-thinking counterparts, those who would have trampled man under

foot, ended their days in ignominous defeat; and the empires of Germany, Italy, and Japan went down into oblivion.

Slowly, but definitely, across the skies of freedom comes a new threat, the Russian red bear, obsessed with the thought that his mission is to conquer the world, and today the Communist leaders stand with their backs hopelessly to the wall, with the certainty that unbending fate will again pronounce its verdict, this time on the unhappy peoples of Russia, on the subjected peoples of Red China, and the followers of all other power-crazed groups of zealots and dictators.

But the world is not dark, and from the situations now obtaining will rise the new civilization.

Into the pattern of this new life the Sons of the American Revolution find their niche, fitted with such exact nicety that the jigsaw puzzle of irregular parts which go to make of the universe one common mass will not fall clattering to the ground or scatter helter skelter to the end that man's efforts to adwill have been proved a mockery.

We have had brought to mind recently the words of an almost forgotten song, Soldiers Never Die, They Just Fade Away.

How true is the first part of this couplet, "old soldiers never die." and, by the same token, I cannot take to heart, or believe, that they just fade away.

True it is, they pass from this sphere of action; true it is, we see them no more, but can anyone feel that the spirits of George Washington, Andrew Jackson, Paul Revere. John Marshall, Benjamin Franklin, and other great soldiers, statesmen, and jurists of the have been erased from the memory and mind of us all?

Can it be said that their influence no longer exists, that their names have been stricken from the pages of American history?

Hardly, the pages of history glow with their accomplishments, their lives, their influences, and the imprint which they have made upon the progress of this great Republic.

No; these men never die, and they do not

fade away.

One is thrilled by the sight of the manly and heroic figure of an American soldier, or marine, or sailor, Air Force, or Coast Guard man, or any man who honorably wears the uniform of his country.

Witness

Washington, mighty American exponent of liberty.

who perished for the cause at Warren. Bunker Hill.

Jones, whose naval victories mark the pages of our sea supremacy.

Lafayette, whose love of liberty and of

men brought him to our shores.

Grant and Logan, who fought that all might enjoy the blessings of a free world. Reed, who cried out for freedom from pain and suffering.

Dewey and Schley, who maintained the traditions of our naval forces.

Clem, drummer boy of Shiloh.

Pershing, intrepid leader of the American Expeditionary Forces.

Sims, commanding the American fleet in World War I.

King, who launched the two-ocean navy in World War II.

Hamlet, who stopped the enemy submarines.

LeJeune, idol of the United States Marines. Marshall, soldier, statesman, and diplomat. Bradley, Ridgway, Clark, Nimitz, Van Fleet, MacArthur, Eisenhower, and other leaders of America's fighting men; and, on and on, each guaranty of American steadfastness and solidarity.

This type of American citizenship inspires leadership; and I cannot bring to my thinking that liberty-loving patriots ever die, for what they have accomplished, what they have said, what they have done, the people whose lives they have affected, stand as an everlasting monument to their capacity for leadership.

The poet has given us the immortality of this trait, or virtue of leadership, through the life and the influence of the man who has inspired millions-and I refer once more to your distinguished alumnus, President Theodore Roosevelt:

"Roosevelt is dead." Yes, our leader gone.
Today there stands his vacant chair Not in that island home alone-But by myriad firesides everywhere.

"He loved us. Swift our torches light With the bright fire his courage gives. We shall not falter in the fight

Roosevelt is dead? No, his spirit lives."

The year 1955 bids well to test the very substance of that spirit; the apprehension which seems to prevail throughout the world, born of twisted minds that sister nations shall be made subservient to the point where human liberty, human thought, and all of the finer things of life shall be no more must, itself, be destroyed lest we fall prey to the machinations of men of distorted intellects.

The descendants of those who laid the foundations of this land of freedom find here that niche where they can serve best and continuously, for fear and apprehension do not imply that we should sit supinely by allowing men with ulterior motives to govern us, to lull us into inactivity, to permit the carrying out of their designs.

These disturbing elements carry with them the obligation and the necessity for protecting our rights, supported by the brillance of the spirit of the Sons of the American Revolution, in giving renewed life to every American through the observance of Patriots' Day, the recalling of the Battles of Lexington, Concord, Valley Forge, Yorktown, Gettysburg, and the celebrating of other anniversaries of significance to the life of our Nation.

Flag Day, Constitution Day, keeping in mind Benjamin Franklin's challenge, have given you a Republic, let's see you keep it.

Bill of Rights Day, I am an American Day, inspiring and proclaiming the advantages of citizenship and of loyalty and allegiance to the cause of freedom are but a few in this category.

Aid to various agencies of the United States to combat insidious propaganda and substitute therefor a consciousness of responsibility of all to protect our public schools, our homes, our churches, and institutions of various types; to respect the basic documents of our system of living, the Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights, and all other laws designed to safeguard our interests represent another step by this magnificent organization in its chosen guardianship of things American.

The pursuit of peace, to which the Sons of the American Revolution also glady dedicates itself insofar as it does not, in any sense, yield our sovereignties as a nation and as a people, is like unto the pursuit of happiness in that it is to be found only in the hearts and the thinking of men.

It will not be found in the roar of the gun or the dropping of the bombs, for these soon to be outmoded methods of waging warfare must be met with superior might so powerful that the enemies of democracy will come to the realization that their aims, their desires, and their ambitions to rule the world are incapable of fulfillment.

This superior might could well arise from the 1955 determination of men everywhere to utilize the God-given tools of the engineer, the architect, the builder, and the sci-entist, to promote the abolition of war and to apply this wondrous intelligence and strength to the carrying out of the calling

Let us hope and pray this new year will bring all peoples to the footstool of genuine concord; then will we behold men and nations, living within their ability to pay for the things which make for permanent peace and prosperity, that all mankind might enjoy the fruits of the minds and the intellect of those into whose hands God has entrusted the wodners of His might and His power with more to come.

As I look into your faces, I believe some of

us will live to see that day.

Tariffs on Chemicals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, among the many communications received from business and industries in my district on the general subject of tariffs is a letter from Mr. Albert Bendelius, secretary and treasurer of the Pfister Chemical Works, of Ridgefield, N. J. His letter is of wide interest and he qualifies as an expert in his field. Under unanimous consent, Mr. Speaker, I include his letter in the Appendix of the RECORD:

PFISTER CHEMICAL WORKS, Ridgefield, N. J., January 13, 1955. Mr. FRANK C. OSMERS, Jr.,

House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C. DEAR MR. OSMERS: We would like to go on record with you as being opposed to any further reduction of tariffs in general, and favoring careful study of the existing rates by the United States Tariff Commission. It is our belief that some of the existing rates should be raised, if only to remove the stigma

of discrimination from them.

The rates directly affecting our business are, of course, our primary concern. The tariff on naphthols (our life blood) is, for example, 20 percent plus 3½ cents per pound. Prior to the Torquay Conference the tariff on these products was 40 percent plus 7 cents per pound. This higher tariff is still in effect on most other dyes. Naphthols can be classified either as dyes or intermediates, but the tariff on intermediates is 25 percent plus 31/2 cents per pound. The lower tariff on naphthols, therefore, can only be called discriminatory. This is just one case, there probably are many other instances where the tariff on brown shoes is lower than the tariff on black shoes of the same style, quality, and workmanship.

We respectfully request that you take a stand as recommended by the New Jersey tariff group as set forth in the following statement of their policy: "The United States Tariff Commission,

adequately staffed and supplied with sufficient funds, and functioning as a factfinding body responsible only to Congress, should immediately undertake a detailed analysis of all our tariff rates, industry by industry, and where necessary, product by product. Based on these studies, recommendations should be submitted by the Commission to Congress for whatever rate changes the facts warrant. The primary considerations should be the military security and the economic strength of the United States, and the maintenance of peak employment in this country, factors which are of basic importance not

only to us, but to the existence of the free world. Congress should then act upon these recommendations and promulgate whatever tariff policies and rates will achieve these objectives."

Sincerely yours,

PFISTER CHEMICAL WORKS, ALBERT BENDELIUS. Secretary and Treasurer.

Who Is Bluffing?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, FRANK M. KARSTEN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. KARSTEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include the following editorial from the Boston Post of January 25, 1955:

WHO IS BLUFFING?

President Eisenhower's specific request for authorization of Congress to use American Armed Forces to fight, if necessary, wherever needed to defend Formosa, the Pescadores, and to assist Nationalist troops to redeploy is a very definite challenge to the Chinese Reds. It may mean a shooting war.

Until yesterday, when Chou En-lai, Chinese premier, warned that Red China would not permit outside interference with Red China's intention to liberate Formosa, the President's request to Congress merely traced a defensive line around Formosa and such islands off the Chinese mainland as may be evacuated by the Nationalist forces.

Chou En-lai's defiant statement that Red China intends to take Formosa at the very instant that President Eisenhower's message was being transmitted to Congress makes a shooting war a stronger possibility.

Clearly Chou En-lai either believes the United States is bluffing, or he is stark insane and hopes to become involved in a shooting war with the United States. If he believes the United States is bluffing, then he is about to lose "face," for this, after all the vacillation by the administration, cannot be bluff unless the President is ready for unvarnished appeasement.

Chou En-lai closed the door on United Nations as an intermediary as well as against the United States in his statement. And to backtrack now would make Chou look ridiculous to his own people.

If the 7th Fleet removes Nationalist troops from the islands within gunshot of Chinese Red positions, the Chinese Red leaders lose as much face (an all-important consideration in Asia) as if they had lost a

It is a sorry commentary on American national policy that the brave promises of 1952, when President Eisenhower was going to end the war in Korea and save lives, have now diminished to a plea to a Democratic Congress to put some backbone into America's position. President Eisenhower was going to expose and correct the national policies of a Democratic administration 2 years ago. Now he seeks something the Democratic administration didn't ask the right of unilateral entry into a war.

The almost fatal mistake was in ever seeking the end of the struggle in Korea on the terms given to the Chinese Reds. policy then might have saved Indochina and prevented all the sorrowful results of an illusory peace.

The Reawakening of the Civil Service Commission

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN C. WATTS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I insert an excerpt from Jerry Kluttz's column, the Federal Diary, appearing in this morning's Washington Post and Times Herald.

The gist of the item relates to a reversal of position by the Civil Service Commission with respect to the right of a department or agency passing over an eligible veteran, a veteran who has taken the required civil-service examination and received certification of eligibility by the Civil Service Commission for appointment to the particular position.

Heretofore, if the appointing agency of the Government desired to pass over an eligible veteran, the civil service had ruled that all that was necessary was for the agency to submit in writing its reasons for such action; the Commission would then pass upon these reasons and if found to be insufficient would so notify the agency, the agency thereupon would advise the Commission that it had considered the Commission's views, and had reconsidered the veteran involved and then proceed to pass him over. The veteran had no recourse as the Civil Service Commission felt that this was full compliance with the intent and purpose of Congress.

The Civil Service Commission now feels that Congress was not performing an idle gesture when it adopted the 1953 amendment requiring the Commission to pass upon the sufficiency of the Department's reasons for passing over the veteran; but that Congress intended for this procedure to mean something toward establishing an independent forum of review of such actions for the protection of eligible veterans against the ruthless, arbitrary and overzealous acts of patronage-hungry politicians and misdirected departmental or agency heads.

Mr. Speaker, this voluntary action of the Commission in this instance is a source of gratification to me. While it may be termed "a slight opening of one eye," it nevertheless may be the prelude or forerunner of a complete reawakening to the fact by the Commission that Congress, when enacting a law does not indulge in idle gesturing. It is refreshing to know that at least one agency has again commenced to reestablish itself and assume the responsibilities vested in it by the Congress. And particularly is this true because it is the Civil Service Commission, the agency created by the Congress for the purpose of protecting the veteran and the careerservice employees of the Federal Government from those that would reestablish the old system of "To the victor belongs the spoils" in manning the personnel of our Government.

This action by the Commission is well taken. As a matter of fact, Mr. Speaker, for the past 10 days, pursuant to my request, experts have been conducting research on this very subject matter for the purpose of drafting whatever legislative proposal may have been necessary to obtain the very objective which the civil service has accomplished by its voluntary administrative action. My congratulations to the Civil Service Commission; may this slight awakening be a good omen. While on this subject matter, I may suggest to the Commission that they review section 14 of the Veterans' Preference Act of 1944, with the view of reassuring themselves of the intent and purpose that Congress may have had in mind in creating the right of appeal provided for thereunder. Should they do this, Mr. Speaker, I would suggest that they give consideration to the role of the Civil Service Commission in Federal employment as pronounced by the Commission in pamphlet No. 52, issued by it in January 1955. I am sure that if this is done, a new era will be developed which will tend to eliminate the wholesale dismissal of veterans and career-service employees upon inconsequential charges, or other charges unsupported by substantial and relevant evidence.

The excerpt follows:

VETERANS' PREFERENCE GIVEN GREATER FORCE UNDER CSC RULING

A new ruling gives the Veterans' Preference Act greater force and agency heads less in appointing eligibles from Civil Service's eligible lists.

After hearing a stout protest from groups of veterans, CSC ruled that an agency can't pass over an eligible veteran and appoint a nonveteran unless it agrees that its reasons are justifiable and sufficient.

A restudy of the 1953 amendments to the preference act, CSC explained, has conconvinced it that its more stringent inter-pretation of that law is proper and was so

intended by Congress.

Heretofore, an agency could pass over a veteran and give CSC its reasons for doing CSC could decide the reasons were insufficient but it didn't attempt to force the agency to appoint the veteran anyway. Now it will insist on the appointment.

There Is Growing Sentiment Among Members of the Legal Profession That Social Security Benefits Should Be Extended to Lawyers or at Least They Should Be Given the Option of Selecting Such Coverage

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, at the request of one of the leading bar associations in my congressional district I introduced H. R. 855, a bill designed to extend the Federal old-age and survivors insurance system to individuals engaged in the practice of law.

From discussions with lawyers in Pennsylvania I have learned that many of them are eager to have the option of securing coverage under the Social Security Act and that various State bar associations are taking opinion polls on the subject among their members.

Recently the New Jersey State Bar Association adopted the following resolution at its midvear meeting December 11, 1954, requesting Congress to include lawyers under the Social Security Act on an optional basis:

NEW JERSEY STATE BAR ASSOCIATION,

Trenton, N. J., January 20, 1955. To the Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives of the Congress of the United States:

Enclosed is a copy of a resolution which was recently passed by the New Jersey State Bar Association requesting the Congress act to include lawyers in the social security program on an optional basis.

We trust we shall have your wholehearted support in this connection.

Respectfully yours,

EMMA E. DILLON, Secretary.

"Whereas the younger members of the legal profession are desirous of obtaining for themselves and their dependents survivor and insurance benefits under the provisions of the social security program; and

Whereas a large number of members of the legal profession suffer a declining income in later years, and under the present high income-tax rate find it difficult to provide a means of retirement income for themselves and their dependents after the age of 65: Now, therefore, be it

"Resolved:

"1. That it be declared the sense of the membership of the New Jersey State Bar As-sociation that the benefits of the social security program be extended to include the members of the legal profession on an optional basis.

"2. A copy of this resolution shall be sent to all of the United States Senators and Congressmen."

This is to certify that the above resolution was adopted by the New Jersey State Bar Association at the midyear meeting on Saturday, December 11, 1954.

EMMA E. DILLON, Secretary.

Eisenhower and Truman

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include the remarks on Formosa by Gerald W. Johnson over station WAAM, Baltimore, on January 30, 1955, as follows:

The President scared me badly when he asked Congress for formal authorization to employ the Armed Forces of the United States to defend Formosa. I think he scared all Bolton Street, for on the face of it the thing looked like war.

However, we all know that the Presidentany President-always has a great deal of information that he can't afford to publish. He has thousands of people constantly bringing him reports, many of which are confi-

dential, and sometimes he has to act on information that he can't give to the public.

Without doubt that was Mr. Eisenhower's position last week. From the legal standpoint he didn't need any special permission from Congress. He already had all neces-sary authority to defend any territory subject to the jurisdiction of the United States, and Formosa has been technically in our possession ever since Japan surrendered but something came up that made him think it desirable to make a public show of his authority.

What that was I don't know, but I have sufficient confidence in any man who is head of the Nation to believe that it wasn't any triviality; and a President who has been a soldier certainly must know how foolish it is to throw your weight around unless there is good reason for doing so. I think we may rely on it that the President was trying to produce a very definite effect, and it wasn't the effect of startling either Congress or the country. Both were startled, but that was a byproduct; the main idea was to produce an effect outside this country-in China certainly, in Russia probably, and in India perhaps, but not in Bolton Street.

It was risky beyond a doubt, but it was a calculated risk, and if it helps to clear up the situation in Asia it will be worth some risk. The flat truth is that our position risk. there was rapidly becoming untenable, not from the military standpoint so much as from the standpoint of reason and good

For a long time it has been perfectly plain that Chiang Kai-shek cannot reconquer China by himself, and it is equally plain that we can't reconquer it for him without a war so terrific that the American people will not stand for it. Yet from behind the protec-tion of our 7th Fleet Chiang has been sending our gunboats and planes to harass Communist ships and occasionally to bomb Communist ports. The Communists would soon put a stop to that if the fleet were not in the way; so the Communists see us not as aiding a real ally, but of protecting a nest of pirates who have taken shelter in territory under our control.

That is not a tenable position for a civilized nation. We should either give Chiang an army of American soldiers, so that he can wage a real war, or we should compel him to keep the peace as long as he is behind our strategic frontier. We aren't going to give him an American army. That's flat. All that is left then is to keep him from disturbing the peace; for as long as we protect him we are to some extent responsible for what he does. If the President's move is a first step in that direction it may be a move toward peace, not war.

But there is one aspect of the situation in which I find a certain sour amusement. It is when I reflect on what a roar would have gone up from the press if it had been proposed to grant such extensive power to Harry S. Truman. The screams about oneman rule, dictatorship, and personal arrogance would have been deafening; but in the eyes of the one-party press Eisenhower can do no wrong.

Yet, it is perfectly obvious that it would have been safer to trust this power to Mr. Truman than to trust it to Mr. Eisenhower, because Mr. Eisenhower is much closer to the Douglas MacArthur-Senator Knowland group who think that rattling the atom bomb is the only effective form of diplomacy. If a howl would have been justified in 1952, it is twice justified in 1955.

The truth is that there was no sense in howling then and none in howling now. is not entirely safe to trust the warmaking power to anybody; but it is safer in the hands of the President than anywhere else, for he at least can be held to account by the whole Nation, while a Member of Congress can be held to account only by his CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

own State or district. If the people of Maryland, for instance, should turn against Eisenhower they could vote against him at the next election; but they can't vote against Senator McCarthy, no matter how much they may dislike him. So in a delicate situation it is better for the President to be in control than to have authority scattered among 531 Members of the Senate and the House of Representatives, where no individual can be held responsible.

Nevertheless, Eisenhower gets nothing but butter from a press that would have given Truman poison for making the same demand-which is amusing, even though it may be a matter of little practical impor-

tance.

American-Jewish Tercentenary Message

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith the American-Jewish tercentenary message of Rabbi Max Felshin, D. D., president, Beth Din of America, and Rabbi, Radio City Synagogue in New

AMERICAN-JEWISH TERCENTENARY MESSAGE (By Rabbi Max Fleshin, D. D., president, Beth Din of America, Rabbi, Radio City Synagogue)

America was founded by many peoples who came here to escape persecution, to seek freedom from tyranny, and to serve God unmolested in accordance with the dictates of their own conscience. Among these were people of the Jewish faith, who numbered amongst the earliest settlers of the New History records that the voyage of Columbus (himself of Jewish descent), was backed by Jews, and that six Jewish members of his crew were among the first to set foot on American soil. Others came with the passage of time from every part of Europe, Africa, Asla, and the farthest corners of the earth. So that today America may be said to be the truly representative national home of all the races, religions, and cultures of the world, all living together in prosperity and peace.

Here in America no racial stock, religious denomination, or organizational group can arrogate to itself any priority or superiority over one another. No one can claim that he or she is more American than any other fellow American. We all have an equal stake, share, and responsibility in America's past, present, and future. With the exception of perhaps the Indian aborigines (who, according to Mormon writ, are descendants from the 10 lost tribes of Israel) the entire population of America are either immigrants or the children of immigrants, who have all arrived to these shores or were born in this country within the past 300 years.

The Jews of America are now celebrating

their own happy participation in the up-building of our American Nation through the current American-Jewish tercentenary ju-bilee. The reason for our rejoicing is that America, of all the so-called enlightened nations of Western civilization, has never sullied the pages of its history with Jewish per-

lied the pages of its history with Jewish persecution, disabilities, or subversion.

The words of George Washington, contained in a letter to the Touro Synagogue of Newport, R. I., "Happily the Government of the United States—gives to bigotry no sanction, to persecution no assistance," have fortunately remained the basic doctrine, the

permanent policy of our beloved land of liberty; they are the bedrock of our American democracy and the sure guaranty of our lasting greatness as long as we do not depart from these principles.

It is significant that the Father of our Country in alluding in this very same letter to the American Jewish community referred to them as the children of the stock of Abraham. According to the biblical narrative in the book of Genesis (chapter 12: 1, 2, 3) God appeared unto Abraham and said to him:

"Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto a land that I will show thee: And I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and make thy name great and thou shalt be a blessing. And I will bless them that bless thee, and curse them that curse thee: And in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed."

Now George Washington like so many of Pilgrim Fathers who were steeped in Old Testament lore understood the meaning of these words of God to Abraham; and he correlated them to America's destiny and future blessedness. He knew, and history has shown, that God has kept His word to Abraham unfailingly, throughout all generations. Those nations which were kind and generous to the Jewish people, giving full scope to their talents and industry, rose to greatness and flourished; but the moment they turned to persecute and plunder the children of Abraham they lost their standing, sunk into degraded disintegration and finally disappeared altogether from the stage of world history.

George Washington in his profound wisdom understood all this. He knew that God will bless America so long as America will continue its blessings to the children of the stock of Abraham, so long as the rights of all minorities will be respected within our borders. He realized that the two blessings are interwoven, inseparably bound up and interdependent upon one another as a condition a priori to certain, lasting American well-being and glory.

During this year of solemn, thankful observance and celebration of the American-Jewish Tercentenary we must not forget Jerusalem's 3,000th anniversary. The roots of historical Judaism go far beyond the beginning of America. It is now more than 4,000 years since God has first established His unique covenant and mystic bond with Abraham and his descendants, which symbolize the everlasting love and sacrificial loyalty manifest throughout the long eventful history of the Jewish people. The children of Israel, almost in defiance of the very instincts of physical self-preservation, have often chosen to endure persecution and martyrdom, rather than submit to assimilation or to forsake their traditional ideals of righteous living and their belief in the One God. They have kept their faith with the covenant under the most trying circumstances.

In the Biblical account of the selection of Abraham to the consecrated role of progenitor and patriarch of the Hebrew people and as the one spiritually fit to usher them forth signally upon the arduous road of world

history, God said:
"For I have known him, to the end that he may command his children and his household after him, that they may keep the way of the Lord, to do righteousness and justice; to the end that the Lord may bring upon Abraham that which He rath spoken of him" (Genesis, ch. 18, verse 19).

It is therefore folly for anyone to counsel American Jewry to disown their true identity and disclaim their heritage since Biblical days. Especially unrealistic have these assimilationist betrayals and misrepresentations of true Judaism become today in the face of a regenerated Israel and a restored Zion, which our generation was privileged to witness. True Judaism teaches love of country, loyalty to government, and ad-herence to the laws of the land. American Jewry is consecrated to these ideals and are ready to defend our American heritage with our honor, our fortune and our very lives whenever it becomes necessary.

We of the Radio City Synagogue are happy to participate in the current American-Jewish tercentenary and Jerusalem's 3,000th anniversary celebrations. We have also tied in our own institutional celebration, our 13th or "bar mitzvah" year of the founding of our synagogue, with the general demonstration of loyalty and love to a trust faithfully kept. The Radio City Synagogue is situated in the very heart of the great New York metropo-By virtue of this position it assumes both an intensive and far-reaching effectiveness, in that it serves as house of prayer not only for the people who live and work in the vicinity, but also attracts many visiting worshippers from distant parts of the country.

The synagogue is also grateful for its humble contribution toward the enrichment of Jewish life in America in that it has housed for the past 18 years the national headquarters of the Beth Din of America. This great institution of Toraic justice has served the cause of American Jewry in settling many private and communal disputes through the decisions handed by the learned rabbis in accordance with the letter and spirit of our holy Torah. It has also rendered famous authoritative decisions affecting difficult matters of Jewish jurisprudence as applied to new, modern developments.

The Radio City Synagogue is truly thankful for being a providential instrumentality in its 13 years of faithful service to the daily religious needs of both the local New community and the many frequent visitors from every Jewish congregation in the United States of America. Our high holy days services are attended by visiting fellow Jews from every part of the world, all praying together from the same Hebrew prayer book (Machzor) to the God of our eternal people.

May God Almighty answer our prayers mercifully and grant us and the entire American people the triple blessing of health, happiness, and peace, so that we and our children may live to celebrate together many similar manifestations of joyful brotherhood in our land of liberty and justice, our beloved and blessed America.

Gambling Capital of the United States Unmasked-III

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the third in the series of articles by Bob Considine on Las Vegas, the gambling capital of the United States, which appeared in the Chicago American January 25, 1955, reads as follows:

LAS VEGAS UNMASKED-BUGSY'S DREAM HIS UNDOING

(By Bob Considine)

LAS VEGAS, January 25.—Bugsy Siegel was a millionaire and referred to in print as a "Hollywood sportsman" when his eyes first alighted upon the site of the Flamingo Hotel.

He was driving out of Las Vegas after looking over his race-wire interests when he noted that a casino was being built at a point between the town and the airport.

The contractor was the Del E. Webb Construction Co., of Phoenix, owned by a lanky ex-ballplayer and carpenter destined to become a wealthy power in big league baseball.

SIEGEL TAKES OVER

By means never adequately explained, Siegel took over the modest project.

He had had his dream. This would be no mere casino, a small version of a downtown Fremont Street place. Nor would it be a glorified motel and casino, like El Rancho Vegas and the Last Frontier were at that time.

This, he determined, would be the finest casino in the world and one that would keep people hovering about it—because of fine hotel arrangements, top nightclub acts, a spirited cabaret, good food, drink, and service.

WAR PRIORITIES DEFIED

He flew to New York with word to the elders in the underworld syndicate that they must go in with him on this vast venture. He himself pledged every penny he had and hocked his future. Encouraged by his zeal, the members of syndicate's board of governors dug into their own treasuries—acquired through illegal trades for the most part, though some of the money was from their postrepeal activities in legitimate callings. They promised to go along with Siegel—to a certain extent.

They promised him \$3 million. A war was going on in Europe and Asia and the word "priorities" meant something.

A DRIVEN MAN

He became a driven man. The black market was his shopping place. When Webb could not hope to produce steel, copper, piping and the like, Bugsy found the stuff and paid for it dearly. He flew to New York 14 times for more money and to give added assurances. The patience of the elders began to wear thin. Everything was going in. Nothing came out. Bugsy ordered Webb to fly in plasterers from Los Angeles, San Francisco, Denver, and Sait Lake City, and paid them \$50 a day, to get the place ready.

The syndicate cut him off eventually and Mayer Lansky come out to break the word to him. Bugsy sought money elsewhere. He opened the Flamingo owing millions, including so much money to Del Webb that every night for 6 months Webb waited in his office to be paid a portion of the day's receipts. They became good friends.

WEBER VIEW

The coowner of the New York Yankees to-day says of Siegel:

"I've never met a squarer businessman in my life. He was a remarkable character: tough, cold, and terrifying when he wanted to be—but at other times a very easy fellow to be around.

"He told me one night, when I was waiting for my money, that he had personally killed 12 men. But then he must have noted my face, or something, because he laughed and said that I had nothing to worry about.

"There's no chance that you'll get killed,' he said. 'We only kill each other.'"

Back in New York, the syndicate began considering whether to do just that. For one thing, Siegel had disturbed the elders by getting so much publicity—which, in turn bathed the elders in undesired publicity. Also, he had "blown his stack" on the Flamingo.

But, No. 1, he had committed the unpardonable crime—that of branching out on his own.

Shortly after James R. Ragan, Sr., past owner of Continental Press Service, largest race wire in the country, was killed, the mobs merged Continental and Trans-America wire services. But Siegel, who had the syndicate's old Trans-America on the coast, continued to maintain it independently.

HEADACHE HIS HOME

He stopped going East. His beloved headache, the Flamingo, became his home, even though Virginia Hill took a dim view of Las Vegas in general. He was comforted, however, by the fact that the place was netting \$315,000 a month—and some day he'd get even and straighten out everything and everybody.

The syndicate wouldn't wait. As was the custom, it delegated the messy work of slaughter to another group, after the Bug's doom was sealed in the meeting with Luciano—who had slipped over from Italy to Cuba via Venezuela.

Siegel's last days were unhappy ones. For one thing, there was trouble with Virginia Hill. She wanted to go to Parls and he suspected she had another man there. Briefly reconciled, they spent a few days at the Flamingo.

MORAL SUPPORT

But Virginia began drinking too much. A bout climaxed one night in the plush dining room when she stood up and clouted a female guest on the jaw with a long overhand right. Bugsy shouted at her, "You're no lady."

This is a remark still treasured by students of gangland understatement. Miss Hill flounced off to Paris. That was June 16, 1947.

But something worse had happened to Bugsy. When he took his stand against his New York colleagues and told them he was going to keep Trans-America wire service and to blazes with their wish to bend it with Continental, he was encouraged by the moral support of two plug-uglies who served him in Los Angeles.

The two were Jack Dragna (alias Jack Ignatius, Jack I., Jack Rizotto, and Jack Dania) and a lesser and more grasping punk named Mickey Cohen.

On either June 7 or 8 of that year Dragna and possibly Cohen were braced by what the California Crime Commission later called two visitors from Chicago. Dragna immediately bowed out of Trans-America.

UNEASY FEELING

About that same time, Siegel invited Webb to visit him at the Beverly Hills home he and Virginia shared. Webb had begged off so many times before—usually on the pretense that his mother was feeling bad—that he felt that this time he must accept.

"I had an uneasy feeling all during that evening there. Benny seemed to want to sit in a certain part of the living room. I had a feeling we were being watched, and that my own seat on the divan wasn't quite safe. Maybe my presence saved him."

(Siegel was called Benny by friends. No one dared call him Bugsy, a name he acquired as a youth because of his contempt for bullets.)

On the night of June 20, 1947, Siegel returned from Las Vegas to the Beverly Hills home to pick up some clothes. His departure from Las Vegas was duly noted by representatives of the syndicate—of which he was the only member of the board ever rubbed out.

He sat down in the very spot where he had seated Webb not long before. The heavy window curtains were drawn but missed coming together completely by about 6 inches.

QUICK DEATH

Next to him on the divan was his friend Aaron Smehoff, called Allan Smiley. The

Russian-born Smiley had a small piece of the Flamingo. Elsewhere in the house were Virginia Hill's brother, Charles, and a girl he has since married.

It was a quick death for Eugsy Siegel. He never knew what hit him—the shots came so thick and fast.

But he's still very much alive along the strip of Las Vegas today and his ultimatum, "No rough stuff in here if I have to kill a couple of you b—s," remains the way of life.

Gambling Capital of the United States Unmasked—IV

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, here is another chapter on Las Vega, the fourth in the series of article by Bob Considine, published in the Chicago American, January 26.1955:

LAS VEGAS UNMASKED—GOLD RUSH FOLLOWED DEATH OF "BUGSY" SIEGEL

(By Bob Considine)

LAS VEGAS, January 26.—In Las Vegas, after "Bugsy" Siegel was erased, came the gold rush. A deluge of Hollywood blackmarket and upper-crust tourists washed over his fabled spa, the Flamingo, leaving in the receding tide an estimated \$4 million a year net profit.

The word "estimated" is used because no one knows exactly how much the operators clear in Las Vegas. Nevada's 2-percent bite on the gross handle throughout the State comes to less than \$2 million a year.

It accepts the money gratefully, being unable to get along without it. The State can't afford to supervise the nightly count and must take the word of the operators—who, here and there, never won any awards for integrity.

Siegel had guessed right about Las Vegas and it didn't take long for the word to get around. It was natural that he should be followed into the city and its environs by a wave of his peers and inferiors in the racket world.

They had money to invest, and Las Vegas welcomed it in view of the fact that few top investment houses or insurance companies wished to take such a fiyer.

GOOD INVESTMENT

Many who followed Bugsy had taken the lead of Frank Costello and others and had transferred their bootlegging, bookmaking, and other illicit earnings to legitimate businesses. To these, Las Vegas looked like not only a sound investment, but one that offered some of the excitement of the bad old days.

And so the desert was made to bloom additionally by the coming of Wilbur Clark's Desert Inn, the Thunderbird, now accused of being secretly controlled by Meyer and Jake Lansky; the Sands, and the Sahara. It continues to bloom.

There was and remains in most of these and other Las Vegas establishments a lot of underworld money—just as is the case with all but a handful of New York's swankiest restaurants and night clubs, which are owned almost exclusively by retired rumrunners and speakeasy operators who long since have contracted religion and won a respected place in the social scene. In Las Vegas the delousing process continues.

KEFAUVER RECORD

Morris Rosen, whose record is spread over 31 pages in the Kefauver reports, moved into Las Vegas to settle the affairs of Siegel. Rosen's son married one of Siegel's daughters, so he appeared in the role of foremost friend of the murdered murderer's family.

The affairs were complicated, as is usually the case in Las Vegas. Siegel had a bit of several clubs going for him, in addition to

horse books and the Flamingo.
Rosen, also known as Doc Harris and Joe Stacci, found mysterious Joe Epstein, Virginia Hill's banker, on hand with the books, and also Bugsy's original front man in Las Vegas, much-arrested Moe Sedway.

Rosen began looking for buyers for the lamingo. He found Sanford Adler and Flamingo. Charlie Resnick, who owned the El Rancho Hotel at the time; and such others as Gus Greenbaum, overlord of the Capone-New York syndicate race wire in Phoenix, Israel Adlerman, also called "Little Auldie" by the FBI; Dave Berman, ex-convict who was one of Bugsy's trusted aids; and Jack Burke and Sam Diamond, California bookies.

TEN PERCENT FOR NOTHING

They bought the place for \$3,900,000 with a down payment of either \$500,000 or \$600,000. In appreciation of what Sedway later told Senator Kefauver was Rosen's deal-making genius, Rosen was given a 10-percent slice for nothing. Today it would be worth \$650,000.

Adler was put in as manager, and representative of the group that owned 51 percent. But the absence of Bugsy's strong hand was

soon evident.

Soon there were inflamed arguments among the partners, while fancy customers serenely kept pouring in the money. Adler took his case to Carson City and won it, then punched

Rosen in the face in a post-trial argument. Rosen announced that he would get Adler. Frightened, Adler drove all night to Beverly Hills, Calif., and told his story to Clinton H. Anderson, chief of police. Then he sold out his share.

THE PAYOFF

Among those who had to be paid off were members of the New York syndicate who had bankrolled Siegel after the latter spent his entire fortune estimated at \$1 million—on the hotel and casino.

These contributors were Meyer and Jake Lansky, Frank Costello, Frank Erickson, Lepke Buchalter (who sent Siegel West in first place and 1 or 2 others, probably Joe Adonis and possibly Lucky Luciano. There was some old Capone money in there, too.

The report persists that some of them retained their pieces and continue as silent partners. If so, they are indeed silent. Costello, for example, has never been seen in Las Vegas. And if the notorious Tony Accardo, Capone relic, had or has any tie-in through Greenbaum the Las Vegas police appeared to have no respect for a property owner.

On January 9, 1953, for instance, the Chicago Crime Commission informed the Nevada Tax Commission—which is the gambling licensing body of the State—that Accardo was headed for Las Vegas. The excellent Los Angeles police department also was notified.

TOLD TO MOVE

Accardo, whose name has been linked to every known racket, was given a frigid recepat International Airport, Los Angeles, and told to move on. Immediately after his arrival in Las Vegas, he was picked up by Chief of Police Al H. Kennedy and charged with vagrancy—though he had a \$6,700 roll in his pocket. Told to scram, he did.

The third crop of Flamingo owners has little apparent relationship to the first two groups. It is headed by T. E. Hull, owner of a string of motels through the West. He is sometimes known as the "man who made motels moral." He once tried to copyright the word "motel," and was among the first to dress up those roadside flops with swimming pools, bars, television, and the like.
He operated the Hollywood Roosevelt Hotel

and the El Rancho Hotel in Sacramento, both of which were sold recently and are leased back to him for 20 years.

NEW OWNERS

According to papers on file at Carson City, 29 others are among the Flamingo's new owners. These include Dr. Stanley Immerman, prominent Los Angeles surgeon; Albert Parvin, responsible for the costly decora-tions of the Flamingo and other "strip" spots; moving picture producer David W. (no relation) Siegel; and Ed Levinson, formerly part owner and casino manager of the Sands,

Among the lesser holders of "points in the corporation"—as single percentages are known in the trade—are George Raft, a close friend of the late Siegel; and Tony Martin, annually the star attraction of the Fla-

mingo's flashing floor shows.

The new crowd in control paid \$7 million for "Bugsy's" dream palace with, it is understood, less than \$1 million down. When the new owners took over they signed an agreement with Greenbaum-who seems retain at least a rooting interest—that they'd spend \$2 million more in improvementskeep apace or ahead of ambitious other "strip" attractions.

LOAN MATURING

The report from banking circles is that some of the new owners learned, with a shock, that an old \$2,500,000 Galveston bank loan matures in September 1955 at which time they must put it up or blow their investment

They would like to borrow \$4 million for years, and are said to be offering a \$1 million bonus to anyone who'll take the change and gamble on Las Vegas' future.

The comparative ease with which offcourse money flowed into Las Vegas after the Flamingo showed the way can be seen from a study of the financing of the Desert Inn, brought out when the Kefauver committee questioned Wilbur Clark and Moe

Dalitz at length.

Clark, voted the best hotel-and-casino manager along the strip, once ran the El Rancho Vegas before the postwar boom. He took his money and plunged into the building of the Desert Inn but soon ran out of cash and credit.

FINANCING NEED

He walked the streets of San Diego, where he once owned bars, and Los Angeles, where he numbered judges among his friends,

looking for financing.

Dalitz, former Cleveland rum czar and gambling house operator who now has extensive interests in steel, laundries, and other business, and his associates, advanced Clark about \$1,300,000 to complete the Desert Inn and gained control.

They have expanded their holdings considerably, including the building of a remarkable 18-hole golf course which has become the scene of one of the Nation's big-

gest annual tournaments.

With Dalitz in the operation are Morris Kleinman and Thomas Jefferson McGinty, two other gentlemen who grew rich by slak ing parched throats during prohibition, and former Cleveland gamblers Sam Tucker, Ruby Kolod, and Barney Rothkopf, alias Lou Rody, who refused to testify before the Kefauver committee.

LANSKY PAL

The handsome Sands Hotel was built by Max Kufferman, who described himself as a friend of Meyer Lansky for 25 years. Kufferman is head of a California loan company. Indications were also that part of the financing came from Joseph "Doc" Stacher, alias

Morris Rose, Joseph Rosen, "Doc" Ewiner, etc., described as one of the leaders of the old 3d Ward mob in New Jersey and associate of Longie Zwillman.

Neither Kufferman nor Stacher could get a license to operate. Jake Freedman, congenial little gambler from Houston, Tex., was brought in and passed muster. Among the current owners, with small shares, are Frank Sinatra and Jack Entratter, the latter a popular figure at New York's Stork Club and Copacabana for years.

LOTTERY FINE

The Sahara, built by Del Webb, the co-owner of the New York Yankees, who built the Flamingo for Siegel, offered such lush living comfort that gamblers with financial investments in other establishments took permanent residence. The money behind the Sahara has puzzled many a local.

Listed owners are Milton Prell, ex-Los Angeles jeweler who operated skillball machines in Butte, Mont., where he was fined for conducting a lottery; Al F. Wonter and Barney Morris, small-time Portland, Oreg., gamblers, and other unknowns.

But these are calm and collected operations compared to the storm that has cooked up behind the Thunderbird-one of whose principal stockholders is Cliff Jones, former Democratic national committeeman for Nevada and former lieutenant governor.

Stained-Glass Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, because of the great interest in the subject of tariff reductions at this time. I think it is important that the viewpoints of various industries become known to the Congress. One of my distinguished constituents, Karl Barre Lamb, of Tenafly, N. J., is president of the Stained Glass Association. The stained-glass industry would be vitally affected by any change in the present tariff situation. I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an article which Mr. Lamb recently wrote and which appeared in the official publication of the Stained Glass Association:

[From Stained Glass of January 1955] STAINED-GLASS INDUSTRY

We do not like to call our wonderful craft an industry. It is not. It is purely a craft. We use no machines. It is all handwork and based primarily on a religious conception of what is beautiful, what is true, and what will embellish our many thousands of churches of all sects throughout this great country. The membership of our association represents practically all the finest stained-glass firms in the United States, and even some in Canada and Mexico. It is therefore authoritative, one which can speak with a background of over 50 years as association, and with a membership which includes firms that are from 75 to 100 years old, which is quite a record in this country.

As president of the Stained Glass Association of America, I feel I have a very definite responsibility to call attention to the fact that our fine craft will be ruined, and ruined soon, by foreign competition unless we have some tariff protection.

At the present time, stained glass over \$15 a square foot is coming into the United

States duty free as a work of art. This of course is ridiculous, as stained glass is after all a currently manufactured product, whose cost depends, 90 percent, on the labor in-volved, since it is all handwork as mentioned above.

We cannot compete with low European wage scales, or with low European materials cost. And European governments are sponsoring their own stained-glass studios, are printing elaborate brochures, and are doing a tremendous amount of advertising in this

The foreign stained glass studios are being helped by their governments with, I am afraid, money which the United States Government is sending them. Even the foreign consulates here in the United States have had exhibitions of European stained glass. They are contacting every church, every American architect, and doing everything possible to promote the sale of foreign glass in our own United States.

Foreign imports are steadily increasing. 1949 imports were 495 percent over 1946; 1953 imports 700 percent over 1949. From March 1952 to March 1954, 60 percent of all stained glass installed within a radius of 50 miles of New York City was of foreign make. Similar conditions exist on the west coast of the United States, and are fast moving inland.

A combined committee made up of members of the Stained Glass Association of America and its craftsmen, most of whom are members of the A. F. of L. Painters and Decorators Union, is now attempting to get proper interpretation of paragraph 1810 of the Tariff Act of 1922, and have it enforced. We believe that paragraph 1810 says that if stained glass is worked with metal, a duty must be paid regardless of valuation. The present importations are nearly all worked with metal, but are still admitted duty free.

While a fine stained glass window may be beautiful, and in that sense a work of art, it is a manufactured product just as much as a fine watch is.

The \$15 per square foot limit goes back to the Dark Ages, and is the same as it was 30 years ago. Then we paid \$20-\$25 per week for a 51/2-day week to our skilled craftsmen. Now we pay \$90-\$110 for a 5-day week, and sometimes much more to specialists and ar-

We are not like General Motors, Ford, or United States Steel, where American genius for machines and the assembly line can overcome differences in wage rates between the United States and Europe. The selling price of our product is entirely dependent upon the price of labor. So how can we compete with the wage rates of Germany, France, Belgium, Holland, Ireland, and even England? We cannot.

We have a wonderful craft, employing thousands of the most skilled artisans who know no other trade, and a craft which is doing more to uplift the morals and religious thoughts of our people than almost any other one. This is through the esthetic appeal of story and color, which only a beautiful stained glass window can give.

We reach, in fact, through our art, the heart of our Nation in a way no spoken word can. And we combat the cheap comic books and other lowering influences, which all now admit are factors in juvenile delinquency.

Labor, and I am speaking of the unions, realizing the situation, is working in the very closest way with the Stained Glass Association. A joint committee of labor and management has been set up. Management is working to save our craft. Labor is working to save the jobs of thousands who face idleness, many of them older men who can turn to no other craft, nor find other jobs. But our government, the third member of the team, is not yet doing anything to save this craft.

Our situation is rapidly becoming desperate, which will be realized when I repeat that over 60 percent of the stained glass windows installed in what might be called the New York metropolitan area, during the past 12 months, came from Europe; a similar situation is found in many other parts of the United States, even on the Pacific coast

Our craft is a religious one, vital to all sects-Protestant, Catholic, Jewish-and all of us, as far as our work is concerned, are completely nonsectrian and open minded. We love our craft and our respected religious faiths. Otherwise we would not be doing what we are doing. What is the answer?

KARL BARRE LAMB.

Sidney Friedman Organization, Inc.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, the occasion of the Presidential proclamation of the week of February 7 to 11 as Dental Health Week leads me to report on a dramatic and invaluable service, organized by some of the constituents of my district, that has a bearing on just that subject. Indeed, I feel that what they have done is an example of the finest work done by the many voluntary groups that make up the United States; and that it could be an example for other communities throughout the country.

About a year ago a group of young men and women, organized as the Sidney Friedman Organization, Inc., of 236 East Broadway, cast about for a community service that they could render. They found it in the need to provide dental care for the underprivileged children in the neighborhood. They went into this very carefully. They studied the needs. They studied the available resources, and they found that in my district alone there were several thousand indigent children who needed dental care and who could not obtain it from other sources.

Under the chairmanship of Leon W. Katz, this group interested Mr. Abraham Schlacht, publisher of the East Side News, a local newspaper in my district. Through its members and friends, they built a free dental clinic, which they report is the only one of its kind in the State of New York functioning on a completely volunteer basis. There are no administrative expenses in the operation of the clinic. Neither dentists nor dental aides associated with it receive any compensation. And the indigent children receive the best in dental care. The clinic is now in its fifth month of operation and has Prof. Oscar Ginder as its director and Dean Raymond Nagle, of the New York University College of Dentistry, as its adviser and consultant.

The free dental clinic has had over 700 monthly visits by children and it will examine over 300 youngsters during Dental Health Week. The free dental clinic, in addition to regular dental treatment, gives orthodontia and prosthetic work.

It should be noted that the indigent children are recommended by the public, parochial, and nursery schools. And the two requisites for accepting children by the free dental clinic are inability to pay and need for dental care.

I wish to extend to all my fellow Members of this Congress an invitation to see this clinic in operation and to judge for themselves its fine community spirit.

U. S. S. "Forrestal"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DEWEY SHORT

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, December 11, 1954, it was my privilege and pleasure, with thousands of my fellow Americans, to attend the launching of the U.S.S. Forrestal at Newport News, Va.

This will forever remain a significant date in our military history, for it signals a great milestone if not the beginning of a new era in the advance of naval and air warfare.

Under leave to extend my remarks, I submit the complete, interesting, informing, and impressive program at the launching of our first great supercarrier. the largest and mightiest ship ever built:

PROGRAM

Air salute: Carrier group 6 from United State Naval Air Station, Oceana, Va. National Anthem: United States Navy Band.

Introduction of William S. Blewett, Jr., president of the Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co.

Address: William E. Blewett, Jr.

Introduction of Adm. Robert B. Carney, United States Navy, Chief of Naval Opera-

Address: Adm. Robert B. Carney, United

States Navy.
Introduction of the Honorable Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense.

Address: The Honorable Charles E. Wilson, Introduction of the Honorable Charles S. Thomas, Secretary of the Navy.

Address: The Honorable Charles S. Thomas. Introduction of Rear Adm. Edward B. Harp, Jr., United States Navy, Chief of United States Navy Chaplains.

Invocation: Rear Adm. Edward B. Harp, Jr., United States Navy.

Introduction of sponsor: Mrs. James V. Forrestal.

Christening of the Forrestal: Mrs. James V. Forrestal.

Flight demonstration: Blue Angels, United States Navy Flight Team.

ADDRESS BY HON. WILLIAM E. BLEWETT, JR., PRESIDENT OF THE NEWPORT NEWS SHIP-BUILDING & DRYDOCK CO., AT THE LAUNCHING OF THE U. S. S. "FORRESTAL," NEWPORT NEWS, VA., DECEMBER 11, 1954

Mrs. Forrestal, Secretary Wilson, Secretary Thomas, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, the Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. is delighted to have you with us today for the christening of the aircraft carrier U. S. S. Forrestal,

For the past 7 hours this vessel, the largest ever to be constructed, has been waterborne in the submerged shipway before us. This gigantic carrier is as trim and modern as technical know-how, looking into the future, can make her. The only conceivable bit of futurama that she lacks is to be driven by atomic power.

Her size and potency are matchless. She is a mobile base which can be located in any navigable portion of the oceans as the needs of defense or freedom of the seas may demand. From her flight deck, equipped with steam-driven catapulst, she can launch the heavier planes of longer range and higher speed which are capable of delivering the latest developments in explosive power

against possible enemy targets.

This mighty alreraft carrier which dwarfs any other engineering product is the greatest single instrument conceived to protect this hemisphere. Today one cannot speak in terms of countries because transportation and communication have made the world so small. While our physical world has contracted, our thinking must be expanded and translated into new and appropriate means for self-protection. The Forrestal is a striking example that Navy planners concern themselves with a realistic vision of the future.

The building of the Forrestal is a milestone for Newport News. Our workmen, many of them of a third generation, have been brought up in the creed that "we shall build good ships here * * *," and they are building into the Forrestal not only designed might but also their cumulative skills in shipbuilding and pride of workmanship.

The Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. is proud of its accomplishments and the privilege accorded us by the Navy in building this carrier.

Aircraft carriers have traditionally been named in honor of famous battles in our naval history or for former vessels with illustrious careers. Today, for only the second time that a ciptal ship has been named for an individual, this vessel will be named for the late Honorable James V. Forrestal, our first Secretary of Defense. This mighty ship will carry a mighty name which speaks to all the world of our desire for peace.

Address by Adm. Rorert B. Carney, United States Navy, Chief of Naval Operations

After VJ-day, the Navy looked at the future. Some of its aspects were visible and apparent; others were obscured behind time's horizon. The informed students of the strategic meaning of the oceans were convinced of one thing: Control of those oceans must never be relinquished to an enemy.

Amid the welter of new ideas and inventions, some notion of the required tools of the future began to come into focus. One of the necessary tools of United States sealir power continued to be the aircraft carrier. National thinking in those early postwar days was somewhat beclouded by a passionate desire to return to a peacetime economy, and this was reflected in drastic military cuts. The aircraft carrier was a sufferer from the economic complexities of those days.

Nevertheless, the Navy went patiently ahead with its studies and evoloved an aircraft carrier design which would fulfill an inevitable need in the scheme of our national security. The thinking which went into the carrier design effort kept abreast of the times with respect to development of all types of aircraft, weapons, and equipments. Difficulties were encountered throughout these development years, but the compelling logic was not to be denied; and gradually the American people came to understand the value and power of this unique weapons

system. During the intervening years, the Navy had modernized some of our carriers of World War II vintage, and they are performing a worthwhile service.

This ship, from the keel up, is built for the future, dedicated to the support of our national policies and the preservation for all time of the things that we hold dear. Today. she is afloat. When she joins the fleet, she will be the mightiest warship of oceans-versatile and durable. She, and her sisters to follow, will be our future ships of the line, and, as such, will possess ever-expanding usefulness. They will constitute a powerful diplomatic instrument during peaceful years both by reason of their own quiet but imposing strength and also as symbols of the great national strength which alone could give them birth. tain their predecessors' World War II capabilities, of course, but they will also have a vastly increased firepower deliverable at greater distances, together with defenses capable of dealing with modern threats.

Offensively, this ship will be able to play her vital role by smashing at the sources of any enemy's naval power and by assisting our sister services and allied forces in carrying the fight to the foe. Wherever attack must be launched from the sea, this mighty ship and her planes will have the capability of delivering crushing blows against her as signed targets. The versatility of her aircraft and weapons will permit her to engage targets on the sea, above it, and below it, and on land where threats to our control of the sea is to be found. By her mobility, she will be able to bring airpower to parts of the world where no comparable friendly force can be found or maintained. The carrier task force takes on new and formidable significance with the advent of this new class of

This carrier of the future will also have the inherent protection provided to naval vessels by the vastness of the ocean areas where their location cannot be predetermined and thus zeroed in for destruction. The aircraft carrier, by her very nature, becomes an obscure target for enemy detection and effective attack. Even if her whereabouts become known, she, with guided missile-carrying companions will offer a formidable defense against any weapons now on the drawing boards or even on the horizon. As she goes about her assault tasks, she will be protected by her own fighters, guided missiles, mighty depth bombs, and curtains of electronic energy pulsating both beneath the waves and above them to detect and herald the enemy's approach.

As awe-inspiring as are the dimensions of this leviathan, the ship, herself, is but a symbol of the vastly greater power from which she springs—the unstoppable power of a great free society, blessed with generous resources, spurred on by the incentives of freedom, ready to share with those struggling for freedom as we originally and flercely struggled, determined not to lose any part of the heritage we have won by struggle. That is the true sifinicance of this great ship and I give the Navy's pledge that the U. S. S. Forrestal will discharge her duty to her country in defense of those things for which her country in defense of those things for which her country is tands.

Address by Hon. Charles E. Wilson, Secretary of Defense

Nearly 2½ years ago a similar group gathered here to lay the keel of the aircraft carrier U.S.S. Forrestal. Today, as we launch this vessel, we mark another milestone in the progress we are making to modernize and improve the readiness of our armed services.

The building of this ship is a tribute to the men of the Navy who are dedicated to maintaining the freedom of the seas in the defense of our country. It is also a tribute to the skill of the loyal and capable workers of the shipbuilding industry of this country, and in particular to those of the Newport News Shipbuilding & Drydock Co. We are sure that they have planned well and have built well and that this ship, when commissioned, will fulfill our every expectation

During this period of 2½ years the Navy has proceeded with the other plans and work necessary to provide the aircraft which will fly from the Forrestal decks and with the training of the officers and men who will man her when she joins the fleet.

The same careful planning and integration of new weapons and new technology is proceeding in all of the armed services as we continue our efforts to provide this country with the best and most modern defenses in our history. In so doing we are providing what we believe to be a real deterrent to the outbreak of another world war.

I am particularly proud that this ship bears the name of the first Secretary of Defense who did so much to build our modern Navy and whose efforts contributed so much to our national defense.

I knew Jim Forrestal well and had many contacts with him when he was Under Secretary of the Navy with Frank Knox; when he guided the Navy through the difficult war years as its Secretary; and later when he was the first Secretary of Defense. I always admired and respected him for his self-sacrificing devotion to his country.

At the keel-laying ceremony, the then Deputy Secretary of Defense, Mr. William C. Foster, spoke these words:

"And now let us in our hearts echo the prayer that from these beginnings an historic ship may rise successfully;

"That she will render service to the Nation consonant with that rendered by the man whose name she bears;

"And that she will carry to the far ends of the earth our championship of peace."

I would like for all of us to reiterate that prayer here today.

Address by Hon. Charles S. Thomas, Secretary of the Navy

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE MOVING SEA BASE

Ladies and gentlemen, this is a historic moment for all Americans as we launch today the newest, most modern, and most powerful naval weapon in history.

It is a particularly proud moment for me personally, here in the presence of Mrs. For-restals. Mr. Forrestal's two sons, and his brother, to pay tribute to that wonderful and dedicated American and friend whom I had the privilege of knowing and working with during World War II and who did so much to alert us to the danger of communism. His imprint is still visible and his influence is still felt throughout the Navy and in Washington.

Today you are witnessing not merely the launching of a ship, but the launching of our country's most versatile and most dispersable weapon in our nuclear arsenal.

The aircraft carrier, such as the Forrestal, is not only a weapon of great potency and utility today, but for the future, it is one of a family of sea weapons with even greater possibilities and potential.

For the foreseeable future, nothing is in prospect which will diminish our need for continued control of the seas—the surface of the seas by ships, the underseas by submarines, the air over the seas by naval airpower. As a matter of fact, the advent of the atom, the jet, and the missile have increased, not decreased, the importance of sea power.

So in this atomic age, when the weapons and the nature of war are changing, the mission of our Navy has not changed. The occans continue to be our cushions of defense, the bonds uniting us with our friends and allies, and our lifelines to overseas sources of raw materials which are so vital to our defense and peacetime production.

Our continued dependence on overseas bases for many years to come, be they Navy, Army, or Air Force, will demand that we control the seas to operate and supply them. Even more important, if war should be

Even more important, if war should be forced upon us, the seas are and can become increasingly vital as the mobile platforms of swift and devastating retaliation.

If we are attacked, our Nation's survival will depend on how well our system of airbases survives the initial blitz. For it is from these airbases that our counterattack will be launched. Not all of our continental airbases are certain to be invulnerable to destruction. Not all of our airbases on foreign soil are certain either to be available or usable.

Therefore the security of our airbase system is of utmost concern in our defense planning. Today, dispersal has one of our Nation's top priorities—dispersal of industry, of communications, and particularly of our retaliation system. Our airbase system must therefore not only be strongly defended, but it must be widely dispersed and as secure as possible if it is to guarantee that our retaliatory attack is launched.

our retaliatory attack is launched.
Since the United States has rejected preventive war on moral grounds, our determent and our defense against a nuclear attack must be based on a well advertised ability and intention to counterattack with overwhelming force.

To be certain that we have the maximum defense against a surprise attack, a part of the United States counterattack has been decentralized and dispersed on unpredictable moving sea bases. These unpredictable moving sea bases complement our fixed base system and together, the two insure a balanced base system which an enemy cannot neutralize.

The Forrestal is one such mobile sea base—the missile carrying atomic submarine and seaplane are others. Each one of these can use the entire oceans as mobile platforms and 10,000-mile runways. The Forrestal's airplanes will be able to take off and land simultaneously from her deck. This mobile base has a top speed of about 40 miles an hour; it can move rapidly to any part of the world's oceans. It is an outstanding example of dispersion. An aggressor can never be sure of its location. To find it and attack it will force him to divert a proportion of his offensive air strength which might otherwise be used to attack our homeland. The moving sea base's mobility, speed and striking power will also require that the enemy scatter, dilute and expand his defensive air power, which might otherwise be devoted to offensive roles. The Forrestal's ability to haunt an enemy's shoreline carrying a lethal load is a threat he cannot ignore.

Any target can, of course, be hit under the right conditions. But a moving sea base, particularly one which can maneuver and travel at 40 miles an hour, is obviously very

difficult to locate or destroy.

The Forrestal with its speed, its greatly reinforced armament, its improved radar vision, its heavy antiaircraft defenses, its guided missiles, and its new jet interceptor aircraft will indeed be a phantom target for any enemy.

for any enemy.

And the modern, streamlined carrier task force surrounding the Forrestal will operate under a new tactical doctrine emphasizing dispersion making it impossible to damage or destroy more than a small part if any

or destroy more than a small part, if any.

Moving sea bases, such as the Forrestal, also have great versatility and usefulness. They can be used in conjunction with massive retailation. They can be used to maintain control of the seas. As we learned in Korea, they are ideal for localized wars re-

quiring the use of conventional weapons, or in places where our fixed airbases are limited.

Because of these abilities, and particularly because of their atomic striking power, the Forrestal and her sister ships will be a deterrent force against aggression, and an insurance policy for peace.

ance policy for peace.

The recognition of the importance of and the need for naval power is best exemplified by the Russians. The Russian Navy is the only service of any major military power that has increased in both personnel and equipment over what it was during World War II. Since that time, the Russian Navy has risen from the seventh largest navy in the world to second only to that of the United States. This growth is eloquent evidence of their fear of our transoceanic seapower, particularly of such a weapon as the Forrestal.

In this atomic age, if we did not have this type of mobile sea base we would be forced to invent one. Fortunately, we have it and in just a few moments you will see it launched. The Forrestal's ability to carry a powerful atomic punch, its ability to take the fight right into the enemy's front yard, its ability to sustain itself at sea for long periods of time, its ability to strike a naval target a thousand miles from her deck, gives our Nation a powerful weapon for preserving a peaceful world.

Our seapower, as represented by the Forrestal, is therefore a great deterrent to war. We are determined to keep that seapower

modern, alert, and adequate.

The launching of this great ship should elevate our confidence that peace can be achieved. We have a righteous cause, freedom and peace. We have strong friends. We have superior productive capacity. We have superior naval power to control the seas on the surface, below the surface, and in the air above.

With all of these, and above all, with God's help, we are confident of success.

Invocation by Rear Admiral Edward B. Harp, Jr., United States Navy, Chief of United States Navy Chaplains

Almighty and Eternal God, who art the fountain of all wisdom and power, we come to invoke Thy blessing upon this ship. We praise Thee for this memorable and climatic moment of human achievement. We rejoice that under the dispensation of Thy providence, in this particular moment of history, Thou hast made it possible for the ingenuity, skill and labor of free men to bring this ship into being. May there come now, to those who have wrought as good workmen in its planning and construction, the inner satisfaction of having done their tasks worthily and well.

As we christen the U. S. S. Forrestal, we commend her to Thy guidance and care. Grant that her services may be used in the preservation of peace, and for war only when the defense of freedom and honor shal so dictate.

To this petition we add also our supplications for the President of the United States and all others in authority. We ask Thy blessing, too, upon all who serve in the Armed Forces of our Nation, particularly those who are making the greater sacrifices in the troubled areas of the world. Be pleased to protect and uphold them with Thy love and care.

Finally, O God, unite us all in an eternal purpose, to preserve and bear aloft the torch of freedom and peace among nations who love Thee and keep Thy commandments. To Thy honor and glory we offer this prayer. Amen.

Cardinal Spellman, Apostle of Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, this past Christmas, as in the 4 previous years, our soldiers in Korea were visited by a distinguished priest of peace, Francis Cardinal Spellman, archbishop of New York.

He has just recently returned from that trip and the following words, written by Harry H. Schlacht, which appeared in the East Side News of January 22, 1955, are indeed a "welcome home."

I am pleased to commend them to the attention of our colleagues:

CARDINAL SPELLMAN, APOSTLE OF PEACE

(By Harry H. Schlacht)

Welcome home, Francis Cardinal Spellman, archbishop of New York.

His eminence has recently returned to our shores, following his fifth consecutive Christmas in Korea with our Armed Forces.

He has gone there because of his innate love and devotion to our fighters for freedom.

Cardinal Spellman is the military vicar of the American troops.

He has traveled by helicopter and jeep, has climbed mountains in all sorts of weather, and has assumed peril upon peril to himself.

Notwithstanding all these dangers, he has brought spiritual consolation to our lads in the Far East.

His was indeed a familiar face.

His was a familiar voice to our boys who came from every hamlet and village, from every city and State, from every plain and mountainside of our glorious land.

And they listened to the soft, sweet tones of his eminence, as his voice rolled gently across the Korean fields.

"If vigilantly we do not built an invulnerable spiritual defense against the foes of peace, then we will bring upon ourselves and the innocents of future generations continuing, agonizing years of war."

These inspiring words of this prince of the church were echoed round the world.

"No man on earth wants peace more than I do," said Cardinal Spellman.

"For I am a priest of peace, my life consecrated to the service of God and man, dedicated to striving to bring peace to men on earth and everlasting peace in Heaven."

There is not a man of peace who has not been greatly moved by the hart-warming sentiments expressed by this simple man of God.

There is hardly a person across the sea who does not turn his face toward America, as he offers his evening prayers, and whose sleep is not visited by some dream of our free land.

Ours is God's country, in which liberty and peace are always cherished and coveted.

And God willing, they shall ever remain with us.

The stories told by our soldiers of the goodness and greatness of Cardinal Spellman are legion.

They tell of his compassion and understanding, and of his never-failing sense of humor. They tell of his great capacity to see, to hear, to feel the joys and sorrows of our

Indeed, the elements in his nature give him a kinship with the spiritual leaders of the ages.

The great honor him and forget their

Francis Cardinal Spellman is not only the great churchman we know him to be, but he also is a writer, scholar and humanitarian as well.

Let the Nation unfurl his banner high for all the world to see—his magnificent record in the cause of freedom and peace. He merits the Nation's highest award.

Let America make grateful acknowledgment of a task well done.

Result of Poll

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, during my years of service in the Congress, I have regularly conducted polls of public thinking on vital national issues in my congressional district: These polls have been in the form of a printed questionnaire, requiring simple yes-and-no answers, mailed to registered voters in my district, regardless of political affiliation.

Responses to these questionnaires have always been excellent. The tabulated results, which virtually constitute a referendum of the district, have proved of enormous value to myself and I hope to my colleagues in the Congress.

My congressional district is probably as representative and contains as many varied interest groups as any in the Nation. It has the wealthy, the poor, and the middle class. It has a high concentration of labor, white-collar workers, small business, large industries and some of the finest farm areas found anywhere. It includes a thickly populated section of Pittsburgh, extends to the rural areas, and takes in many large and small towns in northern Allegheny County.

This latest poll covered 13 questions raised by President Dwight D. Eisenhower's state of the Union message. The percentage tabulation of answers is included here without comment.

I trust they will prove as interesting and informative to all who study them as they are to me.

POLL RESULTS

1. Do you approve of Eisenhower's program general? Yes, 90 percent; no, 10 percent.

in general? Yes, 90 percent; no, 10 percent.

2. Should the budget be balanced prior to important tax cuts? Yes, 83 percent,

no. 17 percent. 3. Do you believe that our expenditures for national defense are adequate? Yes, 76

percent; no. 24 percent.
4. Should the Federal Government encourage and guaranty private health insurance programs? Yes, 51 percent; no, 49 percent.

5. Should tariffs be selectively lowered through reciprocal trade agreements? Yes. 72 percent; no, 28 percent.

6. Should the draft law be renewed? Yes, 85 percent; no, 15 percent.

7. Should the minimum wage be raised to 90 cents per hour? Yes, 77 percent; no, 23 percent.

8. Eisenhower says a salary raise for Members of Congress "is long overdue." Do you agree? Yes, 64 percent; no, 36 percent.

9. Should the incentives for men to remain in the military services be increased and the incentives to be discharged be reduced? Yes, 82 percent; no, 18 percent.

10. Should the voting age be lowered from 21 to 8 years? Yes, 35 percent; no, 65 per-

11. Do you agree that the flexible pricesupport program is a marked improvement? Yes, 88 percent; no. 12 percent.
12. Eisenhower said: "The transition to a

peacetime economy is largely behind us. The economic outlook is good." Do you agree? Yes, 78 percent; no. 22 percent. Do you

13. Do you think the Eisenhower administration is making satisfactory progress in securing world peace? Yes, 81 percent; no, 19 percent.

The Vital Necessity of the Merchant Marine

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LEONOR K. SULLIVAN

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mrs. SULLIVAN. Mr. Speaker, the Mississippi Valley Association is holding its annual meeting in St. Louis beginning Sunday and continuing through Wednesday of next week. This organization is deeply interested in the merchant marine of our country and recently published the following editorial by the association's president, Wilbur A. Jones, about the vital necessity of the merchant marine-an editorial I hope the Members of the House will take the opportunity to read:

[From the Mississippi Valley Association Newsletter |

PRESIDENT'S PARAGRAPH

To landlubbers living far from any coast, seagoing ships often seem remote things scarcely touching our everyday experiences. their owners complain of financial When difficulties, it is easy to shrug our shoulders and say, "So what?" But it takes a little research to discover some most important connections. For example, foreign commerce is vastly important to agriculture and industry, often providing the added volume that means the difference between profit and loss. It was this very idea that led far-seeing businessmen of the midcontinent area to organize the valley association in 1919 to tie the industry, commerce, and agriculture of the great hinterland to the foreign trade of America at the port of New Orleans. The wisdom of that plan is becoming more apparent every day, with the tremendous growth of river traffic, a sizable part of which finds its way into foreign trade.

It is a sad fact that American-flag ships do not carry the bulk of these cargoes to foreign countries. Roughly 70 percent of the business goes to foreign ship owners in spite of the fact that the rates are competi-tive. To offset the much higher wage rate paid American seamen, our Government pays a subsidy to domestic lines who qualify under certain restrictions. While this comes to a tidy sum annually, it is still only a

minor part of the income of the American merchant marine, 90 percent of which comes from private enterprise. And this 90 per-cent goes right back into wages for American workmen, food, supplies of every kind.

Not only does our merchant marine add greatly to the total of American enterprise, but it is a defense factor of tremendous im-portance. In this day of global concern and tension it is vital that our merchant marine be kept at a high state of efficiency. After both world wars short-sighted policy led to indifference and neglect of this vital national asset, so valuable either in peace or war. A subsidy which merely makes up the difference in cost of living of our ships' crews is a small price to pay for what is one

of our first lines of defense.

I am sure it will be news to many of our members that in the last session of Congress, it was very difficult to obtain enough votes to pass two measures very essential to the continued operation of the American merchant marine. One was an amendment to the mutual security bill, providing that at least 50 percent of our give-away cargoes in the current year be carried in American bottoms. The other was a bill to make this provision a permanent factor in American policy. These measures were so close to failing of passage that an SOS was sent out to our association to muster every possible vote in the Mississippi Valley. It is a mat-ter of pride to your officers that the votes were forthcoming, and the bills were passed, and are now the law of the land.

While our membership is predominantly in the States of the great central plains and valleys, our association is strong for any-thing that helps make and keep America strong. The American merchant marine

strong. T

WILEUR A. JONES.

The Formosa Debate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by the noted military expert of the New York Times, Hanson W. Baldwin. In this critical period his views as to the significance of Formosa to the United States, militarily and otherwise, is of great interest.

THE FORMOSA DEBATE-AN EVALUATION OF ISLANDS' MILITARY AND POLITICAL IMPOR-TANCE TO THE UNITED STATES

(By Hanson W. Baldwin)

Debate about the importance of Formosa and of its coastal outposts of Quemoy and Matsu can have no realistic settlement unless two questions are answered:

How important is Formosa to the United States in the current world conflict?

Are the Nationalist-held islands of Quemoy and Matsu essential to the defense of

The first question must be answered in political and psychological as well as military terms.

In a military sense the island is important but not vital to the United States and to our position in the western Pacific and eastern Asia.

FORMOSA A FLANK THREAT

Chiang Kai-shek's Nationalist forces have a defensive importance and a small offensive capability, limited chiefly to harassing and radding operations. In case of general war, but only as part of a United States operation, the Nationalist land forces could become the backbone of an invasion of the China mainland. Without United States support there would be no possibility of a successful invasion. As the years go on the Nationalist Army, now averaging more than 27 years of age, will tend to become less and less useful.

In Nationalist hands Formosa does, however, offer a slight flank threat to Communist China. As long as the island is in Nationalist hands Peiping must earmark some of its armed forces to the so-called invasion coast from Shanghai to Canton.

In Communist hands, Formosa would dominate the normal north-south shipping routes along the coast of eastern Asia. It would secure the coastal flank of Red China and would provide air bases within easy jet range of the Philippines and Okinawa. In a military sense it is more important to us negatively than positively; we do not need it for an offensive base or strategic point d'appui from which to exert power against the Asiatic mainland, but it would complicate our military problem in the Western Pacific if the island were in Communist hands.

Formosa's real importance is political and psychological. Its loss to communism would be felt all over Asia: among the overseas Chinese residing abroad, many of whom now look to Taipei rather than to Peiping; in Indonesia and South Vietnam, Burma, and elsewhere—already impressed by past Communist victories. Communist propaganda has exploited the stalemate in Korea and the West's defeat in Indochina. The United States, to many Orientals, is a paper tiger, big on words but short on strength. It is certain that the communization of Formosa would mean to many Asiatics that they had better jump on the bandwagon of Peiping.

It seems certain, therefore, that Formosa, while far from vital to the military defense of the United States, is highly important and, in a political sense, well-nigh vital to the position of the United States in the Western Pacific and to the struggle against communism in Asia.

QUEMOY AND MATSU

But if this is so, are Quemoy and Matsu essential to Formosa's defense?

The Quemoy Islands, held by the Nationalists, command the approaches to the harbor of Amoy, opposite southern Formosa. The main island is about 10 miles long and rises to a height of 176 feet. Little Quemoy Island, 357 feet high, is about a mile at the nearest point from Quemoy. The area between the Islands offers good shelter from typhoons and forms Quemoy Harbor. These 2 islands are garrisoned by about 50,000 Nationalist troops, well dug in behind barbed wire and minefields. The garrison has some 105-millimeter guns, 37-millimeter-gunned tanks, and Sherman tanks. There are two small airstrips, one of which can handle two-engined cargo planes.

Matsu Island, which lies well off the harbor of Foochow, is about 3 miles long and 2¼ miles wide at its broadest. It, too, is rocky and rises to a height of 104 feet. Matsu is garrisoned by about 5,000 Nationalists regulars and 1,000 guerrillas.

The coastal guns on these islands are not big enough to deny Amoy and Foochow Harbors to all Communist shipping. But in the hands of the Nationalists the islands, Quemoy in particular, do tend to neutralize the importance of these ports. Quemoy, and Matsu, therefore, have an inhibitory effect upon Communist invasion preparations. It seems probable that no invasion of Formosa could be attempted until these islands were reduced.

On the other hand, these islands would be difficult to hold against determined assault.

It is, therefore, true, as Adm. Felix B. Stump, commanding the Pacific Fleet, put it, that Quemoy and Matsu "certainly are important" but not "absolutely vital" in a military sense to the defense of Formosa itself. Like Formosa, their greater importance is political and psychological. Would the communization of Quemoy and Matsu weaken materially the morale of the Nationalists in Formosa itself and of non-Communists all over Asia?

Scientist Shortage Major Peril to United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN PRICE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. PRICE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include herewith an article written by Donald A. Quarles, Assistant Secretary of Defense, which appeared in the January 1955 issue of Planes. The article entitled "Graduations Drop as Demand

SCIENTIST SHORTAGE MAJOR PERIL TO UNITED STATES—GRADUATIONS DROP AS DEMAND GROWS FOR TECHNICIANS

Grows for Technicians," follows:

(By Donald A. Quarles, Assistant Secretary of Defense)

The critical shortage of engineers and scientists in America is potentially a greater threat to our national security than are any weapons known to be in the arsenals of aggressor nations.

Since 1950 there has been a steady decrease in the number of technical graduates from United States schools which has now leveled off at less than half the 1950 figure. This alarming decline has occurred at a time when advances in technology have imposed mounting requirements for technical personnel in industry and national defense.

AVIATION REQUIREMENTS INCREASE

The need for engineers, scientists, and technicians has been particularly serious in aviation, where research and development demands have multiplied at an almost unbelievable rate, and where design and production have become infinitely complex operations.

Because the aircraft industry is the backbone of our air power, the present and prospective future shortages of skilled personnel in this industry constitute a grave threat to our continuing air leadership.

As a matter of national policy, the United States has embarked upon an air power program designed to assure qualitative superiority over an indefinite period of years. Reliance will be placed upon our possession of better air power, more effective air power, rather than upon vast numbers of aircraft.

FACE MAJOR PROBLEMS

It is obvious that this effort to maintain our qualitative superiority in the air will require the efforts of tremendous numbers of scientists and engineers. We face many problems involved in the design and production of aircraft which will, in the not-too-distant future, fly and fight at multiples of the speed of sound. There are problems of heat, of control, of materials, of electronics, and many others. As yet, we have barely

started the exploration of the aeronautical sciences.

The only way we can find the answers to these knotty problems is to assure that America has adequate numbers of scientific and engineering personnel, and that their energies are devoted to this end.

Today we have little justification for complacency regarding our relative capabilities as compared with those of Russia. We must face the fact that technological advantages which we have so long enjoyed could be lost through apathy or through lack of longrange planning designed to meet our sclentific needs. The element of time, which favored us in past emergencies by giving us many months to mobilize our resources and train our personnel, already has been nullified by the ability of enemy nations to launch all-out attacks against our homeland without warning.

REDS EMPHASIZE SCIENCE

Reports on the Soviet Union indicate that the Reds are exerting intensive efforts to channel the interests of Communist youth toward science and engineering. Elementary and secondary schools stress science and mathematics. Incentives are provided for advanced students in engineering and science; and liberal rewards are given to their working scientists and engineers.

It has been estimated that this year the Russians will graduate approximately 50,000 engineers—more than double the number who will receive degrees from United States colleges and universities. An estimated additional 50,000 Russians will be graduated as subprofessional engineers, and trained and highly qualified technicians.

Upon this great and growing reservoir of engineering personnel the Soviet Union will depend for future progress in the global competition for technological and scientific supremacy.

Only by matching them in ideas and skills can we expect to achieve a reasonable degree of national security in future years.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO YOUTH

Certainly there is no desire in America to regiment or to mold the minds of youth as do the Russians, but there is a grave responsibility on the leaders of Government, of education, and of industry to provide new motivation and incentive for our youth to enter engineering, scientific, and related fields.

Talented young Americans have been called this country's greatest natural resource. It is vital to our security and welfare that those who have been endowed with the talents meet the challenge and build careers for themselves and leadership for their country in science and technology.

Chairmen and Minority Leaders of Standing Committees of the House of Representatives

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ROBERT J. CORBETT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. CORBETT. Mr. Speaker, I have today introduced a bill to provide for the election of the chairman and the minority leader of each standing committee of the House of Representatives by the duly elected members of each committee. This proposed change in the rules of the House of Representa-

tives would have very wholesome and significant results and has long been overdue.

The rules of the House of Representatives provide amazingly well to let the majority eventually work its will while protecting all the proper rights of any minority. However, in actual practice the power of the Rules Committee to deep-freeze legislation is seldom successfully challenged, and the dictatorial control, where it exists, of the chairman of any standing committee over procedure and action in his committee is less seldom hurdled. I have earlier introduced legislation to partially dilute the power of the Rules Committee.

Why is there a need for a change in the manner of selecting committee chairmen? Every Member of the House knows and every student of committee procedures knows that the chairmen of the committees schedule pending bills for action in the order that they see fit. He may never schedule some bills at all; he may not assign them to a subcommittee; he may assign them to a special subcommittee of handpicked members; he may select or reject any witnesses for or against a given proposal. The chairman can limit the time of witnesses; he can select who does the questioning in hearings; he can determine in part who shall speak in the House and for how long. He may even delay to death reporting a bill favorably acted on to the Rules Committee or the House. Likewise, in the selection of conferees the chairman may often control the shape and design of House-passed legislation, and he can dominate, terminate, or prevent investigations and studies by his committee. Further, the selection and direction of the committee staff members can and generally is at the will of the chairman. Finally, the chairman can be most effective negatively by simply not calling meetings of the committee or stall a bill to death by hearings, protracted discussion, and intervening matters. All of these powers and more reside in the hands of the chairman of a standing committee and all of them have been abused too often.

How would the election of the chairman by the members of the majority party improve the situation? Most obviously by making the chairman of a committee responsible to the committee members instead of the seniority system, his power to behave in an arbitrary manner would be diluted if not eliminated. Certainly no chairman could long remain such or hope to be reelected if he did not treat his colleagues with the consideration they deserve as elected Members of Congress. Certainly any action on his part which was contrary to the will of the majority would place his chairmanship in jeopardy and he would know it.

It is also evident that in many cases; election of the chairman by the committee members would result in better-qualified chairmen. It is assumed that the senior member of any committee on the majority side, all things being equal, would normally be elected chairman under this proposal. But where it happens that the impairments of advanced

age; lack of energy; lack of ability to properly explain or persuade; lack of consideration, fair play, and open-mindedness, and lack of proper qualifications generally makes a person unfit to be a chairman, someone else would probably be elected in his stead.

The election of the chairman of the standing committees would, therefore, end the dictatorial powers of the chairman and would frequently result in a more capable chairman filling that vital post.

All that has been said about the importance of electing committee chairmen applies with greatly decreased force, but nonetheless does apply to the office of minority leader of the committee. If we regard the committee system as making the House of Representatives a collection of little Congresses subject finally to the will of the whole House we have the picture quite accurately and consequently the election of a minority leader for the committee comes in regular order.

I commend this measure to the consideration of my colleagues many of whom know its necessity and desirability without any prompting by me.

Need for Expansion of Italy's Agricultural Exports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EMANUEL CELLER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 27, 1955

Mr. CELLER. Mr. Speaker, I inserted in the Congressional Record my views on and my objection to the United States export program of granting heavy subsidies on citrus fruits which, because of these subsidies, is crowding Italy, Israeli, north African citrus products out of their traditional European markets, to the economic detriment of those warravaged and needy countries.

With the termination of direct United States economic aid, countries like Italy more than ever need their traditional foreign markets in order to maintain and raise their economic levels. Italy has a chronic unemployment situation in the southern part of the country which is, predominantly, an agricultural area. Unless it can expand its citrus and other agricultural exports it will be unable to overcome this situation. In addition, Italy is under constant pressure from the Soviet bloc to sell, at attractive market prices, to countries behind the Iron Curtain. Unless unfair competitive methods like United States subsidies are suspended, we will drive Italy and other countries similarly situated from their traditional markets and force them to sell to Communists and Communistdominated countries.

I submit for insertion in the Record the following editorial from the Washington Evening Star of January 24, 1955, which relates to Italy's biggest and most pressing problem—unemployment. The editorial calls attention to Italy's proposed 10-year governmental program which, among other things, points up the need for the expansion of the country's export trade and the lifting of the economic level of its southern agricultural areas.

HOPE FOR ITALY'S JOBLESS

Although it may have a number of serious bugs in it, the proposed plan to create full employment in Italy has the virtue at least of seeking to do something concrete, and on a large scale, about that country's biggest and most pressing problem—a problem that the Communists continue to exploit with great and omnious success.

The root of this problem rests in the fact that Italy, whose emigration outlets are very limited, is an overpopulated land that is poor in both food resources and the raw materials needed for a thriving industrial economy. As a result, about 2 million of its adult citizens are wholly unemployed and another 2 million just barely manage to subsist on incomes derived from low-paying, part-time jobs.

Clearly enough, even though Italy's living standards today are much better than at any time in the past two decades or more, such an unemployment situation is bound to be a breeder of widespread discontent, particularly because it tends to worsen as the country's population of 48 million keeps on growing. And the Communists, together with the fellow-traveling, leftwing Socialists, unquestionably are as strong as they are over there—the strongest Red party in free Europe—primarily because they have skillfully capitalized on the fact that Rome's postwar governments have thus far achieved little in coping with the problem.

Accordingly, the new full-employment proposal, whatever its shortcomings, deserves the most serious attention. As drafted by Senator Ezio Vanoni, Italy's Budget Minister, it contemplates a total outlay of \$8 billion on a 10-year program of governmental and private investment designed to expand or bring into being productive enterprises on a scale that would create and sustain 4 million additional jobs. The program would be concerned, among other things, with increasing the country's exports and lifting the predominantly agricultural south to a level of economic activity comparable to that of the industrial north.

As for financing, the Vanoni plan envisions not only a big outlay of public and private Italian capital, but also a number of substantial foreign loans and a market increase in overseas free-enterprise investments (especially American) in Italy's industries. But this aspect of the project is rather vague, and what remains to be seen is whether incentives and guaranties can be made attractive enough for either individual investors or for governmental lenders.

Despite such reservations, however, Italy obviously needs to do far more than it has done up to now if it is to solve its deadly serious unemployment problem.

Sgt. Prudencio Uranga

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, under the stimulus of battle men of great patriotism have willingly risked death and destruction.

Men have gone forth under the most hazardous conditions to rescue fellow men from death. It takes great courage to do these things.

We honor those who have performed them. They become an inspiration to all

of us.

Let me tell you of a man of great courage. A man who with great deliberation, fully recognizing the consequences of his decision, risked the most horrible of deaths to save his comrades and companions.

I can best tell the story by quoting from paragraph 2, general orders No. 34, Department of the Air Force, dated Sep-

tember 16, 1954:

2. By direction of the President, under the provisions of the act of Congress approved July 2, 1926, and transfer order 30, 1948, the Soldier's Medal for heroism not involving actual conflict with an enemy is awarded to

the following named airmen:

T. Sgt. Prudencio Uranga, AF18199466, distinguished himself by an act of heroism involving voluntary risk of life at Hayward Air National Guard Base, Hayward, Calif., on December 7, 1953, while serving as a civilian air technician with the California Air National Guard. An explosion in the pumping compartment of an F-2 refueling unit set the unit afire and threw burning aircraft fuel upon Sgt. Uranga. After extinguishing the flames on his clothing, Sergeant Uranga displayed outstanding courage and selfless disregard for his own safety by entering the tractor of the furiously burning fuel trailer and driving it from the aircraft parking area. Sergeant Uranga with-out benefit of protective clothing, and al-though he had sustained first- and seconddegree burns of his hands, arms, and face, then assisted in subduing the fire in the fuel trailer. The courage and devotion to duty displayed by Sergeant Uranga in this emergency reflect great credit upon himself, the Air National Guard and the United States Air Force.

By order of the Secretary of the Air Force: N. F. TWINING,

Chief of Staff, United States Air Force. Official:

K. E. THIEBAUD, Colonel, USAF, Air Adjutant General.

Prudencio Uranga is a member of the California Air National Guard.

He has lived up to the proved tradition of the National Guard.

He risked his life to save those of his comrades. He saved his country a great sum of money by reducing the hazard of a bad conflagration.

I hail Sgt. Prudencio Uranga as a hero.

Harriman, a Good Administrator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, during the many years when he was associated with the Federal Government in Washington, the Honorable Averell Harriman held high and responsible posts and proved himself an able administrator. Now, in his capacity as Governor of New York, he is again proving his capability

as leader and administrator of the greatest and most populous State in the country.

Governor Harriman has made an excellent beginning in the short time since assuming office. The people of New York had shown their confidence by electing him as Governor of the State, and now their confidence in him is being justified.

Mr. Speaker, I desire to place into the RECORD an article by the noted columnist, Marquis Childs, entitled "Harriman's Stock Rises," which was published in the Washington Post and Times Herald on February 2, 1955. It reads as follows:

WASHINGTON CALLING

HARRIMAN'S STOCK RISES

(By Marquis Childs)

ALBANY, N. Y.—Something distinctly new has been added to the staid atmosphere of this capital of the richest and most populous State in the country. For the first time in 12 years, a Democratic governor and a Democratic administration are making the news.

While Gov. Averell Harriman is discovering the headaches that beset most of the 48 governors, he is also beginning to get the feel of the big new job he has taken on. He is preparing to push a variety of plans for improving one aspect or another of the State government; plans that are certain to come up against the stubborn resistance of the Republican legislature that has already set out to trip him up.

But conflict also makes headlines. Because the affairs of New York State are reported extensively in newspapers of national circulation, the governor of New York has at his disposal a formidable publicity engine. Harriman and his staff have given every sign that they mean to use that engine.

If only for this one factor of national attention, you could feel sprouting in the heady political atmosphere, a hothouse atmosphere anticipating the political spring, a potential candidate for the Democratic presidential nomination. But there are other factors. One of them is the presence at Harriman's elbow of his newly appointed Secretary of State Carmine De Sapio, who is also the leader of Tammany Hall and Democratic national committeeman.

If De Sapio, who has already proved himself a shrewd and resourceful political manager, has his way, Harriman will be the Democratic standard-bearer in 1956. The late Ed Flynn, boss of the Bronx, who had a great deal to do with making Franklin D. Roosevelt President, was secretary of state when F. D. R. was Governor and the parallel has not escaped the friends of either Harriman or De Sapio.

The new governor will not talk about what may or may not happen in 1956. But he is aware of a kind of vacuum in Democratic politics at the present moment and he means to take advantage of it.

The Democratic leadership in Congress is on the conservative side and has thus far shown a great reluctance to challenge President Eisenhower on either domestic or foreign policy. This "me, too" attitude, as it is considered here, will serve only to prepare the way for President Eisenhower to walk into a second term with scarcely more than token opposition. Harriman says frankly that he favors the political philosophy of former President Truman, who insisted that the Democratic Party had of necessity to be the dynamic party, championing measures of reform and social change.

Adlai E. Stevenson, generally considered the Democratic front-runner up to now, is refusing all requests to speak as he pursues the private practice of law. Moreover, Stevenson has no public base of operation such

as he had when he was Governor of Illinois in the months leading up to his "draft" for the Democratic nomination in 1952.

For many who have known Harriman through the past 20 years as he has held important appointive offices in Washington, Paris, London, and Moscow, it is simply impossible to take him seriously as a Presidential candidate. To begin with, he has a fortune inherited from his father. Great wealth, and particularly inherited wealth, has long been considered an almost irremediable handicap to aspiration to high elective office.

The Governor's shy, diffident manner has made him an indifferent practitioner of the art of speechifying, which is so important to the politician's career. Until he was a candidate in the District of Columbia's preferential primary in the spring of 1952—really a sort of popularity contest since the District is voteless—he had never run for any office. Harriman is 63 years old, I year younger than President Eisenhower and 9 years older than Stevenson.

Harriman's ardent backers, many of them now in his administration, believe that his election as Governor puts him in a new light. They see a parallel with Roosevelt, who was considered even up to the Presidency as an amiable aristocrat without very much force

of character.

Certainly as Governor, Harriman has a new perspective. His hope is to play a leadership role with the Democratic governors. He hopes they will supply the kind of dynamic leadership not evident in Washington.

This overlooks the fact, of course, that some of these governors are also known to harbor high political ambitions. Gov. G. Mennen Williams is a fourth-term Governor in Michigan and Frank Lausche, of Ohio, is serving his fifth term. Compared to these veterans, Harriman is a brash upstart. But the weight of New York State can be counted on to make up for part of his newness, or so his followers believe.

Belated thought it may be, he is entering into a new political phase of his life with an almost lighthearted enthusiasm.

Paying for Fraud

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the following article, written by Joseph Alsop, appeared in his column, Matter of Fact, in the New York Herald Tribune of January 30, 1955. I direct it to the attention of our colleagues:

MATTER OF FACT (By Joseph Alsop) PAYING FOR FRAUD

Rangoon, Burma.—Here in Burma, which boasts the ablest and most realistic government of postwar Asia, the price we are paying for the fraudulence of our Asian policy is alarmingly evident.

alarmingly evident.

The news from home indicates a great, sudden stir about the Chinese Communist threat to the offshore islands of Formosa. But why is this?

In view of the record of the last 2 years, why on earth is anyone ruffled by the Communist seizure of Yikiangshan?

There was a first Munich in the form of the Korean truce. There was a second Munich in the form of the surrender in Indochina. There was a transparent fake in the form of the toothless Manila Treaty. And in the treaty with Chiang Kai-shek, specifically excluding the offshore islands from American protection, there was the equivalent of an engraved invitation to the Communists to seize those islands.

In the face of this record of retreat and appeasement, people at home are surprised by the natural—the downright inevitable results.

They are surprised because the retreat has been masked by a loud, hucksterish drumfre about "unleashing Chiang Kai-shek," "recaptured initiatives," "massive retaliation," "strengthened outposts," and the like.

The bad joke is that the Burmese and the Indians, who desperately desire to avoid an unnecessary war, have been just as much deceived by the loud talk as our own people. The loud talk in Washington has made these Asians think American policy warlike, when it has really been the precise reverse.

In Burma, we are blamed not for appeasement, which can be justly charged against us, but for aggressiveness, of which we are consulting suittless.

spicuously guiltless.

If appeasement was needful, we ought at least to have tried to reap its natural benefits and reinsure it as best we could. In particular, we ought to have told the Burmese and the Indians, "Well, we are going to follow your ideas about the right conduct of affairs in Asia, so let's get together to cope with the resulting situation."

with the resulting situation."

We even virtually ceased communication with Rangoon and New Delhi. The mounting concern caused by the loud talk in Washington was one cause of this development. But there have been other causes.

There has been no American Ambassador in Delhi for many months. There has been none here in Rangoon since last July.

The junior diplomats who are holding the fort here are good, hard working men, who show all the worst effects of the treatment given to the foreign service in the last 2 years. The American representation in Rangoon today has the approximative effectiveness of an old, wet washrag. And this is true despite a danger and an opportunity that should intensely preoccupy the American policymakers.

The danger can be simply defined. With no one to speak up for our side, Burma has slipped since last year. The big power—China—has begun to convince the little power—Burma—that her sweet words can be relied on. Men like Premier U Nu, and his two remarkable chief collaborators, U Ba Swe and U Kyaw Nein, are not really deceived; but they are beginning to be immobilized.

The opportunity can be equally simply defined. It is the opportunity to mobilize Burma.

The appeasements of the last 2 years have produced a new situation in Asia. American power is no longer sufficient to hold the balance true. The political and moral authority of the free Asian nations, and in particular Burma and India, are desperately needed to prevent a general collapse. That is another result of our recent policy which it is high time to face squarely. The opportunity is in Burma, because here in Burma, the leadership sees the position in Asia more clearly than in Delhi.

The danger to Burma of a Communist triumph in Thailand can never be forgotten by the government in Rangoon. Therefore, it is here, if anywhere, that the needed effort can be organized to hold Cambodia and Laos, the approaches to Thailand, which now have, for the long run, at least as much importance as the Formosa approaches, or indeed, of Formosa itself.

The last 2 years' policy of retreat may well have been desirable. Yet the wise commander, when he retreats, is careful to organize a new defense line for the new position he has occupied. Our policymakers have instead been too busy protesting that we really were not retreating; so no shadow of a new defense line has been organized, and the task of organizing one is getting harder by the month.

Newsletter to the East Side News

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include herewith an article which I have prepared for the East Side News, a weekly newspaper circulated in my district on the East Side of New York:

FROM INSIDE CONGRESS

Washington is a serious city these days. The changeover from Republican to Democratic control of the House has brought with it a sober awareness that our international policy, and in many respects our internal legislation, must be bipartisan in character. Democratic leadership in Congress is demonstrating that it puts concern for the Nation highest in its thinking. I hope that the President will be big enough to express publicly his regrets at the warning he gave before elections of a cold war in our Government in the event of a Domocratic victory. The plain fact is that the Democratic Party, which is now in control of both Houses, is showing no rancor, no opposition for opposition's sake, and a genuine spirit of cooperation that deserve the President's and the country's thanks. I hope that will be forthcoming.

I voted for the resolution on Formosa. It was not an easy decision to make. I share the deep feelings of my constituents and, I believe, of the American people generally that we must not fail to pursue any honorable course that will maintain peace and secure our national defense.

With this in mind I joined the overwhelming majority in the House and in the Senate who voted for the resolution. There have been many experiences of history where wars were not begun, but were blundered into. Often the blunder was based on ignorance or miscalculation or misunderstanding. In an atomic age we cannot run the risk of being misunderstood. It seemed to me, and I gave this deep and careful consideration, that we owed it to ourselves and to the world to state just how we felt about our essential defense outposts.

This, together with the assurance that we have been given that the United Nations will be called upon to arrange a cease-fire off the coast of China, seems to me to be a step toward peace and not toward war.

There is another kind of defense the we need, in fact that we cannot do without; and that is the defense of our own morale and of our own historic traditions. That's why I introduced a resolution into the House last week, calling for the outright repeal of the present Immigration and Nationality Act, better known as the McCarran Act. I am not kidding myself. I can't speak with any certainty about how that resolution will be acted upon in committee, but I felt that it was the moral and the American way to stand up clearly and to say, as this resolution indicates: This is a blot upon our statute books, an affront to millions of Americans, unworthy of our tradition and inconsistent with our claim to speak up for the democratic

forces and institutions and peoples of the world.

I don't think that Congress would be indifferent to the voice of these millions of Americans if only they would speak up. That's a job for Mr. John Citizen. I hope he will do it in such volume and with such persistency that my resolution will be passed and that we can then tackle the reorganization of our immigration and nationality laws, with a new liberal spirit.

Last week I had occasion to speak on a radio program on the subject of wiretapping. Several weeks earlier Judge Hofstadter handed down a very significant decision, refusing a New York Police Department's request for the right to wiretap and expressing himself forcibly on this practice as a steady erosion of our individual liberties. He also pointed out that the number of convictions obtained by wiretapping was not consequential.

I have steadily maintained that wiretapping is a dirty business and that, tolerated, is sure to injure our dignity as a nation and our heritage as Americans. In a debate on the subject in Congress last year I said very clearly:

"Wiretapping is dirty business. Nothing that we can do or say here will change that. And while I think that every legal means should be used to convict traitors and saboteurs, we must not overlook the fact that this country is based on law and order and justice. If we deviate one lota from those principles, we are forgetting our great heritage of freedom and joining those who believe in totalitarian methods.

"It is doubtful whether such random, haphazard searches of the population at large are very efficient police methods, but efficient or not, the undesirability of most of them was decided a long time ago by the adoption of the Bill of Rights."

My stand is with our Founding Fathers who insisted on the Bill of Rights as a condition for the adoption of the Constitution.

H. R. 1, Extending Reciprocal Trade Agreements, Will Continue the Disastrous Effects on Our Economy That Have Resulted From the Reckless Importation of Foreign Goods Manufactured at a Fraction of the Wages Paid American Workmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, on February 1, 1955, I appeared before the House Committee on Ways and Means in opposition to H. R. 1 providing for an extension of reciprocal trade agreements,

My statement follows:

I appreciate the privilege of appearing before this committee.

When I first came to Congress in 1939 I opposed Reciprocal Trade Agreements on the grounds that they were destroying the jobs of coal miners in my Congressional District in Pennsylvania. At that time, imported Russian coal had captured some of the eastern seaboard coal markets from coal producers in my Congressional District.

During the early part of World War II and before resigning my seat in Congress to return to military service, I supported the

extension of Reciprocal Trade Agreements in the 78th Congress because we were at war and the demand for coal revived our coal

industry.

When I was elected to the 80th Congress I voted in favor of extending Reciprocal Trade Agreements with the understanding that American industries would be protected from unfair competition resulting from a flood of cheaply manufactured foreign goods.

For example, in Pennsylvania residual oil from Venezuela was beginning to flood the eastern seaboard, thus destroying the market

for Pennsylvania-mined coal.

During the 82d Congress I voted to extend reciprocal trade agreements because there was contained therein the so-called perilpoint amendment which was designed to provide a checkrein on imports that could destroy the jobs of American wage earners.

During the 83d Congress I joined many of my colleagues in an effort to stop the uncontrolled flow of foreign goods. Many of you will recall that we were supporting the Simpson bill. My special interest was in regulating the flood of foreign residual oil by placing a quota limitation on the importation of such oil. As many of you will recall, the Simpson bill was returned to the committee.

During the early part of 1954 the so-called Randall committee was created and took testimony from spokesmen for industries adversely affected by the importation cheaply manufactured foreign goods. I regret to state that the coal industry was denied the opportunity to present its side of the case. Consequently the Randall report ignored the increasingly serious situation existing in the coal-producing States of our Nation

Mr. Chairman, by my votes as a Member of Congress there is ample proof that I believe in the principles of reciprocal trade agreements and that I supported them until I found a wholesale disregard for protecting the jobs of American workmen.

It became evident that the so-called perilpoint amendment was meaningless and that the Randall committee merely performed a window-dressing job and actually by their recommendations threw American wage earners to the wolves.

Mr. Chairman, I voted against the extension of reciprocal trade agreements last year and I intend to continue to do so until the interest of the American working man is protected.

As a means of attaining the objective of protecting the jobs of American workmen, I have three bills pending before this com-mittee, namely: H. R. 345, H. R. 864 and H. R.

H. R. 345 is designed to provide a 5 percent quota limitation on imports of foreign residual oil; while H. R. 3019 would increase

the limitation to 10 percent.

H. R. 864 provides a permanent procedure for the adjustment of tariff rates on a selective basis and regulates the flow of imported articles on a basis of fair competition with domestic articles. H. R. 864 also contains a 5 percent quota limitation on imports of foreign residual oil.

If hearings are scheduled on these three bills now pending before this committee, I am prepared to testify in support of their

objectives.

Mr. Chairman, I am opposed to H. R. 1 because it will continue the disastrous effects on our economy by the reckless importation of foreign goods manufactured at a fraction of the wages paid American workmen.

For the past several days this committee has heard expert testimony from spokesmen for various industries regarding the adverse effects reciprocal trade agreements are having on our industrial economy. These ex-perts produced facts showing that the employees of the industry affected not only lost their jobs but many of the manufacturing plants have been driven to financial distress, and in some instances were forced to close their doors.

You have heard from spokesmen for the coal industry and how the flood of foreign residual oil from Venezuela has destroyed the domestic coal markets of the miners in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and West Virginia.

Back in 1939 when I first voiced my opposition to the importation of slave-mined Russian coal and other cheaply manufac-tured foreign products, I predicted that such a reckless policy would create ghost towns out of many communities in my congressional district and throughout the Nation.

Mr. Chairman, my prediction in 1939 has become a reality. Practically all of our deep mines in central Pennsylvania are closed and thousands of miners have been out of work for several years. In fact, many mining towns have been abandoned and their empty and dilapidated rows of houses stand as a monument to the destructive effects of the importation of foreign residual oil. Because they have nowhere to go there are only a few of the unemployed in the coal fields of central Pennsylvania that have left the area. The result is that today, according to the United States Department of Labor, my congressional district is classified as a critical area because of the fact that nearly 18 percent of the civilian labor force is unemployed.

This unemployment is not confined to coal miners but includes those employed in affected related industries such as the rail-

Mr. Chairman, in my home city of Altoona, Pa., nearly 10,000 people are unemployed, 6.000 of whom are railroad employees with 4.100 of this number having exhausted their rights on January 10, 1955, to railroad unemployment insurance benefits. A similar condition exists among coal miners and others who have lost their right to unemployment compensation benefits from the State of Pennsylvania.

Mr. Chairman, every community in my congressional district has an active committee engaged in trying to attract new industries and millions of dollars have been raised by voluntary subscription to finance this long-range program of rehabilitating the industrial economy of the area.

While this united community effort goes on, thousands of my constituents-all good Americans and victims of this reckless foreign trade policy-are today dependent for their existence upon public assistance and surplus food commodities.

I regret that every member of this committee is unable to talk to these unemployed Americans as they stand in line to pick up their food coupons. If it were possible for you to talk to them, you would hear the pitiful story of their plight as citizens of a Nation that boasts of its high standard of

As I mentioned a moment ago, communities affected by unemployment in cooperation with the State and Federal Government are endeavoring to rehabilitate their economy by attracting new industries. The unemployment situation, however, is getting worse as mines continue to close and more miners and railroaders are losing their jobs.

While this unfortunate situation prevails in the United States, residents of Venezuela which is the chief exporter of residual oil, are enjoying unbridled prosperity.

Let me read you Hal Boyle's syndicated column of January 24, 1955, titled "Venezuela Seen as the Texas of South America": "VENEZUELA SEEN AS TEXAS OF SOUTH AMERICA

"(By Hal Boyle)

VENEZUELA.—Leaves from "CARACAS. cruising notebook: Venezuela today is the Texas of South America.

"So much money is being made here that visiting Texans actually get an inferiority complex, and the United States dollar feels like 50 cents.

"Just to be sure he wouldn't be mistaken for an ordinary bum, one new millionaire from the interior of the country came to town with calling cards that bore this message printed after his name: 'Capital; 6,000,-000 bolivars.' That's nearly \$2 million.

There is so much wealth flowing around that even tourists get a break. If you kick a diamond out of a rock here, the ment lets you keep it tax free unless it is worth more than \$1,700. You can also go pearl diving and keep any pearls you find.

The visitor has a dazed sensation he is caught in a mid-century Klondike gold rush. The atmosphere of quick money is overwhelming, and tales of riches made over-

night are a bolivar a dozen.

Venezuela is bigger than Texas and Oklahoma combined and larger than any European country except Germany. Its chief income is from oil-no land except the United States produces more—but it also has iron ore deposits rivaling the famed Minnesota Mesabi Range. It also has cowboys and Indians, 16,000-foot tall mountains, jungles, beach resorts, and the world's highest water-

"Although the nation has a population of only 51/2 million, the Government spent half a billion dollars in 1954 on vast public works projects and still ended up with \$80 million left in the till. Its huge modernization program calls for the future expenditure of \$800 million alone for a new 2,640-mile railway network to open inland mineral and agricultural areas for further development.

'Foreign investors from the United States and Europe are pouring untold more mil-lions into the industrialization of the country. It has taken in more than 100,000 immigrants from Europe the last 10 years.

'Caracas, the 388-year-old capital, is now one of the world's greatest boom cities. Fifty years ago milkmen herded cows through its ancient streets. Today they are jammed by thousands of new high-priced motor cars.

"You reach the city from the nearby port along recently completed 11-mile highway that cost \$71 million, which Caraquenos proudly boast is, mile for mile, the most expensive ever bufft.

"Nearly a million people live in the metropolitan area, and so many new buildings are going up construction workers have no time even to take Sundays off to go to the bull fights.

Dominating the heart of the city is Centro Bolivar, Venezuela's "Rockefeller Center, which will cost \$300 million. Its twin 300foot towers, housing Government offices, have 4 traffic levels beneath them.

"Caracas also has a baseball park the size of Yankee Stadium, the new \$8 million Hotel Tamanaco, a technicolored \$30 million polyclinic hospital, and a university as

modern as any in the world.

"But the city has abysmal poverty as well as tremendous wealth. The shantles of the poor still crowd many of the raw red hills that stud Caracas. The Government has torn down thousands of these eyesores and replaces them with forty 15-story apartment buildings at a cost of \$24 million. Workmen can rent the apartments for \$6 to \$30 a month, own them after a period of 20 years.

"In 1955 the Government plans to tear down 6,500 more shacks, spend \$2 million more on apartment projects for low-income

workers.

"Oddly, many uprooted workmen's families are unhappy in their fine new apartments. " 'The old shacks had a small yard in which the families could raise a pig and a few chickens,' explained our guide. 'It is all but impossible, of course, to raise a pig in an

apartment, and many of the old people in

particular get lonesome for their old way of life. They don't feel as free as they did.'

"Progress always has its price, and to some

the price doesn't seem worth it."

Mr. Chairman, what a contrast it is to compare living conditions in Venezuela with the coalfields of Pennsylvania.

May I add that the prosperity enjoyed in Venezuela is to a great extent at the expense of the misery and suffering of residents of the coal-producing States of our Nation and especially of my congressional district.

At this very minute a quarter of a million ton tanker ship is tied up at an east coast dock carrying disaster to the coal, railroad, and related industries of this Nation, in much the same manner as rat-infested vessels brought disease into our port cities in

years gone by.

This foreign tanker with its bunker space filled with residual oil is dumping it in violation of every American concept of fair competition. As a matter of fact, even if the miners of our Nation would work for nothing and the railroads transported the coal for practically nothing, the coal industry could not compete with this unfair competition from foreign residual oil because its price is continually manipulated downward to capture the eastern seaboard coal market.

Mr. Chairman, it is being said in defense of residual oil that the oil companies have been requested to restrict voluntarily the amount of residual oil imported quarterly.

It has also been said that if any restrictions are placed on the importation of foreign residual oil that we will offend Venezuela.

Let me state, Mr. Chairman, that every time a coal miner loses his job because of unfair competition from foreign residual oil a railroader has also been added to the list of the unemployed.

As far as I am concerned, it is about time we start adopting some of the policies for-eign nations apply against us in protecting the jobs of their industrial workers.

Mr. Chairman, H. R. 1 will not correct the unemployment situation by affording the necessary relief to distressed industries and therefore I cannot conscientlously vote for it.

No doubt H. R. 1 will be sent to the floor under a closed rule prohibiting any amendments, thereby denying us as representitives of the American people the oppor-tunity to translate their wishes into law.

Mr. Chairman, those of us who represent coal-producing States recognize foreign residual oil as the archenemy of our industrial economy. I hold in my hand a bottle of this toxic economic poison. Therefore, I plead with you that during your consideration of H. R. 1 you will amend its language to include a 10-percent quota limitation on quarterly imports of foreign residual oil.

If this committee will adopt such an amendment, you will be granting a large measure of relief to the unemployed coal miners and railroaders in my congressional

district and the Nation at large.

Forstmann for Tariff Review

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK C. OSMERS, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. OSMERS. Mr. Speaker, the textile industry has much at stake in any change in the tariffs affecting it.

Julius G. Forstmann, president of Forstmann Woolen Co., has made an interesting proposal for a tariff review. Because of the general interest in the subject, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD an article concerning Mr. Forstmann's proposal, which appeared in the Passaic (N. J.) Herald-News of January 12, 1955:

FORSTMANN FOR TARIFF REVIEW

Julius G. Forstmann, president of Forstmann Woolen Co., today called for a syste-matic review of United States tariffs industry by industry, and, where necessary, product by product. Based on these studies, he said, recommendations should be sub-mitted to Congress by the Tariff Commission for whatever rate changes the facts warrant.

Mr. Forstmann said the "experiment" of the last 20-years in making tariffs a tool of the executive branch of our Government in forming foreign policy has availed us nothing.

The statement was a reply to President Eisenhower's special tariff message to Congress calling for extension of the reciprocal trade agreements.

During the past year, Mr. Forstmann said, prosperity in the United States has not been evenly distributed, as anyone familiar with the layoffs and losses in the textile industry is well aware.

"Other industries, too, have felt the bite of

cheap foreign labor," he said.

Mr. Forstmann warned that the proposed customs simplification legislation contains a new method for the evaluation of imports which "in itself constitutes a further tariff cut."

He added that tariff agreements "never yet brought before Congress" are currently undergoing revision at an international conference in Geneva.

"Under this setup, matters which affect both our internal and external trade and economy are ruled upon by a group of over 30 nations," he said. "This is, in my opinion, the most far-reaching and unwarranted abdication of the power which our Constitution rightly placed with Congress.'

Mr. Forstmann pointed out that there is still no indication of what further tariff cuts will be granted to Japan at conferences scheduled for February, or of what the Tariff Commission will recommend in connection with studies requested by Congress last year.

"The very least which these facts indicate is that there should be no undue haste to enact part of the President's program before all of its components can be property studied and evaluated," he said.

SEES MORE DAMAGE

Mr. Forstmann said that foreign producers are enjoying unexampled prosperity, and that present tariff levels here have not been a burden to them.

"Why consider a bill which, as far as many American producers are concerned, will add to the damage which has already been done, while others in our economy have escaped the effect of continuing tariff reductions," he said.

"First importance should be given to the economic strength of America, without which the whole free world will be imperiled. And economic strength means peak employment, adequately protected where necessary against the lower costs of cheap foreign labor. Even those companies that engage to some extent in the export business must remember that the best customer in all the world is an American workman at work," Mr. Forstmann concluded. "A man out of work can buy little or nothing."

To undertake the necessary study, Forstmann said, the Tariff Commission should be "adequately staffed and supplied with sufficient funds, and responsible only to Congress."

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkceper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies: to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid into the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

PRINTING OF CONGRESSIONAL RECORD EXTRACTS

It shall be lawful for the Public Printer to print and deliver upon the order of any Senator, Representative, or Delegate, extracts from the Congressional Record, the person ordering the same paying the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 185, p. 1942).

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

Appendix

Address by Hon. Joseph C. O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, at Roosevelt Day Dinner

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JOSEPH C. O'MAHONEY

OF WYOMING

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. O'MAHONEY. Mr. President, it was my privilege on Wednesday night to address the Roosevelt Day dinner in the city of New York. I ask unanimous consent that the text of my remarks may be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

THE UNFINISHED TASK OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT

(Address by Senator O'Mahoney, of Wyoming, at the seventh annual Roosevelt Day dinner, at the Hotel Commodore, February 2, 1955)

I speak tonight of Franklin D. Roosevelt, the conservative, and his unfinished task. Roosevelt was a conservative, not in the sense that he wanted to preserve things as he found them, but in the sense that he knew that new conditions impose new duties, and that eternal vigilance is the price of liberty. He was a leader of vision who understood that the foundations of freedom were under attack in the modern world.

He knew that economic reform was essential to the preservation of the basic objectives of the American system of government. From the day he took office as President of the United States until the Nation became involved in the Second World War, the purpose of his policy was to restore economic opportunity to the masses of the people, to safeguard the concept of private property, and to eliminate abuses arising from the con-

centration of economic power.

Throughout his career Roosevelt was misunderstood by those who deemed him to be a radical reformer, whose efforts could result only in tearing down the edifice of popular government. They were blind leaders who not only did not realize that once again mankind needed a new birth of freedom, but who mistakenly believed that the remedy for the obvious economic ills, which brought the crash of 1929, was nothing more than a restoration of the conditions which existed before the collapse. They did not understand that a system of collectivist capitalism had developed which promoted monopoly, impaired production and distribution, caused widespread unemployment, and threatened the very existence of economic freedom.

Far from being a Socialist whose aim was to undermine the constitutional system and make the government superior to the citizen, Roosevelt was dedicated to the preservation of the right of private property. He knew that it could not be preserved except by honest and far-reaching reform, and he had the courage to devise and defend a program of reform that even those who most harshly criticized him have now been obliged, reluctantly it is true, to accept.

DEDICATED TO THE CONSTITUTION

He was dedicated to the American Constitution. He knew that the framers of that document gave to the Congress complete control over commerce, and he was aware that conditions, developing as long ago as the administration of President Grant, had been gradually imposing upon the people a new national but unregulated economic government, affecting the whole people and over which the Federal Government was exercising no effective influence to protect competition. It was a system by which a few industrial and commercial leaders were slowly gaining control of all the instruments of trade, commerce and industry without respect to the authority of either State or national government.

Mr. Roosevelt was a devoted supporter of Woodrow Wilson who had perceived the need for more effective public regulation of the new national economic system and who, in his first term in the Presidency, successfully secured the enactment into law of essential reforms over the stubborn resistance of Republican leadership which had arrayed itself on the side of those whom Theodore Roosevelt had called malefactors of great wealth. He had seen the program of Wilson and of Republican progressives brought to a sudden halt by World War I when the exigencies of international conflict claimed the undivided attention of both the Government and the people. Victory in the war was followed by confusion and uncertainty. In the wake came the Harding campaign for the return to normalcy, and there followed 12 years of reactionary policy under a government which saw no need for economic reform or social justice. Its leaders wanted merely a return to the conditions which in 1912 had ruptured the Republican Party and

These were 12 years which proved the need of a progressive and vigorous policy, designed to restore economic opportunity and social justice to all the people by putting an end to economic domination by private operators whose major concern was their own personal aggrandizement. They earned the name "reactionary" because they really wanted to turn the hands of the economic clock back, an objective so impossible to achieve that the attempt resulted only in the collapse of 1929. Into this crisis stepped Franklin D. Roosevelt when, in 1929, he succeeded Alfred E. Smith as Governor of New York. He continued the battle for social reform, and he came face to face with the subtle methods by which the managers of national business were successfully resisting regulation in the public interest by both State and Federal Governments. Again he learned the imperative need of economic reform, and he began the campaign of 1932 with a masterful mobilization of public opinion to demand the removal of the economic capital of the United States from Wall Street to Washington. He saw that business and industry had become continental in their operations and that the public interest could be protected only by a constitutional American Government in the Nation's Capital through the authority of elected representatives of the people instead of through the private manipulators of concentrated economic power.

LAUNCHES DRIVE FOR ECONOMIC REFORM

I was there when this campaign began. I was a Democratic national committeeman from the State of Wyoming. I was one of those who raised the cry in the Far West for the nomination of Franklin Roosevelt for the Presidency. Like my associates, I was moved by the conviction that it was absolutely necessary to resume the struggles of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson for national economic reform if the living generation and the generations to come were not to be deprived of their heritage of freedom and opportunity under the Constitution.

I had in mind Mr. Roosevelt's record as Governor. He stood for the conservation of natural resources and for reforestation; he stood for the protection of bank deposits, and he sought in various other ways through the State government to advance the cause of government, of, for, and by the people. It was apparent to him already, however, that victory for economic freedom could not be won through State governments, because economic concentration in private hands was being managed on a national scale.

Beginning early in 1932 with his speech on The Forgotten Man, the new presidential candidate, in meeting after meeting throughout the country, both before and after his nomination at Chicago, convinced the people that a new leader had arisen in the spirit of Lincoin, Theodore Rooseveit, and Woodrow Wilson. Finally, late in September before the Commonwealth Club in California, he traced the development of the crisis the Nation faced and clearly demonstrated that he was indeed a conservator of the underlying free principles of this Govment.

"The issue of Government," he said, "has always been whether individual men and women will have to serve some system of government or economics, or whether a system of government and economics exists to serve individual men and women. This question has persistently dominated the discussion of government for many generations."

Who does not know now that this is the very issue that rocks the world in our time? It will be for this generation to determine, and that most speedily, whether the people are to become the pawns of totalitarian governments or whether they are going to preserve for themselves and their children a system of government and economics which is designed, in Roosevelt's words, "to serve individual men and women." This paragraph from the Commonwealth Club speech, delivered 23 years ago, is proof that Mr. Roosevelt had both the vision to see the developing threat to free government, and the will to battle for freedom.

DEFENDER OF PRIVATE PROPERTY

Paragraph by paragraph in the San Francisco speech Roosevelt outlined the philososphy of popular government and private property, and showed that he cherished no thought of economic revolution but sought only economic reform and the reestablishment of the basic concepts of free government. The task ahead, he said, was that of "meeting the problem of underconsumption, of adjusting production to consumption, of distributing wealth and products more equitably, of adapting existing economic organizations to the service of the people." Note the words "existing economic organizations."

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This is the language, not of a man who sought the abolition of private property, but of a man who realized that the development of government in the western world, coming to a climax in the establishment of the American Union, was marked by "the rise of the ethical conception that a ruler bears a responsibility for the welfare of his subjects."

It is not only the political ruler who bears this responsibility for the welfare of the people, but it is likewise the responsibility of the industrial and commercial manager.

Here was a program cast in the best mold of Americanism. It was understood by the people and, because it was so understood, they kept Roosevelt at the helm of government for a longer period than any man in history. He was kept there because, as in the case of Woodrow Wilson, his program of economic reform in the American tradition was interrupted by another international war.

Those who would now follow in the footsteps of the founders of this Government must realize that once again we face the task of enacting those economic reforms which are necessary to protect the system of private property from collectivism of the right as well as collectivism of the left. This is the unfinished task of Franklin D. Roosevelt. His first term was devoted to rebuilding the ruins which reaction wrought. He had to reopen the banks, he had to create jobs, he had to make opportunities for business, he had to restore the confidence of the economic leaders as well as that of the people. This confidence was evidenced in the overwhelming reelection the people gave him in the campaign of 1936, though in that campaign the opposition of reactionary leaders impelled him, in a famous speech at Chicago, to make the wellremembered remark that already recovery had so far advanced that some of the pa tients were "throwing their crutches at the doctor." Now these patients, or their suc-Now these patients, or their successors, seem to be striving with might and main to remove the economic capital from Washington, where Roosevelt restored it, and move it back to the countinghouses of Wall

It was on April 29, 1938, that President Roosevelt sent a notable message to the Congress asking for a study of the concentration of economic power. He was urging no attack upon business. He was seeking only to find a stable formula by which idle men, idle machines, and idle money could be put to work profitably for the benefit of all. It posed no threat to the honest managers of the existing economic organization, of which he had spoken in the Commonwealth address, but called only for the adoption of the ethical concepts of the responsibilities that economic leaders, as well as political leaders, should bear for the welfare of the people.

ROOSEVELT'S FAITH IN AMERICA

Mr. Roosevelt preached the doctrine of faith in America, its heritage, and its future. He believed in the people and in American institutions. He sought only, to use his own words, to "recognize the new terms of the old social contract."

This message, therefore, was in complete harmony with his vision of a people's government, united in tolerance and freedom, which he expressed in his first inaugural when he declared that the course of action he proposed was "feasible under the form of government which we have inherited from our ancestors." He respected the Constitution, he admired the Constitution. He felt that it was the best instrument of government yet devised by men. This faith he expressed in the following eloquent words:

"Our Constitution is so simple and practical that it is possible always to meet extraordinary needs by changes in emphasis

and arrangement without loss of essential form. That is why our constitutional system has proved itself the most superbly enduring mechanism the modern world has produced. It has met every stress of vast expansion of territory, of foreign wars, of bitter internal strife, of world relations."

Great as was the stress of the period in which the people placed Roosevelt in the seat of power, it is not to be compared with the stress under which the whole world now trembles. Just as the reactionaries of 1920 called for an easy return to normalcy, and abandoned all effort to achieve the reforms made necessary by the changing times, so now there are leaders in Washington who seem not to have understood the deep necessity of stable economic reform if the door of opportunity is not to be closed again to the masses of the people.

Once more a Republican administration. like those which followed the administration of Woodrow Wilson, finds it impossible to the enlightened laws enacted under Franklin D. Roosevelt and his successor, Harry Truman. They descended upon Washington convinced no doubt that the Harry New Deal was an illusion that ought to be completely eliminated, as if it were an adventure in socialism which never should have been undertaken. The welfare state, as the 20-year Democratic regime was derisively called, has taken such deep roots that it has borne fruit in this administration in the appearance of a new Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Uncertain of step and slow of pace, the new administration yields reluctantly to the inevitable. On the international front it has not surrendered to the isolationists. It still painfully follows path laid down by its predecessors who sought the union of the free world to maintain the objectives of liberty for all mankind. but it seems still determined to go back to the economic era in which neither the Federal nor the State Government was able to enforce a formula of social responsibility in the field of economics.

A NEW CYCLE OF REACTION

It seems not to be understod that the capitalistic system is in mortal danger unless the Federal Government resumes the drive for economic reform. Scarcely a day passes that the journals of finance in New York and Chicago do not announce another industrial or financial merger. Boards and commissions. created by Congress to enlarge opportunities for the people as a whole, seem to have altered their policies and to regard themselves as champions of big rather than of little business. A member of the President's Cabinet, at the head of the Department of Commerce, would amend the antitrust laws so as to make human labor a commodity of trade and commerce like a bag of meal or a ton of brick. It is true another Cabinet member, the Secretary of Labor, seems to resist the reactionary demand for what is falsely claimed to be "the right to work but which is intended rather to put human labor at a disadvantage before collectivist capital. The Hoover Commission is work reorganizing the Government under a grant of power never issued by any previous administration, authorizing it to recommend the alteration of the functions of government. The legislative powers of Congress, outlined in the very first article of the Constitution, are the bedrock of popular government, yet they are now being absorbed by the White House which, to a degree never before undertaken, even in World War II, is becoming a lawmaking as well as a lawenforcing arm of Government. Every lobbyist in Washington knows that the lines of control, even of the quasi-judicial commissions, are in the hands of anonymous assistants in the White House. Thus, the legislative powers delegated to commissions are being, as it were, redelegated to the White House staff.

The pattern of this new change is well the Dixon-Yates illustrated by contract. Here two holding companies are authorized by executive authority to conclude an agreement with the Atomic Energy Commission whereby they create a subsidiary corporation under the laws of one State to transmit electric energy to atomic plants in another State. This subsidiary is capitalized at \$51/2 million to construct and operate a \$165 million generating plant. All the rest of the capital cost of this plant is secured by debt financing. The equity of the owning company is so small that it would not be tolerated in any ordinary private enterprise contract. This the attorneys for the Securities and Exchange Commission admit by saying in their opinion approving the finan-cial arrangement that "in the case of the usual public utility company, the Commission would not approve a capital structure with so high a proportion of debt to equity because * * * both the debt and equity would be of too speculative a character."

What possible justification can there be for the approval of a contract of a Government agency and the subsidiary of two holding companies which the attorneys of the Securities and Exchange Commission say to be too speculative to be tolerated in private enterprise? This question the SEC legal staff answers with the amazing words that so long as the contract between the subsidiary of the holding company and the Government agency, the Atomic Energy Commission, is in force, "the annual debt service requirements (including amounts needed for annual debt retirement) will be adequately met by the payments from the Government." The disproportion of debt to equity, thus condemned, is justified by the SEC counsel only because the Government is paying, is another illustration of how the national debt is being increased clandestinely.

THE ECONOMIC WAR WITH RUSSIA

Thus at a time when the whole Government knows, when all private business knows, that we are engaged in an economic war with Communist Russia, the administration in Washington perpetrates a trans-action of high finance of a kind we have not seen since the American public was exploited by the utility magnates of the Insull-Hopson era. This is not an escape from creeping socialism. It is a plunge into creeping conservatism, to borrow a phrase of the president of the General Electric Co., used by him in another connection only a few weeks ago. It is even more than creeping conservatism. It is reckless reaction to methods and deals which will do more to destroy the system of private property than anything the Soviets can accomplish.

Two other instances of reactionary economic policy recently were revealed in the Presidential budget. Out in Wyoming, Colorado, and Utah there are deposits of oil shale of such magnitude that geologists tell us they contain an oil reserve far greater than that of Saudi-Arabia and perhaps the whole Middle East. Under the Synthetic Fuels Act. enacted in 1946, the Bureau of Mines was authorized to operate demonstration plants to test the scientific possibility of refining these shale deposits at a cost comparable to that of refining oil. The law also authorized similar tests with respect to coal. A year ago the coal plant was closed at Louisiana, Mo., and the experiments abandoned just at the time that unemployment in the coal field was becoming distressful. year the petroleum industry, acting through its advisory council to the Secretary of the Interior, has recommended the elimination of experimentation in oil shale, and the Bureau of the Budget sent no estimate to Congress for the continuation of the work.

Many other illustrations could be cited to show how important it is to take up the task which President Roosevelt had to lay down when World War II began.

Surely everyone must understand now that the cold war with Soviet Russia in which we are engaged is an economic war. Stalin, long before his death, outlined the Soviet plan in the plainest of plain words in his 'History the All-Union Communist Party." wrote that in the conflicts between the Soviet regime and the bourgeois states the Red army would not be committed to action until absolutely necessary. To him a conflict with the capitalistic states was inevitable. He once wrote that "the struggle between these two systems (by which meant communism and capitalism) will fill up the history of the development of the world revolution." This epoch, he wrote at the same time, "is an all strategic period embracing a whole series of years, and I dare say, even a number of decades."

Hitler, before World War II, wrote his book which all the world ignored until it was too late. Already the Western World has too long ignored Stalin's books, and seems to continue to drift into the cauldron of a third world war more terrible than all of its predecessors combined unless we here in America open our eyes to the absolute necessity of economic reform which will abolish the possibility of the exploitation of the masses of the people by economic rulers who have no sense of social responsibility.

THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE TO WAR

The Formosan resolution was passed last week by the Congress, many Members of which felt that it was just a step to only another little war around the periphery of the Soviet Empire. Big or little, it will place additional drains upon our economic strength. The resolution was passed because there appeared to be no ready alternative to preserve the peace.

Yet there is an alternative. It is a recognition of the fact that Soviet Russia is certain that the capitalistic system will collapse of its own weight. The dictators of the Kremlin are confident that we are unable or unwilling to cure the defects and abuses of the system of private property. The alternative of which I speak depends also upon a recognition of the fact that the economic power of America is our greatest weapon of defense if it is used for constructive and not destructive purposes by leaders of both Government and business. constructive purposes concern the efficient production and distribution of the goods and commodities the people want. The masses of mankind, it is safe to say, have never actually wanted war. They are driven to war by fear and by oppression, and even in our time war comes because we lack the wisdom and the foresight to adopt effective policies of peace before it is too late.

Everywhere, as we sit here tonight, confusion and uncertainty is mounting throughout the world. We are represented to the peoples of Asia as warmongers, bent upon stepping into the imperialistic shoes of the colonial powers which for centuries had exploited the Asiatic peoples. We know what we are and what we want. We know that we are not imperialists, that we are not exploiters and that after the victories in two world wars, we have taken no spoils. We seem to be on the threshold of another conflict. I have no hesitation in saying that if we desire to avoid a third world war and to win freedom for ourselves and for the people of the world, we must begin struggle here on the homefront in the United States by strengthening the capitalistic system. We must eliminate its abuses. must promote its expansion by stopping its concentration. We must show Soviet Russia and Communist China by our example that the free system of private property is better by far than any type of authoritarian state.

Let us turn again to the economic message of Franklin D. Roosevelt of April 1938:

Unhappy events abroad have retaught us two simple truths about the liberty of a

democratic people.

"The first truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe if the people tolerate the growth of private power to a point where it becomes stronger than their democratic state itself. That, in its essence, is fascism—ownership of government by an individual, by a group, or by any other controling private power.

"The second truth is that the liberty of a democracy is not safe, if its business system does not provide employment and produce and distribute goods in such a way as to sustain an acceptable standard of liv-

"Both lessons hit home.

"Among us today a concentration of private power without equal in history is

growing.

"This concentration is seriously impairing the economic effectiveness of private enterprise as a way of providing employment for labor and capital and as a way of assuring a more equitable distribution of income and earnings among the people of the Nation as a whole."

These words are just as applicable today as they were 17 years ago when they were first sent to Congress. If we would gain the goal that all desire, we must take the beam out of our own eyes and turn with vigor and devotion to the unfinished task of one of the great leaders of democracy. The road to economic reform and coexistence among ourselves is the road to peace.

Stephen S. Scopas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN, Mr. President, on Sunday evening, January 30, I was proud and pleased to be present and to speak at a fine testimonial dinner in honor of Mr. Stephen S. Scopas, supreme president of the order of AHEPA-the American Hellenic Educational and Progressive Association.

It was a remarkable occasion. Scores of leading figures in public and communal life and in the diplomatic world paid tribute to Steve Scopas. Among them were Gov. G. Mennen Williams. of Michigan; Mayor Wagner, of New York; the secretary of state of New York State, Carmine DeSapio; the Ambassador of Greece to the United States; the president of the Borough of Queens; and many past and present officials of the order of AHEPA and the other great Greek-American organizations in the United States. It was an impressive evening and an impressive tribute to my good friend, Stephen S. Scopas, who is an outstanding citizen of my State, truly dedicated to the communal, civic, and national interests of his fellow men.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the remarks I made on that occasion and the remarks made by my distinguished colleague the Senator from Rhode Island [Mr. Green] be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the addresses were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY SENATOR LEHMAN

I am glad to be here, very glad, to join in the well-deserved tribute of this testimonial dinner to my friend, and to the friend of so many of us here, Stephen S. Scopas.

Steve is typical of that kind of American who has helped to make America great, and who has also helped to build in our country the noble traditions of humanitarianism and

brotherhood.

The organization of which Steve Scopas is national president and which is sponsoring this testimonial dinner, can bear witness to the tireless industry and devotion to good causes which has characterized this man all

He is a young man, but mature in his experience in those great organizational activities which are a hallmark of America. He has given unselfishly of his efforts to assist and counsel his fellow men and women, those of Greek birth and descent, and those of every other race and descent, and without regard to race and descent, who make up the American people.

He has worked hard as a long-time officer of AHEPA, and in its ranks, because he is part of that great American tradition and custom of "belonging"-of belonging to and helping to build unofficial, voluntary organizations and association of people to advance the interests of the membership of those associations and of the interests of our country.

But Steve has done much more than merely devote himself to AHEPA and other organizations. He has given similarly of his time and efforts to the political life and activity of his city, State, and Nation. He has been a partisan, a Democrat, and active in the Democratic Party, but as long as I have known him, he has been the kind of Democrat who has placed the interests of city, State, and country above the interests of party. He has been a Democrat with a small "d" as well as with a capital "D." He has been a good, a useful, a constructive, and responsible citizen leader. Steve Scopas is a Greek-American; that is,

he is an American of Greek descent, who is as proud of his descent as are the descendents of those immigrants who arrived here, either steerage or first class, on the Mayflower.

He has always had a special interest in the land of his fathers. He has always had a special interest and concern for those who have just come, or still desire to come, from the old country, in search of freedom and opportunity.

And I think I can say for Steve that his interest has not been confined to Greeks. He has also had a special concern for those from other lands who desire to come to the United States as immigrants, to make their future here, to become citizens here, and to contribute to that great land which is our

And looking at Steve Scopas, and at the other eminent Americans of foreign birth and descent sitting here on this resplendent dais, I am reminded, with special indignation, of that incredible aspect of our immigration law which asserts that individuals of Anglo-Saxon birth and descent are far preferable, by virtue of their birth and descent, as American citizenship material to those of Greek, Italian, Polish, Swiss, Scandinavian, French, Czech, and Baltic birth and descent, to name but a few.

I refer, of course, to the national origins quota system which is imbedded in our immigration and citizenship laws, in the Mc-Carran Act.

Just think of it, a Greek, an individual born in Greece, is judged under our law to be only one-hundredth as good citizenship material for America as a person born in England. The law is based on the utterly false and ridiculous theory that for every person entering this country from Greece, 200 must enter from Great Britain in order to keep the population of the United States in balance.

That notion is, of course, preposterous, unrealistic, insulting, and degrading. Yet it is there, written into our immigration laws—the heart and soul of our immigration laws—and it constitutes a challenge to all of us to eradicate it, and to expunge it from our statute books.

I hope no one here will rest and be satisfied until the iniquitous and discriminatory national origins quota system is wiped out and repealed completely and totally. There can be no compromise with this evil, racist and ridiculous theory which stands as a constant reproach to each of us, and holds us up to contempt in the eyes of the world.

Where is our belief in brotherhood, and in

Where is our belief in brotherhood, and in the equality and dignity of each human soul, when we have on our statute books a law which says that no matter what the conditions or need abroad, 65,000 may enter annually from Great Britain—born in Great Britain, that is,—and only 308 from Greece.

And even that paltry number, 308, has been cut in half for years to come, by mortgaging provisions of the Displaced Persons Act. 150 immigrants a year from Greece—no more—under the terms of the McCarran Act.

I know that many of you here have indicated a concern for the status of the island of Cyprus. I, myself, have reached no conclusions on that subject, although I am continuing to study the question with sympathetic attention to the arguments which are being made by your organization and others.

Let me say, however, that there is one aspect of the Cyprus question on which I have a strong opinion; there is one injustice which has recently been done to Cyprus which was done not by Great Britain but by a law passed by the Congress of the United States. And those of you who are concerned for the welfare of Cyprus and of the Cypriots might well consider what ought to be done about that. I am referring to another provision of the McCarran Act.

Before the McCarran Act—before December 1952, in other words—Cypriots could enter the United States under the British quota and, in fact, there was a steady emigration of about 500 Cypriots per year, sometimes more, sometimes a little less. Then in 1952 the McCarran Act said that colonies of Britain could no longer use the quota of the motherland, and that immigration from Cyprus, among other colonies, would be limited to 100 per year. And so the emigration from Cyprus, a wholesome and healthy immigration, both for Cyprus and the United States was cut by 80 percent

the United States, was cut by 80 percent.

Today only 100 Cypriots can enter the United States per year. And if Cyprus should become a part of Greece, even that immigration would be cut off, or rather, the total immigration from both Greece and Cyprus would be 150 per year.

So, my friends, one thing that can be done for Cyprus, right here in the United States, and in the Congress of the United States, is to revise the McCarran Act, repeal the national origins quota system, and make immigration a matter of individual worth and usefulness, and need, rather than a matter of national origin and birth.

When I think of the heritage which western civilization has from Greece, of the vast contribution which Greece has made to the culture and values of the western world, I blush to think how we discriminate against Greece in our immigration laws—and against many other great countries which have likewise made great contributions to the world and to the United States.

Scores of our cities are named after the great centers of Greek civilization-Troy,

Athens, Sparta, Corinth, Olympia—and there is no American child who does not learn the glories of ancient Greece, her philosophers, her poets, her dramatists, her statesmen, her heroes—Demosthenes, Aristotle, Plato, Socrates, Euripides, Hippocrates, Pericles—and yet we say that only 150 Greeks and 100 Cypriots can enter the United States annually, at the risk of perverting American culture and traditions and our way of life.

What country has greater democratic traditions that Greece? The very word, democracy, is of Greek origin. The concept of a republic is Greek. The concept of the rights of citizens is Greek.

Of course, I have emphasized the Greek contribution and the discrimination against Greece in our irrigration laws because this occasion is in honor of Steve Scopas, and under the auspices of AHEPA. The same incredible discrimination is practiced against scores of other great countries which have made great contributions to our culture and our way of life.

I am against discrimination of any kind, in any form, against any country, in our immigration laws. Immigration is a matter of people and of individuals, and should be regulated accordingly—not on the basis of national origin, but on the basis of individual qualification, in accordance with need, national and individual.

Yes; we have a Refugee Relief Act on our statute books, which was supposed to get around the McCarran Act and to relieve its inflexibility. That act has been a fraud, a sham, and a delusion. Up to now it just hasn't worked. I hope that in the remaining time of its effectiveness it may be made to work to the extent possible, to admit into this country some of the escapees from behind the Iron Curtain, some of the refugees from Communist war, aggression, and terror. I pledge myself to support and fight for

I pledge myself to support and fight for necessary amendments to the Refugee Relief Act in this session of Congress. I pledge myself to fight for a more equitable and humane administration of that law. I shall insist that the red-tape curtain which has been erected here to prevent the admission of refugees under the Refugee Relief Act be drawn to the maximum possible extent.

There are many other things which must occupy my time and attention in Washington. I shall continue to work for peace with honor, security, and justice.

I said in the course of a debate on the Senate floor the other day that, while I did not favor peace at any price, I did and do think that there is a price which we must be willing to pay for peace. That price is prudence and patience, reasonableness, and restraint.

If we show courage and determination, firmness and strength, wisdom and understanding—if we seek persistently to hold together the union of the free nations and the alliance of free mankind, if we exhibit responsibility in our leadership of the free world, we can and will prevail against the forces of darkness, against the evils of Communist aggression.

Bravado is no substitute for bravery and recklessness is no substitute for patient courage.

With a belief in the worthiness of peace and a faith that in ways of peace the forces of freedom will triumph in the end, let us go forward together under God to serve our country's welfare.

ADDRESS BY SENATOR GREEN

Mr. Chairman, officers of the Order of Ahepa, our honored guest, your supreme president, Mr. Scopas, and friends, it is indeed both a privilege and a pleasure for me to be with you here tonight as you honor your supreme president, and my good friend, Stephen Scopas.

The Order of Ahepa has selected for its highest office one who is respected for his patriotism, who is active in civic affairs and one whose term of office, I know, will be successful.

I am especially happy to have this opportunity to talk with you, my fellow Americans of Greek heritage, about our common friend, Stephen Scopas. Throughout the years, in fact ever since my boyhood, I have been a great admirer of Greece. My father had lived in Greece in his youth and taught me its language. I read stories from its mythology and its history. Its heroes became my heroes and it has been my good fortune to visit the Greek homeland several times. I have climbed the Acropolis; admired the restoration of Peiraleus and seized the opportunity to relax and swim in the Aegean Sea. In 1947, as a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, I actively participated in the formulation of the Marshall plan of aid to Greece and Turkev.

In the formulation of this plan to roll back Communist aggression, I could not help but think of that time, 750 years ago, when the godless and destructive forces of Jenghiz Khan were pouring, apparently without limit, from the center of the European-Asiatic heartland. Those destroyers controlled almost the same vast area then, as the Communist forces do now; west nearly to the Rhine, east to the China Sea, north to the great Arctic tundras, and south to the Indian subcontinent. And, sad to relate, there they remained for 200 years until they finally broke asunder as a result of their own internal distrust and weaknesses and the compelling influence of Christianity.

However, there is this difference between the lot of that territory today as compared with three-quarters of a millennium ago. To my mind, conditions now are better than then, and hence, victory should come to the present free world sooner.

Why are conditions better? On the positive side, the forces of Christianity are stronger than ever and cover a far greater portion of the globe. Then, on the negative side, the last 35 years of Soviet history, with their interminable plots and counterplots, accusation and hasty trials assassinations and executions, show us that suspicion and disunity are today as rampant in the Soviet Union as they once were among the Mongol hordes.

But the main difference is the unity of the free world. This unity is our salvation. Remember how 2,500 years ago the forces of the Persians, the then invaders from the east, were hurled back by the less numerous but better unified and equipped alliance of the Greek free cities? So, today, the speed of our salvation depends upon the firmness and closeness of our unity. This unity is the main factor which will reduce the length of stay in the free world of the Kremlin

It was only 8 years ago that Greece and Turkey were given the aid whereby they became the bastions of the free world which they are now. Steadily, since that time, the United States has taken the lead in attempting to forge the links of the free world into an unbreakable chain. Always, in its forging, we have had to remember that no chain is stronger than its weakest link.

Accordingly, it is my belief that in forging this chain we must carefully scrutinize each and every link. Many of us are thinking of our treaty with the Nationalist Government of China. This is, indeed, a fareaching commitment on the part of the United States, binding us for many years to a government which is weak and apparently not growing stronger. As a member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, I was in attendance when the hearings were held on this important treaty. All of us are concerned with it and we hope that it is a step in the right direction. We also hope that the plan relating to Formosa recently sent by President Elsenhower to the Con-

gress for approval, and approved by it, will

accomplish all that is expected of it.

In these matters it is important that the United States of America act as a unit; otherwise our country will lose not only in prestige and influence but actually in power.

same result will, in my opinion, occur if, at this time when power and force may be called upon to settle controversial international issues, any reduction in our Armed Forces is effected, or even seriously proposed, by either the President or by the Congress. We should have learned by now that we cannot trust the promises alone of aggressor nations which disregard international law, treaties, and agreements. Armed Forces should be kept at maximum strength until we have definite conviction that peace in a free world is established.

To you, Steve, I wish to extend my heartiest congratulations on your election to this, the highest office of the Order of Ahepa in this country, and I congratulate also the mem-bers of the order, since I feel sure they will all benefit by your administration; and, in conclusion, I offer my sincere good wishes for the future welfare of the Order of the Ahepa Itself.

Excerpts From Address by Hon. Richard L. Neuberger, of Oregon, at Seventh Annual Roosevelt Day Dinner

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD excerpts from a speech I delivered at the annual Roosevelt Day dinner of the Americans for Democratic Action, held at the Hotel Commodore, New York City, on Febru-

There being no objection, the excerpts from the address were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

NEUBERGER TELLS ADA DINNER ADMINISTRA-TION "TURNING BACK THE CLOCK" CONSERVATION

The following are excerpts from a speech by Senator RICHIED L. NEUBERGER, of Oregon, delivered at the seventh annual Roosevelt Day dinner sponsored by the Americans for Democratic Action, at Hotel Commodore, New York City, February 2, 1955:

"The policies of the present administra tion relating to natural resource conservation are turning back the clock to conditions prevailing before the days of Theodore Roose-The end of the public-power program by this administration can only mean economic stagnation in many key regions of the United States.

The stalemate in electric power development which has resulted from administration insistence on a so-called partnership program has already been felt in the Pacific Northwest States. No new multipurpose water projects have been started there by this administration and the effect has been to put the brakes on the dynamic industrial expansion which followed construction of Federal dams like Bonneville and Grand Coulee.

"If there is any one thing which I hope the new Democratic Congress will accom-plish, it is a return to the tried and tested program of conservation and resource development which was nearly half a century

old. People of the Eastern States may not fully realize the damage done to these great programs by politicians of the present regime in the executive branch of the Government. But the harmful effects of policies which are turning back the clock in regard to resources are of great significance to both East and West. Integrated economically as we are, policies which adversely affect growth and prosperity of one region also threaten other sections of the Nation."

PRESENT POLICIES HIT RESOURCES

"The administration's most serious onslaughts against established resource policies strike at forest, grazing, and electricpower matters. The former policies had been developing for nearly 50 years—since Theodore Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot fought a monumental political battle to set aside in forest reservations vast timbered areas in the uplands beyond the Conti-nental Divide. That administration was also largely responsible for initiating the con-cepts of multipurpose development of our waterways which shaped Federal programs until the former Republican Governor of Oregon became Secretary of the Interior 2 years ago.

"After that fight was won, the American people took more or less for granted the protection of these wilderness sanctuaries in the interest of everyone. Development of these resources proceeded in an orderly manner, under what Teddy Roosevelt called equal opportunity for all, special privilege for none.

This administration has tried to change that. An administration-endorsed bill was sent to Congress which would have enabled the largest timber companies to take over choise land inside the national forest areas in return for their own land that would be taken by the Government for any purpose. This was special-interest legislation in the sense that it applied only to the big operators and not their smaller competitors; but it also placed timber on a level of possession than any other property-including churches, schools, farms, and homes—and removed from United States Forest Service authority the timber acreage committed to its protection for the last 50 years.

"Fortunately, that bill was rejected by the House of Representatives, and it is my hope that enactment of such bills will be even more unlikely under Democratic control of the new Congress.'

ADMINISTRATION TURNS BACK CLOCK

"The 50-year-old Federal public-power program went out the window when the new administration came in the door. Termination of this program, which not only paid for itself in dollars-and-cents returns to the Federal treasury but also in great social and economic advancements, was signaled by the new Secretary's abandonment to a private power company of the finest natural hydroelectric power site on the North American continent to the Idaho Power Co.

"In an attempt to gloss over the reversal of national policy, administration spokes-men said the Hells Canyon site was being given over to the company so it could be developed by local interests. In this case the local interests were an absentee-dominated corporation which holds its annual meeting 2,500 miles from Idaho. To the Pacific Northwest and to the Nation, this clecision meant that full conservation and development of a primary national asset was being liquidated in favor of piecemeal exploitation of the Snake River at high rates, precluding the extension of rural electrification and, particularly, industrial development in the Northwest. It meant asking the American people to accept less than full de velopment of their resources, to abandon conservation in favor of corporate profits.

"An index to the kind of thinking behind the scuttling action was adoption by administration spokesmen of two of the more odious slogans which utility propagandists have used for years in an attempt to discredit the public power program-creeping socialism and subsidized power. Although the Secretary of the Interior uses the phrase 'subsidized power' in his press statements, it is a matter of record that the Federal power investment in the Bonneville Dam project has already been 38 percent paid for through power revenues collected by the Government-and the project has been in full operation only 11 years. What other undertaking of the Government can boast of such a favorable financial record, providing great impetus for industrial growth and a higher standard of living?"

POWER PROJECTS REPAY TREASURY

"The Secretary and other administration spokesmen have sought public endorsement of their abandonment of the river-development program on the grounds that it is a drain on the National Treasury. But they fail to mention that power projects of the Columbia River system alone have returned to the Treasury, with interest, a total sum of \$170,409,916 as of June 30, 1954.

"Figures by themselves fail to disclose the great national benefits derived from the public power program. They do not reveal the amount of back-breaking labor from which it has freed thousands of American farm women, nor the strengthening of our industrial potential, and opening the way for production of atomic energy and 50,000 planes a year for our national defense.

When Franklin Delano Roosevelt gave the go-ahead signal to build great Federal projects in 1933, only 27 percent of farms in my own Pacific Northwest enjoyed the blessings of electricity. By the time those under-takings were in full operation, 98 percent of the region's farms were electrified. I have heard my wife's mother, who owns a dairy farm, describe how this has lightened women's work, removing drudgery and making life more worthwhile. These are values on which no dollars-and-cents price tag can be placed—a kind of residual benefit which makes abandonment of the program even less acceptable to a people bent on the pursuit of happiness. Under the Roosevelt administration, many housewives learned for the first time what it was like to press a button and have a room illuminated brightly."

BONNEVILLE POWER BOOSTS OREGON

"During the first 10 years that Bonneville power was available, the Northwest enjoyed its greatest industrial expansion since Lewis and Clark sailed down the Columbia. From 1939 to 1948, the growth of manufacturing employment in the Northwest outstripped the national average for the first time in history. Navigation features of these river projects increased cargo tonnage on the upper Colorado from 85.000 tons annually to 1,375,000 tons, and water pumped by Grand Coulee power provided irrigation for 15,000 new homesteads, many settled by former

"When we view these widespread advancements and benefits to the national welfare it raises the question: 'Why did the Eisenhower administration, through the Secretary of Interior, abolish it in favor of a program called partnership? Under partnership, the Gov-ernment will put up half the cost of dams partnership? and private utilities approximately the other When the dam is built, the Government gets whatever revenues can be derived from the fish ladders, locks and floodgates, and the utility gets the kilowatts from the powerhouse for a period of at least 50 years.

"I think it is significant that the administration is proposing partnership for development of the power-rich Columbia, but recommends full Federal construction in the

Colorado River Basin where power output is more costly and less profitable. It appears that the administration program is designed to let the private power companies skim the cream while Uncle Sam gets the dregs."

PRESENT PROGRAM ERODES CONSERVATION

"I mention all of these things to show how, bit by bit, administration policy has been eroding the tried and true public protections which Americans had come to accept as necessary to conservation and full use of our resources. It is my opinion and my hope that the new Democratic Congress will go forward with the public power program with which we associate the names of Teddy Roosevelt, George Norris, Gifford Pinchot, and Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In that direction lies the best national interests and the greater welfare of our Nation. Our American heritage, for this generation and generations to come, rests with return to sound conservation policies."

Progress in Soil and Water Conservation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, on November 4 a distinguished Member of the House, my colleague from Kansas, the Honorable Clifford R. Hope, delivered an interesting and informative address at Sioux City, Iowa, on the subject of progress in soil and water conservation. This address was delivered at the annual soil-conservation banquet of the Sioux City Chamber of Commerce.

Mr. Hope has given soil and water conservation a great deal of study and is regarded as an authority on this subject matter. I am pleased to include his statement at this point in the Record. I am sure Members of Congress, as well as others who read the Congressional Record, will be interested in Mr. Hope's views on this subject matter.

It is indeed an honor to be invited to speak at the annual soil conservation banquet of the Sioux City Chamber of Commerce.

This is not my first visit to your thriving city, which is the center of one of the greatest agricultural regions in the world. My previous visits have been so pleasant and your hospitality so generous that I am always delighted to return.

I am pleased also to have the opportunity to speak again in the home district of my distinguished friend, Charles B. HOEVEN, who not only ably represents all of the people of this district in the House of Representatives but who is known throughout the length and breadth of the land as an authority on agriculture and a sincere friend of the farmers of this country.

I want to congratulate the Sioux City Chamber of Commerce and that fine newspaper, the Sioux City Journal, for their interest in agriculture and in the conservation of our soil and water resources which has led them to collaborate in this fine program to encourage soil and water conservation within the trade area.

And may I extend my heartlest congratulations to the winners of the contests sponsored by the chamber of commerce in 52 counties in this 4-State area.

To my way of thinking, the greatest and most constructive thing which men and women living on the land can do is to leave that land better than they found it.

And I know that is the ambition of every good farmer, because good farmers love the land and get real satisfaction and pleasure in enriching and improving it. You are good farmers and good neighbors and good citizens, or you would not be here.

good larmers and good neighbors and good citizens, or you would not be here.

I want to talk to you tonight about the land, about soil and water, about what we are doing and what we need to do if we are going to conserve these great natural resources.

In recent years all of us in America have been giving much attention to the conservation of our soil and water resources. We have been taking stock, we have stopped to think deeply of the relationship between the people and the resources of the earth.

And in spite of the fact that Thomas Jefferson and others of our Founding Fathers expressed concern over the loss of the soil and its fertility in their day and that Patrick Henry is reputed to have said "He is the greatest patriot who stops the most gulleys," it is only comparatively recently that we have adopted national policies to save our soil and water.

For many years, we as a nation acted as if we had a virtually limitless and inexhaustible supply of soil, more than we could ever really need. So we treated this land with its timber, pasture, and water resources with careless abandon. We gave it away to encourage settlement. We stripped the forests from the earth and when they were gone, moved our sawmills to stands of virgin timber.

We sapped the land of its goodness by continual cropping or grazing and then turned our plows to what appeared to be a limitless expanse of new and fertile lands, moving always steadily to the westward.

Then suddenly about 1920 we realized that this vast expanse of land was not limitless, that we had in fact crossed our last frontier and that even much of the land which lay behind that frontier was worthless for agricultural purposes. We began to realize, too, that in our profligate and careless use of the soil and the timber and the water we had not only permitted, but sometimes even encouraged, the deterioration and destruction of those resources which are basic to survival.

It was not easy for the Nation to change its thinking and its policies from resource exploitation to resource conservation, and the process is still going on. There is still more to be done than we have yet accomplished. But the record is clear that once the American people see the need for conservation action, they are quick to respond.

The words soils conservation and the practices and programs which make up soil conservation are so familiar to us today that it is difficult for us to remember that it was not until 1928 that the country was sufficiently aware of the need for soil conservation to sponsor Federal legislation on the subject. The first recognition of national responsibility in this matter was a small item in the 1928 appropriation bill for research into soil erosion.

Everything that we as a Nation have accomplished in this field has occurred since that time. In other words, nationally organized, promoted, and encouraged soil conservation in the United States has all taken place during the last 25 years. Much has been done during that time, but much still remains to be done.

The continuing losses of productive soil on lands not yet protected by conservation practices are shown in studies made by the Soil Conservation Service. The latest study in 1953 showed that of 478 million acres used for crops in the United States, 121 million acres was deteriorating at a critical rate and an additional 128 million was deteriorating at a serious rate.

Although use of conservation measures on farmlands has brought a proportionate reduction in the amount of soil loss, it is estimated that this loss is still running in the neighborhood of 500,000 acres a year. In addition, up to 100 million acres once cultivated but never entirely suitable for cultivation have been so severely affected that they are no longer in cultivation.

So we find ourselves today not with a limitless expanse of land which can be brought into cultivation as our old farmland falls us, but with a definitely limited land area—some of it excellent, some of it worthless for agricultural purposes—and with very little additional land that can be brought into agricultural production.

Furthermore the normal expansion of our cities, the widening of highways, building of airports, and other nonfarm uses are every year taking out of cultivation thousands of serves of really good formland.

acres of really good farmland.

However it is encouraging to know that the Nation is now making healthy progress in its fight against soil erosion and depletion. This is reflected in the increased public concern over the matter and in the actual conservation accomplishments which we can see going on. More than four-fifths of the country's farmland (82 percent) and approximately 90 percent of our farms and ranches now are within the boundaries of 2.618 farmer-organized, farmer-managed soil conservation districts. Seventy-one new districts were organized during the last fiscal year with a net increase in district acreage of nearly 37 million acres, including expansion of existing districts.

Conservation practices have been applied or are being applied to some 34 percent of the country's privately owned agricultural land and the rate of farm conservation treatment continues at an accelerated pace year after year.

But the big end of the job still remains to be completed, on individual farms and in the watersheds of this country.

The challenge is great. It must be met. It will be met.

The brightest promise for the future of America is in the great and growing dedication of our people—farmers and city dwellers alike—to the conservation and improvement of the Nation's greatest and indispensable resources—soil and water.

Our basic national soil-conservation policies are embraced in the Soil Conservation Act of 1935. It is under that great piece of legislation, and the laws enacted in our States to complement and supplement it, that our national soil-conservation program has been carried out.

Along about the same time Congress passed the Flood Control Act of 1936 and later the Flood Control Act of 1944. These acts dealt in the main with flood-control work on our larger streams and the flood plains thereof.

Thus, we have had two national programs in operation for almost 20 years—one dealing with the control of water after it gets in the channels of our main streams; the other dealing with work on the land itself to hold the water where it falls.

But I think all who have followed these programs agree that there has been a missing link between them. That missing link is work on the small watersheds, the creeks, and the smaller tributaries of our major streams. This field has not been neglected entirely through oversight, because the authority to deal with small watersheds is contained in the Soll Conservation Act itself, and the Flood Control Act of 1936 authorized the Secretary of Agriculture to carry out water-conservation programs on the tributaries of our larger streams after the specific projects had been approved by the Congress.

Under the authority contained in these two acts, the Department of Agriculture has made numerous examinations, surveys, and reports. In addition, the 1944 Flood Control Act authorized 11 watershed projects. One of these is the Little Sioux project in this area and known to all of you.

However, no other projects have been authorized by Congress under the authority of the 1936 act, and the annual appropriations for these 11 projects have been so small in comparison with the work to be done that at the present rate it will be 30 or 40 years before some of the projects will be entirely completed.

Aside from these 11 projects, nothing further was done toward actually carrying out watershed projects until action was taken by the 83d Congress, to which I shall refer

In the meantime, this Nation has become water conscious as it has never been before. This year and last the specter of drought has been stalking the land. In large areas of our country rainfall has been more deficient than even during the drought period of the early 1930's. The Weather Bureau, while admitting its inability to make accurate predictions, doesn't hold out much hope that this year will see the end of this drought period, since such weather phenomena usually run in cycles.

But aside from the drought itself, it is being brought to our attention more and more that water is the primary limiting factor in the development of cities, industry, and agriculture, not only throughout the West but in all parts of the country. The difficulties now faced by many cities which depend upon surface runoff for their water supplies are well known. Even cities and industrial establishments which get most or all of their water from underground sources

are having their difficulties.

This is not only because of the rapid increase in water consumption by municipalities and industries as well as irrigation, but because of waste, not only in conserving our water supplies in the first place but in the use of them as well.

Thus, it is becoming more evident every day that our future progress as a Nation will, to a considerable extent, lie in the way we develop, handle, conserve, utilize, and

control our water supplies.

And although drought and short water supplies are the problems today, it has not been very long ago that the Nation was suffering terrific losses from flood damage, much of which could have been prevented by sound conservation programs on the land itself and on the small watersheds which feed our main streams.

We must remember that the essential difference between the pure, clear water which flows from our springs and wells and the brown, yellow or red torrent of silt and debris that periodically lays waste to our river valleys is that the clear and useable water stayed for a time where it fell. The other did not.

Thus the watershed programs which are receiving so much consideration in all parts of our country today are based upon a realization that the way we can get good and adequate water supplies and at the same time reduce flood destruction and damage is to get the rain and melting snow into the ground near where it falls. The earth is our greatest and most wonderful reservoir.

I do not mean to say that it will be possible under all conditions to hold all of our water near the place where it falls. That

What I do want to say and to emphasize in the strongest possible terms is that every drop of water which can be retained in the area in which it falls, either in the earth or in small retarding structures, is one drop subtracted from a potential flood and one

drop added to our useful water supply. This is the basic philosophy behind the watershed legislation which has aroused so much interest and which has been given so much consideration throughout the country

in recent years.

would not be possible or even desirable un-der all conditions.

I think as a matter of fact that the people of this country have been head of the Congress on the question of watershed legislation. However the House Committee on Agriculture has been giving the question consideration for some time past, and as a matter of fact in the 82d Congress it reported a bill which contains many of the salient features of the legislation passed in the last Congress. However that legisla-tion was blocked in the Rules Committee, due in the main to opposition from other Government agencies.

In the interval between the 1st and 2d sessions of the 82d Congress, a subcommittee of the Committee on Agriculture held hearings on watershed programs in several States.

I think it can be said, however, that the 83d Congress has pretty well caught up with the public on the question of soil and water conservation. Certainly it can be said fairly that this Congress has enacted more important legislation relating to soil and water conservation than any other Congress except the 74th which enacted the Soil Conservation Act itself under the inspiration and leadership of that great conservationist and great American, Hugh H. Bennett.

The Small Watershed and Flood Prevention Act is only one of several important conservation enactments by the 83d Congress. Before discussing this measure, I want to refer briefly to three other proposals, all of which tie in directly with the Small

Watershed Act.

First, there was the item in the Department of Agriculture appropriation bill for the fiscal year 1954, which set up the pilot plant projects. This occurred during the 1st session of the 83d Congress and enabled us to get a small watershed program under way a year ahead of time. These projects, 62 in number, are widely scattered. They deal with all sorts of conditions and will serie as demonstration projects, the progress of which will be closely sutdied by geologists, experts in hydrology and all students of watershed programs.

The second matter I want to mention is the extension of the Water Facilities Act. This not only extends the provisions of the Water Facilities Act to every State in the Union, but it is of interest from the standpoint of conservation in that it provides for both direct and insured loans for conservapurposes through the Farmers Home

Administration.

The language of the law provides that these loans may be made "for the purpose of financing the improvement of farmland by soil or water conserving or drainage facilities, structures or practices, improvement of soil fertility, establishment of improved permament pasture, sustained yield afforestation or reforestation, or other erosion preventatives, and such other related measures as may be determined from time to time by the Secretary.'

The fact that this loan provides for the insuring of loans advanced by private lenders is one of its outstanding features. Not only will this make it easier for private capital to assist farmers, but it also lesses the demands upon the Federal Treasury.

This legislation will, in my opinion, prove very effective in supplementing operations under the Watershed Act in that the loan provision will make it more likely that all armers in a watershed area will be able to finance the work which they must do upon the land itself in connection with any area watershed program.

A third important conservation enactment is the provision in the tax bill which permits farmers to treat expenditures for a number of soil-conserving practices as cur-rent annual expenses which may be deducted from farm income in computing income taxes, thus giving real financial encouragement to the use of conservation practices. This is a provision which many leaders in

the field of conservation have been urging for years.

Now let me take a little time to outline some of the provisions of the Watershed Protection and Flood Control Act. Before doing so, let me point out that the purpose of the legislation is to fill in the gap which I mentioned earlier as existing between programs for conservation practices on the land and flood control on our main streams

The legislation was developed after it became apparent that the provisions of existing law were not meeting the constantly increasing need for watershed protection.

What the new act does is to set up the machinery and procedure whereby local watershed districts or soil-conservation districts or similar organizations may cooperate with the Federal Government in working out the engineering and financial problems connected with such enterprises. Both the work and the costs are to be shared in an equitable way between individuals, local districts, States, and the Federal Govern-

In general it is expected that the cost borne by the Federal Government will average around 50 percent, depending upon the nature of the project and the extent of the national interest involved.

The initiative for the work must come from the local people. Applications to come under the program must be submitted for consideration by the Governor of the State or a State agency set up for that purpose. is to prevent conflict with other State development plans.

If the application is not disapproved by the State, the Soil Conservation Service will assign technicians and other personnel to work with the local organization in conducting investigations and surveys, makig such other studies as may be necessary, and working out detailed plans for the project. At the same time it is assumed that work will be going forward in the locality on the other requirements which are conditions of Federal assistance.

These requirements are set out in section 4 of the act. They include the following: (1) Acquisition by the local organization of all land, easements, or rights-of-way necessary for the project; (2) evidence that the local organization is willing and able to assume its proportionate share of the cost and to maintain and operate the improvements after they have been installed; (3) provide assurances that landowners have acquired necessary water rights; and (4) obtain agree-ments from owners of at least 50 percent of the land above each retention reservoir to carry out recommended soil-conservation measures and proper farm plans on their

Unless the project is one of the relatively few in which there will be a dam providing more than 2,500 acre-feet of detention capacity, no formal approval by Congress is necessary before the project can be started. If the plan includes a structure impounding more than 2,500 acre-feet of water, money cannot be appropriated for it until the Committee on Agriculture in the House and the Committee on Agriculture and Forestry of the Senate have adopted resolutions authorizing the project.

No dam can be constructed under the authority of the act which provides for more than 5,000 acre-feet of detention capacity. no watershed embracing more than 250,000 acres may be included in a project, but several projects of 250,000 acres or less might be carried out jointly and as a part of an over-all plan.

I have not attempted to set out all the provisions and requirements which must be met in connection with projects of this kind, but the Committee on Agriculture has published a public document covering this matter in detail, which will be sent to anyone who will write to the Committee on Agriculture. House of Representatives, Washington,

I wish I could at this time give public credit to all those whose help and support made possible the enactment of this legisla-This is impossible, however, because I suppose there is no important piece of legislation in recent years which has had such wide support. First and foremost must come the conservation organizations. All of them did so much that it would be unfair to single out anyone more than the other.

Strong support came from the farm organ-

izations

The National Association of Soil Conservation District Supervisors helped tremen-

The list of Members in both Houses who worked hard for the legislation is too long to be repeated here. The bill was reported unanimously by the House Committee on Agriculture and passed the House unanimously. It passed the Senate unanimously, although the opposition there succeeded in including a number of crippling amendments which had to be taken out in conference.

The special message of President Eisenhower endorsing the bill and making it an administration measure was of the utmost importance in that it stopped the open oppo-sition from other Government agencies, which was the most serious threat to the passage of the bill.

The Bureau of the Budget exercised much skill and patience in ironing out difficulties

with other Government agencies.

The unanimity of support for this bill coming from the country is shown by the fact that it was backed by both the National Chamber of Commerce and the CIO-one of the few measures, and perhaps the only one, on which these two organizations ever got together.

Well, the law is now on the books. How important it becomes depends upon the people who live in the watersheds. Upon them rests the responsibility of setting up local organizations, of initiating the projects, of raising funds, securing the land and easements, and assuming the responsibility for operation and maintenance.

To a lesser extent it depends upon the willingness of Congress to appropriate funds, but in this Congress will undoubtedly follow the sentiment of the country, keeping in mind the availability of funds and economic

Only through continued popular interest and support can this program realize its full potentialities. It costs money, yes; but to me every dollar we spend for purposes of this kind is an investment in the future of America-an investment which will be returned many times.

Dedicatory Prayer Breakfast

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, yesterday morning more than 900 persons, including the Vice President, the Chief Justice, members of the Cabinet, members of the Supreme Court, Members of Congress, and other citizens attended the dedicatory prayer breakfast at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D. C.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of the program and transcript of the proceedings of this service. Conrad Hilton was host on the occasion.

In my opinion, this prayer breakfast, with the outstanding leaders in every field, will add much to the religious life of our Nation

There being no objection, the program and transcript were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROGRAM FOR PRESIDENTIAL BREAKFAST, THURS-DAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1955, 8 A. M., MAYFLOWER

Presiding: Hon. Frank Carlson, United States Senate, president, International Council for Christian Leadership.

Greetings: By Senator Frank Carlson.

Message from the President.

Good-morning greeting by the host, Mr. Conrad Hilton. The Meaning of ICL: By Lt. Gen. W. S.

Paul, president of ICL. Scripture from Old Testament: Hon. ALEX-

ANDER WILEY.
Scripture from New Testament: Hon.

RICHARD NIXON, Vice President of the United

Silent prayer for the President, concluded by audible prayer: By Senator A. WILLIS ROBERTSON.

Message: By Billy Graham.

Prayer of dedication: By Abraham Vereide,

secretary general.

(The third annual prayer breakfast was opened by Senator Frank Carlson, president, International Council for Christian Leader-

Senator Carlson. We will have the opening prayer this morning by Congressman Wainwright, chairman of the House prayer breakfast group. Congressman WAINWRIGHT.

STUYVESANT WAINWRIGHT Lord, in these troubled times Thy guidance is asked, not only upon our leaders but upon the whole world for upon our faith rests our only hope of peace.

We ask Thee to bless this gathering and the food we are about to receive in Thy

name. Amen.

(The breakfast period.)
Senator Carlson. First, I want to express
my appreciation for the fine response we have had to the invitation of our host, from whom we will hear later.

We meet this morning at a prayer breakfast. In fact, it is the first session of the International Council for Christian Leader-

We have three or more people at the table who will not participate in the program, but I want to present them.

First, we have the Chief Justice of the United States who last year, as those of you who were privileged to be here will remember, gave us a very fine address.
We have also at the head table the assist-

ant to the President of the United States,

Gov. Sherman Adams.

We have at the head table Dr. Carlos Davila, head of the American States of the Pan American Union. We have the Vice President of the International Council for Christian Leadership, Congressman Brooks HAYS, of Arkansas.

The theme of the meeting will be A Worldwide Spiritual Offensive. In these troublous and uncertain times we need and must rely on divine guidance. In other words, need consecration and prayer. St. Paul wrote, "The effectual, fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much."

President Eisenhower, in his recent mesage on the state of the Union to the United States Congress, presented a basis for such an offensive when he said: "It is of the utmost importance that each of us understand the true nature of the struggle now taking place in the world.

"It is not a struggle merely of economic theories, or of forms of government, or of military power. At issue is the true nature Either man is the creature whom of man. the psalmist described as 'a little lower than angels,' crowned with glory and honor, holding 'dominion over the works' of his Creator; or man is a soulless, animated machine to be enslaved, used, and consumed by the state for its own glorification."

I am pleased this morning to read to you a message that I have just received from the President of the United States: The White House,

Washington, February 1, 1955.

DEAR FRANK: To all attending the prayer breakfast on February 3, please convey my warm good wishes and my regret that I am unable to be present on this occasion.

Such a meeting is inspiring evidence of the

conviction of each of you that religious principles must not be kept in a realm apart from everyday life, that they must more and more be put into practice in business, law, government, diplomacy-in every area of practical pursuit.

Your meeting shows also your realization that the need for such practice is worldwide, that the task of spearheading a global spiritual offensive demands not only the efforts of the clergy but also of laymen of dedication and courage and foresight.

On the significance of your meeting, I congratulate all of you. And I am glad to share your hope and your determination that our world may yet see time-honored religious and ethical principles become, in reality, the standard of conduct for all its peoples.

Sincerely.

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

As citizens of this great Nation, we are again rediscovering that God who was in Christ, reconciling the world unto Himself,

has come to live in us by His Spirit.
We are convinced that the answer to all our problems finds a basic solution through a spiritual rebirth and the revival of genuine religion. This morning we are here to renew our faith and our commitment to God.

We are privileged to be the guests of a great American who has made an outstanding success in the business world. plaud him for this great success, but I want to commend him for his active interest and participation in national and world affairs.

Those who were privileged to be present at the prayer breakfast in 1953 well remember how we had in the background an enlarged picture of America on its Knees.

That picture and that prayer, which was written by our host, has, through his generosity, been distributed in practically every country on the globe. I am advised that he has personally printed and distributed over 400,000 copies.

Many speakers and writers have quoted the prayer and the illustrated text has been reprinted in many publications. America on its Knees won for Conrad Hilton the 1953 Freedom Foundation award.

America has a great heritage and we of this generation owe much to those who have gone before, but we do have an obligation to preserve for future generations—our children and their children—the funda-mental principles advocated by the Man that the shores of Galilee 2,000 years ago.

Mr. Hilton, Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen. It is an honor to be host to a group such as you, leaders of America, and I appreciate that honor. It is

good to be with you.

Right here let me say congratulations also. congratulations to ourselves, to all of us this morning on the third anniversary of our prayer breakfasts at the Mayflower.

This is only one of thousands of meetings at which people pray together, but since so many of you are leaders of a great government this gathering has a special significance. Because of your positions in public life you have greater responsibilities and therefore greater opportunities for good than are given to other citizens. By your example you are in a position to exert great influence on many people. By your presence here and by joining in prayer you are placing our Nation on God's side.

The world has come to look to the United States for material aid, but we must not overlook the opportunity our strength gives us to assume leadership in things of the spirit. We have been shocked at times by the coolness that has met our assistance of money and material to less fortunate nations. It is apparent that their needs cannot be fully met by bread alone.

There is a worldwide shortage of prayer and the grace of God, and we can help to supply these precious ingredients. We must lead the peoples of the world to a warm living faith in God's love, the practical kind of faith displayed by our Founding Fathers.

As we meet here year after year we are doing that by our prayers and by our ex-

It struck me in thinking out my comments to you that the purpose which brings us together must be a continuing thing. We must not be limited to what we can accomplish during the hour we meet here once a year. Religion is not to be taken by the spoonful.

What I mean is this: Some of you will remember when the last great cholera epidemic struck the Orient just after World War I. Periodically it swept through India, the Malay Peninsula, Burma, practically all of Asia except China. The cholera germ cannot surboiling water, and because the Chinese drink tea almost exclusively they were not subject to the disease. Consequently, when the epidemic threatened to run wild through the Philippines the American doctors ordered the people to boil their water. the cholera continued. When the health inspectors investigated they found that the people were taking 3 or 4 teaspoons of boiled water a day as if it were medicine. The water they drank was water they had not boiled.

Now, I think we make exactly the same mistake when we take religion as a medicine instead of a food. Like food, religion should be within us constantly as a kind of fuel for our whole being, body, and soul. Taking religion as a medicine, as a kind of annual tonic instead of food, is just wrong.

Let me say this, that the enemy, the counterfeit religion of communism which is moving over the world, is not being taken by the spoonful. Almost a billion people are being fed it constantly, being bathed in it, their bodies and souls washed in it. And if we are to survive we must do the same thing. We must feed ourselves in the grace of God, bathe-in it, live in it, live by it. We must be religious men and women, not just at an annual prayer breakfast or once a week on Saturday or Sunday but 24 hours a day every day in the year. We must meet this dedicated enemy with dedication of our own. We must live our faith and live by our fath.

Communism can be effectively opposed only by religious men, men of faith and spiritual stature.

As we undertake a task of this importance, I think you will be the first to admit our need for more divine wisdom, the first to distinguish the difference between wisdom and knowledge, science and know-how. To be smart is not to be wise. Wisdom implies the highest exercise of all the faculties, of the will as well as the intellect, and it strikes me as an operation dedicated to the grace of God and steered by divine wisdom.

The way to get that wisdom into ourselves and into our Government is by prayer—ours and the prayers of the Nation. To have that wisdom is to have happiness and peace, the peace of Christ—that kind of peace that has nothing to do with the surface of the nations today. Thanks to our President, to you, leaders of American life, and to millions more across the Nation and

over the world, we are slowly praying our way toward peace.

Again I think you are to be congratulated on this, our third prayer breakfast. Indeed, it is little we do, little we have to offer, but to me we have here a facade, a showcase illustrating what millions of Americans have discovered, that prayer is the beginning of wisdom, that religion is not to be taken by the spoonful.

Senator Carlson. Thank you, Mr. Hilton. We are going to have the Meaning of ICL. by Lt. Gen. Willard S. Paul, president of the ICL. General Paul.

General Paul. Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, members of ICL, and friends, 20 years ago a small group of men who were disquested with the conditions in their city at that time decided to do something about it. Their decision was to bring into every-day living and every-day working the Sermon on the Mount, the principles of Christianity. They cleaned up the city and went on to other things. One of those men is now the governor of that State. Another of those men, Mr. Vereide, sitting at this table, is now the spiritual leader and executive director of an organization which covers the United States and is spread around the world. That organization is the ICL.

A few weeks ago the governor of another great State at his inaugural ceremonies formally committed his gubernatorial stewardship to God, with a pledge of righteousness as a rule of his administration.

There is a story back of that. Months before his election that governor was carrying personal burdens which he felt were beyond his power to bear. In this crisis he sought the counsel and advice of a friend. This friend was the director of an ICL group. Their visit ended in prayer. There on his knees this governor found a new-born faith, a new calm and courage, as he yielded his will to God's. In the weeks following he discovered the comfort and power of prayer. He found in the Bible both inspiration and guidance. He came to a commitment of life in the service of God.

I have been asked to explain the meaning of ICL. These two examples, I think, tell graphically more than I could by listing them in 3 parts. But they are only 2 of the actual case histories in the files of ICL.

What do we have? First a man was reconciled to God. ICL means that we have a concern for the lives of men. It is with great gratitude and a sense of responsibility that we find men and women in positions of executive leadership in government and in civic responsibility throughout the Nation who have embraced this sort of thing.

ICL means a man-to-man evangelism, quiet, unostentatious, but effective.

It means, secondly, a commitment transferring the resources and talents which are available to individuals, in the service of God. ICL means that we are inspiring Christians to Christian living, Christian working, and Christian associations.

Third, a partnership was formed with God to make a better world. ICL is dedicated to mustering Christian citizenship in the fight for civic righteousness, as indicated in the first example I gave you.

I believe that when a significant fraction—and I say fraction—of the conventional Christians apply the dynamics of their faith to working hours, as Conrad Hilton has indicated, the world will see a transforming miracle. We in ICL are proud to help in bringing about that miracle. Thank you.

bringing about that miracle. Thank you.

Senator Carlson. Thank you, General
Paul.

We are going to have scripture reading from both the Old and the New Testament. The scripture reading will be by the senior Senator from Wisconsin, Senator ALEXANDER WILEY, and the Vice President of the United States. Following this scripture reading, prayer will be offered by the senior Senator from Virginia, Senator WILLIS ROBERTSON.

Senator Wiley read from the 20th chapter of Exodus.

Vice President Nixon read from the 7th chapter of Matthew.

Senator Robertson. Each one exercising the God-given right to directly petition the giver of all good gifts, may we bow for a moment in silent prayer.

Our Father, we give thanks for endowing us with a conscience and this beautiful proof that we were made in Thy image. Help us to keep that God-given means of testing truth and honor, from being crystallized into the habitual moral form of a Pharisee inquisitor obligate. With the growing revelation to us of Thy true nature, help us to give a living response to fresh truth.

Teach us to see our obligations both to Thee and to the state. Help us to realize that the gift of self and the discipline of self involves service to God and to government. Guide us as we strive to fulfill our Christian duty in all things and in behalf of men everywhere. In His name, Amen. Senator Carlson. We are fortunate to have

Senator Carlson. We are fortunate to have with us this morning a very personal friend of mine, a great American, a great Christian, leader, a great preacher, one of God's chosen people, who has moved hundreds of thousands of people to a closer life with their God and whose message has been carried to every country of the globe—Rev. Billy Graham.

Reverend Graham. Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, 4,000 years ago a man with a long white beard and flowing white hair stood on top of a mountain and probably one of the greatest prayer meetings of all-time took place. Moses said to Almighty God that he was not worthy to be there; neither are we worthy to come into the presence of the Almighty.

But Moses went into the presence of God

But Moses went into the presence of God and in those moments God hewed out of the mountain some stones and put on those stones the Ten Commandments. Those Ten Commandments have been read to us this morning. They form the basis of all moral law. Within those Ten Commandmants we find an expression of the character of Almighty God.

Do you want to know what God is like? Read the Ten Commandments. Do you want to know God's requirements of man? Read the Ten Commandments. Do you want to have those commandments interpreted and amplified so that we common people might understand? Read the Sermon on the Mount from which our scripture text was taken this morning.

From Him, Moses had received those stones with the Ten Commandments written on them. He came down the mountain and there he saw Israel in one of the most critical periods of her entire history. Israel had for a moment forgotten the God that brought them out of Egypt; Israel for a moment had forgotten the God that took them across the Jordan; Israel for a moment had forgotten the God that had been with them at the Red Sea and had fed them manna in the wilderness; and Israel had made a golden calf and was now worshiping strange gods.

Fire came to Moses' eyes. His eyes blazed, his jaw was set, his shoulders squared, and he stood in the midst of the camp of Israel and said, "Who is on the Lord's side? All of you that are on the Lord's side come unto me. Take your stand. Be counted."

me. Take your stand. Be counted."

I wonder at this present critical time in the history of the world if God isn't saying to us this morning, the leaders who are gathered in this room, "Who is on the Lord's side? All of you who are on the Lord's side let them take their stand this day and be counted as on God's side."

We are living in a critical period and the world is looking to the United States for leadership. We are very much like a fishbowl. The whole world is peering in to see how we live, how we act, the way we dress, the way we talk, the statements that we

make, and there are many people around the world that I have found in my travels who doubt that we have the moral and spiritual qualities of leadership. Unfortunately, we have been sold in some parts of the world by propaganda as a nation of drunkards, gangsters, and immature politicians. We have presented to the world a wrong type of picture of the United States and much of the world does not know or does not seem to realize the moral and spiritual qualities and the moral and spiritual heritage that we have as a nation.

I think all of us agree this morning that we do have the potentialities and qualities of leadership. Our roots are deep in Christianity and America has been one of the most Christian nations of all history. But in the last 25 years, as in Israel of old, we have had a spiritual drought. We decided we did not need God. We did not need religion. So we departed from the supernaturalistic concept. We departed from God and we departed from this book called the Holy Bible. As a result, we became an age filled with frustration, nervous tension, selfishness, fear, lawlessness, immorality, and in spite of our high standards of living we became a nation of insecurity.

But during the past 5 years something has happened. This has been an era of unprecedented religious renaissance and resurgence in the United States. Evidences of spiritual awakening are on every hand. For example, last April 10, 75 million Americans attended church. That was 14 million more than voted in the last presidential campaign, 13 million more than the largest radio audience in history, five times the total attendance of all major league ball games last year. The membership in United States churches today exceeds 100 million. The distribution of bibles doubled in the last 6 years, and last year alone 10 million bibles were distributed in the United States. The sale of religious books is three times that of all of the other books put together. Films with religious themes are doing a land office business. Religious songs are now in jukeboxes everywhere. We have changed the pledge of allegiance recently and inserted the words "This Nation under God." For the first time in history we had a postage stamp that had on it "In God we trust."

Rabbi Wise recently said, "The evidence of religious resurgence goes far beyond statistics of church membership and giving," and indeed it does. This year, 1955, the Methodist Church has designated 900 churches in the United States to have an unbroken chain of prayer from January to December. One thousand people of the Roman Catholic faith meet here in Washington every month for all night prayer meetings.

We read about juvenile delinquency, so much so that even the President in his state of the Union message had to refer to it, and it is one of our great social problems. we don't stop to realize that thousands of our university and college young people today are turning to Christ, and there were 2 million more in Sunday school last year than in any year before in history. Seminaries and christian colleges are overflowing with thousands of young people giving themselves in dedication to christian service, Mass evangelism is the largest and greatest in history. In the city of Nashville, Tenn., recently they had an evangelistic campaign. They averaged 25,000 every night for 1 month-unprecedented in our history.

The same is true in Great Britain. There are today evidences in Great Britain of religious resurgences, perhaps a little behind the United States but definitely on its way. All over western Europe there are reports of tremendous religious interest unprecedented in the history of recent times, and there are evidences at this moment that behind the Iron Curtain God is beginning to move. Something is beginning to take place, so

much so that a few weeks ago Pravda admitted that so many young people are turning to religion in Soviet Russia that atheistic propaganda must be increased. Everywhere we went last summer around the Iron Curtain I heard thrilling stories of what God is doing in Russia today.

doing in Russia today.

Is this a genuine religious awakening, many people are asking. Some people say it is just a fear psychosis that we have. Some people are saying that people are afraid today because of the hydrogen bomb and afraid of a third world war and therefore they are using religion as escapism. I do not know. Many think it is a fad. Many think it is a vogue and a passing phase. Only history can provide the answer.

can provide the answer.

But I do know this, that it is easier to discuss religion and talk religion than ever before in the history of the United States. I think that people are beginning to realize that we are more than just materialistic bodies to be fed by the appetites that we have. We are beginning to realize that we are more than a body with eyes and ears and nose and hands and feet and stomachs to be fed, and a body to be dressed and made up. We have everlasting and eternal souls.

We were created in the image of Almighty God. It is a strange thing that we spend most of our time dressing the body which soon dies and goes to the grave. The Bible says that our bodies are very much like the grass that withers and the flowers that fades. We soon die and we waste away and go to the grave. Yet our souls live on forever and ever. The Bible teaches that our souls are eternal. Yet we exercise the body, feed the body, give the body its demands, try to satisfy its appetites, though it is only temporary.

Your soul also has appetites. Your soul has hungers and thirst and desires and longings and yearnings, and if they are not satisfied it ends in frustration, confusion, be-wilderment. There are many people here today who are bewildered, confused, mixed up. You have everything in life to make you happy but you are not happy. You have everything in life to make you peaceful, but you are not peaceful inside. There is turmoil and fighting and striving and difficulty inside that seem to have no answer. Why? Because your soul has never been satisfied. You have never exercised it.

What is the exercise of the soul? We have heard this morning: prayer. How long has it been since we spent an hour in prayer? Half an hour in prayer? Ten minutes in prayer? Bible reading is another. There is the true word that ye may grow thereby. How long has it been since we really read the Bible?

I have talked to a lot of Communists in Europe and in the Far East. Did you know that they know the writings of Lenin and Stalin and Marx almost by heart? How many of us in the Western World know our Bibles and have the dedication that Mr. Hilton spoke of a moment ago?

We talk about the Bible. We have a Bible in the courtrooms and in our home rooms, but how many of us really open the Bible and study it? The ignorance of the Bible in America is appalling at the moment. Yet there is where we have our roots as a Nation. We need to know it and we need to study it. It becomes a spiritual exercise. Going to church and worshipping God is a spiritual exercise. Then living His life.

The Gallup poll said the other day that 95 percent of the American people now believe in God. But that is not enough. God requires more than just an intellectual acceptance and an intellectual belief. He requires more than our name on some church roll. He requires more than being confirmed or baptized. He requires that we go out into our homes and shops and into our offices and put into practice the teachings of Christianity.

In the days of Jesus they saw the miracles that He performed. They said, "This is a great man. We are going to follow Him. We believe in Him. He is a miracle worker." So they followed Him. In the last part of the second chapter of John, Jesus said, "Nothing doing; I am not committing myself to you." They were religious minded. They were ready to follow Him, but He said, "You are not willing to pay the price and you cannot follow me." One of those men slipped aside and said, "Master, I would like to say a word to you." The Master came aside and this great leader of Israel said something concerning spiritual things and Jesus turned to him and said, "Ye must be born again."

The problem of the world today is not the hydrogen bomb. The problem of the world today is not poisonous gas. The problem of the world today is not the germ warfare that is being devised and built all over the world. The problem of the world today is human nature, and until we solve human nature we have not solved the problems of the world. As our good friend Senator Wiley said in the little room before we came in-something that I will never forget-"We are never going to end war until the mind of Christ is in us." And we never will. You have got to do something about hating and cheating and lying and stealing. You have got to do something about the things that bring wars and fights

The only one that has the answer is the Master, Jesus Christ. He said that if we have a spiritual rebirth as individuals we can change the world, and the starting place is the spiritual rebirth.

From that starting place we can go out to pray, to read his word, to go to church and to live and put into practice in our several fields the teachings of Jesus Christ. We don't go out to live this life alone. There is not a man in this room that can live this life alone. It is too hard for you. You can only live it by the presence of Christ in your life, who gives you supernatural power to live it.

I want to tell you this morning that there is not a man or woman in this place who cannot come to a knowledge of God this day and go from this place with the help of God, determined to live a life for Jesus Christ. There is enough potential power in this room to change the entire world. want also to tell you this: Unless we have the dedication that Mr. Hilton spoke about and unless we put into practice the teachings of Christ as individuals and unless we go out as a nation collectively to live for Christ and God and have the dedication, we cannot possibly survive the dedication of atheists that are today hammering at our gates and the moral termites that are eating within. We as a nation will fall as surely as Rome fell unless we have this dedication of purpose and life.

You say, "That is all very good but what can I do? I am only I man, only I person." Today you can go to your room, tonight you can go to your bed, and for the first time perhaps in a long time you can get out your Bible and open its pages and read it. For the first time in a long time you can offer a prayer to God and give your life to God.

The Bible says that "If My people, which are called by My name, shall humble themselves and pray and see My face, then will I hear them from heaven. I will hear their cries and I will forgive their sins."

Thank you.

Senator Carlson. I have just been handed a cablegram from the Netherlands;

"May God's blessing and inspiration be with you all in your endeavor to put into practice living Christianity on a worldwide scale.

"WILHELMINA,
"Princess of the Netherlands."

This has been a splendid morning. We are going to rise and be dismissed with a benediction by Abraham Vereide, secretary-general of the international council.

Mr. Vereide. Eternal God our Father, for this hour we thank Thee; for this evidence of Thy working in our hearts and in our midst, for intelligence, for trained minds and lives in tolerance and experience, dedicated to the doing of God's will.

Here, O God, we dedicate ourselves to Christ. We want as a nation and as representatives from many nations to become one great team, working in the rhythm of defined purpose and in the warmth of God's love and with the firmness and the fitness of disciplined minds. We want to go forward in this spiritual quest and the spiritual advance to proclaim the unmatchable riches of Christ and live out the Christian plan and Christian will and Christian spirit and principles day by day.

To this end, O God, take us now as leaders in various fields of endeavor. Endow us with Thy spirit and with Thy power and grant us the grace to affirm day by day, "I can do all things through Christ whose strength is with me, and to Thee, O God, the glory, world without end." Amen.

Electoral College Reform

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, KARL E. MUNDT

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address delivered by a former Senator, Hon. Edward R. Burke, president of the American Good Government Society, on the subject of Electoral College Reform.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ELECTORAL COLLEGE REFORM—ROUND TABLE DISCUSSION PAPER ON QUESTION, CONSTI-TUTIONAL REFORM OF THE PROCEDURE FOR ELECTING PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT

(By Edward R. Burke, president, American Good Government Society)

We are met at this time to discuss the provisions of the Constitution which govern the election of the President and Vice President of the United States and the several proposals to change those provisions by amending the Constitution.

The charges brought against the electoral system vary widely. From nullifying and misappropriating votes and disfranchising voters, they range to gross inequality in voting power as between the voters of the large and small States. In between the charge of imbalance in the political structure is said to give the executive power of the Nation a narrow base in the electorate while the legislative power has a very broad base. Nor is the effect of the electoral system on nominating conventions overlooked.

This variety of charges against the way we elect the President has produced equally varied remedies in the form of proposed constitutional amendments. These range from a direct popular election of the President without regard for State boundaries, to a mere change in the manner of electing members of the electoral college. In between is a plan of abolishing the electoral college, but keeping intact the present electoral weights of the States and dividing them in proportion to the popular vote within the

States. All of the proposed plans for electing the President are based on 1 of these 3 approaches.

All of the amendments proposed have one thing in common. They would bring about a division of the electoral weights of the States. And, in the last analysis, it is this present lack of division of the electoral weights that is the source of dissatisfaction and the basis of demands for a change.

In most respects our electoral system has stood the test of time, through 42 elections, from General Washington to General Eisenhowever. Only the minor changes of the 12th amendment, in 1804, distinguish the constitutional manner of the election of Washington from that of Eisenhower.

Prior to the 12th amendment members of the electoral college voted for 2 men as President, with 1 from another State than themselves. The leading man became President if he had the votes of a majority of electors appointed. If none had a majority or if 2 such were tied, the House of Representatives, voting by States, chose the President "from the 5 highest on the list." After the President was chosen the man with the most electoral votes became Vice President, unless two or more were tied, and then the Senate chose between them.

The two-party system was implicit in the requirement of a majority of the electoral college in the election of the President. This requirement left room for only two major contenders. As we have seen, men will subordinate strong convictions in order to be a part of the majority. This became clear in the election of 1796, the first contest for the Presidency, which came between John Adams, who had been Vice President under Washington for 8 years, and Thomas Jefferson, the leader of the opposition which was fast becoming an organized party. Adams nosed out Jefferson by 3 votes—71 to 68. This outcome gave us a President from one party and a Vice President from the other party. I say the other party because the candidates for President and Vice President of the Federalists and those of the Anti-Federalists received 228 of the 276 electoral votes cast, or more than 80 percent of the total. The remaining 48 votes were divided among 9 other candidates. The two-party system was beginning to take

But the provision requiring the electors to vote for two men as President wrought havoc among the elements beginning to coalesce into two parties. The feud between Alex-ander Hamilton and John Adams, which destroyed the Federalist Party, began in the first presidential election in 1788. All the leaders were agreed on Washington for President and Adams for Vice President, as was Adams himself. But under the Constitution Adams had to be voted for as President and he wanted to run equally with Washington in the electoral college, and leave Washington's choice over him to the House of Rep-Hamilton, on the other hand, resentatives. Hamilton, on the other hand, wanted for Washington the prestige of a unanimous choice in the electoral college unquestioned by a close contender. Hamilton's efforts brough to Washington the votes of all 69 electors voting, of the 73 appointed. More important, though, was that Hamilton had so arranged matters that Adams was short of a majority although he had four times as many votes as his nearest oppo-nent. Despite the effect of this on Adams' friends, especially in New England, Hamilton imposed the same pattern on the 1792 elec-

The chickens came home to roost in 1796 when Jefferson ran ahead of Pinckney, the Federalist candidate for Vice President, by 9 votes, 12 New England electors having failed to support the ticket.

By 1800 the two-party system was solidly grounded. The Federalist's 65 electors voted for Adams and 64 voted for Pinckney, the candidate for Vice President. One vote went to John Jay to prevent a tie in the electoral college between Adams and Pinckney. But the Federalists were never again a factor in presidential elections.

Things were not so well managed for the Jefferson-Burr ticket in 1800. All of their electors were to vote for Jefferson and 1 Virginia elector was to vote for someone other than Burr so as to give Jefferson a 1-vote lead in the electoral college. When the votes were counted it was found that each had 73 votes, Colonel Burr having written to the Virginia elector that he need not throw away his vote since a Rhode Island elector was going to do that. The election was thrown into the House of Representatives where, on the 36th ballot, as a result of Hamilton's intervention, Jefferson was chosen President.

At this point, after both parties were split by feuds between their top leaders, the 12th amendment was adopted. It required members of the electoral college to vote separately for President and Vice President. This development eliminated the earlier source of intraparty friction and established a basis for more cohesive tendencies within the parties. Therefore, the 12th amendment corrected one unforeseen fault in the electoral system that had been uncovered by the development of parties, an event which also was unforeseen by the Founding Fathers.

But the central provision for the electoral college was untouched by the 12th amendment. It reads:

"Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of Senators and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector."

When discussing plans to change this central feature of the electoral system, we are facing all of the problems faced by members of the Constitutional Convention. I think it wise, then, to set forth the difficult problems they solved successfully before we take up the changes now proposed to be made. For surely, we do not want to undo what they did well. We do not want to create constitutional problems where none exist by any failure on our part to understand why the electoral college was necessary and why its membership was established as it was.

The Convention undertook an enormous task. As Hamilton put it in the Federalist No. 1: "It seems to have been reserved to the people of this country * * * to decide the important question, whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their political constitutions on accident and force."

The Convention undertook to create a government for the United States which incorporated certain new principles not previously tested by experience.

First was the Federal principle of limited dual-sovereignty of the State and the Nation, sovereignty being the power to declare the law. Next was the new principle of separation of powers of the three great branches of government. And lastly was the combination of the Federal and national principles of representation in the Central Government.

The Convention proposed that "the People of the United States" delegate to the Central Government only a part of the sovereign powers ceded to them in their respective States by George III in the Treaty of Paris. It left to them the measure of sovereignty they might, in turn, delegate to their respective State governments. We speak of dual sovereignty more familiarly as dual citizenship of State and Nation.

During more than a hundred days in 1787, as the Constitution took shape, the Conven-

tion debated, off and on, the manner of choosing the Executive. Actions were taken only to be reversed upon later reconsidera-The first idea was that the President be elected by joint ballot of the two Houses of the legislature, so that neither could have a negative over the other. This combined into one body for a single act the Federal basis of the Senate and the national basis of the House. The next idea was that the President should be elected by an electoral college, meeting at the seat of government, an electoral college that should be the exact counterpart of the legislature in joint session, thereby continuing in this special body for only one action the combination of the Federal with the national principle of representation. Then, doubting that so many would come so far just to elect a President, the convention went back to election by the two Houses in joint session. But this action was again reversed and the electoral college restored in the report of the Committee of Eleven on September 4. Speaking for himself and the committee, Governor Morris pointed out that the plan satisfied "the indispensable necessity for making the Executive independent of the legislaturethe electors would vote at the same time throughout the United States, and at so great a distance from each other, the great evil of cabal was avoided." This report provided that the electors meet in their respective States and transmit certificates of their votes to the seat of government. With some modifications the plan was adopted 2 days later, on the 6th, just 11 days before the Convention adjourned.

Thus, in the end, after 15 weeks of debate and action, reconsideration and reversals, the convention had hammered out a plan of election of the President by an electoral college which:

1. Gave full effect to the doctrine of sepa-

ration of powers;
2. Established in combination the Federal and national principles in the election of the President:

3. Gave each State the same representation in electing the President that it had in the whole Congress:

4. Left to the States the manner of ap-

pointing electors:

5. Left to each State, as a means of selfprotection, the determination or the qualifications of its voters;

6. Established the requirement of an electoral majority which is the foundation of

the two-party system.

Had the convention neglected any one of these crucial considerations the Constitution might have failed of adoption, or, if adopted, would have contained within itself elements of imbalance great enough, in the course of time, to distort the balance of the whole structure. These, then, are the principles against which any proposed amendment must be tested if it is to fit comfortably in the Constitution and not require additional adjustments to other parts of the system.

We have seen that an unforeseen fault in the manner of electing the President split the parties and required amendment of the Constitution. Now, when our parties are again split, changes in the manner of electing the President are offered as the proper solution. But now the nub of the matter is

different.

In the beginning presidential electors were elected in a variety of ways: (1) by State legislatures; (2) by statewide en bloc methods; (3) by congressional districts; and (4) by combinations of districts and statewide methods. Slowly, as the parties developed, the majority in each State tended to arrogate to itself the full electoral power of the States. This was accomplished by electing the electors in a group on a statewide ticket. Both parties supported this movement in the States where they were the strong and op-posed it in States where they were weak.

But, in the end, the movement toward consolidation of each State's electoral power produced a uniform method of election of members of the electoral college. For all practical purposes, this development was the foundation of sectionalism in our politics and, to some degree at least, was the basis of the Civil War. Its continuation after reconstruction established the solid South, unknown before the war. The rise of the big city vote in the North under this system has shifted the balance of political power, as between the parties.

In essential principle there are but three proposed methods of change in the manner of electing the President. After listing them,

we will discuss them.

1. Abolition of the electoral college and direct election of the President by popular vote of all the people, considering the entire Nation as one gigantic election district and disregarding all State boundaries;

2. Abolition of the electoral college with a proportional division of electoral votes in each State according to the popular vote

therein: and

3. Maintenance of the electoral college and election of members thereof in the same manner as Senators and Representatives are elected

With minor variations, according to the differences in the several proposals grouped under numbers 1 and 2, election would be by a mere plurality, whatever its proportion,

by a plurality of 40 percent.

Abolition of the electoral college is the indispensable condition of any plan for the direct election of the President by popular vote and, also, any plan for keeping the electoral vote but dividing it proportionally among the candidates for President in a Under all plans based on these three principles the individual voter would vote directly for President and Vice President. This would create interstate candidacies as opposed to the present intra-state candidacies of party men seeking election as members of the electoral college. Interstate candidacies are legally unknown and unprecedented under the present system. Now, party nominees for President and Vice President are extra-legal, outside the law. They achieve constitutional status only when votes are cast for them in the electoral col-

lege.

It is the office and person of elector, and nothing else, that can maintain the intrastate character of presidential elections. If we abandon the office and person of elector we will necessarily establish interstate candidacies which, in turn, will open the door for ultimate Federal control of elections, including the qualifications of voters. For this reason, proponents of States' rights will hardly support abolition of the electoral

Other important points to be considered with respect to direct popular election of

the President are these:

1. It will so shift the weight of the States in electing the President that the smaller States will lose the small advantage they now have by virtue of their equal representation in the Senate-under the Federal principle; and

2. Since 33 States have fewer than the average weight in the electoral college-11.06 votes-and 17 have 6 electoral votes or less. any constitutional amendment incororating this principle will have rough going in the campaign for ratification. Rejection or fail-ure to act on the part of 13 States would

kill the proposal.

This weakness caused former Senator Lodge to abandon the direct popular election principle for the so-called Lodge-Gossett plan, which he persuaded the Senate to pass 64 to 27 on February 1, 1950. The House rejected it when it came up on the floor without benefit of a rule from the Rules Committee.

The Lodge-Gossett plan, long sponsored by former Representative Clarence F. Lea, of California, would abolish the electoral college and divide each State's electoral vote proportionately among the candidates in the respective States according to their respective shares of the popular vote, carrying the division to the third decimal place, farther is necessary to break a tie. As reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee, election would be by a simple plurality of the total electoral vote of all the States. Before passage the Senate added the Lucas amendment to require a plurality of 40 percent for election, otherwise the final choice was to be made by a joint session of Con-gresss voting, per capita, from, I believe, top 3 candidates. among the Senate version and the original Lodge-Gossett version were before the last Congress.

Advantages claimed for this proportional plan are that the popular vote in each State would be accurately reflected in its electoral vote and that the nationwide total of each candidate's electoral vote would accurately reflect his popular support; that conventions could and would name men for President from the small as well as the large States; and that the proportional feature would force the Republican Party to campaign actively for votes in the South, thus laying a basis for a strong two-party system in that section.

Disadvantages charged against Lodge-Gossett, besides the intrastate candidacy, are that it would:

1. Introduce into the Constitution the new and novel principle of proportional repre-sentation, the basis of the multiparty systems of continental Europe which, once accepted as a valid principle of representation in electing the President, would be strongly urged as the proper basis for electing Members of the House of Representatives.

2. Give Republicans electoral strength in the South without any commensurate strength in the Houses of Congress, merely shifting the present imbalance of party strength from one section of the country to another, but without reducing it.

Finally, there is the plan for maintaining the electoral college as it is but changing the manner of election of its 435 members who correspond to the 435 Members of the House of Representatives. Under this plan electors would be elected in each State the same manner in which it elects its Senator and Representatives." This means that the two of each State's electors who correspond to its United States Senators would continue to be elected statewide, or at-large, and its remaining electors, corresponding to its Members of the House of Representatives, would be elected in congressional districts.

The advantages claimed for this State-

district plan are that it would:

1. Give each party in each State a weight in electing the President commensurate with its strength in the Congress, and permit the election of any candidate who could carry one-half of the States and one more than half of the congressional districts, or win more districts and fewer States, or vice versa;

2. Match all of the advantages of other plans that might be gained from division of a State electoral weight without any of their

disadvantages:

3. Require no adjustment, explicit or implicit, in any other part of the Constitution, thus gaining all that needs to be gained with the least change in the Constitution and without any constitutional risks whatsoever.

The disadvantages charged against this plan is that the practice of gerrymandering congressional districts in favor of the majority party in each State would make for unfair and unjust representation in the election of the President. But so-called gerrymandering can be controlled by the Congress without any additional grant of power in the Constitution. The Congress has original and

concurrent jurisdiction with the State legislatures as to "the times, places, and manner of holding elections for Senators and Repre-

sentatives" (art. I. sec. 4).

The only other complaints lodged against this plan are that it does not provide for direct voting for the President and Vice President and that it leaves the elector a free agent, as now, to vote for whomsoever he will

All of these proposed plans of election which require more than a simple plurality for election make provision for ultimate election by the Congress, either the present provisions or by a joint session of the two Houses, voting by the head.

The Dixon-Yates Contract Controversy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STYLES BRIDGES

OF NEW HAMPSHIRE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a copy of a broadcast in Washington, D. C., by Cedric Foster on January 4, 1955, over the Mutual Network.

Inasmuch as this broadcast contains a penetrating analysis of the Dixon-Yates controversy, I feel sure that it will be of

general interest.

There being no objection, the broadcast was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

This is Cedric Foster reporting to you from Washington. I'll have my commentary on today's news for you in just a moment

As I reported to you yesterday one of the controversial issues which is certain to come before the 84th Congress is the contract awarded by the Federal Government to the Dixon-Yates company for the production of electrical power. Edgar Dixon and Eugene Yates are the heads of a corporation which expects to erect a \$107 million steam powerplant at West Memphis in the State of This plant is to sell 600,000 kilowatts of electricity to the Tennessee Valley Authority. This electricity will take the place of the TVA power which has been diverted of necessity to the atomic-energy plants operated by the Federal Government at Paducah, Ky.

A bitter fight is going to be precipitated

Over this Dixon-Yates contract, as, indeed, one has already been started. The main issue, of course, is a political philosophy, a way of life, a manner of living which could be described as socialism if the contract is voided and private enterprise if the Eisenhower administration emerges the winner.

The main issue of this political philosophy in this instance, is centered in public power. It is public power against private power. The Democrats support public power and Republicans have pledged themselves to a policy of getting the Government out of business and back into the work of

governing.

In their assault against the advocates of in their assault against the advocates of the same of the sa private power the Democrats plan to attack the fact that there was no bidding on the contract which was awarded to Dixon-Yates. They also will probably charge that the subsidiary of the Electric Bond & Share Co., is EBASCO, did not live up to the terms of its contract and was forced to abandon a construction job at Joppa, Ill. It was at Joppa, Ill., that EBASCO was constructing

an electric powerplant for the Atomic Energy Commission. The ability of EBASCO, one of the world's leading engineering firms, to build that powerplant in West Memphis, Ark., for Dixon-Yates, has been brought up in the current hearings on the financing of the Dixon-Yates project before the Securities Exchange Commission. These hearings continue this week here in Washington.

The Democratic charge concerning the alleged failure of Dixon-Yates at Joppa, Ill., has been blown right out of the window when Federal Judge Fred L. Wham sentenced a labor racketeer to 15 years in prison. This labor gangster was Evan R. Dale and it apthat he tried to shake down the EBASCO organization in the sum of \$1,030,-000, a 1-percent shakedown on the total cost of the project. But the EBASCO executives refused to pay the bribe. Mr. Dale was president of the Hod Carriers, Building and Common Laborers Union, American Federation of Labor, for southern Illinois. attempted shakedown by Evan Dale was characterized by Attorney General Herbert Brownell as the largest one that has been attempted since Brown-Bioff syndicate sank its claws into the movie industry about 2 decades ago.

It seems that labor gangster Dale wanted this \$1,030,000 as the price of labor peace in Joppa. Ill. Mr. Dale controlled—that is before he went to the Federal penitentiary he controlled them-some 38,000 workers who were being used in the construction of the AEC plant at Joppa. "If EBASCO knew what was good for it," Mr. Dale said: "it would pay out that money or else." What happened was "or else." EBASCO, through the person Turner White, Jr., a vice president, refused to make the payment. Then the screws were put on EBASCO and if ever the people of the United States wanted an example of what a crooked, thieving labor leader can do to management it could find it in the record of Labor versus EBASCO in Joppa, III.

Government and EBASCO witnesses testified at the trial of Evan Dale that when the company refused to be blackmailed it had 35 strikes and instances of sabotage, bringing the Federal Bureau of Investigation to the picture. It was the combination of these strikes and sabotage that forced EBASCO off the Joppa project. Thus, one of the charges which the Democrats have leveled against Dixon-Yates has been answered effectively.

It was some time ago that the New York Daily News summed up briefly and with telling strokes, the issues involved in the Dixon-Yates controversy. This paper declared that the "fight against the contract is being stirred up by Democrats for political reasons and by people who believe fanatically in publicly produced Socialist power such as generated by TVA. These Socialist-minded people think that TVA should build the West Memphis plant and that the cost of the plant should be paid by the taxpayers of the United States. President Eisenhower's administration is pledged to halt and reverse this American trend toward socialism. It has decided that the socialistic TVA's expansion has got to stop. It has chosen the steam plant in West Memphis as the place to stop 1t.

That is the nub of the whole dispute. It is a showdown between socialism and the free-enterprise philosophy. Complicating the fight are numerous charges that the Dixon-Yates contract was steamrolled to signature without competitive bidding and that it does not contain proper safeguards against profiteering by the power syndicate."

It would appear that all of these charges are going to be fully aired at the coming session of the Congress. But no matter what the smokescreens are, no matter how long and how hard and how loud come forth the yells here in Washington, the public should not permit itself to become confused as to the real issue. The basic issue involved is whether a creeping socialism will creep further up the torso of the body politic, eventually to throttle it in the grip of bureaucratic strangulation, or whether the body will swing free, unfettered and unbound, free to stride forward as it has done in the past, to make of these United States the Nation of people that we are. That's the issue involved in Dixon-Yates and no amount of doubletalk can change it.

Here in Washington today the Democrats and the Republicans met to name their leaders for the session of Congress which gets underway tomorrow. There were no surprises when the selections were announced as they had been pretty much discounted in advance. Congressman Sam RAYBURN, Democrat, from Bonham, Tex., will be the new Speaker of the House, succeeding Congress-man Joe Martin, of Attleboro, Mass. Congressman John McCormack will be the new Democratic leader in the House, succeeding Congressman Charley Halleck, Indiana Republican; JOHN McCORMACK is from Boston. The Republican minority leader will be Mr.

MARTIN.

The Democratic leader of the Senate, that is the majority leader now that the Republicans have lost control of the upper Chamber, is Senator Lyndon Johnson, from the State Texas. Republican Senator STYLES BRIDGES, from the State of New Hampshire, was selected unanimously as head of the GOP policy committee in the Senate, succeeding Homer Ferguson, of Michigan, who failed to be reelected. The floor leader for the Republicans will be the former majority leader, BILL KNOWLAND, from the State of California, while EVERETT SALTONSTALL, from Massachusetts, will be the Republican whip. the assistant floor leader. Senator Eugene MILLIKIN, from the State of Colorado, will be the chairman of the Republican senatorial conference and Senator Mur Young, from the State of North Dakota, is the secretary.

When the Senate meets tomorrow the new President pro tempore will be the distinguished Senator from the State of Georgia, WALTER GEORGE, a man who rendered outstanding service to his State and country. He succeeds Senator STYLES BRIDGES and will become the third ranking man for the Presidency of the United States, third in line.

The senatorial whip for the Democrats is Senator EARLE CLEMENTS, of the State of Kentucky. Senator Tom Jennings, Jr., from the State of Missouri, is the secretary of the Democratic Senate conference. The Democrats have not yet decided who will be named Clerk of the House and Sergeant Arms. Joseph Duke appears all certain to win that post in the Senate, succeeding Republican Forrest Harness who is a former Congressman from Indiana.

I should also mention that Congressman CHARLEY HALLECK will be JOE MARTIN'S assistant, without any formal title, on the floor of the House as minority leader. Congressman Leslie Arends was in line to keep his post as party whip. He is from Illinois.

On the international front today U. N. Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold arrived in Hankow, China, en route to Peiping. Per Lind, who is Hammarskjold's executive secretary, is going to file periodic messages to U. N. headquarters in New York for distribution to newsmen, but there are no journalists, as such, with the U. N. party which is trying to effect the release of 11 American United Nations fliers. Other newsmen who are already in Peiping, or those who were sent there on special assignment from countries which have diplomatic relations with Red China, the world will have to reply upon the Chinese Red radio for its news, which would not be termed exactly satisfactory. When Dag Hammarskjold arrived in Can-

ton, his first stop in Red China, his party

was met by a Communist official who might be described in American vernacular as the third assistant to the third assistant secretary. Sufficient to say that he was a very minor Communist official. This is an indication of the present temper of the Red Chinese. They are not rolling out any velvet carpet for the United Nations delegation. They did this for Nehru, of India; U Nu, of Burma; and Clement Attlee, of Great Britain. Flags were waved, bands played, and people cheered. But for the Secretary General of the United Nations the Red Chinese handed out the treatment of silence, cold reserve, and a welcome from a Red provincial official.

The President's Economic Report

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, in the course of the current hearings of the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report, there appeared as a witness to comment on the year-end economic report of the President, Dr. Walter Adams, associate professor of economics at Michigan State College, who is a member of the national committee to study the antitrust laws set up by the Justice Department. While Dr. Adams is no longer a constituent of mine, he is a former New Yorker; and his father, Mr. Edward Adams, is a respected citizen of my State, living in Brooklyn. Dr. Adams has achieved widespread recognition as one of the most outspoken defenders of the role of small business in our economy, and as a critic of monopoly.

I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Adams' very fine and interesting testimony before the Joint Congressional Committee on the Economic Report be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATEMENT OF DR. WALTER ADAMS, ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF ECONOMICS, MICHIGAN STATE COLLEGE, BEFORE THE JOINT CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE ON THE ECONOMIC REPORT, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEBRUARY 1, 1955

My name is Walter Adams. I am an associate professor of economics at Michigan State College and a member of Attorney General Brownell's National Committee To Study the Antitrust Laws. However, I appear here as a private citizen and do not purport to represent any institution or organization.

The prevention of monopoly and the promotion of competition receive only incidental treatment in the President's Economic Report. While the report recognizes the Government's "responsibility to maintain easy entry into trade and industry, to check monopoly, and to preserve a competitive environment" (p. 50), it scarcely suggests how these generally accepted goals are to be implemented. Fundamentally, it falls to face up to the crucial issues. Thus, the report states that Congress has established a policy of assuring small business of a fair share in the procurement program, but it does not indicate to what extent the executive agencies have carried out the will of Congress.

It does not indicate the extent to which legislative wisdom is being vitlated by administrative shortsightedness and incompetence. The report recommends increased Federal expenditures on research and development, but it does not recommend that the fruits of such research be made freely available to all bona fide business enterprise. The report suggests an increase in antitrust fines as a deterrent to future violations, but it does not say that at a time of virulent merger activity the inadequate fine is hardly the most important obstacle to effective antitrust enforcement. Finally, the report proposes that the line between public and private enterprise be redrawn, but it does not insist on redrawing this line with a view toward promoting competition and attenuating monopoly.

Deficient on these specific counts, the President's report is subject to a more general, and probably more crucial, criticism, viz., its total disregard of one of the most important monopoly forces in America today—the United States Government. Thus, the report fails to show how the exercise of particular powers of Government may create the very monopoly which the antitrust authorities are later called upon to destroy. A few illustrations should make my point clear.

1. Spending power: In a period when Federal budgets run in excess of \$60 billion, Government procurement, especially defense contracts, have a significant impact on the economy. Yet the executive departments are not always aware of the antitrust implications of their decisions. In 1952, for ex ample, there were four producers of M-48 tanks, but the Defense Department suddenly decided to concentrate production in a single supply source. By administrative flat. therefore, we moved from an oligopoly to a monopoly situation. Similarly, between January 1953 and June 1954, while independents in the auto industry were withering on the vine, the net new defense contracts going to General Motors increased by \$1.7 billion while the net new contracts going to all other auto companies combined. declined by \$395 million. Such actions by the Defense Department are hardly conducive to greater competition in highly concentrated industries,

2. Taxing power: In every emergency, from World War I to the Korean war, the tax code was amended to authorize accelerated amortization as an incentive for industrial plant expansion. The companies receiving such amortization privileges got a valuable tax rebate or, at the very least, an interest-free loan. They received what one congressional committee has called the biggest bonanza ever to come down the Government pike. Unfortunately this bonanza was unequally shared. To the extent that it accrued primarily to the dominant firms in highly concentrated industries, the Government was underwriting the growth and expansion of industrial giantism.

3. Proprietary power: During World War

II, the Government spent about \$11.6 billion on industrial facilities which were usable in the postwar period and were sold to private industry. Here, too, however, the record in-dicates that, with the notable exception of aluminum, the disposal program did not effectuate an appreciable increase in competition. In the steel industry, for example, almost all the major facilities directly financed with Government funds were sold to the largest firms at bargain counter prices. The Geneva steel plant in Utah, built at a cost of more than \$200 million, was sold to United States Steel for a mere \$47.5 million, a sale which increased United States Steel's control over the rapidly expanding west-coast market from 17 to 39 percent, and raised its percentage of ingot capacity in the area to 51 percent. Ironically enough, the Attorney General, after approving this sale, filed an

antitrust suit against United States Steel

for merging with a firm which accounted for 3 percent of fabricated steel production in the same market.

4. Legislative power: As in the case of atomic energy, this involves establishment by Congress of ground rules for industries being transferred from the public to the private domain. While I regret to do so, candor compels me to say that last year's atomic-energy law is likely to preclude the development of competition in this vital industry. At a time when only a handful of large corporations had been allowed to participate in the atomic-energy program, Congress suddenly decided to fling the doors open. But an open door does not afford equality of opportunity when some contestants are on the doorstep while others are miles away. This is not the way to assure effective competition in a new industry.

5. Regulatory power: Here we see in boldest relief the creeping paralysis of monopoly. Here we see the marasmus of the regulatory process, its injurious effects on the consumer and its debilitating influence on the industry concerned. Here we see the subversion of competition via regulation. Let me cite some recent examples:

(a) In 1948, the Supreme Court ordered vertical divorcement of the Big Five in the movie industry. Each of the Big Five was required to separate the production of movies from exhibition, so as to prevent foreclosure of the market by vertical inte-Then, in 1953, the Federal Comgration. munications Commission authorized the merger between American Broadcasting Co. United Paramount Theatres, and acquiesced in the control of Paramount Pictures by DuMont TV. This meant not only a sizable horizontal combination between a movie exhibition chain and a TV network. but also the vertical integration between a movie producer and a TV exhibitor. It vitiated potential interindustry competition between two basic communication media, and brought about the very vertical integration which the Supreme Court had earlier

sought to eliminate.

(b) In another action, the Federal Communications Commission decided on an allocation pattern for TV channels which may doom competition in this young and dy namic industry. According to Allen B. Du-Mont-who is no academician and who has met a payroll-the Commission's allocation pattern will result in a two-network monopoly in the television industry. Other witnesses before the Senate Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee agreed with this contention. They pointed to the fact that competition hinges on the survival of UHF, and that UHF cannot survive unless the Commission equalizes the terms on which UHF competes with VHF. Thus it is clear that the FCC ground rules will determine whether newcomers in this concentrated industry are to have a climate in which competition can thrive and prosper, and whether the TV audience is to enjoy the variety of competition or accept the impositions of monopoly.

(c) In the transportation field, there are especially strong indications that the type of regulation may be unwise and the amount of regulation excessive. There is more than a germ of truth in the observation that the regulatees have wound up doing the regulating.

When the ICC Act was passed in 1887, the railroads possessed considerable monopoly power. But today the situation is different. In the passenger field, the airplane, the bus, and the private conveyance protect the consumer against potential exploitation. In freight, the common carrier, contract, and private trucks seem to give the railroads quite a run for their money.

Yet competition in the trucking business is artificially restricted. No common carrier truck can operate in interstate commerce

without first obtaining a certificate of convenience and necessity and without submit-ting to rate regulation and route determination by the ICC. Why? What is there about trucking to justify this kind of public utility regulation? Very little, in my opinion. Here is an industry which closely approximates the pattern of perfect competition. There are many firms in the industry and, in the absence of regulation, there would be more. The product is fairly homogeneous and standardized. Entry would be easy, because of relatively low capital costs and because the roadbed is provided at public expense. Moderate fixed costs make price discrimination and cut-throat competition an unlikely eventuality. Nevertheless, we refuse to rely on competition as a means of protecting the consumer interest. Instead we depend on a regulatory agency which shows an inordinate concern for sagging railroad properties and for the vested interests of established trucking companies. In my view, this is ill advised. There seems no economic justification for limiting entry into this industry as long as the public is assured that common carrier trucks are financially responsible, follow the necessary safety regulations, and possess the proper surety qualifications. Here is an industry which is no more a public utility than restaurants, laundries, or filling stations. Here is an industry where gradual, but substantial, deregulation seems feasible, practicable, and desirable.

Finally, we have the case of the airlines. When the Civil Aeronautics Act was passed in 1938, domestic trunklines flew 479.8 million revenue passenger miles. By 1952 this total had increased to 12,188.7 million—a 2,500 percent growth. Despite this tremendous expansion, however, not a single new carrier has been certificated. Established carriers have thus been given what amounts to a perpetual monopoly over a new and growing industry. Here again there is no economic justification for what seems to be a complete and permanent bar against the entry of newcomers. The skyways are free, and airport facilities are provided with public funds. Capital costs are moderate, and new facilities can be added in relatively small doses. Given the tremendous increase in the demand for air travel, there seem to be no compelling technological or economic factors militating against the entry of at least 1 or 2 new carriers. Moreover, the experience with the nonskeds shows how necessary the energizing and invigorating stimulus of competition is. It was the non skeds who had enough faith in the future of air travel to introduce coach service-at a time when the Big Four thought that such service would entail substantial losses and would fail to promote an increase in demand. It was the nonskeds who rejected the caution, conservatism, and restraint of the big companies and who refused to bow before the apparition haunting every monopolist—the assumed inelasticity of de-mand. It was the nonskeds whose initiative, enterprise, and daring proved that competitive rate reduction is more effective than a belief in the myths of inelasticity. If for no other reason than past performance, the certification of new competitors is urgently needed-competitors who do not demand subsidies from the Government, competitors who are dynamic enough to assure a phenomenal growth in a phenomenal industry. Such growth will not only benefit the consumer; it will not only enable Michigan residents to escape harsh winters with an airline trip to beautiful Arizona; it will also contribute to our national defense which depends on a strong and vigorous airline industry.

In conclusion let me say that contrary to the prediction of Karl Marx and the belief of his unknowing and unwitting disciples, monopoly in America is neither natural nor inevitable. Rarely is it a response to tech-

nological imperatives or economic necessities. Never is it the result of spontaneous generation or natural selection. More often than not, monopoly is the result of unwise, manmade, privilege creating legislation which throttles competition and restricts opportunity. I think it is idle to expect enforcement of the antitrust laws alone to assure us of a competitive economy in years to come. We cannot have competition if the Government creates what the antitrust laws are designed to prevent, if the Government itself helps fashion the economy in the image of the cartels.

Senator and Mrs. Neuberger

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MIKE MANSFIELD

OF MONTANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a very interesting article entitled "Senator N. and Mrs. N"., written by Mr. Roland Sawyer, and published in the Christian Science Monitor of January 27, 1955. The article refers to the junior Senator from Oregon [Mr. Neuberger] and Mrs. Neuberger, his wife.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

SENATOR N. AND MRS. N. (By Roland Sawyer)

Washington.—About this fellow Neu-BERGER, the new Senator from Oregon; Washington isn't quite sure. Here's a man who

says what he thinks. Literally.

Don't Senators say what they think? Well, let's not be too literal. Sometimes a Senator or a Congressman says what somebody else wrote. A New England Senator is reported to have remarked in a moment of candid exasperation at the height of a recent campaign, "The things they put in my mouth for me to say." But nobody puts things in DICK NEUBERGER'S mouth—nobody, that is, except Mrs. Neuberger.

Take this Formosa affair and the President's message to Congress. What do Dick

Take this Formosa affair and the President's message to Congress. What did Drck Neuberger think about that? The Senator was sitting before an open fire in a Washington living room. His hands were wrapped around his knees, and his head was bent down. He rocked back and forth a moment. Well, he said, the newspaper boys knew a lot more about that than he did. They'd been around Washington; he'd just arrived. The Senator just didn't know what to say except that he wanted to think about it a while.

Some people in Washington say the junior Senator from Oregon has said quite enough already for his freshman year. When at the congressional dinner of the Woman's National Press Club he said that he thought politicians should practice the Sermon on the Mount and the Ten Commandments in their campaign speeches, Washington was surprised. Congressmen and Senators usually don't say things like that, except on the floor of the House or Senate, where it is recorded for publication in the Congressional

Mr. Neuberger, before he had hardly unpacked, had the courage—or the temerity, depending upon one's viewpoint—to make a long speech on campaign morals before many high Government figures. He used plain words, like Mr. Peepers, of the TV, whom at odd moments he slightly resembles. He sald

he thought it was time to end "campaigns of character assassination" and that this was the way to do it.

The circumstances created quite a furor. Some of Mr. Neuberger's anecdotes exposed him to criticism on the grounds of taste, which added to Washington's uncertainty about the new Senator.

Had the "Mr. Smith" of the movies ("Mr. Smith Goes to Washington") arrived and was he telling folks what was wrong? Or was it an inappropriate time and place for Mr. Neuberger to attack in only slightly velled language the campaign conduct of the Vice President of the United States who was sitting beside him as another head-table guest? Whatever the verdict, Washington is likely to see quite a lot more of this shrewd, appealingly homespun "Mr. Smith."

The junior Senator from Oregon believes other things around Washington should be

The junior Senator from Oregon believes other things around Washington should be changed. He's discovered that quite a few Members of Congress, and administration officials, don't write their own public state-

ments.

What, the Senator was asked, was so surprising about that? Mr. Neuberger, rising from his sofa, turned the tables on the questioner. Did correspondents allow dispatches which they did not write to go out under their names? Well, no; hardly. Then why should a Senator say something he didn't write. Well, a United States Senator is a busy man. The freshman Senator from Oregon shook his head; it all seemed very strange. Mr. Neuberger is, of course, an eminent journalist in his own right and penning a speech may not be difficult for him.

Obviously the impact of this Senator on the gray, somewhat cynical community of Washington is going to be interesting. There's likely to be a test of strength between this able publicist of the tall timber and the customs which seem indelibly established in the veneer-paneled drawing rooms of the Capital.

Just now the Senator lives alone at the Congressional Hotel. Mrs. Neuberger has returned to Oregon for the winter where she has her own political job to fulfill as a member of the State legislature. There are 3,000 miles between this exceptional husband and wife team. To hear DICK NEUBERGER talk of his wife on a quiet Washington evening, gently, with restraint, and yet with meaning, is to know that she is his mainstay and prime support.

It's a good bet that Oregon's "Mr. Smith," this man of deceptive talent, will be a prod for good works and new concepts in Washington for some time to come. If he should not be underestimated, the thanks, he would tell you, must go to Mrs. N.

The Proposed Dixon-Yates Power Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Power Contract Can Wait," published in the Pittsburgh (Pa.) Post-Gazette of October 1, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

POWER CONTRACT CAN WAIT

After receiving no reply to its original request, a Senate subcommittee which has been investigating the controversial Dixon-Yates power contract has again asked the administration to hold up final action on the agreement until it can complete its

inquiry.

The disputed proposal calls for a combine formed by Middle South Utilities, Inc. (headed by Edgar H. Dixon), and the Southern Co. (headed by E. A. Yates) to build a 650,000-kilowatt steam powerplant in West Memphis, Ark., and sell power to the Atomic Energy Commission. The AEC would resell the power to the Tennessee Valley Authority to supply the growing demands of its customers in the Memphis area. With the AEC thus enabling the TVA to meet additional demands in Memphis, the TVA would be in a position to deliver power where the AEC needs it at Paducah, Ky.

But the contract which President Eisenhower ordered the AEC to sign with the Dixon-Yates syndicate has been questioned on several grounds. It has been charged that there was no competitive bidding on the contract and that another syndicate offered to provide power at \$4 million to \$5 million a year less than Dixon-Yates, TVA supporters contend that the Authority could produce the needed power at less cost to the taxpayers itself. Senator KEFAUVER, as a member of the investigating subcommittee, has declared that there are errors in the AEC-Budget Bureau joint report on the contract.

While there are so many aspects of the proposed contract still being questioned, the administration should not conclude arrangements on it. It will be in the interest of the taxpayers and public policy to have the agreement fully discussed and understood by the public before it is signed.

Problems in Indian Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, on January 28, 1955, the Governor of the State of New Mexico, Hon. John F. Simms, Jr., addressed the annual winter conference on problems connected with Indian affairs at Santa Fe, N. Mex.

I believe that the Governor's observations on the relationship between the Federal Government and the Indians, on the one hand, and the State of New Mexico and the Indians, on the other, are of importance. I am sure that the Members of the Congress and others will find significant suggestions in the Governor's recommendations on the question of terminating Federal services to Indians.

I ask unanimous consent that Governor Simms' speech may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

ADDRESS BY GOV. JOHN F. SIMMS, JR., AT THE ANNUAL WINTER CONFERENCE ON PROBLEMS. IN INDIAN AFFAIRS, ST. FRANCIS AUDITORIUM, SANTA FE., N. MEX.

Madam President, delegates to the conference, ladies, and gentlemen, the first fact I wish to make very clear is that Indian prob-

lems are not the exclusive concern of our Indian citizens. Anyone who believes that they are has completely failed to grasp the importance of the economic and social factors involved. Problems affecting the Indian people are of grave concern to all the people of this State, and a moment's reflection will make this apparent.

The Indian population of New Mexico is 47,000, approximately, and I do not need to that these are just as industrious, law abiding, and worthy as any other seg-ment of our population. Their ancient culture is one of the finest in spiritual values

that we know about.

In the past century, it was decided by our National Government that Indian tribes should be concentrated in the sparsely settled West. But America surged westward, and the Indians were in the way. were objections to the plan to concentrate the tribes north of Nebraska and south of Kansas, so the reservation system was adopted and the Indians placed within fixed boundaries. All this time the Pueblos remained where they were, except that they lost a great deal of land through encroachment by non-Indian settlers, as the land became valuable to the newcomers. Navahos signed a treaty in 1868 which settled them on the land they now occupyand I might add that although the United States failed in various particulars to adhere to its treaty promises, the Navahos respected it and abided by it.

The reservations were established, except for the Apaches, by 1870. But in 1887, the Allotment Act was passed, heads of families received 160 acres regardless of how poor the land was, and by this device 86 million acres

were taken from the Indians.

The Indian Reorganization Act put a stop to this. Tribal groups were organized in a way similar to a corporation, and the tribes became the owners of their tribal property. This law has been on the statute books for 20 years and it has proved of great value.

I mention all this because there is increasing pressure on Congress to terminate Federal services to Indians. A bill which would liquidate all tribal organizations in 3 years' time has again been introduced. The Malone bill would repeal the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, destroy what has been in existence for many years, and allow only 3 years for Indian groups to prepare for assimilation into the highly competitive economy of our modern system.

This is not the place to dwell on the feeling the Indians have about their land, made sacred, as they say, "by the ageless sleep of our ancestors." That belongs in another statement. This morning, I am discussing the impact on our State's economy of termination of Federal services to Indians, and I want to show why this must not be allowed for many years, not until the various tribes are ready.

Some might ask, "Why aren't the Indian people ready to go it on their own?" In the first place, although the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been in existence for 130 years. the tribes simply have not been made ready for withdrawal of Federal services.

We have seen that Indian tribes were settled on the least desirable land, soil from which it was thought no one could make a living and which the Indians did not want. Abject poverty, disease, and all the ills they suffered made a wretched situation for almost all of them. The sheep-reduction program on the Navaho Reservation, which was enforced some 20 years ago, resulted in so great a loss that subsistence was below the level of necessity. Lack of water and good grass in that dry land created unspeakable conditions. Drought affected farm and livestock production on other reservations, as well as in the pueblos. During the depression years there was no off-reservation work, wages from private industry. During World War II, Indians in the Armed Forces sent money home, and that helped-and I

might add that not only did the Indian troops have a very fine war record, but many employers will tell you today that they prefer Indian workmen for certain types of

But hardship and misery do not make a people venturesome and eager to go out and try their hands at unfamiliar tasks under strange and bewildering conditions. tribes became more withdrawn, less and less eager to become a part of an unknown world for which they had no preparation. And while more do enter that outside world today, they are young people, more readily adaptable to new customs and new ways. Their elders cling tenaciously to the familiar ways they grew up with. And this is why these tribal groups are not ready and will not be ready "in the foreseeable future." as Commissioner Emmons said, "to go it on their own; it will be a long time, and any drastic legislation that would terminate Federal services too abruptly would be a tragic mistake, in my opinion."

From our childhood, we have been led to think of Indians as romantic figures in a national drama. Movies have done their part in fastening this concept on the minds of our general population. But we in New Mexico certainly know that Indians are not museum pieces, but fine human beings, and being human resources, are more valuable than our so-called natural resources even and, therefore, deserve prior consideration.

We have seen that services to Indians were provided because the Indians' loss of land rendered him incapable of supplying them himself; and I might add that solemn promises to furnish these services, some guaranteed by treaty, constitute an obligation of the Federal Government and must not be disregarded or callously violated by unwise

termination legislation.

Anyone who knows the difficulties we face in our State government in trying to obtain a sufficient amount for health, welfare, law and order, and other necessary services, can easily imagine what would happen to the economy of this State if Federal services to our Indian population were terminated and this enormous burden laid on our State's economy. Add to this total the sums needed for the Navahos and you begin to realize what I said at the outset, that Indian problems are not the sole concern of our Indian citizens. These problems are very much the concern of all of us, and I cannot emphasize this too strongly.

In my message to the legislature on January 11, I issued the warning that in the not-too-distant future the Federal Government plans to relinquish its guardianship over the Indian population and pointed out that this State is totally unprepared to assume even a measure of the responsibility which the Federal Government would relinquish.

It is vitally important that we recognize the seriousness of this situation and that we all work together to prevent the Federal Government prematurely shifting its responsibility to the States. It is likewise portant that we work together for passage of the upper Colorado water project. The Navaho Dam will supply water, much of it now wasted, that will rehabilitate 15,000 people, one-fifth of the Navaho population. Our congressional delegation stands ready to push the fight for the upper Colorado water project with all their might, but they need our help, and I hope each of you will do his share.

I think these facts have been demonstrated: That the Indian problem affects all of us; that we need to recognize the splendid human resources embodied in the Indian people and to safeguard their rights; that New Mexico is totally unprepared to assume the cost of Federal services to Indians and that these are the plain responsibility of the Federal Government; that there is needed. as I suggested to the State legislature, a State commission on Indian affairs that will study these problems and interpret the facts

to all sections of our population; that we should support to the hilt the efforts of our congressional delegation to enact into law the upper Colorado water project.

And I shall repeat what I have said at various times: The more Indians who are registered and voting, the more strength we shall have in defeating bad legislation and in passing good legislation. I therefore urge you to register and vote, all who are of age, to take a deep and real interest in these problems, to encourage your women and young people to greater participation with you, to the end that with all of us working together we shall, with God's help, find the solution.

Restoration of the Old North Church Steeple, Boston, Mass.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEVERETT SALTONSTALL

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, as most of us know, the steeple of our famous Old North Church in Boston, in which were hung the famous lanterns which guided Paul Revere, was blown down from the church structure during Hurricane Carol which did so much damage along the eastern seaboard last fall.

Since that time, led by the Reverend Charles Russell Peck, there has been a vigorous effort made to raise funds in an amount sufficient to restore the steeple to its original position and strength.

Mr. President, I request unanimous consent to have placed in the Appendix of the Congressional Record a report of the contribution made by the Prince Hall Masons of America, Canada, and Liberia to that fund. It is a generous contribution and one that I know is deeply appreciated.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRINCE HALL MASONS PRESENT GIPT TO OLD NORTH CHURCH STEEPLE FUND, BOSTON, JANUARY 22, 1955

A delegation of grand masters from the Grand Masters Conference of Prince Hall Masons of America, Canada, and Liberia, today made a presentation of \$1,250 to Rev. Charles Russell Peck, vicar of the historic Old North Church of Boston for the steeple fund.

Presentation was made by Grand Master John Weeley Dobbs, of Atlanta, Ga., in behalf of the organization. Grand Master James R. Lesueur, M. D., of the Prince Hall Masons, Jurisdiction of Massachusetts, presided.

The grand lodge of Massachusetts celebrated its St. John's Day services at this church in June 1954.

The original African Lodge, F. & A. M., was founded in 1775 by Prince Hall, and 14 men of color, and chartered African Lodge, No. 459, by grand lodge of England, in 1784, with Prince Hall as worshipful master.

Thereby and thereafter the African Grand Lodge was founded in 1791, with Prince Hall as grand master.

Thereafter the African Grand Lodge was changed, in 1808, to Most Worshipful Prince Hall Grand Lodge, in honor of its founder, whose final resting place is located in Copps

Hill burying ground a short distance from the Old North Church in Boston.

History records that Prince Hall, together with members of this organization, walked on St. John's Day to this church for the celebration of this feast day, in the year 1808, the same year that the name of this particular lodge was changed.

American-Flag Shipping Law

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WARREN G. MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the text of a letter from Mr. Robert E. Mayer, president of the West Coast Shipping Group, to Secretary of State Dulles, regarding Pacific coast shipping by American-flag steamship lines.

There being no objection the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

We feel that it is advisable to address your office on this subject at this time because of what appears to be criticism and objections in Britain and the Continent of legislation adopted by our Congress in its last session, evenly dividing the United States aid cargoes among American-fiag vessels on the one hand, and vessels of other flags, on the other hand.

On behalf of American-flag steamship lines on the Pacific coast, I would like to call to the attention of your office that this legislation evolved in the 83d Congress after a long history dating back to June 5, 1947, when Gen. George C. Marshall on the campus of Harvard University launched the great humanitarian plan destined to bear his name. Almost immediately thereafter—and somewhat prematurely, due to an alert United States press—it was revealed that the plan on the part of the 16 Marshall plan recipient nations was for the transfer by the United States of 500 United States war-built vessels to those recipient nations for use by them in transporting the United States aid cargoes to their ports

cargoes to their ports.

We know that many of the Members of Congress were shocked at the implications of such a proposal since it was obviously designed to rebuild the fleets of the recipient nations and at the same time shut Americanflag vessels in the Atlantic completely out of aid cargoes, which as the past years have proven, were the transition between war and peaceful commerce for the American merchant marine. The proposal was deemed by our leaders in both the administration and Congress to be so patently self-serving of its proponents as to not even be worthy of discussion in the halls of Congress. Instead. year after year, in aid act after aid act, with but a single exception, the Congress of the United States has adopted the 50-50 shipping provision, virtually ensuring an even division of these cargoes between American vessels and those of other flags.

During these considerations in Congress, you will recall extremist views were expressed within our own country. There were those voices—and very strong voices—who demanded that American-flag vessels and American seafaring men carry, not 50 percent, but 100 percent, of aid cargoes to other lands. Those views did not prevail, and Congress instead sought a fair division of the cargoes.

The 50-50 division springs from what has been termed the "golden rule of world trade"; that is, that world trade is a two-way street and that a nation must import if it is to export. The 50-50 provision applies the golden rule to shipping space in such a manner as to seek accomplishment of the utopian with respect thereto. Under the 50-50 rule, we import or purchase, shipping space of other nations in an amount approximately equal to that which we export, or sell, in the aid programs.

Congress seems to have clearly established a public policy for the United States on this point, since, as your office knows, 50-50 shipping provisions have been included in the

following:

Public Law No.	Con- gress	Title	
47	81st	Economic Cooperation Act of 1948:	
329	81st	Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1949.	
447	81st	Far East Economic Assistance Act of 1950.	
897	81st	Yugoslav Emergency Relief Act of 1950.	
48	82d	India Emergency Food Aid Act of 1951.	
165	82d	Mutual Security Act of 1951,	
77	83d	Pakistan: Transfer of price-support wheat to.	
665	834	Mutual Security Act of 1954.	
778	83d	Mutual Security Appropriation Act, 1955.	

Because of this firm establishment of public policy in the United States, because it strikes clearly down the middle between the extremist views in both directions, and because the complete fairness of the policy has never been challenged, we are amazed and astounded and disappointed to find after such a history as this that there are complaints originating among recipient nations.

We have reference to a news dispatch from London, dated January 9, to the effect that British shipowners protested to their Government "against its acceptance of the 50-50 rule for shipping American coal to Britain." The press dispatch quoted the British General Council of Shipping as saying that those protests recorded "growing anxiety in the extension of discriminatory practices." We refer also to a report in the New York Herald Tribune of January 1 to the effect that the marine transport committee of the Organization of European Economic Cooperation, consisting of 17 representative nations, condemned discriminatory practices and reportedly made particular reference to the 50-50 law adopted in the 83d Congress.

We believe that our Government should correct the record made by these two actions, not only by stoutly defending this now fully established United States public policy but by condemning strongly the description by these interests of the 50-50 provisions as an act of discrimination. The application of such a label can only be assumed to have been applied out of a lack of understanding, or as an intentional use of a propaganda technique. Use of the word "discrimina-tion" insures its authors of an inference by their audience that he is talking about some thing evil. The automatic linking of the term "discrimination" with the humanitarian 50-50 shipping policy is—we hope not intentionally—an act of deceit. The 50-50 policy is precisely the opposite of discrimination. It is insurance against discrimination. It insures a fair participation in these cargoes by vessels of other flags. We know of no place in the world, in any nation of the world, where another legislature has adopted such a provision resulting in a fair distribution of its products to citizens of other lands.

In view of the fully established nature of the 50-50 shipping provision as public policy and in view of the shocking nature

of these attacks upon it, we believe it not improper to inquire of our State Department as to whether it intends to offer a defense of the provision in an effort to prevent any public impression that this humanitarian policy can possibly be considered discrimination, and to inform the public that it is a measure designed to protect against it and set an example for other nations. We feel it proper also to inquire of your office whether embassies and consulates of the United States in other countries have been properly informed on the 50-50 provision, its origin, its history, and its operation, so that they can adequately answer inquiries of shipping representatives of other nations as to the real nature and effect of this law.

At your convenience, we would appreciate a reply to these two inquiries.

The Proposed Dixon-Yates Power Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record two editorials dealing with the proposed Dixon-Yates power contract. The first is entitled "Partisan Atoms," and was published in the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 3, 1955. The second is an editorial entitled "Cancel It," published in the Washington Daily News of February 1, 1955.

There being no objection, the editorials were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of February 3, 1955]

PARTISAN ATOMS

President Eisenhower's sharp comment yesterday on the Dixon-Yates contract will only embitter the political controversy that has enveloped the Atomic Energy Commission. Mr. Eisenhower was correct in saying that the resolution by the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy disapproving the contract was drawn strictly on party lines-meaning that it was put through by the Democratic majority. But this charge cuts two ways. The decision of the joint committee last November to waive further review of the contract also was drawn strictly on party lines, with the then Republican majority voting for the waiver and the Democrats voting against it. Is the action by a com-mittee now under Democratic control, an action about which there was plenty of warning last fall, somehow more partisan than the same sort of action by a committee under Republican control?

The whole Dixon-Yates affair now has become a legal nightmare. Even if the President is determined not to withdraw the contract, it is obvious that the Democrats can keep the issue boiling for many months. No doubt there is a partisan motive in some of the opposition; but the criticism is by no means wholly political. There are some serious doubts, shared by this newspaper, about the manner in which the contract was imposed and the mixing of agency functions it would entail. Some important Republican Members of Congress, although anxious not to oppose the President, are worried by the contract and would like to get out of the tangle gracefully.

The practical effect of the administration's dogged determination to stick by a mistake is equally obvious. It keeps the Atomic Energy Commission-which is now reduced to 3 confirmed members, only 2 of whom vote in the power dispute-up to its ears in controversy. Chairman Strauss' roseate assurance that the dispute has not interfered with the Commission's work is contested by Commissioner Murray and by AEC employees speaking privately; one indication is the amount of time Messrs. Strauss and Murray have had to spend testifying on the affair. Meanwhile, the administration is forced to rely on Democrats in Congress to pull its chestnuts out of the fire on appointments. If the administration wants less partisanship in atomic-energy matters, it ought to recognize its own responsibility to go halfway.

[From the Washington Daily News of February 1, 1955]

CANCEL IT

Now the clear and unmistakable duty of the United State Atomic Energy Commission is to cancel the Dixon-Yates contract.

If Adm. Lewis Strauss, Chairman of the AEC, continues to be stubborn and fights for the contract, the responsibility will be entirely his. The responsibility is twofold: For putting his agency into the awkward role of power broker for TVA, and for making the Government, at a later date, pay possible penalties it can now escape.

He now has the chance to get his agency and the Eisenhower administration he supports so completely, off a hook on which they should never have been hung. He can erase a damaging political issue which will embroil the administration, to its great disadvantage, for a long time.

Admiral Strauss' opportunity came by reason of the majority vote of the Joint Congressional Atomic Energy Committee recommending cancellation of the contract.

The committee, by a 10-to-8 strict party vote, pointed out that the contract is not yet effective. And since it is not, a Government decision to cancel it will not now entail any penalties. Later, these might be great.

The Atomic Committee's majority vote was

not a reckless, publicity-seeking move. It was the result of a studied and solemn decision by responsible, stable, and patriotic legislators.

Cancellation now of the Dixon-Yates contract will not, as some proponents claim, deprive the growing city of Memphis, Tenn., of power it will need badly in a few years, which is no business of the AEC anyway; its primary job is to make and keep us strong militarily.

If, after cancellation, the Congress—as it probably will—again refuses to appropriate money to TVA to construct a new power generating plant, then Memphis can go ahead with its own plans to build such a plant. And Memphis plans are well along

plant. And Memphis' plans are well along. Another alternative would be for Congress to set TVA up on its own bottom, provide it with authority to issue revenue bonds, to be liquidated by power revenues, and permit it to decide on this basis whether to build more generating facilities to serve west Tennessee. Or, Congress can direct TVA to supplement its present power supply by buying more electricity directly from private companies around the periphery of the watershed it serves.

Finally, cancellation of Dixon-Yates will in nowise affect the power supply to AEC's great plants in Tennessee, in Ohio, or in Kentucky. It has an undoubted first priority under law for TVA power for defense purposes. And it has available growing sources of power from private companies with which it has immense contracts in Ohio and Kentucky.

The Dixon-Yates contract is bad.

AEC has just been given the opportunity
to cancel it.

This it should do-and now.

"Time of Their Lives" in Old Age

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, PAT McNAMARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article that appeared on Sunday, January 30, 1955, in the Washington Post and Times Herald.

This article, written by Mr. Robert Perrin of the staff of the Detroit Free Press, tells how one of the great labor unions of this country is helping to meet the needs of the 15,000 older "senior citizens" who have retired from their jobs in the automobile plants of Detroit.

The administration has declared itself as being very much interested in the problems of older people. Here is an example of how in one city the problems are being dealt with, not with talk, but with specific, well-thought-out, and highly successful action.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

"TIME OF THEIR LIVES" IN OLD AGE

(By Robert Perrin)

DETROIT.—Henry Fark, who is 78, asked his wife one morning recently whether she wanted him to stay home that day.

"No," she replied. "Here's your lunch.
You get out of the house. You just make
more work for me when you stay home."
So Henry Fark shrugged into his coat, and

So Henry Fark shrugged into his coat, and walked several blocks to a local union hall of the CIO United Auto Workers on the East Side of Detroit.

There, in a large, airy room in the basement, Henry joined about 25 of his contemporaries who already had gathered to play pinochle dominoes and checkers and to shoot pool as well as the breeze.

Henry Fark is one of 15,000 former auto workers in the Detroit area who have retired in recent years on pensions negotiated by the UAW with the auto industry. Throughout the country there are about 42,000 Henry Farks and their ranks are expected to increase to 65,000 by 1958.

SENSE OF BELONGING

Says Walter Reuther, CIO president and leader of the auto workers: "The oldtimers are having the time of their lives."

He said the UAW-CIO is feeling its way as a pioneer in giving pensioners "a sense of belonging." He added that the movement "will involve every community in the Nation as it evolves into a pattern."

Reuther pointed out that not only are the pensioners growing rapidly in number; they are living much longer. "It certainly creates a problem," he said, but quickly added, "but this is the beginning of a wonderful human experience."

Not many years ago, what happened to the elderly former worker was of no particular concern to anyone but himself, his family and the social workers. No longer a contributor to the economy, he was generally considered a liability as he tried to get by on skimpy social-security benefits.

Today the picture has changed.

A SENIOR CITIZEN

Now, when he packs up his battered lunchbox for the last time and walks through the plant gate to retirement, the auto worker joins the ranks of the "senior citizens" instead of the castoffs.

Eligible for a maximum of \$52.50 a month from his company and nearly \$100 from social security, if he meets requirements, he can look forward to many years of adequate, if not luxurious, living. And he knows he will not be forgotten, because his union won't let it happen.

In addition to plugging continually for higher pensions and more benefits for the retired workers, the UAW also has taken a paternal interest in their morale and well-

being.

What began as a simple program to keep in touch with the retired members, however, has snowballed into a major, and expensive, function of the union. Olga M. Madar, director of the UAW's recreation department, finds that the program is taking up more and more of her time.

"What we are trying to do," says Miss Madar, "is to help fill the retirees' leisure time needs, assist them with their problems and point up their needs to the community.'

SEEKS COMMUNITY AID

At present, the UAW is carrying the ball alone, but it is seeking financial aid from community agencies. Miss Madar estimates that the union is spending about \$50,000 a year on the program in this area alone.

The money goes for parties, meetings, counseling and three drop-in centers opera-

ting 5 days a week.

There is no formal organization of retired autoworkers, either for political or recreation purposes. Nor does the union want its pro-

gram to develop into one.

In fact, the union was considerably startled not long ago when it heard that a group of oldtimers was forming a "political action committee." The UAW war relieved when the group adopted the title, "Retired Workers Service Committee," and set itself to studying legislative and community matters pertaining to retirees.

Serving on committees, incidentally, is a favorite pastime of the pensioners. drop-in center has a house committee; there is a citywide steering committee to de-velop topics for monthly meetings, and there are visiting committees to pay calls on sick

colleagues.

Although the first auto workers began retiring in March 1950, under the then-new pension plans, the UAW did not launch its program until October 1951. The delay was no oversight. As Miss Madar explains: "We wanted first to determine the needs

and interests of the retired workers rather

than jump in blindly."

Even today, when some new area of the country wants advice on establishing a dropin center, Miss Madar urges caution and suggests monthly meetings first to see if there is any real interest.

The drop-in centers are perhaps the most famous part of the union's program. The three in Detroit are located in space donated by local union halls. The first opened in February 1953, and last year had an attendance of more than 12,000.

They are not restricted to retired UAW members. The union invites all senior citizens to stop in. However, Miss Madar esti-mates that less than 10 percent of the visitors are nonunion members.

Each center is equipped with comfortable chairs, card tables, a television set, a pool table, and books furnished by the public

Open from 10 or 11 a. m. until 4 p. m., the centers have full-time directors. The UAW is trying to interest the United Community Services in paying their salaries, now totaling about \$13,000 a year.

Many pensioners, like Henry Fark, come at the opening hour and stay until closing. Some cronies have running pinochle and dominoes contests which break up only when the center closes.

One 71-year-old retiree, however, said he divides his time between the center and a Junior League clubroom,

"There are not enough women at the center and too many at the Junior League," he said. "It about balances out."

Women are not discriminated against in the UAW's program. Wives are invited to many of the parties held, such as the monthly birthday affairs for all retirees celebrating another year during the month. Special programs also are arranged for the women.

But casual relaxation is only part of the union's overall program. It sponsors or-ganized affairs such as travel films, discussions of current events, and counseling classes. The classes inform the pensioner how to get such things as wheelchairs, hearing aids, and glasses.

Also, five area meetings are held each month. This month's meetings featured an expert's opinion on heart conditions. Social security and health insurance experts also are on hand to answer questions.

Each summer there is a retired workers' picnic and around Christmas time a holiday party is held. The last such party drew 7,200 persons for baked chicken and entertainment, which may mean that the affair will have to be broken up into smaller groups next time.

Making ends meet on a pension is a constant problem for the retirees. Many husband their money so closely that they feel they cannot afford the 40-cent round-trip bus fare to the drop-in centers. To assist, the UAW furnishes a free bus ticket home to all those who pay their way to the centers.

One committee, meanwhile, is plugging for reduced rates for the senior citizens on city buses. Petitions circulated in this project

have as many as 30,000 names. But still they come, seeking companion-

"Boy, you should have been here yesterday," said 80-year-old Fred Martin to a drop-in center visitor. "We had 130 people at our birthday party. Square dancing and everything."

Colorado River Storage Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLINTON P. ANDERSON

OF NEW MEXICO

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 4, 1955

Mr. ANDERSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that two resolutions supporting legislation to authorize the Colorado River storage project, one from the Tucumcari Chamber of Commerce, Inc., and the other from the Albuquerque Chamber of Commerce, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the resolutions were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Be it hereby resolved, That this organization is on record in firm support of enactment of legislation to authorize the Colorado River storage project, which provides for development of the upper Colorado River Basin. We urge the Congress to approve this legislation, because of the great economic benefits it will provide for the States of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming, and for the Nation as a whole. We endorse this project because it will aid national defense, help the Navaho Indian Tribe, lengthen the life of Hoover Dam, provide water and power for a growing West and yield countless other benefits; be it

Resolved further, That our respective members show their support for this project by enrolling as "aqualantes" or water vigilantes; be it

Resolved further, That we as members of this organization do take it upon ourselves to become acquainted with the project and what it means, and that we ask our friends in other States to write their Congressmen in support of the Colorado River storage project; be it

Resolved, That Congressmen from our respective areas be informed at once of this resolution and of this action today.

This resolution is adopted unanimously because the Colorado River storage project is in the best interests of all the citizens of this great Nation.

TUCUMCARI CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, INC. TUCUMCARI, N. MEX., January 24, 1955.

Be it hereby resolved, That this organization is on record in firm support of enactment of legislation to authorize the Colorado River storage project, which provides for development of the upper Colorado River We urge the Congress to approve Basin. this legislation, because of the great economic benefits it will provide for the States of Colorado, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyo-ming, and for the Nation as a whole. We endorse this project because it will aid national defense, help the Navaho Indian Tribe, lengthen the life of Hoover Dam, provide water and power for a growing West and yield countless other benefits; be it

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Resolved, That Congressmen from our respective areas be informed at once of this resolution and of this action today.

This resolution is adopted unanimously because the Colorado River storage project is in the best interests of all the citizens of this great Nation.

ALBUQUERQUE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE.

JACK WENTWORTH, President. ALBUQUERQUE, N. Mex., January 26, 1955.

The National Labor Relations Board

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, in recent months we have seen the National Labor Relations Board arrive at administrative decision in the interpretation of the Taft-Hartley Act that completely change the impact of that law. These decisions have, by administrative fiat, practically amended the Taft-Hartley law to bring about the changes recommended by some of the spokesmen for management in the hearings held during the last Congress. The following statement by the executive council of the American Federation of Labor gives some examples of this new system of amendments that could not get through the Congress being incorporated into the law by the National Labor Relations Board:

STATEMENT BY THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF THE AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR ON THE NA-TIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

Since December of 1953, alarming changes have been made in the Taft-Hartley Actnot by congressional action, but by administrative rulings and interpretations of the National Labor Relations Board as reconstituted under the Eisenhower administration.

The executive council finds a startling parallel between the decisions of the NLRB during the past year and the changes in the law advocated by the Department of Com-merce early in 1953 in response to pressure from business organizations. For example:

1. Business urged that much of the Federal jurisdiction over labor-management disputes be yielded to the States. Congress refused to enact such legislation. Then the Eisenhower-appointed majority on the NLRB adopted new rules under which it henceforth will not handle cases involving so-called small business, thus depriving millions of workers of Federal guaranties of their right of self-organization, even though interstate commerce is affected.

2. For years reactionary employer interests have been clamoring for what they call greater rights of free speech, by which they really mean greater license to discriminate against and discourage union membership. NLRB has acceded to this pressure through two decisions. The first leaves employers generally free to force workers to listen to antiunion tirades on company time and property without giving the union equal opportunity to reply. The second ruling permits employers to question individual workers about their union affiliation despite the fact that previous boards and the Supreme Court had held that such questioning inevitably has coercive effects.

3. Another major item on the agenda of

big business has been further legislative restriction of the right to strike. This, Congress rejected in 1954. But the NLRB has now ruled that every labor-management contract have an inherent no-strike clause. Under previous NLRB decisions, employees covered by a contract without an explicit no-strike clause were free to strike for changes or additions at any time during the life of the contract provided only that they gave the required 60-day and 30-day notices. Under the new rule, no strike can be engaged in before the end of the contract term or a specified reopening date. The penalty is freedom for the employer to discharge all union members engaging in such strikes.

4. Employers have sought perennially to prevail upon Congress to restrict peaceful picketing. The NLRB has now come to their rescue with a ruling that held peaceful picketing at a construction project unlawful where more than one contractor was engaged in work-even though the picket signs clearly indicated the dispute was only with one particular contractor. The NLRB decided in this particular case that for such picketing to become lawful, the union must go to the extreme of requesting other crafts representing workers on the job not to respect its picket lines.

5. The NLRB has refused to hold employers responsible for acts of violence by vigilante groups seeking to oust labor organizations from a community. It has now gone to the opposite extreme (in the case of the BVD Co. and the ILGWU) of holding the union responsible for acts of violence committed by outsiders, with no showing that the strikers themselves had engaged in such violence. The NLRB held that discharged strikers were not entitled to reinstatement or back pay because they had not taken affirmative steps to repudiate or disavow the acts of violence with which they had no connection.

6. In another recent decision (in the case of McAllister Transfer and the International Brotherhood of Teamsters), the NLRB undermined the previously established "Con-way express" doctrine, under which labor organizations were allowed to negotiate unfair goods or hot cargo clauses, permitting union members to respect picket lines without fear of discharge or retailiation. Two of the Eisenhower appointees to the NLRB voted to overrule that doctrine and hold such contract clauses illegal. The two holdovers from the previous administration voted to uphold the settled policy of the Board. Chairman Farmer, also an Eisenhower appointee, in an amazing straddle, held that such agreements were legal but decided, at the same time, that the employer could repudiate them and insist that his workers cross picket lines under particular circumstances. Thus, the value the such contractual agreements is jeopardized and the freedom of collective bergaining further restricted by administrative flat. This case goes far beyond the Teamsters' Union. It also affectse very other union which seeks to obtain agreements from employers that employees will not have to handle struck or unfair work.

The foregoing cases are but a few outstanding examples of how the probusiness majority on the NLRB has warped and distorted the intent of Congress as expressed in the National Labor Relations Act, even as amended by the Taft-Hartley Act. Step by step, the whole trend of decisions in the past year deliberately was aimed at effecting antilabor changes in the law desired by big business organizations which they had falled to prevail upon Congress to approve.

The NLRB is virtually the "supreme court" over most of the day-to-day relations between labor and management. For more than a year, it has been dominated by an openly antilabor majority. With the retirement of Albert C. Beeson, the Board is now deadlocked, 2 to 2.

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor feels that the appointment of another probusiness member to fill the existing vacancy would be the equivalent of packing the Supreme Court. lieve that President Eisenhower has the op-portunity of correcting a national disgrace by choosing an outstandingly fair and unbiased fifth member of the Board, thus restoring equal justice under the law to the workers of this country.

Resolution of Dublin, Ga., Post No. 17, American Legion

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES C. DAVIS

OF GEORGIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. DAVIS of Georgia. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I include the following resolution which was presented by Past Commander H. Dale Thompson, of the Dublin (Ga.) Post, No. 17, American Legion, at the sixth district meeting held in Milledgeville, Ga., on January 9, 1955:

Whereas the State department of veterans' service under the guidance of the director, Hon. Pete Wheeler, arranged a tour of the Veterans' Administration's facilities in the State for our congressional delegation, composed of the following Members: Hon. JAMES C. Davis, Fifth Congressional District; Hon. HENDERSON LANHAM, Seventh Congressional District; Hon. PHIL LANDRUM, Ninth Congressional District; Hon. John G. FLYNT, Sr., Fourth Congressional District; Hon. J. L. PILCHER, Second Congressional District; and the heads of the various veterans organizations: and

Whereas during this tour the group visited in at least two places in our district, we feel that much good was accomplished by these people doing something extra in and above their usual duties: and

Whereas we feel that not only the veterans of the sixth district but all of the veterans of the State will greatly benefit by the efforts of these people: Therefore be it

Resolved by the sixth district of the American Legion in regular convened meeting, we commend the Honorable Pete Wheeler and those members of the visiting delegation for their efforts in our behalf in trying to better acquaint themselves with the problem of the veterans and Veterans' Administration and in spending their time in an effort to better serve us.

Respectfully submitted.

ROLAND ATTAWAY, Sixth District Commander. Attested to:

EDWARD D. JENSEN. Sixth District Adjutant.

Natural Gas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OVERTON BROOKS

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. BROOKS of Louisiana. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend and revise my remarks. I wish to make the following statements on the subject of natural gas.

A matter of grave concern to the State of Louisiana, and the Nation as well, is the recent Supreme Court decision in Phillips Petroleum Co. v. Wisconsin et al. (347 U. S. 672).

As a result of that decision, the Federal Power Commission, under the Nattural Gas Act, is now exercising pricefixing controls over gas producers who sell their gas into interstate commerce. This involves a basic concept of government. Under our form of government, the business of producing commodities or manufacturing products has been left to free competition in the market place. Heretofore, except as a war measure, the producers' and manufacturers' prices have not been regulated. If at any time there is a lack of competition our antitrust laws stand as a guardian over the consuming public.

Yet, under this court decision and the actions of the Federal Power Commission in implementing the decision, this basic principle of government is cast aside. As a result, today there is chaos and confusion throughout the gas-producing industry. The consumer of gas, as well as the producers, have a primary interest and should be alert to the existing situation and the consequences that are sure

to come.

If permitted to continue, this situation will retard the exploration and development of gas. The producer is confronted with the uncertainties and burdens of suddenly being treated as a public utility although his activities are in no way like that of a public utility. His efforts to find and produce gas are disrupted. He is waiting to see what is

gas for the consumer.

There are three phases to the naturalgas business: First, production; second, interstate transmission; and, third, local distribution

Historically, local distribution of gas has been regulated as a public utility by legislative enactment because of the inherent monopolistic aspect of the business. -The distributor operates under a franchise which limits or prevents competition.

The interstate transmission of gas has similar characteristics. As a result the Congress passed the Natural Gas Act in 1938 and delegated to the Federal Power Commission the authority to regulate this activity. These interstate pipelines operate under certificates issued by the Commission which restrict competition and stabilize their business by providing assured market outlets.

To the contrary, the production of natural gas has none of these public utility characteristics. The Congress recognized this distinction when it passed the Natural Gas Act in 1938. It was intended that the act should not apply in any way to the local activity of producing and gathering gas. The law so states in clear and unmistakable language. For 16 years it was so inter-preted. The Federal Power Commission itself recognized it had no authority over production.

The Supreme Court has reversed all this. The Federal Power Commission is now applying public utility regulation to the production of gas-inappropriate and disrupting as it is.

This is a matter of national concern. There are about 20 million natural-gas customers. Natural gas now accounts for almost one-fourth of the mineral energy consumed in the United States. Cur State of Louisiana is vitally interested, as it is the second largest gasproducing State and supplies about 15 percent of the United States total.

The Nation's peacetime economy and welfare are involved. More important, the national security would be adversely affected if restrictive regulations are permitted to hamper the development of the Nation's natural-gas resources.

I am hopeful that the Congress will give this matter its early attention and take action that will amend the Natural Gas Act so as to make absolutely clear that the Federal Power Commission has no authority over the production and gathering of gas.

I intend to lend my efforts to that end.

Gambling Capital of the United States Unmasked-V

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the following is the fifth in the series of articles by Bob Considine on the fantastic story

going to happen. This will mean less of Las Vegas, the capital of legalized gambling in the United States, which appeared in the Chicago American on January 27, 1955:

> LAS VEGAS UNMASKED-PIRATE LAFITTE'S DE-SCENDANT MOPS UP-INVESTIGATOR CRACKS DEN WITH "MIKE" IN WATCH

(By Bob Considine)

LAS VEGAS, January 27.-Last October, Hank Greenspun needed some help in a hurry. Greenspun runs the Las Vegas Morning Sun, once held a minor interest in the Desert Inn, and is part owner of a Strip

(He recently was arraigned in Federal court on a charge of attempting to incite the assassination of Senator McCarthy.)

The Las Vegas editor had publicly accused Clark County (Las Vegas) Sheriff Glen Jones of owning an interest in Roxie's motel, a 20-girl bawdy house at Formyle, just south of Vegas. Jones, up for reelection, ran last in a field of five in the primary. He sued Greenspun for \$1 million, charging libel.

Greenspun countered by bringing to Las Vegas one of the most remarkable characters in modern police work, a mysterious soul named Pierre Lafitte, who proudly traces his lineage back to the famed privateer and smuggler.

Lafitte is a bustling little man whose story would fill a thick book. He is, by trade, an undercover investigator. And there are those at the FBI and in various major police departments who will swear he's tops in his field.

He has lived with some of the most sinister criminals in our recent history while obtaining information for law officers. His undercover work and fearless court testimony have broken at least two major nar-cotics rings, into which he bravely ingratiated himself.

PUT UP IN STYLE

Once in Las Vegas, Lafitte was put up in style at El Rancho Vegas. He registered under the name Louis Tabet (with "Mrs. Tabet"), assumed a tough Italian-American ganglord's manner of speech. It was subsequently testified that he arranged to meet the manager of Roxie's, a convicted panderer named Dick Kellogg.

Tabet said he wanted to buy a chunk of Roxie's. He was introduced to Mrs. Roxie and Eddie Clippinger, principal owners, and they talked. Tabet had a microphone in his wrist watch and a recording device strapped under his shirt.

He came away with such information as the amounts Sheriff Jones was reportedly paid for protection, and the house's receipts for a typical month—\$77,000—which inferred a million dollar a year business.

He demanded assurance of the protection before he'd put out his money, Tabet said. Kellogg brought in Sheriff Jones and two county commissioners to confer with the supposed hoodlum from the East.

Protection payoff fees were decided upon, and as a binder, the tax commission was told, the sheriff accepted a \$575 television set.

And one of the commissioners accepted what must be labeled a new note in futuristic bribes-a \$450 Geiger counter for prospecting for uranium.

PARLEY RECORDED

That much arranged, Tabet began talking at a second conference of buying into a gambling casino. He said he had lost interest in Roxie's, which since has been closed.

All of that conference was recorded via a mike hidden in the folds of a window drape.

Subsequently, Tabet said, he was told that gambling involved another kind of "fix." He said Kellogg told him he'd have to line himself up with former Lt. Gov. Cliff Jones no relation to Glen Jones. Former Lieutenant Governor Jones had just been named Democratic national committeeman for Nevada, over the objections of numerous rank and filers.

He is no longer national committeeman. He resigned for party harmony in November, having held office only 6 weeks.

At this point, Greenspun called in District Attorney Foley, who assigned Gordon Haw-kins of his staff to monitor the recordings of the stealthy adventure.

Tabet's story was that he told the former lieutenant governor that his police record back East included raps for murder, manslaughter, a little narcotic, and bootlegging, but no convictions for the past 10 years.

Jones was portrayed by Tabet as assuring him he'd get a gambling license without any trouble, after the election.

FIRING PORESERN

Tabet said Jones went on to explain that former Gov. Vail Pittman was going to be elected over the incumbent, Charles H. Russell. This in turn would mean that crusading Robbins Cahill, Nevada's foremost champion of clean gambling, would be fired from his key job as secretary of the Nevada State-Tax Commission—the license body.

Jones, according to Tabet, hinted that once

those things came to pass he, Jones, would

be in the saddle.

Then, said Tabet, Jones in an apparent attempt to impress him, bragged that he was partners with Jake and Meyer Lansky in the Thunderbird, which he praised as the smoothest run place on the "Strip." Jones owns 11 percent of the hotel and casino, and has pieces of other Las Vegas properties.

Jake and Meyer Lansky are to the Kefau-

ver reports what Custer and Sitting Bull were to the battle of the Little Big Horn.

Jones told him, Tabet related, that it would cost him a little money, of course, and to decide on the amount. Jones promised to send along his law partner, Louis Weiner, for another talk.

The tape recorder was in fine fettle when Weiner called on Tabet in his flower-decked suite at El Rancho Vegas. By this time Tabet had convinced the men he was dealing with that he had lost interest in Roxie's and now wanted only a gambling place and the Las Vegas Sun, Greenspun's newspaper.

WORRY FOR TABET

Tabet told Weiner the prospective purchase of the Sun was a worry to him. He said, and the tell-tale tape noted:

"So I got a man from New York who's a lawyer. He's a good man and he said, Louie, what the hell, you tell me He's a good man and he tells me, you going to buy a apple tree someplace, a mustard tree, I understand it, but for you, a newspaper, no.' I say look, don't ask me no questions."

Weiner was happy over Jones' new post in Democratic circles. He told the prospective client:

"That's important. It's important to us to have Cliff in there because there are a lot of things that Cliff can get. He knows what's going on. We've got to have a pipeline to know what's going on because, if you don't know what's going on, you can be in bad shape.

"When Pittman is in Cliff is the top dog in the State. * * * This fellow Russell is nobody. When Pittman is in and changes that commission and sits on that himself, you got no problem."

In a breast-beating tone, Tabet said: "I'm not more dirty than-for (censored) sakethan a lot of guys in here. Listen, I'm not more dirty or perfect than a lot of guys around town."

NO QUESTION

Weiner: "No question about it . . they know Doc's in the sands. Do you think they don't know Doc's in there? You think they don't know Meyer and Jake are in the Thun-derbird, huh?"

(The "they" referred to the licensing commission.)

Tabet audaciously claimed intimate rela-tions with several Las Vegas figures. They included Beldon Katleman, owner of El

Rancho Vegas, and Tony Cornero, former gambling-ship operator who has been trying to get a Nevada license for a year.

NOT A CHANCE

Later: Tabet: "Suppose the other fellow gets elected?"

Weiner: "Russell? He hasn't got as much chance to be elected as I have, and I'm not even running * * * If he doesn't get beat 3 to 2 or 2 to 1. I'm a monkey's uncle. Oh, he hasn't got a prayer * * * He's a wonderful guy, but he's nobody knows. We are going to get our own Senator in, and he will be McCarran's protege. With McCarran we were—we just sat right up there."

Called before the State tax commission, and questioned by Special Counsel E. Frandsen Loomis, Weiner shrugged and said:

"If you have a tape recording of my voice taken at the El Rancho I presume I said what it says."

Pittman, to whose campaign fund big "Strip" operators contributed \$42,000, took a beating from underdog Russell in the November elections.

Marion B. Hicks, president of the Thunderbird, denied that the Lanskys were part owners. He wired Greenspun: "The statements are false and untrue. We

"The statements are false and untrue. We wish to advise that all records and books are available at any time to the State tax commission."

Cliff Jones joined in the denial and protested he had not been guilty of any wrongdoing.

Jones made his denial to the press. But when he appeared before the State tax commission at a hearing last October 26 in Carson City, and was asked whether the boast about the Lansky's being partners in the Thunderbird was true, he refused to answer.

On December 1, the State's gambling control agency at Carson City ordered the Thunderbird Hotel to show why its license should not be revoked or suspended.

The seven-man commission, headed by the triumphant Russell, also voted to investigate charges by Virgil W. Peterson, operating director of the Chicago Crime Commission, that remnants of the Capone gang have interests in certain Las Vegas and Reno gambling places.

SHERIFF ARRAIGNED

A week before this, Sheriff Glen Jones and Clark County Commissioner Rodney Colton were arraigned in Las Vegas. District Judge Frank McNamee released Sheriff Jones on \$1,000 bond. Colton posted a \$2,500 bond.

The men had been indicted by a grand jury which based its action on the tape recordings and the testimony of Hawkins who monitored them. It was further charged that in addition to the TV set, which was impounded, Jones was promised \$5,000 in cash and \$1,000 a month until his term expired. Colton assertedly was promised \$10,000 in cash and the aforementioned Geiger counter.

Lafitte, alias Louis Tabet, disappeared from town as quietly as he had entered, his fee unannounced. Greenspun, the Strip says, emerged as a power. None of the bigger operators seems very happy about this. They are distressed, too, by the Thunder-

They are distressed, too, by the Thunderbird case—though the eager gambling public continues to patronize the hotel and casino as enthusiastically as ever.

The big operators would wish that Las Vegas were portrayed simply as a clean, sweetly fragrant resort, noted for its fine desert air, the fishing in nearby Lake Mead, winter sports on Mt. Charleston, great dude ranches, golf on the Desert Inn's fine course, beautiful hotels, stupendous floor shows, reasonable rates, and, if you must, gambling at honest tables and wheels.

Las Vegas indeed has all these things. And the A-bomb testing ground at Yucca Flat to boot. But deep beneath the tinsel it has its troubles, its worries, its inherent leaning to "fix" rather than fix.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUSTRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.—No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the Record without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

- 1. Arrangement of the daily Record.—The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the Record with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.
- 2. Type and style .--The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.
- 3. Return of manuscript.—When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the Record for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the Record of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.
- 4. Tabular matter.—The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.
- 5. Proof furnished.—Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

- 6. Notation of withheld remarks.—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr.—addressed the Scnate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.
- 7. Thirty-day limit.—The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.
- 8. Appendix to daily Record.—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.
- 9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.
- 10. Official reporters.—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.
- 11. Estimate of cost.—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.
- 12. Illustrations.—Pursuant to section 182b, tttle 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the Record should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the Record and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.
- 13. Corrections.—The permanent Record is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.

Appendix

American Education in Crisis

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CLEVELAND M. BAILEY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. BAILEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I should like to insert an article entitled "American Education in Crisis," by the Honorable Earl J. McGrath, former Commissioner of the Office of Education, presently president of the University of Kansas City, Kansas City, Mo.

This address is an excellent comment on the arresting inadequacies in our educational system and the current educational problems.

The article follows:

AMERICAN EDUCATION IN CRISIS
(By Earl J. McGrath)

It is a real pleasure to meet with the Missouri members of Phi Delta Kappa. I want to talk today about matters which I consider to be of considerable importance not only to members of the profession but to citizens generally. It is fitting to do so because education in the United States is in a crisis. In some communities the quality of education has for several years been steadily deteriorating, and will continue to do so in the immediate years ahead.

The members of our professional fraternity are dedicated to the advancement of education through research, service, and leadership. One of the greatest services we can render to the American people today is to inform them about the arresting inadequacles in our educational system and to help them in coping with current educational problems.

Now, when I say that the quality of American education has deteriorated in recent years I want to be explicit about my meaning. First I want to say that I do not share the views of some who lately have made severe attacks on the public schools for their failure to teach the basic subjects in the elementary schools. Some of these criticisms come from well-intentioned and thoughtful citizens. Others come from people who have no knowledge of, and I regret to say little interest in, contemporary education. With the former we should spare no effort to assist them in gaining a fuller understanding of the things the public schools are trying to do. As we do this the vast majority of American citizens will come to the support of the efforts being made to provide superior instruction in the basic subjects and the small percent of carping critics will be rendered innocuous.

In regard to the questions that some fairminded citizens have raised concerning the teaching of the fundamental subjects, such as reading, writing, spelling, and arithmetic we can say with all confidence that when one considers the school population as a whole these subjects are taught just as effectively as they were years ago, and I would go further and say that in many classrooms

they are taught more effectively. It is true of course, that many children do not read, write, spell, or calculate as accurately as one could wish. This has always been the case and doubtless always will be. But numerous studies show that modern methods of teaching used by qualified teachers produce better results than in the past. Moreover, the schools now undertake many additional responsibilities in the teaching of the social studies, the fine arts, physical education and in providing a rich complement of other experiences totally missing in the school program of even 25 years ago. Our children today are better informed, more interested in finding out about the world in which they live, and certainly much happier in school than they have ever been in the past.

There are of course some classrooms, some schools and indeed, some entire school systems in which there is much room for improvement. The inadequacies in these cases however, stem generally not from innovations in content and modern methods of teaching but from the very reverse, traditionalism.

If the content and the methods of instruction are not responsible for the inadequacies in the educational system what do I mean when I say that the quality of education in the United States is deteriorating, and that the situation will get worse before it can get better? In answering this question attention must be focused on certain facts of American life not directly related to education.

Statistical information is not needed to prove that since 1949 the birth rate has risen rapidly in the United States. All one has to do is to look around. Children are everywhere. But for the purposes of this discussion figures are needed to indicate the enormous burden which these additional children are placing on the schools. For a number of years each fall a million more additional children have stood at the schoolhouse doors of the Nation than in the preceding year. In 1 year the number rose to more than a million and a half. Even though the figure will vary from year to year as the children already born reach school age, it will not markedly shrink. Indeed the elementary and secondary school population which was 26 million in 1945, is now 36 million, and by 1960 will reach 42 million, an increase over 1945 of 61 percent.

This biological phenomenon is the principal, though by no means the sole, cause of the weaknesses which are now developing in the school system of the United States. It has resulted in a severe shortage of teachers and school buildings. Let us look at the teacher shortage for a moment. As Commissioner of Education in 1952 I reported that the schools of the Nation were short 52,000 teachers, but the present Commissioner reports that that figure has risen to 102,000. If the rapidly rising enrollments in the lower grades are compared with the number of college and university students preparing to enter teaching, it is patent that the present shortage is going to become more acute in the next 3 or 4 years, to say nothing of the more distant future. By 1960 Commissioner Brownell reports there will probably be a shortage of 292,000 elementary and secondary schoolteachers.

This shortage of teachers, in my judgment, constitutes nothing less than a national crisis. It is true that in some communities, especially those with large financial resources, most children study under well-trained teachers and receive an education superior to that of their fathers and mothers. But in many communities, and in an increasing number, the lack of teachers is causing a watering down of the educational program. Let me repeat that the inferior teaching in these communities is not a consequence of radical new departures in subject matter and teaching methods, but rather a result of the conditions under which the educational program is carried on. Because of the shortage of teachers many schools now operate on double shifts, one in the morning and the other in the afternoon. In other schools, class size has risen to 40 or 50; yes, even 60. Several years ago I visited a class of 63 third-grade pupils in a school near Dayton, Ohio. Moreover, many classes are now conducted by teachers who hold only emergency or temporary certificates.

It is a truism to say that the teacher is the most important factor in the entire educative process. American citizens should, therefore, be vitally concerned about the present disturbing shortage of adequately prepared teachers. They will wish to exprepared teachers. They will wish to examine thoughtfully the question, what are the causes for the present situation? The causes are complicated and many. At the top of the list, however, I would place teachers' salaries. Again salaries vary widely in the various communities of the United States, but the average is not high enough to attract many college students who now choose to enter more lucrative vocations. There is a great deal of idealism among the members of our profession. They do not place monetary values ahead of the human considerations, which motivate the dedicated teacher. Yet, it is true that many teachers cannot earn enough in their professional activities to provide even the common necessities of life for their families. It is a re-flection on our culture that many teachers, especially men, now drive taxi cabs, serve as drug-store clerks, or sell insurance outside the hours of the school day. In some cities janitors receive a higher wage than teachers. Many communities will continue to have double sessions and large classes until their salary scales are able to attract and hold young people in the profession.

Secondly, the unwarranted attacks in recent years on the teaching profession as a whole are repelling many of the most alert and sensitive minds. Every loyal American, among whom we can count the members of the teaching profession, agrees that we do not want any one in the classroom who will instruct American youth in subversive doctrines. All agree that every step should be taken to exclude such persons. Equal vigilance should be exercised to protect loyal teachers against the unwarranted assaults of hysterical and thoughtless citizens. Unless our people do this, the present teacher shortage will continue, and those who remain in the profession will be further demoralized.

The second major problem in American education is the shortage of schools. Unlike the teacher shortage the causes of the lack of classrooms and other educational facilities is perfectly clear. The basic factor is the increasing number of children of school age.

Simple arithmetic will show that for every additional million children, with an average class size of 39, over 33,000 new classrooms will be required, to say nothing of other

facilities such as auditoriums, gymnasiums, laboratories, and libraries. The present need for classrooms caused by the increased birth rate has been aggravated by the fact that in the 1930's few schools were built because of the depression, and in the 1940's because of the Second World War. All these factors operating together have created a classroom this year of 370,000. A schoolfacilities survey authorized by the Congress several years, now nearing completion, shows in a report issued only a few days ago, that it will be necessary to construct during the next 5 years approximately 720,000 public elementary and secondary classrooms and related facilities, at an estimated capital outlay investment of approximately \$28 bil-If the present rates of construction are continued over the next 5 years, we shall have a backlog need of 470,000 classrooms. It should be made clear that these are not figures dreamed up by an expansionist bureaucrat in Washington. They are the validated statements of the chief State school officers in the several States based on a study of needs in local school districts.

The same study shows that with maximum State and local financial effort to erect these schools many States and local communities will not be able to provide adequate funds. It is, therefore, perfectly clear that if all America's children are to have the kind of education the people of this country have traditionally considered an individual right and a social necessity some Federal assist-

ance is imperative. No one is more eager than I to reduce Federal expenditures and taxes. But to any fair observer the facts indicate that the bills for Federal financial assistance for the construction of schools introduced 3 or 4 years ago, and again in the last Congress by more than a dozen Representatives and Senators of both parties should have been passed long since. If we truly believe in equal educational opportunity for all American youth some such legislation will be passed in the next session of the Congress. No more facts or discussion are needed to come to a decision and action on this urgent social problem. Unfortunately, the education of chil-dren cannot be put in the deep-freeze while we indulge in hair-splitting arguments as to exactly how much help is needed and how it is to be distributed. Those who urge delay for conferences and committee discussions are dealing cavallerly with the educational opportunities of American children, and indeed with the welfare of the Nation itself. A cooperative program of schoolhouse construction involving the financial participation of local, State, and Federal governments would constitute one of the best examples of the partnership arrangement advocated by President Eisenhower to advance the well-being and the continued prosperity of all the American people.

These major problems in American education are only two examples of many others which could be cited to show that the condition of education in the United States is deteriorating. Without attempting to go into any detail I would merely mention other problems connected with school district reorganization, which when solved will result in a more efficient administrative structure for the operation of schools, and at the same time markedly increase the quality and scope of education in many communities. other problem relates to the several million children who are classified as exceptional because they deviate from the normal in body or in mind. Among these are the victims of polio and others crippled by other diseases. There are the emotionally disturbed and the handicapped, in sight or hearing, the rheumatic heart cases, and a multitude of others too numerous to mention. All these children, the physically and the mentally handicapped for humanitarian, as well as economic reasons, deserve the

best education we can give them. We know where adequate education is provided many of them can become happy and well-adjusted individuals and productive workers.

My principal purpose in making this brief review of some of the most pressing problems in American education is to point out that these problems are national problems. They extend from one end of the country to the other. It is my studied opinion that they will be solved only by national efforts. Let me be perfectly clear that I believe firmly in the local and State control of education in the United States. It is this feature of American education more than any other that has been responsible for the widespread experimentation, for the interest of local citizens in their own schools, and for the large measure of political freedom which we enjoy in this country. After having examthe matter from the local, the State, and the Federal point of view, I would be the last one to propose any arrangement by which the Federal Government could diminish or infringe upon the authority which local citizens have over the education of their own children. Having said this, however, I must point out that many of these problems, though they may not require local financial support of education by the Federal Government, will require national leadership.

This leads me to the matter which I believe more than any other now needs to be discussed thoughtfully, critically, and sincerely by the members of our profession, and, indeed, by citizens generally. The thesis which I wish to advance for serious consideration is that these national problems can be dealt with most effectively by leadership at the national level. I believe this leadership must be exerted by the educational agency of the Federal Government, the United States Office of Education. The historic purpose of the Office of Education in the early years of its existence was to collect information about the condition of education in the United States and to disseminate it throughout the country. These functions it has served with reasonable success for many years. In recent years it has accepted more operational functions in cooperation with the States and local school systems in comprehensive studies which have led to recommendations concerning action programs to deal with current educational problems. In my judgment this function must be considerably enlarged if some of our pressing problems are to be dealt with

adequately.

There are, of course, a number of voluntary private agencies in the field of education which operate on the national scene. Many of these make investigations and reports peculiar to their own membership, but because of limited resources they cannot make comprehensive and large-scale studies. A concrete illustration of this point is the school-facilities survey just mentioned. This study was done in the United States Office of Education under a congressional appropriation of \$3 million matched by an equal sum from the participating States. No private agency could possibly have undertaken such a comprehensive investigation with its limited resources. Only the leadership of the staff of the Office of Education, with the cooperation of the State educational authorities, made such a national study possible. Many other areas of education urgently need similar study.

If the United States Office of Education is to perform these functions efficiently and without political interference, two steps need to be taken. A staff capable of directing educational investigations of this magnitude and importance, and of securing the cooperation of leaders outside the Government must be provided. They must represent all the branches and levels of education from the elementary school through the university. Such a highly qualified professional

staff could take leadership in organizing cooperative studies involving the several States and institutions of higher education, as well as national professional associations. could act as counselors to members of the profession and school systems which seek assistance and guidance. They could publish reports on superior educational practices as these exhibit themselves in our complex school system. They could call regional or national conferences to deliberate on current educational problems and to recommend sound courses of action. Through the Commissioner of Education they could, from time to time, issue pronouncements on educational matters to the profession and the public generally, with the purpose of gaining the support of the American people for the entire educational enterprise.

The United States Office of Education, except when special grants have been made available from the Congress, or from private sources, has not been organized and staffed for this kind of leadership in American education. It has, of course, had highly competent professional educators on its staff, but in insufficient numbers, and for limited periods. In this day, however, when the need is greater than ever before in our national history, the Office of Education has lost many of the distinguished members of its staff whose names this audience would immediately recognize as among the leaders of the profession. Whole sections have virtually been abolised through the attrition of qualified personnel. Unless larger funds are provided, and unless positions on the staff of the Office can be made attractive and secure, the Office of Education will soon become what Dr. William G. Carr, of the National Education Association, foresaw 2 years ago as its possible destiny-a plaque on the wall of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. It is in the national interest that the present contraction of the staff and the services of the United States Office of Education be stopped, and steps taken at once to establish the kind of serv ice needed in this national emergency in education.

Secondly, if the functions of the Office of Education are to be efficiently performed the Commissioner and all the members of his staff must be free to carry on their work with considerable autonomy. Many of the matters with which they must necessarily deal will involve differences of opinion and sometimes serious controversy. If, however, they are to study educational problems and report their findings and recommendations to the Congress, the profession, and the general public, they must not be subjected to political or any other kind of non-professional restrictions or pressures.

After prolonged and careful examination of the Issues involved, I have concluded that the position of the United States Office of Education in the Federal governmental structure should be changed in 1 of 2 ways. Either would in my judgment have the result of dignifying the Office of Commissioner, and through him the entire educational fraternity. At the same time either of these arrangements would guarantee him and his staff complete freedom of activity and expression within, of course, the limits of the law.

Such autonomy can be achieved either by the establishment of a Federal Board of Education appointed by the President of the United States, a non-partisan body of laymen and educators whose responsibility it would be to select a Commissioner of Education on a non-political basis, and with his professional guidance and counsel promote the program, the interests, and support of the United States Office of Education. An alternative to this plan would be the establishment of another secretarship in the Cabinet concerned exclusively with problems of education in the United States.

Both of these proposals have been vigorously advocated in years past. I have studied each of them carefully. There are advantages and disadvantages in both. In theory I, myself, lean toward the secretaryship rather than the Federal board because I believe that a Secretary would be more effective in advocating the cause of education with the administration and the Congress, and because a secretaryship would dignify education by placing it on exactly the same level as the other important agencies of Government. On the other hand, since the educational enterprise in the Federal Government is likely to remain relatively small in the immediate future, it may be politically impossible to achieve the secretaryship. am, therefore, forced to the conclusion that the educational profession should work vigorously for the separate Federal Board of Education.

My purpose now, however, is not to debate the merits of these two proposals but rather to focus attention on the end which I think would be achieved by either. If the Commissioner of Education is to report fully and accurately on the condition of education in the United States in all its various branches and levels, and if he is to recommend to the Congress, to the profession and to the people generally the measures needed to keep the educational enterprise at a high level of efficiency, it is absolutely necessary that in the formulation of policies to advance the interests of American education he not be inhibited by, nor subject to the improper influence of, any officer of the Government. His own professional judgment must prevail, until he is considered professionally unfit to occupy the office. In making this statement I want to make it perfectly clear that during the more than 4 years I had the high privilege of holding the office of Commissioner no member of the Government either in the administrative or legislative branches ever attempted to determine my appointments to the professional staff, or to curtail my utterances or influence my opinions. It should be clear, therefore, that I am talking about principles, policies, and practices rather than persons. The point can be made concrete by the use of an example.

When the Congress authorized the study of schoolhouse facilities and located that study in the United States Office of Education the staff proceeded to develop this project cooperatively with the several States in accordance with their best judgment and that of other leading consultants from many sections of the country. When the first phase of the study was completed the facts showed that the school plants of the United States as a whole were totally inadequate to serve the educational needs of this and succeeding generations. As Commissioner of Education I reported to the Congress and to the public generally, through the press, that a critical situation existed and that \$15 to \$18 million would have to be spent in erecting schoolhouses in the imme-diate years ahead. I urged Federal support of this program on the basis of facts that were unmistakably clear and irrefutable. There was then, and there is now, of course, a difference of opinion as to whether such Federal support was necessary or desirable. The point I am trying to emphasize here, however, is that the Commissioner of Education must be free to report the facts, and his recommendations, if there is to be intelligent consideration of educational problems and action taken on them. If a political appointee superior to the Commissioner rank or authority is to be permitted to close his mouth or to share his statements in accordance with political expediency or per-sonal convictions the usefulness of the Office of Education will be destroyed, and American education generally will be commensurately damaged. If the ends of education are to be served, such statements on controversial subjects must necessarily be issued whenever the facts are clear and the purpose proper. This freedom of action and expression can, I believe, be more fully guaranteed than it is at present under either of the arrangements which I have suggested.

Let me conclude by saying that not a matter far removed from the interests and the welfare of the members of Phi Delta Kappa in the State of Missouri, nor from other members of our profession wherever they may live and practice their profession, for I return to my basic idea which is that the condition of education in every hamlet in the Nation will ultimately be affected by the effectiveness of the leadership at the national level. I make no pretense that the solutions I have suggested are completely adequate or easy to put into effect. On the contrary, they deserve the most thoughtful consideration and criticism by all members of the profession. In the end the profession must play an active part in reaching the decision as to which of these alternatives will benefit and protect education. This is my reason for discussing these matters with you today in the hope that the members of Phi Delta Kappa and other professional organizations will in the months ahead give serious consideration to the present troubled situation in American education.

Address Given by Archbishop at the Second Annual Journalists' Mass

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks. include a sermon recently given by Most Rev. Richard J. Cushing, D. D., archbishop of Boston, at the second annual journalists' Mass, on the feast of St. Francis de Sales, patron of newspapermen, on the responsibility of the press.

The sermon follows:

[From the Pilot, Boston, Mass., of February 5,

[1955]
POWER OF THE PRESS INCLUDES RESPONSI-BILITIES-ARCHBISHOP CUSHING ADDRESSES JOURNALISTS AT ANNUAL MASS

(The following is the complete text of the address given by Archbishop Cushing at the second annual Journalists' Mass, held in the Oratory of St. Thomas More on the feast of St. Francis de Sales, patron of newspaper-

For the second year we gather on the feast of St. Francis de Sales to ask the special blessings of God on the men and women who, in their varying capacities, are part of what is simply called the press. St. Francis, who was a prolific and persuasive writer, long ago was named the patron of the press because he so remarkably appreciated the power of words to impress and influence the human mind. In our days of organized propaganda we know to what lengths this power is used. Its most authoritative voice is the daily press. Every one who assists in the production of the present-day newspaper and, indeed, even those who buy the paper must feel that they have made some contribution to its existence and in this sense at least bear some responsibilities for its effects in the comEvery weekday in the United States of America more than 50 million newspapers are printed and distributed. On Sundays a little less than 50 million papers come into the homes of America. If we can presume that more than one person reads each paper it is easy to conclude that many people, perhaps even most people, actually read more than one paper a day.

LOST WITHOUT IT

The newspaper has become so much a part of our daily lives that we feel somehow lost when, for one reason or another, we are without it, Even when its delivery is delayed we are annoyed and in many cases we become so attached to a certain paper and its style that we find it difficult to read the news with the same interest from another source.

Once upon a time people worried about what radio would do to the newspaper and more recently there was a certain anxiety about the effect of television. As matters turned out both radio and television have merely opened up new subjects for news-paper treatment; the approach of these other media to the problems of the news has been interesting and effective in many ways but it has not replaced, and can't conceivably replace, the newspaper in the modern world.

HISTORY UNFOLDING

The ordinary citizen finds in his newspaper the history of his own time unfolding before him. He sees its triumphs and disasters, its enthusiasms, and its worries; he finds there an explanation for the complexities of international life; he finds, too, a description of the decisions affecting the life of his own nation; he learns the meaning of the happenings in his own community.

In the pages of his paper he becomes acquainted with his neighbors, with those who present a program for human better-ment and with those who find it necessary to criticize the existing order of things. reader of the daily press meets all kinds of people in its pages, the man in political life who, as an elected official, seeks his support; the religious leader, who recalls for the edification of his people, the spiritual values of man in society, the professional man in law or medicine or education who informs the public on the area of his interest. Along with these he meets all those who as each day passes make the news.

Of course, he also meets in his daily paper the troublemaker, the lawbreaker, and the victim of accident and personal tragedy. He finds there also, and sometimes in lurid detail, that special brand of person that defles convention or decency or simple propriety merely for the sake of notoriety and personal attention. Even if in somewhat uneven terms, the ordinary citizen reads in his paper the history of his own days, and the historians, who one day will record from another time the story of our years, will look to the newspapers for the most accurate and most detailed description of the life we led, the ideas we had, and the ideals we sought.

RESPONSIBILITY

Against this background it might be salutary to call to our attention this morning the responsibility of the press in the face of the tremendous influence it holds over the minds and the manners and the morals of men. Certainly no one can read his newspaper without being affected by it—if it is no more than mere information that is added to a human mind, if it is only a point of view that somehow seems to be attractive, if it is only impressions, not even clear ones, that somehow seem worthy of his attention. The reader at any rate carries away from his perusal of the paper something which he did not have before, something which makes him at least in a little way a different person. In this sense the newspaper might be said to form as well as to inform its readers.

It shapes, in fact, the society which it

serves.

When newspapers are excited and noisy and frightening, their readers cannot help being, in turn, enkindled and aroused to a similar kind of hysteria. When the newspapers are turid and suggestive and improper they plant the same subtle poisons in the mentality and emotions of their readers. When the newspapers are inaccurate and partisan and prejudiced they prepare the ground for faulty judgments in the citizens they serve.

But when newspapers are alert and accurate, when they are fair and impartial, when they are efficient and dedicated, these virtues too are reflected in the dispositions of the citizens who read them. It is obvious, of course, that there is no such thing as a perfect newspaper any more than there is such a thing as a perfect man, but we all strive for perfection. We work toward perfection as toward a goal and, unless we set for ourselves a goal so high as to seem to be beyond our reach, we will, in fact, always fall below the good that we are capable of doing. When a paper is satisfied with itself it is taking its first step backward, for the best minds will know that even as men we generally fall short of what we should be

be.

We know that our first responsibility is to truth and we try to serve it with a genuine and sincere heart. Every newspaper and periodical, whatever its immediate objectives, can find justification for its existence only in the part which it can play in keeping the public accurately informed and in molding public opinion along the lines of an objective and constructive philosophy of life.

We are rightfully indignant as we learn of the shameful subservience of the press behind the Iron Curtain to the enslaving power of the state. We would certainly offer vigorous protest, were we to be ordered by the highest authority in the land to misrepresent and distort facts simply because the truth of facts would be dangerous for the continuance in power of the existing government. We would hardly regard it consistent with our constitutionally guaranteed human freedom if we were required to convert the resources of American journalism into agencies of propaganda, whose criterion of truth would be governmental decrees and whose norms of morality would be estab-lished by the varying whims of ruthless dictators.

PARTISAN INTEREST

Let us keep this terrifying possibility in mind as we reflect upon the rights and functions of a free press in a free country. There is a tendency in every group to isolate itself from the total community of which it is an integral part, to allow selfish and partisan interests to motivate its activity and to make expediency and observable results rather than complete honesty and devotion to the truth the standard of success.

Among certain groups of artists, for example, the principle "art for art's sake" seems to indicate their determination to make artistic expression an end in itself rather than a means of helping human nature to realize its noblest yearnings for eternal truth and peace. Again, among many modern scientists there is a tendency toward intolerable glorification of scientific progress which we might similarly characterize as science for the sake of science alone. I wonder if there may not be a tendency among journalists to follow in practice the principle "news for news sake," even while protesting that news is essentially and necessarily the reporting of the truth.

It is precisely this inconsistency that can make it possible for the press to lose its freedom. If news value, rather than objective truth determines the manner of reporting, we are destroying the noble ideals which makes it possible to resist the pressure of shortsighted minorities who would use your tremendous power for their own advantage, to the detriment of society as a whole. If we yield to the temptation to trifle with the truth for the purposes of a sensational story, we will have no defense against the unprincipled demands of a growing political despotism which, if unresisted, will bring the press in this country to the sorry state into which it has fallen in countries behind the Iron Curtain.

We have another responsibility. We must have a right understanding of the faults of human nature. Human frailty, in all its ghastly forms, is regrettably a part of each day's news. The reporter must take note of it; he must chronicle the events in which it is involved: he must often, in the interest of accurate and impartial evaluation of the news, stress certain aspects of delinquency and crime which in other circumstances he might be disposed to ignore. For this reason the journalist perhaps finds himself quite frequently in a troublesome dilemma. His reading public seems to demand a certain type of reporting, a certain questionable portrayal of prevalent vice and sin. If he refuses to provide material for the gratification of morbid curiosity, he may run the risk of incurring the censure of employers.

I am merely pointing out the problem I am well aware that it has no immediate solution, and I confess that I do not know precisely how a future solution can be worked out. Without question the people themselves must bear the greater part of the blame, if for no other reason than that their collective tastes and preferences carry so much weight in the forming of a newspaper's policies.

May I suggest, however, that it is neither impossible nor impractical for a newspaper to contemplate positive resistance even to deeply rooted and widely prevalent moral depravity. We should not be satisfied to give people what they want; we should give serious thought to the need of giving them what they need and what will do them the most good. Otherwise we are merely taking our place in a vicious circle of social corruption which will engulf us all together once its whirling madness gets out of control.

COMMUNITY PROBLEM

From time to time you must seek for a measure that will in some way give an account of your success. Since you are such a potent force in the shaping of society, society itself will reflect your virtues, your ideals, your work, and your success. Here in our own community you may look with satisfaction upon what you have accomplished.

Boston and its surrounding area has many special problems—some of them very serious problems. But this is as it should be. A growing city and a progressive community will always be changing and out of its change will come new situations which raise new questions. The fact that we have problems is no reflection on our city or upon ourselves. It is the manner in which we handle these problems, it is the energy and the insight that we use in their solution that give us the key to our true success.

I see in our city, on almost every level, evidences of enlightened leadership and forceful action that with each passing day bring our community closer and closer to the realization of that good society which is our common aim. In this task many forces, of course, are at work—political, economic, social, civic, and all the rest. No one of these forces wields a power greater than that of our daily press. Our press has been consistently constructive and positive in its analysis and its presentation of the local scene and its special difficulties. Continue to be so. I urge you this morning to be even more attentive to the evils that, from time to time, seem to flourish in our midst. Do

not spare them your strong denunciation when the occasion demands, but be sure, at the same time, to give them your most earnest assistance in a constructive way that will remove the causes that produce them.

This brings me to my final point. We live

This brings me to my final point. We live and work and struggle not merely to survive in the present, but to prepare ourselves for the world to come. We are truly human only if we keep our eyes fixed firmly on the ideals which express the noble destiny of our common humanity, and direct our efforts, shoulder to shoulder with all men of good will, toward the realization of these ideals.

It is an inspiring, if somewhat sobering thought that the words which run so smoothly from your typewriters are received and read, commented on and believed by countless thousands of your fellow men. Your power is far greater than that of those who hold positions of high responsibility in our legislative and executive bodies. Truly, you are men of destiny. It is not a rhetorical exaggeration to refer to you as prophets, in the literal sense of those who speak to their fellow men as representatives of God, For truly your power over the minds of men is second only to that of Him who made these minds to know Himself.

To the extent that you become conscious of your vocation, to that extent will you be worthy of the confidence which your fellow men place in you, and of the mission which God has given you to fulfill. May God give you strength to live and work as lovers of the truth, to build yourselves up into unshakeable columns of resistance against the deterioration of modern society. And may St. Francis de Sales, whose heavenly patronage we invoke today, inspire you all to work unselfishly and perseveringly to further the cause of decency and professional dignity which has prompted you to take part in this edifying ceremony.

Address by Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower Before Dallas Council of World Affairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, BRUCE ALGER

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. ALGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Congressional Record, I include the address given by Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower in Dallas before the Dallas Council of World Affairs, February 3, 1955.

I would like to call my colleagues' attention to this address for their consideration and the treatment of our hemispheric relations in which the United States is depicted as evolving from the good neighbor of the past to that now of a good partner.

The address follows:

I am happy to have this opportunity to address members and friends of the Dallas Council on World Affairs. I know we share an abiding interest in good hemispheric relations. Moreover, I have for some weeks wished to review the major developments in such relations since my good-will mission to Latin America, and there is no better place to do this than before you here tonight.

It was in April 1953 that the President asked me to visit Latin America to do three things:

First, to express the sincere conviction of the United States that sound economic, military, political, and cultural relationships between our countries are necessary to our common future:

Second, to obtain a broad continental perspective of those conditions which affect our relationships; and

Third, to consider what changes might be desirable in United States policies and programs in order to contribute to the meaningful unity which we all desire.

After visiting the 10 South American Republics, I submitted to the President a report which stated what I felt the executive branch of the Government, the Congress, and leaders in private life might do to strengthen hemispheric relations.

Those recommendations fell into two cate-The first included measures to strengthen understanding and mutual respect, in the conviction that these elements are basic to abiding cooperation among nations: All other cooperation-political, economic, military-may break down in serious crises unless there is much more than superficial understanding of one another's cultures, problems, and aspirations.

The second group of recommendations related to measures designed to strengthen economic cooperation. It was emphasized that stable economic ties would be mutually advantageous. Trade amounts to about \$31/2 billion in each direction annually. As a market for our exports Latin America is as important to us as all of Europe, and more important than Asia, Africa, and Oceania combined. As a source of our imports, the other American Republics have greater importance than Europe or the other continents. And, of course, the United States is just as essential to the Latin American states as a market for their products, and as a source of their imports.

During the months since that report, a number of significant developments have vitally affected inter-American relations. Indeed, I know of no other period in which such relations have undergone greater change. In my judgment, these changes will greatly strengthen economic cooperation, understanding, and mutual respect.

I shall not tonight discuss military co

operation, which has been improved, nor political cooperation, except to recognize the historic importance of the anti-Communist resolution adopted at Caracas last spring, and the significance for the security of the American Republics of the steps recently taken by the Organization of American States in the Costa Rican crisis.

Rather, I wish to concentrate, as I did in my report, on mutual understanding and

economic cooperation.

In the United States, during the past year and a half, citizen interest in all aspects of inter-American relations has grown remarkably. This heightened interest may have arisen from the anxiety our people felt at the Communist threat so narrowly averted by the Guatemalan people. It may derive in part from the public awareness of the importance of the two inter-American conferences at Caracas and Rio. More recently, this interest has been stimulated by the swift steps taken by the Organization of American States to determine the real facts in the Costa Rican situation, and to assist Costa Rica to defend itself against revolutionary activity receiving help from outside its ter-

Whatever the cause, the greater interest is most wholesome, and has been manifested in the Congress, where problems affecting this area have received sympathetic study, and in sustained coverage of major events in the nations of this hemisphere. All this has led to a keener appreciation of the differences that distinguish the various countries, of the problems each country faces, and of the measures appropriate to their solution.

A good many affirmative steps which I recommended for strengthening understand-

ing and mutual respect have been taken. Thus, our educational-exchange program has been increased by more than 60 percent and additional funds for this purpose may soon be available under the new surplus-disposal act. Government support of American schools in Latin America, and Governmentsponsored visits in Latin America by United States citizens eminent in the sciences, arts, and letters, have been increased by 66 percent.

One of the urgent recommendations I made as a result of long visits with democratic labor leaders in several South American countries—leaders who told me that many trade unionists were at Soviet expense undergoing indoctrination behind the Iron Curtain-was that we increase greatly the visits of leading Latin Americans, including labor leaders to the United States. I am glad to say that our efforts of this type have been increased by more than 200 percent. The number of technicians and labor leaders trained each year in the United States has increased from 560 to about 1,500.

Among the thrilling experiences I had in Latin America were visits to binational centers where thousands of young and older people are learning English, and much about our culture. These centers get some held from us, though they are primarily supported by local funds. Our support was increased by

20 percent this year.

The United States Information Agency has expanded its existing programs of intellectual and cultural cooperation in Latin America. It has also developed new ones especially designed to create better understanding of the economic interdependence of the nations of the Western Hemisphere, the role which private investment and private enterprise can play in improving standards of living, and the contributions which atomic energy can make to the peaceful development of this hemisphere.

I cannot overemphasize the significance of the fact that high officials in most nations of this hemisphere are becoming more familiar with relevant regional and hemispheric problems. Fortunately, in Secretary Dulles, Under Secretary Herbert Hoover, Jr., Henry Holland (Assistant Secretary of State) and Nelson Rockefeller (Special Assistant to the President) we have men who know Latin America intimately and who have a passionate desire to do all that is possible to create better cooperation. How fortunate, too, that during 1954 visits to many parts of Latin America were made by four members of the President's Cabinet, the chairmen of two Senate committees and high officials of the Department of Defense. Shortly, Vice President Nixon and Assistant Secretary Holland will visit those Latin American countries which time did not permit me to include in my own good-will visit. I am tremendously sorry that pressing duties at my university, during its centennial year, prevent me from making the trip with Vice President Nixon as he graciously asked me to do.

Similarly, during 1954 governmental and business leaders from more than half of the countries of Latin America visited the United

Yes, we can surely say that the past 14 months have witnessed intensified, constructive, and successful efforts to strengthen understanding and mutual respect among all the Americas.

And what has been done to promote understanding has also effectively strengthened economic cooperation, the second of the two principal objectives of the recommendations I submitted to the President.

Indeed, it is in the economic area that we have, in my judgment, the greatest opportunity to strengthen relations between the United States and the Republics of Latin America

My most important recommendation here was that the United States adopt and ad-

here to trade policies with Latin America which possess stability and a minimum of mechanisms permitting the imposition of increased tariffs or quotas. I emphasized that real cooperation in this hemisphere can flow only from adherence to consistent economic programs, honorably and continuously observed.

A tremendously important United States contribution to improved inter-American economic relations occurred when the President announced clear and reasonable policies with respect to trade, international finance, and technical aid. Application of these policies in this hemisphere can de-cisively benefit the economies of all American Republics, including the United States.

The policy of our national administration with respect to international trade was stated in two special messages which the President sent to the Congress during the past 12 months. In those messages the President insists we must have a foreign economic program that will stimulate economic growth in the free world; that it is essential for us to take the leadership in promoting the achievement of those high levels of trade that will bring to all the economic strength upon which the freedom and security of all depends; that such levels can be promoted by specific measures with respect to trade barriers; and that we and our friends abroad together undertake the lowering of barriers to trade and investment.

A policy of reduced tariff barriers and expanded trade will contribute more toward the strengthening of the economies of all American republics than any other single measure which could be adopted. Assurance of access to the great market of the United States is the most effective guaranty of economic stability in Latin America. Similar assurance that the other nations of this hemisphere can continue to buy much. of our surplus production is one essential of economic prosperity in the United States. During 1954 our Government demonstrated its determination to assure continued access of Latin American products to this market; thus, the President refused to impose new trade restrictions on lead, zinc, and tung oil.

In a second economic field, that of international finance, our Government has recognized that public and private lending for sound economic development projects must go forward on a substantial scale. In 1954 the United States announced a new policy in this regard. That policy recognizes Latin America's need for additional capital and seeks to meet it, first, by encouraging more activity of private investors, both domestic and foreign and, second, by an expanded program of governmental lending.

Primary emphasis is placed, as it should be, on measures to encourage private investment. Obviously, this encouragement can most effectively be given by the Latin American governments themselves, though we can

be helpful.

Of course the best incentive the United States can give to private investment in Latin America is the maintenance of stable trade relations and a high level of economic activity in our own country, thus helping to assure similar conditions in those countries. Another opportunity to encourage private investment has to do with tax policies. In his message of January 10, the President recommended enactment of legislation that would provide for taxation of business income from foreign subsidiaries or branches at a rate 14 percentage points lower than the regular corporate rate. He recommended that taxes on this income be deferred until it is removed from the country where it is earned. He suggested that we explore the use of tax treaties as a means of encouraging the flow of United States capital abroad, and recommended still other measures which, when adopted, should afford strong encouragement for larger amounts of private capital to flow from the United States to those areas in Latin America where the local investment climate is favorable.

But it is not enough merely to encourage the flow of United States private capital. Public loans should finance desirable, sound projects for which private financing is not available.

In my report I recommended that lending by the Export-Import Bank be expanded and intensified. That has been done. Our Government has assured the nations of Latin America that we will do our utmost to satisfy all applications for sound economic development loans for which capital is not reasonably available from private sources or from the International Bank.

This change in policy is more important than most seem to have realized. Public lending, intelligently managed, can stimulate the development of certain key enterprises—such as transportation—which will make possible the growth of sound private industries and businesses, and for those private capital can be found. Today, in Latin America we have about \$6 billion in private investments, and more than one and a half billion of public investments. On the whole, the return on these investments has been satisfactory. But the flow of capital had at this same time slowed appreciably.

The new Export-Import Bank policy was announced in the middle of 1954. Since then, the bank has authorized 22 loans in 10 Latin American countries, for a total of more than \$158 million. These included loans to private, governmental, and mixed borrowers. They involved agriculture, aviation, rallways, highways, power production, municipal water systems, mining, steel production, and a variety of industrial enterprises.

The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, also active during the past year, authorized loans to 6 countries, totaling more than \$111 million.

These figures show that substantial public credits are now being extended. Our new Government policy insures that this will continue if a sufficient volume of applications for sound loans develops. At present, interestingly enough, both the Export-Import Bank and the International Bank, with ample funds to lend, are prepared to process applications greatly in excess of those now on hand.

The President has announced that, as agreed at the Rio Conference, the administration will support the creation of a new international financing agency. He has recommended approval of Congress for the United States to participate in an International Finance Corporation, as an affiliate to the International Bank. The new corporation will stimulate private investment abroad by making loans without governmental guaranties. Its proposal capital of \$100 million will enable it to undertake operations greatly exceeding that amount by participating with private capital in jointly financing productive enterprises.

The economic development of the Western Hempisphere is just as dependent upon access to technical knowledge and experience as it is upon access to capital and markets. Our technical cooperation programs have been effective in Latin America. This is true of the programs we have undertaken directly with many Latin American governments, and of those conducted by the Organization of American States and the United Nations.

In 1953 I urged that United States participation in these programs be expanded. I am happy to say that United States funds for direct help in Latin America were increased from \$20.4 million last year to \$26 million this year and will likely be increased still more next year; the "servicio" type of cooperative administration—involving United States and host-country sharing of respon-

sibility—has been strengthened; greater use in technical matters has been made of the United States universities, with contracts for such purpose jumping from \$700,000 to \$4.3 million, and a further increase in sight. And our contribution to the technical program of the Organization of American States has been increased from \$1 to \$1.5 million annually.

The United States has recently gone to the aid of several Latin American neighbors when they faced emergency difficulties. Thus, when Bolivia faced a chaotic condition caused by declining tin prices and a resulting inability to import sufficient food to meet the minimum needs of her people—Bolivia normally imports half of the food she consumes—we undertook a program of emergency assistance in that country. That program is providing emergency food supplies, and is also helping Bolivia Increase her food production and transportation facilities so that she will not long need outside help.

Also as an emergency measure, we are now helping Guatemala overcome some of the adverse effects upon her economy left by a period of Communist influence. Similarly, when Haiti was hard hit by hurricane and flood damage last fall, we provided foodstuffs, medical equipment, and other materials which helped her to meet the emergency.

So it is with real satisfaction that we can review recent developments in our inter-American relations. Since the submission of my report to the President, our Government has developed policies of profound importance to all nations of this hemisphere. Applied positively and consistently, those policies will further strengthen the cultural, political, and economic ties that bind together the American family of nations.

These new policies have been exhaustively analyzed in two historic inter-American conferences. They appear to be acceptable to the overwhelming majority of Latin American leaders. At the conclusion of the Rio Economic Conference a statement, unanimously issued by the heads of the 21 delegations, said:

"We leave this conference with the satisfaction of having proved that the American nations here represented are in complete agreement as regards their great objectives in the economic field. These may be summarized as a determination to speed up the progress of each and every one of them within the framework of freedom and justice, through substantial intensification of our inter-American economic, financial and technical cooperation."

The delegates to the Rio Conference Initiated a number of important studies and agreed to meet again—the next time in Buenos Aires in 1956.

Finally, may I say that the new United States policies have the enthusiastic, bipartisan support of all our people. The things we have said we will do are being done.

Let no man, no leader, here or anywhere in the hemisphere doubt the sincerity, the intention, the determination of our Government and our people to do all that is feasible to build a stronger family of nations in this hemisphere.

The President has underscored this determination. In his message to the delegates of the Rio Conference he said that, in the American family of nations, the United States will seek to be more than a good neighbor. It will be a good partner.

This signifies more than a difference of words. It emphasizes a new approach to the problems with which we and our friends in the hemisphere are wrestling. This new approach is a logical evolution of the good neighbor relationship. As good neighbors each American republic tried in the economic field to adopt policies and pursue courses which would not prejudice the inter-

ests of the other members of the total community. Each sought in good faith to respond constructively to requests for cooperation and assistance from the others. In our own country this bipartisan policy gave meaningful direction to our hemipheric relations.

That policy has logically carried us to the relationship that exists between us today, one which is so close that it can no longer accurately be described as that of neighbors. So interdependent are our destinies today that each American republic must recognize its direct, continuing, and even selfish interest in the solution of the critical problems of every other member of the family. We must now be dependable partners in a great and lasting enterprise—the peaceful independence, the prosperity, and the happiness of all our peoples—peoples with great cultural diversity but with interdependent common goals.

This partnership concept is, I believe, shared by our neighbors. It found expression last year not only at two conferences involving all members of OAS, but also in regional conferences in which interdependence and mutuality were the keynotes.

I am grateful to you for asking that I undertake this review. It was almost historic accident, so far as I personally am concerned, that I should have represented the Government and people of the United States on a mission designed to improve relations among some 20 interdependent nations. I knew upon my return that whether relations actually improved would depend upon attitudes yet to be formed, actions yet to be taken. Fortunately, most developments since my trip and report have exceeded my fondest hopes. I should like to express my admiration for this fact to the leaders and peoples throughout the hemisphere.

Surely it will be generally agreed that in the past 14 months we have made progress toward better understanding and mutual respect, and better political, military, and economic cooperation. That is of transcendental importance. As I said in concluding my report, "Working together, the nations of this hemisphere can, if history should so decree, stand firmly against any enemy in war, and prosper mightily together in times of peace."

We Must Stay One Jump Ahead of Our Enemy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include herewith an editorial entitled "We Must Stay One Jump Ahead of Our Enemy," which appeared in the January 31, 1955, issue of the Park City Daily News, of Bowling Green, Ky.

With the prospects of a hot war in the Far East it is of supreme importance that the best engineering brains in our country be encouraged to help develop new weapons and methods of warfare entirely different from anything we have had in the past. The attractive future that Russia holds out to young people in this field is increasing her number of scientists at an alarming rate while in the United States the number is dimin-

ishing. A lag in the development of new weapons could mean the margin of free-

The editorial is as follows:

WE MUST STAY ONE JUMP AHEAD OF OTTR ENEMY

When France dug in behind the costly Maginot line after World War I, it was common for forwardlooking military men to say the French were "preparing to fight the last war again." France's bitter defeat in World War II seemed to confirm this judgment. and free peoples have tried to learn a hard lesson from that experience.

The lesson is that we must not be shackled by outmoded weapons and materials and strategies as we plan for our safety in the face of hostile forces. The pace of tech-nological advance today is terrific. We must stay abreast of it in the military field particularly, if we want to hold our freedom

Our leaders well know this. And while we are still planning specifically for a possible war in which nuclear explosives would be delivered by piloted aircraft, we are actually developing weapons for an even more frightening phase of warfare—the age of intercontinental missiles.

American defense authorities tell us they have reached the "pay-off stage" in putting together a guided missile that will be able to sweep 5,000 miles across the globe at speeds up to an incredible 9,000 miles per hour.

This means that such a weapon launched from a site near our eastern seaboard could in little more than half an hour strike deep into eastern Germany. Missiles launched westward from Hawaii could seek out targets on the huge China mainland.

One of the most amazing features of this rocket, which would of course be fitted with an atomic warhead, is its potential accuracy. Our experts are aiming at a weapon which will strike within a 20-mile-wide circle after a 5,000-mile trip through the stratosphere.

Presumably our experimental missiles are not yet that accurate, and they will not be tested on any important scale until they approach that goal. When that time arrives-and even informed guesses about it are rated military secrets—we will have to begin seriously reshaping both our offensive and defensive strategies.

Indeed, it is not too early now to start thinking about the kind of warning systems and defensive weapons we shall need when intercontinental missiles become a major part of not only our arsenal but Russia's as

There can no longer be comfort for us in mere numerical superiority, whether it be in "conventional" nuclear weapons or the new guided missiles. Our future safety may depend on the quality and ingeniousness of the weapons we devise. As our experts put it, we must stay one jump ahead of our enemy.

That one jump could be the margin of freedom.

Opinion of Vegetable Growers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. KARL C. KING

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. KING of Pennsylvania. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include the following resolutions of the

Vegetable Growers Association of Amer-

1. Subsidies and price supports: We are opposed to public subsidies and Government price supports for the production of vegetables because they decrease efficiency of production, increase cost to the consumer, and in the end involve Government regulation and artificial controls of production itself. We urge all other segments of agriculture to embrace this principle as rapidly as possible and thus avoid the otherwise ultimate socialization of agriculture and the further degeneration of the individual.

2. Secretary of Agriculture, Ezra Taft Benson: The Vegetable Growers Association of America commends Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, for his effort to bring marketing and production freedom to American agriculture and endorses his position that high, mandatory supports encourage overproduction, inefficient farming, and ulti-

mately lowered prices.

3. Released acreage under price-supported crops (diverted acreage): The Government is temporarily committed to high price supports for certain agricultural commodities, and under the production controls of those crops substantial acreage will be forcibly removed. In the interest of avoiding a shifting of the crisis of overproduction from crop to crop and particularly to those crops whose producers request no artificial supports by public moneys, American sense of fair play and equity demand that all acreage thus removed from production of supported crops be planted or devoted to soil-building crops for nonharvested, nongrazing, soil-conserving purposes only, and that such compliance be made a condition of eligibility for any price supports or subsidy payments. Legislation required to define and accomplish this

Ten Commands for Our Youth

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES C. AUCHINCLOSS

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. AUCHINCLOSS. Mr. Speaker, the youth activities committee of the Asbury Park Elks Lodge, No. 128, under the leadership and inspiration of Joseph A. Liebesman, has started a movement to promote a more thoughtful approach to life and American principles and ideals among the youth of the land, and I am glad to call it to the attention of my colleagues. They have had printed in color on special paper, approximately 8 by 10 inches in size, what is entitled "Ten Commands for Our Youth," which are as follows:

Thou shall have faith in our country. Thou shall have faith in our leaders. Thou shall have respect for thy teachers. Thou shall have good thoughts. Thou shall keep good company. Thou shall be optimistic. Thou shall help the unfortunate.

Thou shall honor and respect thy parents. Thou shall be thankful for America.

Thou shall practice the Golden Rule.

Copies have been distributed widely through various outlets by the Benevolent Protective Order of Elks in different parts of the country, and it has met with general approval by many who

have to do with the problems of youth. May I quote from a few of the letters which Mr. Liebesman has received:

It was nice of you to offer the very important youth commands, and we will be happy to make these available to our scout organization.-J. Fred Billett, scout execu-

May I thank you for your courtesy in this matter. We are impressed with the tenets there set forth for the guidance of young American.—Rear Adm. W. F. Boone, Super-intendent, United States Naval Academy.

We have in Spokane several gentlemen who are interested in young men and they were delighted to receive these, and will make good use of them in their work .- Arthur Meehan.

mayor, Spokane, Wash.

I wanted you to know how pleased I am to receive copies of the Ten Commands for Our Youth. This advice to the youth of our country is indeed appropriate, and you are most thoughtful in bringing these commands to my attention.-J. Edgar Hoover, Director, Federal Bureau of Investigation.

I wish to take this opportunity to thank you for sending me the copies of Ten Commandments for Our Youth. I believe they are very good. You are to be commended for your work on behalf of the youth of our Nation. I plan to display these Ten Commandments on our reading table-I believe that they have a great deal of merit, not only for the youth, but for we older people as well .-Sigurd Anderson, Governor of South Dakota.

Mr. Speaker, these are only a few quotations from the many letters which Mr. Liebesman has received, and I am sure we all wish him well in distributing such a sound doctrine for the benefit of the youth of our country.

The President's Budget

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS G. ABERNETHY

OF MISSISSIPPI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. ABERNETHY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include an article taken from a recent bulletin issued by the Southern States Industrial Council, as follows:

Ike's budget presents a number of contradictions and some possibly wishful thinking. First, some of the contradictions:

The President says that this budget was shaped by a "liberal attitude toward the welfare of the people and a conservative approach to the use of their money."

Just what, precisely, does that mean?

Does it means that the liberal attitude toward welfare is to remain an attitude only, that it is not to be implemented by various welfare programs, all of which cost

In other parts of the budget we find the answer: An increase in spending for health, education, and welfare. "I am recommend-ing." the President said, "somewhat increased expenditures in particular areas important to human well-being."

As a matter of fact, and showing the trend,

this is the largest request for welfare funds ever submitted to Congress. For the first time, requested appropriations for this purpose are greater than those for agriculture, commerce, general government, or natural resources. Only the proposed appropriations for national defense, veterans' benefits, interest on the national debt, and foreign aid are greater.

Another contradiction is found in the view, which is a new one for Ike: That the budget can never be balanced by reduced spending, but only through increased revenues.

but only through increased revenues.

In a budget which includes such astronomical sums as \$12 billion for "the various civil benefit programs of the Government" and \$3.5 billion for foreign aid—an increase, incidentally, of three-quarters of a billion over what Congress appropriated for this year—it should be possible to find areas where additional cuts can be made. To deny this, it is argued, is scarcely the best way to "foster the traditional incentive of the American people." As the President himself admitted, Federal taxes now take approximately 25 percent of the national income.

That the present boom will continue to roll and expand is the fervent hope of the administration and almost everyone else. Maybe it will. Ike has been almost fantastically lucky. But is this hope and Ike's luck sufficient warrant for the assumption that there will not be even a slight recession during the coming 18 months? Many people here feel that it is not—that a greater margin of safety should have been allowed.

Congress Shouldn't Trim on Pay Hikes

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN C. KLUCZYNSKI

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. KLUCZYNSKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorial from the Chicago Sun-Times of February 5, 1955:

CONGRESS SHOULDN'T TRIM ON PAY HIRES

If the salary scale for Federal judges and Members of Congress were based on individual merit or time spent on the job, some would deserve substantial pay cuts. But a majority of the Members of Con-

But a majority of the Members of Congress and of the Federal judiciary are conscientious, hard working and underpaid. They shouldn't be penalized as a class for the derelictions of a few dunderheads and laggards who happen to be in their midst.

The arguments in favor of raising the pay of judges and Federal lawmakers are over-whelming. For one thing, higher compensation would be bound to attract candidates for Congress who are well qualified but who now hesitate to run because of the financial sacrifices that would be involved. While few lawyers would turn down an appointment to the Federal bench, it is nevertheless true that many have accepted the posts at a sacrifice far beyond the normal call of duty.

The average Senator and House Member must maintain two homes—one where he hails from and the other in Washington. Some get around this expensive problem by maintaining full-time residences in the Capital and part-time residences, sometimes in a hotel, at home. But even that, or a reverse of it, is not cheap. Moreover, the average Member of Congress is expected to keep in fairly close touch which his constituents and that entails considerable travel to and from the Capital—most of it being paid for out of the lawmaker's own pocket.

He is expected to dine, if not wine, his constituents when they visit him in Washington. Not infrequently, a visiting constituent may ask him for a memento, such

as a flag which has been flown briefly over the Capitol and which the constituent can boast about after he has returned home. These items are paid for by the lawmakers.

At present, Senators and House Members receive a total personal compensation of \$15,000 a year. While many of them could live comfortably on that salary as private citizens at home, they, as Members of Congress, are unable to make ends meet. As a consequence, many Senators and House members take to the lecture platform or write magazine articles to increase their incomes to meet family obligations.

Of course, some Members of Congress are men of private means and others have law practices which benefit as a result of their holding congressional office. But wealth or a law practice should not be a requisite for men or women seeking a seat in Congress.

The salary of a Member of Congress should be enough to enable him to live in dignity without going into debt, and to permit him to meet his obligations as a Federal lawmaker as well as private citizen.

Senate and House subcommittees have now approved congressional pay raises that vary between \$7,500 and \$10,000 a year. We believe that the higher figure, recommended by a special commission last year, is the one that should be adopted. The overall difference between the higher and the lower figure in the Federal budget would be infinitesimal. Congress should have the courage to do right by itself, regardless of what some disgruntled constituents or political opponents at home may say.

By the same token, the boosts in pay for Federal judges recommended by the same committees are generous, but not generous enough. The present recommendation is to raise United States district court judges from \$15,000 a year to \$22,500, instead of the \$27,500 recommended by the special commission last year. Supreme Court Justices would be raised form \$25,000 to \$35,000, instead of the \$39,500 urged by the commission.

As in the case of the congressional pay increases, we feel that the Nation would be better served if Congress were to approve the higher rather than the lower figures for the Federal judiciary.

Free China Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include remarks made by me on October 10, 1954, in Boston, Mass., at a dinner conducted by the Chinese Community in Boston celebrating Free China Day, proclaimed by the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the city council and mayor of the city of Boston.

The address follows:

October 10 is a great day among freedomloving Chinese all over the world. It is to the freedom-loving people of China and to Chinese nationals here and abroad what the Fourth of July is to our beloved country.

And it was on October 10, 1911, that Dr. Sun Yat-sen put into motion the democratic revolution in China that changed the face of Asia. This is the "double 10" anniversary of the free Chinese all over the world, commemorating that great event and rededicating themselves to the principles for which Dr. Sun stood and which the Chinese revolution carried into effect.

We all know of the great principles that Dr. Sun stood for and put into operation, of his struggle for a free government in China, of the ideal of government that was truly representative, truly free, and dedicated to the welfare of the people.

The policy of our Government in relation to Formosa and adjoining islands under control of the Nationalist Chinese Government is most confusing to me, and I am sure to you.

We know that under President Truman there was a firm policy which was clearly understood by everyone. That policy did not change from week to week or from month to month.

We remember the promise of the present administration to unleash Chiang Kai-shek and his forces, meaning they would return some day to the mainland to liberate China and its people. It is well know that millions of Chinese on the mainland oppose the Communist regime and are waiting and praying for the day of their deliverance.

They are waiting to help overthrow their vicious tyrants, for the Chinese are a liberty-loving people with an intense love of the family life.

Some months ago we found out that Chiang could not engage in any activity—even from islands other than Formosa, without the consent or permission of our Government. That was a great surprise to me, as I am sure it was to you. That secret agreement was inconsistent with the other promise openly made: To unleash the forces of Chiang Kai-shek.

There was certainly no unleashing if Chiang and his forces could not move without our permission.

In recent months, the aggressive Red move against Quemoy has brought about some noticeable changes.

You will remember, as I do, that the President said, in substance, that the Red Chinese would have to roll over the 7th Fleet if they attacked Formosa.

That was a clear and understandable state-

But statements have been made in recent months which tend to conflict with this and to confuse me.

It was only recently that an admiral with the 7th Fleet said that we would not consider nuisance air attacks by Red China on Formosa as a violation of our policy. In the first instance, it was strange that a military man should issue this statement which if true, and it has not been denied, constitutes a change in our policy toward Formosa itself.

It is most unusual under our form of government for military men to announce a policy, and this particularly applies to foreign affairs. This disturbs me very much.

Military leaders submit their views within their proper field. But decisions on foreign affairs and their announcement is a civilian duty and responsibility under our form of government.

When made, involving the military, the military carries out the decisions and the policy.

This is not the first time in recent months when a military leader has made public announcement concerning foreign policy.

You will also remember it was an admiral who publicly announced that the Pescadore Islands would be defended by the 7th Fleet, in the event of a Red attack. While I agree with this, it should have been announced by civilian and not military authorities.

For ours is a civilian and not a military government. I am greatly disturbed during the past 2 years with the military usurping civilian responsibility.

civilian responsibility.

I am a strong supporter of a powerful military organization—but as the servants are

not the masters of our Government, we cannot afford the military to inject themselves further into matters that belong to the civilian side of government.

Furthermore, what is a nuisance attack? That raises many serious questions.

It might well be observed that that statement could well operate as an excuse for the Reds to attack Formosa by air. If so will we tie the hands of Chiang in any action to meet and prevent such attacks?

Is such a statement consistent with rolling

over the 7th Fleet?

When is nuisance attack not a nuisance attack?

Who will determine this question?

My understanding is that the Reds would have to roll over the 7th Fleet was that any kind of attack on Formosa would violate this policy. That seems to me to be commonsense.

And I now find out that nuisance attacks will not. What number of Red planes would

constitute a nuisance attack?

I am wondering where does that leave us. What interpretation will be placed upon it by the Chinese Reds and the Soviet Union? Will they consider such a statement an excuse or an invitation to attack by air?

And what about Quemoy?

Outside of a few persons, and I am not one of them, no one knows what our policy will be if the Reds attack Quemoy.

There have been intimations from responsible American sources that if Quemoy is attacked-outside of furnishing arms and advice-the United States will remain inac-

One admiral connected with the 7th Fleet has indicated this in a press conference

of a few weeks ago.

Admiral Radford, to the contrary, in a recent speech strongly indicated that the loss of Quemoy would be harmful to the defense of Formosa. In other words, the defeat of Quemoy would make it easier for a successful Red attack on Formosa.

And yet our policy, so far as I can ascertain from the newspapers, is supposed to be a flexible one—we will keep the Reds guessing. That involves a calculated risk, either way.

It is my strong opinion that a firm statement by our duly substituted authorities that a Red attack on Quemoy would be considered an act of aggression might well deter

such an attack being made.

It is my feeling that our present policy in relation to Quemoy will invite and might

well prompt the Reds to attack.

And then we come to the latest information with reference to our policy in relation to Formosa and the islands held by the Nationalist Government.

While to date there is no official announcement, all papers have carried the story from reliable diplomatic sources that "Nationalist China has stopped bombing attacks on the Chinese mainland at the suggestion of the United States." This confuses me further.

Certainly this is not carrying out the promise of unleashing Chiang Kai-shek and his forces. It seems to me that, if the news item is correct, this would seem to be tying

his hands.

I am frank in stating that I am confused. I have no definite idea as to what our policy is now in connection with Formosa and that important area of the world.

It is my opinion that our policy should be a firm one, should be made known, and the line drawn, and that we let the Reds know

We will stand by our policy.

Certainly, if we will help defend Formosa and the Pescadores Islands in case of attack, if that is our policy, and I consider it a wise one, it seems to me that this should cover any other Nationalist-held islands that are important to the defense of the Formosa and the Pescadores group.

Population of 220 Million Seen by 1975

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM H. NATCHER

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. NATCHER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include herewith an editorial entitled "Population of 220 Million Seen by 1975," which appeared in the February 2, 1955, issue of the Owensboro Messenger, of Owensboro, Ky.

This editorial urges that our planners from the White House down to our little township offices study these figures and in turn take proper action thereon. I am in complete agreement with this view.

When we realize that we have 7,000 new mouths to feed each day in this country it is time for us to pause and consider just what this increasing population means to our agricultural policies and programs. This increase means that more production will be needed every year unless we reduce our standard of living.

The editorial is as follows:

POPULATION OF 220 MILLION SEEN BY 1975

Some of the American people may think the population experts are talking through their hats when they predict a United States population of 220 million by 1975. But the figures for 1954 certainly make the experts look good.

Last year the number of Americans Increased by 2,830,000, the largest yearly gain in the country's entire history. For 8 straight years, we have added more than 2,500,000 people annually to the population.

How do these astonishing figures come about?

In the first place, in 1954 we had around 4,060,000 births, the most in any year on record. Secondly, tentative indications are that the death rate dropped to an all-time low of 9.2 per 1,000 population.

The great boom in births is by now an old Not so well appreciated is this continuing improvement in the national health, as reflected by declining death rates. The death rate has now been below 10 per 1,000 for seven successive years, an especially notable thing in the light of the steady rise in the proportion of older folk in the American population.

In addition to these factors, of course, we get each year a small increment from immigration. Last year it came to some 200,000.

But obviously, in projecting population prospects for the next two decades and beyond, the experts are deeply impressed by the continuing remarkable trends in birth and death rates.

Trends are not sure-fire. They can be radically altered by unforeseen factors. Another great war, a real depression, such cataclysmic events could upset all predictions. World War II and its aftermath certainly threw out of the window the experts' forecasts made during the 1930's.

As a sidelight on the gains that have brought our present population total to approximately 164 million, it is interesting to note that the Pacific Coast States still are climbing at a rate higher than the national average, though not as fast as during the Florida is still pushing upward gains of around 6 percent a year, three times the United States average. Nevada and Arizona have even higher rates of increase, but they start from a low total population base.

Let's hope that our planners, from the White House down to dusty little township offices, are reading these figures and acting upon them. If they do not, the United States by 1975 will be the most tangled civilization on the face of the globe.

Sale of Government-Owned Synthetic-Rubber Plants to Private Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WILLIAM H. AYRES

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. AYRES. Mr. Speaker, on January 24 there was submitted to this House and referred to the Armed Services Committee a report recommending sale of the Government-owned synthetic-rubber plants to private industry.

I have spoken on previous occasions of the legislation which we passed to authorize this sale. Today I would like to commend the Rubber Producing Facilities Disposal Commission on an out-

standing job.

Since we required them to operate under a very strict set of ground rules with respect to assuring free competition, obtaining full fair value, and guaranteeing the security interests of the United States, they were compelled literally to pioneer new fields. No previous disposal of Government property had ever been taken under such restrictive

How well they did this job is reflected

in the report now before us.

As for security, contracts for every facility contain clauses assuring the availability of that facility to the Nation's security needs for 10 years.

As to the fair value criterion, the recommendations point out that the synthetic-rubber program, including contract prices, cash on hand, and inventories to be disposed of, will return \$401,-565,000 to the United States Treasury. Of this amount, the recommended sales of the plants, miscellaneous equipment, and inventory accounts for \$310,565,000.

Not all of the facilities are being sold. Because there were no bids on some facilities or because bids on another were too low, the Commission recommends placing in ready standby three facilities with a net book value as of April 30. 1955, of \$18,557,000.

The unrecovered investment of the American people in the plants recommended for sale, plus the plants to be put in standby, plus operating losses for the wartime years, is placed by the Commission at \$272,918,800. Recommended plant sales—even taking into account the plants earmarked for standby-represent 96.6 percent of the taxpayers' unrecovered investment.

Against the yardstick of any previous disposal of Government's property, this would certainly represent full fair value, in my opinion.

As regards the Commission's directive from the Congress to develop a disposal pattern shaped to foster a free and competitive industry, I would call attention to this phase of the report.

Rubber manufacturers who were successful bidders and have in their own requirements for rubber a captive market are required by contract to divert fixed percentages of their production to the free market to be available to small business.

. In two instances, sales were made to nonrubber manufacturers who have no captive market. It is interesting to note that the several hundred rubber manufacturing companies which will have no interest in the facilities disposed of, purchased from the Government last year 127,000 long tons of general purpose synthetic rubber to meet their requirements in a year of high industrial activity.

The disposal recommendations create a pattern which would make 242,000 tons of total rubber available to the non-

captive market.

port:

This would in effect put 2 pounds of supply in competition for every pound of market in the whole area of non-captive rubber requirements. This will be a reassuring thing, I am sure, to the small consumer. It is evidence, moreover, of the earnest effort put forth by the Commission to satisfy the criterion of free competition which we laid down in the Disposal Act of 1953.

In this connection, I would like to call your attention to the following editorial from the Akron Beacon Journal of January 26, 1955, which I feel makes significant comment on the Commission's re-

GOING, GOING

Unless Congress disapproves within 60 days, 24 plants which comprise the bulk of the Government-owned synthetic rubber industry will be sold to private corporations for a total of \$310.565,000.

Far from disapproving, Congress and the Nation as a whole ought to applaud this highly satisfactory conclusion of a historymaking chapter of cooperation between the

Government and private industry.

Of the billions upon billions of dollars which the United States had to spend to carry World War II to a successful conclusion, none produced a greater money's worth at the time nor has turned out to have a better "cash-in" value.

Creation of the plants early in the war was an industrial miracle, brought about by Government money and priorities and the rubber, chemical, and oil industry's technical knowledge. Without this source of rubber, every phase of our military and civilian activities would have been crippled and victory would have been long delayed.

In the years immediately following the war, the rubber-making facilities kept consumers—and that includes everyone in this country—from being gouged of hundreds of millions of dollars in inflated prices for na-

tural rubber.

Ever since 1948, the Beacon Journal has been urging that the plants ought to be sold to private industry; that in peacetime the Government had no proper function as a manufacturer and that private competition might improve the product and lower the cost.

The Korean war postponed active steps toward disposal but in 1953 a Republican Congress set up a procedure for sale, based largely on a pattern set under a Democratic administration in 1948.

On July 25, 1953, we said:

"The surest way to carry the rubber disposal program on to a successful conclusion would be for the President to name to the Commission three men of such recognized integrity and sound judgment that no one would think of questioning their recommendations.

"This would be a Commission of comparable standing to the one which, in 1942, sized up the Nation's serious rubber shortage and made drastic recommendations for its solution."

President Eisenhower appointed Holman D. Pettibone, a Chicago banker, as Chairman; Leslie R. Rounds, a banker from New York and Maine, and Everett R. Cooke, a Memphis cotton broker. They, in turn, chose Eugene Holland, a Chicago industrialist, as executive director.

This group was not as well known as the Baruch-Conant-Compton Commission of 1942 but its performance has been equally as competent, hardheaded, and patriotic.

competent, hardheaded, and patriotic.

After surveying its responsibilities through a personal inspection of all the facilities, the Commission carried on months of tough bargaining with potential buyers and has come up with bids that represent a return to the taxpayers of 96.6 of their total unrecovered investment.

No one but an out-and-out demogog could possibly call these proposed sales a giveaway.

No one but an out-and-out Socialist would argue that ownership of these facilities should remain in the hands of the Government.

Adequate safeguards have been provided to make sure that defense need will be fulfilled in case of war. The Attorney General has certified that the prospective distribution of ownership is such that no problem of monopoly is involved.

By all means, Congress ought to give its blessing to the sales as arranged by the Rubber Producing Facilities Disposal Commis-

sion.

Federal Aid to Education Means Federal Control

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. RALPH HARVEY

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HARVEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following editorials from the Shelbyville (Ind.) News and the Greenfield Daily Reporter:

[From the Shelbyville (Ind.) News]
FEDERAL AID TO EDUCATION MEANS FEDERAL
CONTROL

The Indiana PTA Members Study Group, which has long contended that the members of every local parent-teacher association should have a vote on the legislative program of the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, has come forth with some statements which seem to us to make good sense in reference to Federal aid to education.

"No responsible person," says a bulletin from the study group, "advocates Federal control of education. In fact, proponents of Federal aid invariably couple with their proposals the qualifying phrase, with maximum local control."

"This is a very important fact to remember. For in any controversy, each point that can be removed from the realm of dispute simplifies the consideration of issues that remain.

"If, therefore, all agree that Federal control of education is bad, the only question left is whether or not Federal aid to education is likely to bring Federal control of education.

"The friends of Federal aid take a cheerful view of this question. Their zeal seems to overwhelm their judgment. They are confident that education can be financed in Washington but controlled at home.

"The foes of Federal aid prefer to base their predictions on history rather than hope

"Vocational education has long enjoyed the fruits of Federal aid and it is most frequently set forth as exhibit A in proof that the Federal purse strings need not become instruments of control.

"Of course only the naive, or those who thought their listeners were naive, would refer to this example. For the slightest investigation readily reveals that in vocational education, as in every other endeavor importantly financed by the Federal Government, the Federal Government controls the program."

The PTA Members Study Group Bulletin also calls attention to House of Representatives Document No. 529, 75th Congress, 3d session, as a summary of the happenings in the cited instance as follows:

"The conclusion is inescapable that the Federal control over vocational education has been so administered under the authority of the statutes as to shape very definitely and decidedly the development of the programs of vocational education in the States and local communities. The federally supported program has to a considerable extent become a federally dictated program. * * *"

The same sentiment, the bulletin cites, has been expressed as follows by George E. Myers, professor of vocational education at the University of Michigan, in an article appearing in the Harvard Educational Review:

"The control will go more and more to the Federal Government, whatever legislation is enacted. Many State directors of vocational education are coming to be looked on as agents of the United States Office of Education rather than as employees of their State boards of vocational education."

"The lessons of history," the study group bulletin adds, "are clear and without exception. In every instance, in every field, Federal control has accompanied Federal money. Thus only those who want such controls should seek Federal funds. When this point is clearly understood the whole movement for Federal aid to education will promptly and properly collapse."

Another important instance of the workings of Federal control is cited in the fact that the State of Indiana has been ordered by the United States Civil Service Commission to fire four employees of the State Department of Conservation because they allegedly took part in politics in violation of the Hatch Act governing Federal employees. The Federal Government takes the position it has the right to dictate to our State in this manner because it gives Indiana some \$345,000 a year for conservation. Thus we are again forcibly reminded that a State cannot take Federal aid without taking Federal orders.

In short, the Government in Washington considers that it has bought and paid for the right to control us. But bought it with what? With \$345,000 of our own money. "If you'll be good," they as much as say, "we'll give you back \$345,000 of the more than a billion dollars we take from you each year."

And yet there are those who say that we can get Federal aid for our school budgets and for erecting new school buildings without sacrificing our independents to run our own school affairs.

[From the Greenfield (Ind.) Daily Reporter] COME EASY—GO EASY

Aside from an FHA-style loan insurance by the Federal Government for local communities faced with the necessity of heavy borrowing for school expansion, which will be included in the coming presidential proposals for the school emergency, there is still a strong sentiment in Congress for more direct and substantial cash aid from Uncle Sam.

Senator Lister Hill, of Alabama, chairman of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, has introduced a bill along this line. In a broad sense it proposes to take the ultimate revenues which the Government stands to gain from the present arrangement as to offshore oil, and spend a considerable portion of this in aid for school construction.

Of course, this is strictly "counting your chickens before they hatch." There are estimates of the value of the United States portion of this petroleum at around \$6 billions. But this is ultimate, not now, as the oil is still in the rock, There might be a lot of illiterates reach adulthood before these funds were available, were they the only source of school development.

However, a speculative, "windfall" proposition has considerable appeal to a lot of people. At least, it would be a substantial fund which would not be directly reflected in Federal taxes or deficits. "Come easy, go easy" has a human connotation.

Even if the supposed fabulous fortunes of offshore oil were already available, we still would not favor a free-hand distribution to the pressed local school corporations of the land. Such a situation encourages extravagance and waste, as well as encouraging local school corporations to relinquish a part of their rights and responsibilities for operating schools to a far away central government, which soon might be dictating method and curriculum and extending centralized control over a vital local job.

It is not too hard to imagine some future Washington administration which might seize upon the opportunity to indoctrinate socially and politically the youngsters required to attend the schools thus partially built or maintained. This could be done by a Federal hand in the selection of school texts, twisted histories, biased economics. You say: "It couldn't happen here." Perhaps not, but it did in Germany and Russia where the Central Government had free hand with the schools. We have had occasional trouble in this country, with text selections pinned to the State levels, where books which were quite notably slanted crept into the approved lists and there has been the Devil's own time getting rid of them, even after they had been discovered and exposed.

School corporations fall broadly into three categories: (1) Those who are able and willing and stoutly shoulder the considerable load of maintaining adequate schools; (2) those which by reason of poverty, extravagance, poor management or other unusual circumstances are honestly, although perhaps temporarily, unable to do the best of school jobs; (3) schools who have a similarity to Secretary Wilson's "kennel dogs." They are content to sit on their tails and howl, far short of being fully extended, awaiting some good fairy to come along with an easy solution to their dilemma.

Our observation is that several areas have quite a percentage of these last. They appear more frequently in States where the public-school system has never been exemplary or on a high standard. Always primitive, they remain so, and are frequently

selected as horrible examples by those who are the most earnest partisans of promoting substantial aid from outside.

But there is not good reason to penalize the taxpayers residing in those areas which are willing and able and doing a good job with their schools, in order to help the other areas whose citizens are unwilling to go all out under their own power to accomplish school improvement. And, that is definitely what most forms of Federal grants of funds would do.

What Can We Do About Communism?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I include, with pleasure, the articles written by a close friend whom I admire very much, Hon. Thomas Dorgan, of Boston, Mass., clerk of the Superior Court for Criminal Business of Suffolk County, Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

The first article, "Truth Destroys Reds," appeared in the Boston Traveler of January 27, 1955, and the second one, "Atheism Is Red Source," in the Boston Traveler of February 3, 1955. Mr. Dorgan has consistently and intelligently fought and exposed for years the sinister evil and destructive plans and purposes of international Communism in the United States and on the world scale.

The articles follow:

[From the Boston Traveler of January 27, 1955]

WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT COMMUNISM?— TRUTH DESTROYS REDS

(By Thomas Dorgan)

In fighting against the Communist conspiracy it is necessary to enlist the powerful weapon of public opinion. We have seen how the Communist conspirators hate the light.

They cannot stand exposure. They shout hysterically when their actions are being uncovered. They are afraid of public opinion.

An attitude is often more important than a law in society. In a women's club, where there is no law against drinking on the premises but where there is a firm attitude against it, you will have no drinking.

But if there is a club with a law against

But if there is a club with a law against drinking, while at the same time the attitude of the members favors drinking, you will have much violation of the law.

POWERFUL FORCE FOR CORRECTION

So it is with public opinion. A properly formed and informed public opinion is one of the most powerful forces for correcting social evils, deterring crime, encouraging integrity among public officials and fostering public decency and morality.

In a free society, people have free access to the truth. The organs of public education and information are dedicated to the spread of truth.

The schools, the press, and radio, the pulpit, and public rostrum seek to discharge their public responsibility by first of all being loyal to the truth.

If the people became confused, misin-

If the people became confused, misinformed on vital issues, then the society of such people is being threatened with extinction through indifference, or explosion through blind revolution.

SOFTEN UP PUBLIC OPINION

Before they can take over a country, the conspirators must soften up public opinion.

When the Red and pink press enthusiastically pumped the party line into the stream of American public opinion, Americans naturally became confused about the reality of the Communist conspiracy.

Today, American public opinion is changing. The public exposures of the congressional investigating committees are having a telling effect.

People want to learn more about the great conspiracy and are more opened-minded toward information concerning it.

The publishing houses are responding to the ready market. Writers and journalists who are anti-Communist have readier access to contact public opinion.

A few of the basic ideas that the Red and pink press repeated constantly to the confusion of public opinion are:

1. Communism is an idea and must be taken care of in the market of ideas.

But there was a big void in the market of scholarly writing and documented records opposing the evil of the conspiracy. The "market" often was closed to anti-Communists.

2. The challenge of communism can be met only by social reform.

But if the Communist conspiracy goes unchecked, social justice will have no future. 3. Let's clean up our own backyard first.

No one will contest the sound advice contained in this idea. But the muddled liberals made it mean that we should concentrate exclusively on removing the injustices from western democracies, while ignoring the much greater and inhuman injustices of the Communist conspirators throughout the world.

4. The Communist Party in America is only a political party.

They want us to think that the Communist group of conspirators must be given the same legal recognition and protection for public assembly and discussion and propaganda as any organization of loyal American citizens. The tragedy is, they have largely succeeded.

5. Something ought to be done about communism, but—

This was the line followed by the pinkoes who talked out of both sides of their mouths at the same time. They professed to be opposed to communism theoretically.

But they maintained you could not find any practical way to restrain it without destroying the "freedom" and "liberty" of loyal citizens.

6. Everybody has a right to a government job.

When the Eisenhower administration said the basic issue was not loyalty but rather security, and openly declared that the safety of the Nation came first, it helped to clarify public opinion and protect the Nation against this false idea.

7. Nobody can incur guilt by association with Communists.

In upholding the constitutionality of New York State's Feinberg law, the United States Supreme Court, by a majority vote of 6 to 3, dealt a decisive legal blow to all psuedo-liberal "associationists." The Court said:

"One's associates, past and present, as well as one's conduct, may properly be considered in determining fitness and loyalty." What can we do about communism?

What can we do about communism?
One of the main answers surely ought to

One of the main answers surely ought to be to clarify our own minds on the confused ideas that work as a smokescreen for the conspiracy.

The truth shall make men free, and this is particularly important in dealing with the great conspiracy that loves darkness and confusion.

An informed public opinion is one of the most powerful antidotes to the poison of militant atheistic communism.

[From the Boston Traveler of February 3, 1955]

WHAT CAN WE DO ABOUT COMMUNISM?— ATHEISM IS RED SOURCE

(By Thomas Dorgan)

The main problem presented by communism is a spiritual problem. Before you can find out what human society should be, you have to know what man is.

The question many people must begin to aswer today is: "Are we apes or men?" answer today is:

Those who believe in God also believe there is a difference between the ape and a They believe a man has been made in God's image and likeness.

SOURCE OF ALL IDEALS

That is why they have such a high idea of man's dignity. That is where they find the source of man's inalienable rights.

That is where they get the foundation for

man's code of conduct.

For people who do not believe in God, there is only a difference of degree between apes in the jungle and his blood-brothers dwell-

The difference is merely in the fact that city dwellers have been domesticated. They have been tamed. They have been trained by education.

It is not surprising that, when cornered or frustrated, the atheist easily reverts to the law of the jungle.

EXPLAINS RED CHARACTERISTICS

This explains the constant, cunning deceit, the butchery and torture, the heart-less defiance of human dignity, moral law, international law, civilization and world opinion that has characterized the inhuman march of the atheistic comrades toward world conquest.

When people ask what can we de do about communism, many answers can be given.

I have suggested a few in this series of articles, which is being completed today.

I believe that on the basis of the record of the past 35 years, it is utterly futile to try to discuss human affairs intelligently with these barbarians.

The "ape men" in the Kremlin should never had been permitted to sit as equals

in the society of nations.

(The United Nations Charter calls for peace-loving nations" to sit within its chamber. What is peace-loving about Russia and her satellites?)

FORCE IS ONLY CHECK

Internationally, the only check for the advance of this 20th century barbarism is superior force of arms.

On the national level, as I have pointed out, communism should be checked by constantly relentless public exposure, plus firm and adequate legal measures enforced by civil authority.

But to check communism is not the same as to conquer it. You can check it on 100 different fronts. To conquer it you must go after the source.

The source of the horrible evil is found in atheism.

If we want to get rid of the Marx-Lenin-Malenkov-Stalin brand of communism, we must get rid of atheism.

cannot do this with guns. It is a problem for our spiritual leaders.

It is a problem for all men of good will, rekindling the fires of their faith and love.

MUST TEST CONSCIENCE

But it will help mightily in this battle if, as a nation, we make a healthy examination of conscience and find out the source of the spread of atheism.

It is foolish to wait until we have to face the conspiracy on the battlefield. We must be concerned with it here and now as it exists in our midst.

What can we do about communism? There are many answers.

Let us not underestimate it. Let us know it. Let us relentlessly expose it. Let us take legal measures to check it.

Let us seek to eliminate its harmful influence that rises from its poisoned source on the lips of those professors who brazenly propagate or subtly insinuate athelsm in our schools and colleges.

Let school boards and boards of trustees be more vigilant in whom they hire.

Above all, let us join with all men of good will in bringing about a spiritual reawakening in the lives of our communities.

If Communists are militant, let us be more militant. If Communists seek brotherhood, let us seek brotherhood more earnestly.

But let the watchword be "freedom and

brotherhood under God."

"Junk" Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following petition of the Saginaw-Bay-Midland branch of the Michigan Rural Letter Carrier's Association and concerning the rates on firstand third-class mail:

RESOLUTION OF THE SAGINAW-BAY-MIDLAND COUNTIES BRANCH OF THE MICHIGAN RUBAL LETTER CARRIERS' ASSOCIATION

Whereas the Post Office Department has admitted, by its retraction of the "simplified address" order, that this type of "junk" mail does not pay its way, and also hinders the expeditious handling of other types of

Whereas there can be no defense of taxpayers' money being used subsidize advertisers who use this type of mail; and

Whereas there is no demand for this service from any group except the advertisers;

Whereas rural patrons complain about the flooding of their mailboxes with unwanted, unaddressed circulars: Therefore be it

Resolved, That the Saginaw-Bay-Midland branch, RLCA, go on record as unalter-ably opposed to the omission of rural routes from the cease and desist order of the Post Office Department, which is scheduled to be effective April 1, 1955, and which will prohibit mailing of "simplified address" mail for delivery anywhere except on rural and star routes; and be it further

Resolved, That said branch, RLCA, is also opposed to the raising of the first-class rate, unless and until the third-class rate is adjusted to cover the full cost of handling such matter; and be it further

Resolved, That said branch, RLCA, herewith petitions it's national officers to work to these same ends; and be it further

Resolved, That copies of these resolutions be sent to our national and State presidents, chairman of the Senate and House Post Office Committees, and our Michigan Senators and district Representatives.

The above was presented to a regular meeting of Saginaw-Bay-Midland. On motion duly made and supported it was adopted.

R. ROY MCLAUGHLIN, Secretary.

FREELAND, MICH.

A Flexible Approach

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. ROSS ADAIR

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. ADAIR. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include an editorial from the Kendallville (Ind.) News-Sun. It seems to me that the thinking contained therein is particularly appropriate just now.

The editorial follows:

A FLEXIBLE APPROACH

The Formosan policy which President Eisenhower laid down and Congress has moved swiftly to support is designed with a shrewd flexibility that should serve well America's interests in the Far East.

At root this policy is not new. We are flatly and firmly committed to the defense of Formosa and the nearby Pescadores islands. Any attempt by the Chinese Reds to conquer these territories means war with the United States. Our unratified Formosan treaty with Chiang Kai-shek spells out this commitment.

The Communists have known for a long time that if they tried to take these islands they would have to pierce the protective screen provided by the United States 7th Fleet. Congress is now authorizing the President to employ American forces more broadly, which at least would also include our air arm, to safeguard Formosa.

Where Mr. Eisenhower's newly enunciated policy is most distinctively different, where it is most flexible, is in the matter of our possible defense of other areas, particularly lands close offshore from mainland China, which are related to the protection of Formosa.

The President did not ask Congress to commit this country to the defense of Que-moy, Matsu, the Tachens, or any other coastal Instead he is getting the authority to send United States forces "wherever they are needed" for the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores.

This broad power quite obviously could allow use of our naval and air arms for defensive operations in and around the key coastal islands. On the other hand, we are leaving the way open for not coming to their aid, if our military men should view such action as impractical and unwise.

Most of the coastal islands are within shellfire range of the Red mainland. Our fleet might be sorely handicapped in attempts to manuever effectively in the narrow waters between the continent and those offshore patches. Furthermore, there are reports that the Reds have superior air power in this general area today; the fleet might be hard pressed unless we first engineered a considerable buildup of our own air strength

The net military effect of the latest American policy moves would seem to make it crystal clear to Red China that the American people, through both their President and their Congress, are stoutly braced against any Communist intrusion upon Formosa; but to keep the Reds still guessing as to what this Nation will do about any specific advance against the coastal islands.

The coastal group gives Chiang bases for minor harassment of the mainland and serves secondarily as observation outposts. And while we have discouraged him any mainland ventures of major scale we would be pleased if he could hold these islands. Their vulnerability, however, would appear to limit what we can do in their defense.

Herbert Hoover-When Was He Right? When Was He Wrong?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES ROOSEVELT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. ROOSEVELT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article from the No. 45 winter issue, 1954-55, of the magazine entitled "Prevent World War III":

Herbert Hoover-When Was He Right? When Was He Wrong?

During his many years of service in public life ex-President Herbert Hoover has dis-played a marked interest in German affairs. He has been regarded by the Germans as one of their tried and trusted friends. Indeed, when he visited Germany recently he was hailed as their "savior." Since the end of World War II, Mr. Hoover has played a leading part in the formulation of United States policy toward Germany. Of late, he has been quite definite in his views with regard to the future role of Germany. "I have always said that Western civilization cannot survive without a unified Germany" (New York Times, October 31, 1954). Mr. Hoover has stated that German nationalism is not a bad thing per se and that Germany can be depended upon to act as the great defender of democracy. "My prayer is that Germany may be given the unity and full freedom which will restore her to that mission in the world" (New York Herald Tribune, November 25, 1954).

Mr. Hoover did not always believe in Ger-many's mission to save Western civilization. In this connection we cite two examples:

EXHIBIT A

In 1918 a book was published entitled "The Iron Circle, The Future of German In-dustrial Exports, Etc.," by S. Herzog. Mr. Hoover signed the introduction, excerpts of

Which we publish herewith:

"'If there is anything to be gained by being honest, let us be honest; if it is neces-Bary to deceive, let us deceive.' Thus wrote Frederick the Great in the middle of the 18th century—the man who laid the foundation of Pan-Germanism, which this world war was expected to achieve. Not content with dominion by force of arms, we find Germany Plotting for commercial supremacy with that insolent disregard of the rights of others and that resort to deception that has characterized all her policies since Frederick the Great's reign.

"For 40 years the Germans have been plotting to realize their dream of Pan-Germanism-eventual world conquest and dominion. For two generations they have been thinking in terms unknown or little understood by an innocent and unsuspecting World. The Prussian philosophy that might makes right, that the state is supreme, has completely possessed the ruling and upper classes of Germany, both military and com-mercial, until deception and fraud form the background of their most important international relations and undertakings. They have made Germany an inherently dishonest nation. . .

"German rule means the breaking-down of all order, the exchange of personal liberty and national freedom for force, of right for might, of justice for the mailed fist.

"The world should have been forewarned. Books were written, maps constructed, by well-known German authorities for the en-lightenment of the German people, and these books reached the outside world, but civilization, accustomed to the pursuits of peace, turned a deaf ear, and is now paying the penalty for refusing to see and hear.

"Now another conception comes out of the heart of Germany, that threatens the com-mercial interests of unsuspecting nationscarefully thought out, with characteristic German thoroughness, openly advocating the breaking down of all business ethics, relying upon trickery and circumvention to gain their end. This promises to stop at nothing, from national dumping of goods to crush competition to false labels and disguise of the origin and the breaking of contracts that prove disadvantageous to the German.

"Let the manufacturing and banking interests and the laboring and professional classes of all nations be warned in time to devise antidotes and counterattacks to the Machiavellian devices of a class gone mad with lust for conquest, deliberately plotting to fatten itself upon the life blood of other peoples even after the war. Let us consider in making peace what protection we can give to the commercial existence of the freed nations."

EXHIBIT B

On the eve of the San Francisco Conference (1945) which created the United Nations, Mr. Hoover wrote a special piece for the North American Newspaper Alliance. Here are excerpts of this article:

"My fourth proposal for the San Francisco Conference is that agreement upon con-tinued and total disarmament of the enemy nations must be entered into either as part of the United Nations Charter or as a separate agreement. In any event it will have to be enforced by the Security Council. And it profoundly affects the whole question

of peace. "Three years ago Mr. Gibson (Hugh Gibson, American diplomat) and I proposed that the enemy states must be completely disarmed for an entire generation. pointed out one of the great errors of the Treaty of Versailles in which Germany was permitted to retain a professional army of 100,000 men, supposedly for the purposes of maintaining internal order. She was permitted to have a navy limited only in ton-nage and type of ships. We stated that this leeway perpetuated her professional armies and navies. It perpetuated the warrior caste and all its traditions. It afforded a skeleton army and navy of skilled men ready for quick expansion. It insured the continuity of the general staff with its military skill, brains, and ambitions. It perpetuated their knowhow to make war.

"Repeated experience with the warrior caste of these nations in their intimidations, aggressions, blitzes, and attacks without even declarations of war should be enough for the world in this particular. We must make a better job of it this time. We should prohibit the manufacture of arms of any kind by these countries."

Prayer for Peace

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include a short letter received from Rev. David W. Bletscher, pastor of

the Evangelical United Brethren Church, Randolph, Kans.

In a few words, I believe this letter expresses the hopes and thinking of thousands of mothers and fathers in our State of Kansas. Because of the tense situation in the Formosa area, I feel this letter is of particular significance at this

The letter follows:

THE EVANGELICAL UNITED BRETHREN CHURCH, Randolph, Kans., January 25, 1955. Hon. WILLIAM AVERY.

Washington, D. C.
DEAR Mr. AVERY: Greetings. I am writing to you as our Representative and asking you to use every influence you can to keep us out of war. We hope and pray that there will be another way to solve the Formosa situation besides war, which never has and

never will settle anything.

I am a rural pastor and I hear very little complaint on the part of the farmers. Generally they seem to be well satisfied with the Republican administration in Washington. we can be kept on this fine peacetime basis, it will be much better all the way round than a wartime basis, say nothing of the moral, spiritual, and economic disaster that always follows. I know I am speaking for thousands of fellow Americans.

May I suggest that we make this matter a matter of earnest prayer, praying that our Nation may be kept in peace and that peace

may come to all the world.

May I also suggest that Congress set aside a day of prayer and penitence, asking God to keep us in the ways of peace.

You probably remember my wife as the former Goldie Thrush from Wakefield. May God bless you in your responsibility.

Sincerely,

DAVID W. BLETSCHER

Salary Increases for Postal Workers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, many times in the past 2 years have I spoken to this body on the need to enact adequate legislation to increase the salaries of our postal workers.

During the last Congress, I had introduced a bill calling for an \$800 per annum increase for postal workers, but, unfortunately, no action was taken on this measure. However, legislation granting somewhat smaller increases to postal and other Federal workers was approved by the House and the Senate and sent to President Eisenhower for signature. The President chose to veto the bill on August 23, 1954, after the adjournment of Congress when it was impossible for the Congress to take any additional action to override the veto.

Legislation has been introduced in in both the House and the Senate which will provide a 10-percent increase in the basic compensation of postal employees, with a minimum increase of \$400 per annum, and I am introducing similar legislation in the House today, with the hope that this measure will be reported favorably by the Committee on Post

Office and Civil Service.

There has been a move afoot to tie in the salary increase with an increase in the postal rates. The one is not interdependent upon the other and to approve such tie-in legislation would be to establish a very poor precedent.

The last increase granted the postal employees was in 1951, and we are all well aware of the fact that the cost of living has increased considerably since that time. These employees have been desperately trying to catch up with the rapidly rising cost of living, but are far short of the goal and hard pressed to provide their families with even the bare necessities. The vast majority of postal workers have been forced to supplement their incomes by taking part-time employment elsewhere or having their wives work-a situation which is certainly far from ideal, particularly when there are children in the home.

The employees of the Post Office Department are hard working, loyal, and most deserving of our prompt and favorable consideration, and I respectfully urge each and every Member of the House to get behind this legislation to provide more adequate remuneration for those who have served us so faithfully and efficiently.

The President's Conflicting Advice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following article by Roscoe Drummond from the New York Herald Tribune of February 7, 1955:

THE PRESIDENT'S CONFLICTING ADVICE (By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.-If you were President of the United States, which of these two alternative lines of advice would you take in ordering a review of the Government's personnel secu-

rity program?

It is agreed by the differing advisers-and by the President—that there has been a sufficient number of injustices to individuals and loss of skilled people to the Government so that some reexamination of the system Itself is necessary. The issue isn't whether the system, including Executive Order 10450, shall be reviewed but how thoroughly it should be reviewed, whether there should be an incidental look-see by a few officials al-ready busily operating the system, or a major clinical checkup, including X-rays, by detached and distinguished bipartisan commission.

That is the question and here is the conflicting advice the President is receiving.

"There are two reasons for not making any big-splash issue out of reviewing the security

"First, it is, in the main, working well and the greatest anxiety of the country is that we safeguard the Government. The percentage of cases which have gone wrong is relatively low.

"Second, if you name an outside, bipartisan commission to study how to improve

the system, you will take the issue of dealing with subversion out of politics, and it shouldn't be taken out of politics. To do so would be to strike from the hands of the Republicans a legitimate political issue; namely, that we can and are doing the job better than did the Democrats."

The counteradvice, which also comes from presidential associates inside and outside the

administration, is this:

"The American people are united on these two objectives-to protect the Government from subversion and to protect the employee from unfairness by his Government. To continue to make this security issue a partisan matter is to divide a united people and is bad politics, not good.

"There are many more miscarriages of justice under the security system than you realize, Mr. President. You ought to get all the facts and find out what has brought them about. The best way to do so is to let a commission of trusted people look frankly and thoroughly into the system to see where it can be improved.

"Remember, the Truman administration was hurt-and rightly hurt-because, for a period at least, it was not sufficiently alert to protecting the Government against sub-Your administration can and will version. be hurt if it allows the country to feel that it is not sufficiently alert to protecting the employee from unfairness by his Government.

There are the alternative lines of action which continue to be explored when the question is discussed between the President and his close advisers. Thus far Mr. Eisenhower favors the within-the-administration review of the security operation and rejects the high-level commission approach. would not think that a different decision is permanently foreclosed.

I know of one high official of the Government, who has no personal stake whatsoever in the matter, who is convinced that an administration which decisively takes the security program out of politics and operates it with full regard to both security and fairness will be rewarded by the voters.

For this reason, he would recommendand his recommendation has not yet reached the White House-that Mr. Eisenhower appoint the most bipartisan commission within his power to review the program. He is prepared to name names.

For chairman he proposes the only living retired Justice of the United States Supreme Court, Owen J. Roberts.

For the others he proposes the only two living ex-Presidents of the United States-Herbert C. Hoover and Harry S. Trumanand the two latest defeated Republican and Democratic Presidential nominees-Thomas E. Dewey and Adlai E. Stevenson.

Some might think that such a commission would produce only disagreement. I suspect that, after looking at all the facts, it would produce remarkable unanimity.

I Speak for Democracy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. W. PAT JENNINGS

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. JENNINGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include a speech of one of my young constituents, Miss Pauline Rose, a student of the Tazewell (Va.) High School.

Miss Rose has shown an exceptional understanding of the American way of life and has included her ideas in this outstanding speech. I feel that it deserves appropriate notice and I commend her for the interest and initiative she has demonstrated. The speech follows:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY (By Pauline Rose)

I speak for democracy, I speak for the golden land of opportunity—a land where the people have more food, clothing, medicines, automobiles, radios and TV sets, schools and playgrounds-than the people of any other country. But it is a land, where the innermost desire of every individual to think, to believe, and to live, is fulfilled.

A land where great universities, wellequipped libraries, and modern laboratories are open to those who are willing to work and try, whether they be rich or poor. The highest offices in our schools, communities, and Nation are held by persons belonging, not to a royal family or privileged class, but by persons whom the people have chosen.

We have cast our ballots and bestowed the highest honor in our country upon men from every walk of life. Abraham Lincoln was born in a log cabin in the backwoods of our country. Andrew Johnson was a humble tailor; George Washington, a plantation owner; Franklin D. Roosevelt, a cripple; Dwight D. Eisenhower, a soldier. These are only a few of the truly great Americans who, through their own initiative and ability, have held the highest office in our country.

The many libertles of Americans are revealed by our daily lives. The right choose can be seen in a young high-school boy looking at a college catalog, planning his own future, or in a newly wed couple studying the designs of a home, which they will build by the quiet seaside. A newspaper boy on the street of a small American town crying, "Extra! Extra! Get your papers. Read all about it," rings out the news of freedom to publish and to read. The determined voice of a politician, the calm voice of a minister, or the noise of a newsreel, coming to the American people over millions of radios and TV sets, demonstrate our opportunity to speak and to hear. Jewish synagogues, beautifully decorated Catholic cathedrals, tall, peaceful Protestant churches, standing on the streets in the busy cities, in quiet towns, and in the lovely countryside, show in a way that nothing else could, an American's wonderful privilege to worship God as he chooses.

An American's happiness can be seen in the smile of a medical student, as he receives his diploma giving him the right to administer to the sick, or in the joy of a mechanic having just finished repairs on an automobile, both typical of every American, smiling because he is completely satisfied, proud and happy to be using the talents which God has given him.

Combine this nationwide happiness, liberty, and equality, and you have a golden land of opportunity.

Yes, it is true that persons wishing to control and conquer the lives of men have tried to destroy these opportunities, but through the courage, faith, and bloodshed of men such as those who fought at Valley Forge, Old Baldy, Argonne Forest, and Iwo Jima, and the Yalu River of Korea, these opportunities live on today.

To any of you who have the slightest doubt concerning the ideas of democracy, I ask you to compare the possessions, the liberty, the equality, and happiness of every American man, woman, and child to the people of any other country, and I believe that all doubts will be erased from your minds. I know, for I live in this golden land of opportunity. I speak for democracy.

An Analysis of H. R. 864

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. NOAH M. MASON

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, H. R. 864, a bill to amend the Tariff Act of 1930, introduced by Congressman Van Zandt, is designed to restore to Congress the final responsibility for any adjustments made in the tariff. To this end H. R. 864 would empower the Tariff Commission under stated conditions to increase or reduce or to establish rates of duty, or to impose, modify, or withdraw import quotas, subject only to congressional veto.

The stated aim of the bill is to establish imports on a fair competitive basis, first, by avoiding import injury to domestic producers; and, second, by providing means of reducing excessive rates to the peril point, that is, to the point below which import injury would occur. This might include complete removal of a duty.

Mr. Speaker, H. R. 864 would give statutory standing to the rates now owing their existence to a trade-agreement concession. Therefore, there would be no increase in any rate of duty upon expiration of the existing trade agreements law. All existing trade agreements would remain in effect in accordance with their own terms until or unless expressly repealed.

The overall objective of this bill is to assure the largest volume of imports that may be absorbed by this country without causing import injury. It provides the machinery by which our tariff may be adjusted, item by item in individually investigated cases, to bring about such a maximum volume of trade.

The adjustment of any tariff rate could be initiated in a manner very similar to the present initiation of an escape-clause action. To date this has been confined to applicant industries that have alleged serious injury from imports. Under H. R. 864 producers who suffer injury from import competition could apply to the Tariff Commission for a tariff adjustment. The Commission would make an investigation, hold hearings, and—if convinced of the need for relief—would issue a tariff adjustment order consisting of a change in the tariff or a quota limitation or both.

The tariff adjustment order would then go to Congress where it would lie for a period of 60 days. If the order were not voted down by either House during that period, it would go into effect.

Export or import interests who feel that a particular rate of duty is too high could likewise apply to the Tariff Commission under the same procedure. If the Commission found the rate to be too high, it would issue an order reducing it to the peril point. From there the procedure would be the same.

Mr. Speaker, the Congress, through the provisions of this bill, would lay down guides to the Tariff Commission for its use in judging whether import injury or lack of fair import competition exists. Eleven points of evidence of injury are set forth as a guide.

While the executive branch would no longer have the final word in a tariff adjustment, the bill, nevertheless, provides that the Department of State might, if it so desired, send to Congress a statement setting forth its views on any tariff adjustment order. The National Security Council would likewise be given a voice in the determination of cases to the extent of having a representative sit with the Tariff Commission during hearings.

Mr. Speaker, the system proposed by H. R. 864 would not lead to any general increase or reduction of the tariff. Rate changes would be made or quotas would only be imposed or modified after investigation of individual cases. If an existing rate were satisfactory or no application were made to have it modified, there would be no modification. Thus, only a limited number of rates would be changed—increased or reduced—per year. The Tariff Commission would be given 9 months to conclude any 1 investigation.

There is no similarity in this procedure to—or remote connection with—the old system of logrolling when Congress itself wrote the rates. The principal difference between this method of changing the tariff and the present system lies in changing the final authority in a tariff modification from the executive to the legislative branch. Also, the tariff would no longer be used as an instrument of diplomacy by the State Department or as a means of bargaining for concessions from other countries.

Small Business the Backbone of Our Economy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, small business is the backbone of our Nation and the very foundation upon which our free-enterprise system is founded.

Through small business, the individual citizen has the right to "be his own man," to take upon his own shoulders the responsibility for his future, and to rise or fall as a result of his own ability, industry, and perseverance. Big business is, after all, merely an extension of small business, and if the history of most of our great corporations were examined, they are the direct result of the foresight, courage, and labor of an American who founded a small business which grew and grew.

Today we frequently hear words of discouragement to the young men and women who are considering entrance into the field of small business. They are told that small business is declining, that the risks are too great, the profits too small.

This is not true and it is important to the future of our Nation that the truth be known about small business, that our citizens be encouraged to become small businessmen, and that the Federal Government continue its assistance to small business which today holds a vital place in our national economy.

The following editorial which recently

The following editorial which recently appeared in the Los Angeles Times repudiates many of the false allegations circulated about small business and is an excellent review of the true facts about small business and its importance to our Nation:

Some Facts About Small Business

Generalizations are frequently employed by those who are not too sure of their facts. One of the generalizations we have been hearing frequently in recent years is that the importance of small businesses is declining. A picture has been drawn of small businesses withering like stunted saplings in a forest, denied the life-giving sunlight by the growing shadows of big business.

THE STORY AS IT GOES

Small business is on the way out, we are told, and big business is taking everything over. It costs too much to start a small business and too much to run it. The chances of failure are too great.

Now for some facts. The Chamber of Commerce of the United States in a pamphlet, "Small Business: Its Role and Its Problems," which may be obtained by sending 50 cents addressed to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States, Washington 6, D. C., presents some interesting figures.

One—and this may come as a surprise—is that about 95 percent of all businesses in the country employ less than 20 employees. Another is that about 75 percent employ 3 or less employees. Even in manufacturing where the popular conception of big business is centered, the percentage of establishments with 3 or less employees is far in excess of those employing 20 or more. Of 331,000 manufacturing plants, there are 148,000 with under 4 employees.

THE 50-YEAR HISTORY

This does not seem to indicate that small business is on the verge of extinction. On the contrary, according to the national chamber, small business is showing big gains. As recently as 2 years ago 340,500 businesses were launched, most of them small.

It is also important to note that over a 50-year period the average manufacturing firm has doubled in size while the relative proportion of small, medium and large firms has remained at about the same level. There is, of course, a high portion of resources concentrated in large firms, but on the other hand corporations with assets of \$250,000 or less possess resources totaling a substantial \$29 billion.

The national chamber observes that "the ability to experiment, to adapt, and to change is one reason why the small business is so important to the economy as a whole. The small business is the economic seedbed from which arises the majority of new ideas, new methods, and inventions * * with some 330,600 different manufacturers and hundreds of thousands of service establishments, each competing for the market, prices tend to be lowered and quality improved."

It must be recalled, also, that some of our largest industries of today were relatively small operations in their beginning. Automobiles are a case in point; radio, television, and aircraft are more recent examples. The man who starts a small business cannot al-

But small business which remains small has than would ever be returned here in Federal a permanent place. a permanent place.

THERE ARE PROBLEMS

Small business provides products and services that big business can't possibly hope to offer. As far as personal products are concerned, take the case of women's hats. It would require a vivid imagination to picture a woman purchasing a hat identical with 20 million other mass-produced hats. There are fields in mass production which small businesses are not suited to enter just as there are fields in small business which will never be encroached upon by big business.

This is not to say that the life of a smallbusiness man is without problems. The national chamber has listed two major problems for the small business. One is inefficiency or incompetency and the other is restrictive tax policies.

Inefficiency and incompetency are strictly the affair of the operator. But high corporate and personal income taxes are something else. If the Government wants to give small business help, it can do it, as the national chamber says, not through special privileges, but by maintaining conditions which stimulate business in general.

In any event, small business was, and is a major part of our American economy. It will remain so just as long as we have men with ideas, intiative, and resources, and a governmental atmosphere that affords them the hope of securing a fair return.

Federal Aid to Schools

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALVIN M. BENTLEY

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. BENTLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I wish to insert the following articles, one from the Saginaw News of February 2, 1955, and concerning Federal aid to schools, and the second from the Detroit Free Press of February 3, 1955, and concerning unemployment:

[From the Saginaw News of February 2, 1955] MICHIGAN WOULD LOSE IN SCHOOL AID POOL

States with low money resources are constantly after a share of other States' wealth. Their most successful approach has been through formulation of Federal aid legislation.

If some of our Michigan Representatives in Congress would forever keep that fact in mind, they would not be tempted into plumping for more Federal spending.

Most recent example is the bid for Federal emergency school construction money.
Michigan's Democratic Senator McNamara has been sitting in on Labor and Public Welfare Committee hearings on the subject. Ecnator Hill, of Alabama, is its chairman.

Apparently Mr. McNamara has heard enough to satisfy him that Federal aid is the only solution. Having served as a member of the Detroit Board of Education, he undoubtedly has a good working knowledge of the problems confronting education generally.

But Mr. McNamara would do well to consider what cost to Michigan would be imposed. As a State contributing heavily to support of the Federal Government, Michigan could expect only to pay in far more

Michigan's school construction problem is chiefly one of finance. Michigan has the resources to meet the problem. Why invite even greater burdens by encouraging a Federal program?

Mr. McNamara has expressed impatience with Congress for its failure to have enacted Federal aid legislation long ago. He wants an immediate appropriation authorized.

If we could generate this kind of zeal at the home community level, the school prob-lem would be solved much faster—and at far less cost.

It is not narrow selfishness that dictates a do-it-yourself viewpoint. All of us must assume a share of the burden where extreme distress exists in the country. But emergency aid is far different from creation of a nationwide building fund into which all 48 States would dip greedily. Many, like Michigan, if such a fund were set up, would be forced to it in self-defense-in an effort to salvage something from the State taxes taken from them by the Federal Government. Many others would dip in glee at the fat sums falling to them for free.

Beyond the unnecessary inequity and inevitable extravagance that accompanies federally administered domestic programs is a moral question of educational freedom.

Sooner or later the Federal Government, through increasing support of education, would exert an ever greater control of education. Local communities would be forced to abdicate some of their responsibility to Central Government.

Michigan taxpayers should should know this even as they view the history of their State sales tax, most of which is now frozen into constitutional provision for distribution to schools under a rigid formula.

Our own State aid to education has become a political concern, taken almost entirely out of the hands of local communities. School boards and school administrators lay plans, seek or reject students, with an eye to the State aid formula. And all the while these same dollars were potentially available in most home communities.

Because local taxpayers chose to duck or eject home responsibilities to their schools, the school people carried their case to the State capital. As a result, a State tax has been blanketed in for all time, and offending communities, Saginaw among them, are being penalized as tax contributors exceeding taxes returned.

The proposed Federal program is but a magnified blueprint of State aid. Better to get Federal spending down for the day of lower Federal taxes so that the taxpayer can better afford to support his own schools in his own community. That is always the better

[From the Detroit Free Press of February 3. 1955]

JOBLESS INCREASE AMID PROSPERITY IS GROWING PROBLEM

(By Sylvia Porter)

There are probably more than 3,500,000 American men and women looking for jobs, and when the Government's official tally of unemployment in the February-March period is released, it may show the total above 4 million

This total admittedly would be an economic red flag and be politically explosive. Yet, there unquestionably is a rosy glow throughout our economy in this second month of 1955.

There is no doubt that we have been in rising business trend since the fall of 1954. It well may be that this year our output of goods and service will hit an all-time high.

This is it, the economic paradox of our times: A hard core of unemployment and, at certain seasons, a steeply rising total of jobless in a period of overall good times.

To date, all official statements from the administration have soft-pedaled or ignored

In his economic report, for instance, President Eisenhower simply said developments "hold out promise that we shall achieve a high and satisfactory level of employment within the current year."

Yet, the puzzler remains: In today's good times, millions can't find jobs, and in some areas unemployment is critical.

Why this paradox? Let's rip apart the economists' technical jargon, put it into our language. Here are the reasons why:

1. Every year more people are coming into our labor force than are leaving it, and at today's pace of advance, industry is not creating enough new jobs to absorb the extra workers.

The official estimate is that a full million additional workers will be seeking jobs in 1955. To absorb all of these, our economy would have to be expanding at a much faster rate than it is.

2. Every year our workers and machines are becoming more efficient, meaning it is taking fewer workers to turn out the same total of goods.

In November 1954, industry turned out the same total of goods as in November 1953, but with 850,000 fewer workers.

The considered forecast of top experts is that our economy will expand by 10 to 12 billion dollars this year. But to slash unemployment to 1953's good times level, the judgment is that our growth in 1955 would have to reach 25 to 30 billion. Mighty few think this is in the cards.

So this is our choice:

We can settle for a steady but moderate expansion in our economy this year and in the years to come. And we can argue that in this sort of business climate prices will be stable, inflation will remain under control, the dollar's value will hold, and, in the end, America will be stronger and the majority will be better off.

But if we settle for this, we also accept the likelihood that millions of jobless families will find chatter of prosperity a bitter mockery and unemployment will be our key problem.

Or we can insist on a much bigger and faster expansion this year and in the years to come, and we can demand Government actions-immediate tax cuts, speeded-up spending, etc.—to impel the growth.

But if we insist on this, we also accept the risks of a rising price level, a renewed inflation and the danger that the dollar's value will shrink year after year.

This is the dilemma that rises out of the

paradox.

Business is not yet facing up to it. Neither is our Government. But both will have to. And how much better for all of us it would be if industry meets the challenge first and thus proves it truly understands its responsibilities and can fight for the freedoms it cherishes.

On Food Production

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WALT HORAN

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HORAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my own remarks in the include an editorial and a column from yesterday's Washington Post and Times-Herald:

BRAKE ON SOVIET POWER

If the Soviet bloc were as successful in expanding its agriculture as it has been in building its industry, it would be a much more formidable opponent of the West than it is today. Agriculture is the real limiting factor in Soviet strength. Nothing that is being done indicates that Russia is about to overcome its weakness in this important area, for the Kremlin is combating human nature, the elements, and vast areas of impoverished land. Today half the population of the Soviet bloc is required for farm work compared to one-third of the population in Western Europe and one-seventh in the United States. "Agricultural production is United States. "Agricultural production is the tightest bottleneck standing in the way of the further rapid industrialization of both the Soviet Union and the captive countries of Eastern Europe," the Congressional Joint Economic Committee says in a timely report on the relative strength of the Soviet and Western Powers.

Russia's propaganda has glossed over her agricultural failings and boasted of her great industrial gains. Some of these have been extraordinary, but unless the farm picture is taken fully into account it is impossible to get an accurate picture of the Soviet's economic strength. The speed of Soviet indus-trial development is what has captured the imagination of the underdeveloped countries. Thirty years ago Russia was unimportant as an industrial nation; now it is second only to the United States. Since 1929, Soviet production has expanded at a much greater rate than American produc-tion, but in the last 5 years the difference has

been narrowed.

The joint committee's report—prepared by the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress-says that while the rate of growth in Russia may continue to be higher than in the United States the absolute gap in the size of the two economies will widen over the next two decades as the United States builds from a larger and stronger base. This also is the conclusion of Donald R. Hodgman in his book, Soviet Industrial Production. Further industrial expansion, Professor Hodgman says, will at a declining rate because so much of the Soviet labor force will continue to be needed on the farm and because technological expansion will not be so rapid as when machines first were introduced.

Three other limiting factors in the development of Russia's industrial potential are inadequate power and transportation, consumer goods, and housing. However, if Russia should develop low-cost atomic power before the West does, its economic posi-tion would be materially improved. As was shown by their success in developing atomic and hydrogen bombs, Russian scientists have the skill and the governmental support necessary for very rapid work. Russia does not hesitate to spend great sums of money where it thinks results can be achieved. The Kremlin thus can develop a concentration of effort that may not always be possible in the free countries, and this is an extremely important factor in industrial expansion.

Grover W. Ensley, staff director of the joint committee, emphasizes this point in insist-ing that "above all, sight must not be lost of the intense, continuing efforts of the Soviet Union to maximize production within its own borders and within those of the captive countries of Europe." It is not enough, he correctly says, to have recovery in the free world. There must be a continued, dynamic economic growth if the West is to maintain its economic lead over the Communist bloc.

Appendix of the Record, I am pleased to A Population Myth Exploded for United STATES

(By Herbert Elliston)

Nowadays we are inclined to look outside our shores for what have come to be called the underdeveloped areas. Thinking of what may be done for China with point 4 aid, for instance, we point to that country as a great underdeveloped area. The fact is that no-where in the world does agriculture reach the same levels of intensive production as in China. Look to the West for the real under-devolpment. Dr. L. Dudley Stamp, the re-nowned geographer, has written in a new book called, Land for Tomorrow, that one of the outstanding underdeveloped countries is the United States. He estimates that the Mississippi Valley alone should be able to provide enough food for half a billion people, given the application of existing ideas of husbandry.

Dr. Stamp supports his statement about American underdevelopment with data of actual and potential populations that are and could be sustained on land resources now used. He finds that northwestern Europe employs its used acres at maximum. What would happen, he asks, if other arable lands of the world were farmed as efficiently as they are in northwestern Europe? This startling result is what this great authority on land use finds on the basis of a recent,

though unstated, year:

Population [In millions]

	Actual	Potential
England and Wales United States India and Pakistan Canada U. S. S. R	44. 5 150. 0 420. 0 13. 0 200. 0	24. 5 500. 0 330. 0 90. 0 556. 0

Note.—Since this base year our own population has burgeoned to 163,900,000.

Thus the old countries are, by present standards, overpopulated. To cope with overpopulation, Britain imports, India is underfed; while Canada and the United States are not only self-contained but have great possibilities for population increase, and at higher living standards.

Let us now look at the data on population increase to see what is actually going on in this department as recorded by Dr.

Stamp.

Our flesh is often made to creep with the statement that the colored races since the war are outstripping and will continue to outstrip the whites. Fifty years ago, Henry and Brooks Adams held to this pessimistic belief. Brooks Adams wrote with inspissated gloom of the passing of the white race as the result of outbreeding on the part of the colored peoples themselves. Negro writers in the United States are sometimes themselves guilty of writing about absorbing the world's white minority. Such writing is much more common now than last century because of the revolutionary fever for independence.

Such a misconception is related to the myth of underdevelopment, and ought to be scotched at the same time. Actually the censuses show that the high rates of natural increase are not in India or China or in Europe, which are overcrowded. Nor are they in Africa, which is overcrowded in big areas and as a whole has lost ground so markedly in a relative sense that the black peoples have dropped from one fifth of the population of the world to one fifteenth. high, the highest rates of natural increase

are in—the Americas.

More narrowly, the English-speaking whites in the Americas have shown the greatest growth since 1945. We are noting, of course, natural increase. The Englishspeaking whites in the Americas have increased four times as rapidly as the peoples of the world as a whole. Yet it seems only the other day that the experts were fore-casting a stationary population for the United States.

Compare the United States and India. In India, the net gain was 13.3 per 1,000 in 1933, but only 1.4 in 1944. In the United States, the net gain shot up from 5.9 per 1,000 in 1933 to 15.7 in 1947. In other words, America is prolific in babies (a record 4,-000,000 last year) as in everything else, and in bables who survive as well; and she is outspeeding the word in this department. Truly there is much we believe that is not

A final word-about the Soviet Union. Last century it used to be said that the fecundity of the Slav woman was the greatest menace confronting the British Empire. Data, however, are unreliable, even loaded. In 1927 I recall taking a bunch of statistics from Moscow with me to an appointment I had in Berlin with the head of the Reich statistical office, Dr. Ernst Wagemann. In my innocence I said these figures came from statisticians who were retained from the Tsarist regime. "No wonder," Wagemann snorted. "Those fellows were such accomplished liars."

House Joint Resolution 172, Proposing a Constitutional Amendment To Limit the Treatymaking Power

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LAWRENCE H. SMITH

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. SMITH of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, recently the Honorable George A. Finch, an eminent authority on constitutional law, said that "the Yalta agreement is the blackest page in American diplomatic history."

To avoid more Yaltas I have proposed constitutional amendment that if adopted would limit the treatymaking of the President.

Mr. Speaker, my House Joint Resolution 172 is a revised draft of a constitutional amendment to limit the treatymaking power. It will be observed that it omits in terms the controversial "which" clause.

However, it would not be fair to say that it puts no limitation on the creation of power in Congress to enact legislation through the exercise of the treaty

If, as was indicated by the late Chief Justice Hughes in his address before the American Society of International Law in 1929, the treaty power is not subject to any express, and may not be subject to any implied, constitutional limitations, then section 1 does subject the treatymaking power to constitutional limitations.

Section 1 provides that a treaty to become the supreme law of the land must be made pursuant to the Constitution That provision is intended to overrule the concept that a treaty to be valid need

only be made under the authority of the United States, and not in pursuance of the Constitution, as is the case with statutes. Under this provision treaties as well as statutes must conform to the Constitution.

Section 1 also provides that a treaty must not conflict with any provision of the Constitution. The purpose of that provision is to overcome a possible construction that since the treaty power is created without any express limitations, and perhaps even without any implied limitations, other provisions of the Constitution must be construed and reconciled with the treaty provisions and be regarded as not limiting the power to make treaties; in other words, that other provisions of the Constitution must give way to an unlimited treatymaking power.

An example of what the provision is intended to accomplish is illustrated by the Pink case (315 U.S. 203 (1942)). In that case an international agreement made without the advice and consent of the Senate accomplished the taking of property without compensation in violation of the prohibition of the fifth amendment. This taking was held valid. Why should it be possible to assert that a treaty should be permitted to violate constitutional prohibitions? Why should it be possible for a treaty to "override the Constitution"? Why should the treatymaking power be greater than its source, the Constitution of the United States? Why should it be constitutionally possible to cut across the Bill of Rights? He is indeed bold who asserts that it should be possible by treaty to subject an American citizen for an offense committed within our territorial limits to the jurisdiction of an international criminal court without the safeguards which our Constitution provides for the protection of persons charged and tried in our own courts?

The Constitution provides that "all legislative powers" therein granted are vested in the Congress. Can it be doubted that it should not be constitutionally possible by treaty to transfer that power to the Executive or to vest it in an international organization or body?

This does not mean that the power will not exist to make any treaty essential to the proper conduct of our foreign affairs and the carrying on of our external relations. But it does mean that the treaty power must conform to the provisions of the Constitution as a whole and must not violate the intent and spirit of any individual constitu-tional provision. This resolution will not interfere in any way with the power of the executive branch to conduct our foreign relations and enter into treaties, conventions, and agreements with foreign nations with respect to our external affairs; but it will prevent a violation of the provisions of the Constitution through the exercise of the treatymaking power. For example, it will prevent the taking by treaty of a person's property without due process of law and the payment of just compensation. It will prevent the creation of power in the Congress by international agreement to legislate with respect to those matters that have no legitimate relation to the

conduct of our foreign affairs—matters that have traditionally been and should be within the local jurisdiction of the States.

Section 2 places no limitation on the power to make treaties or other international agreements self-executing by virtue of their terms, insofar as they bind the United States under international law as a party thereto, and deal with foreign relations and external affairs; but it does prevent them from becoming internal law within the United States binding on individuals without the sanction of legislation.

Mr. Speaker, as part of my remarks, I am including the following copy of my resolution hereinbefore referred to as I have introduced it:

House Joint Resolution 172

Joint resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States relative to the making of treaties and executive agreements

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein). That the following article is proposed as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which shall be valid to all intents and purposes as part of the Constitution when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, within 7 years from the date of its submission:

"ARTICLE -

"Section 1. A treaty or other international agreement, or any provision thereof, not made in pursuance of this Constitution or in conflict with any of its provisions, shall not be the supreme law of the land nor have any force or effect.

"Sec. 2. A treaty or other international agreement shall be effective as internal law within the United States only through legislation.

"SEC. 3. On the question of advising on, and consenting to, the ratification of a treaty, the vote shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against shall be entered on the Journal of the Senate."

Gambling Capital of the United States Unmasked—VI

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, here is the sixth article of the series by Bob Considine telling the story of America's gambling mecca, Las Vegas, which appeared in the Chicago American on January 28, 1955:

Las Vegas Unmasked—Other Side of Nevada's Gambling

(By Bob Considine)

LAS VEGAS, January 28.—Nevada treats gambling like any other State treats its biggest industry.

It has surrounded wagering with rules and regulations. It is as dependent upon games of chance as Michigan is on the auto plants.

Many dark illusions have been made to sinister tie-ins between big gambling opera-

tors and the politicians at Carson City and elsewhere in the State. Actually, there is little need for the gambling fraternity to spend much money attempting to elect "safe" officials.

An antigambling politician would stand no chance in Nevada. Gambling is as legitimate as churchgoing, but attracts many

more people.

The aspiration of Nevada officials is to keep the thing clean and without warfare, to police it as well as a limited budget permits. They also aim to discourage the arrival of hoodlums of too recent vintage.

CRIME GROUP

Newly elected Republican Gov. Charles H. Russell has asked the legislature for a Nevada crime committee, to be set up with private funds. It would be fashioned after similar groups in Illinois, California, New York, and Florida. Russell also has asked for extraordinary personal authority to revoke gambling licenses.

Under present law an operator suspected of violating the codes is first presented with a show cause order. Weeks and months usually drag on while an inquiry is made.

Russell wants the right to clamp down in a hurry, an authority which successive Nevada legislatures have withheld from their governors.

Gambling in Nevada is controlled by the State Tax Commission, a seven-man group named and headed by the governor. The commissioners are chosen from loftier professions, serve without pay, and currently appear to be held in a combination of respect and awe by most operators.

GAMBLING LAW

The Nevada gambling law was passed in 1931 when the State teetered on the brink of bankruptcy because its mining and cattle industries were almost extinct. It covered 15 pages of fine print. Basically, it provides:

15 pages of fine print. Basically, it provides:
No operation may begin until the applicant has obtained all the required licenses—State, county, city, or town. The granting of a license by one political subdivision is not binding upon another. Refusal to grant a license by one licensing agency renders the remainder inoperative.

All applicants for licenses are fingerprinted and the prints checked with the FBI. Along the Las Vegas "strip" no one can receive a license who has been convicted within 5 years of the date of application. In the city itself, the limit is 20 years.

Names and records of partners and stockholders owning 2 percent or more of a gambling place must be supplied under pain of losing the license.

No person licensed to conduct gambling in Nevada may own or control any interest of any kind in gambling establishments or games in States where gambling is illegal.

Regular inspection of gaming equipment and slot machines is provided by law. Violators who tamper with the dice, cards, wheels, and machines are subject to a fine of \$1,000 or 6 months in jail, or both.

INCOME RISES

When Bugsy Siegel came to Las Vegas and brewed his dreams of making it the gambling mecca of the country, the State had no concept of what it might draw out of the lusty industry.

In 1945 the State's bit came to only \$100.-

792.22. In mid-1947 Nevada increased its tax bite from 1 percent to 2, put a fee on tables and instituted a tighter system of small fines for minor infractions. In 1950 it taxed the race-wire business.

By 1953 its 2 percent of the gross winnings amounted to \$1,668.896.86. Additional levies and fines brought the figure to \$2,170,-272.21—plus \$350,000 from pari mutuel racing.

One can only guess how much money is brought into the State treasury indirectly from gambling. Only a microscopic fraction of the stream of visitors to Nevada falls to stop off and spend money for goods, services, or at games of chance. There is a furious building program in the Las Vegas area. Real estate has skyrocketed in value.

WORKERS ARRIVE

Gambling has brought thousands of workers to Nevada, notably to Las Vegas, to man the big establishments. More and more build homes, take root, and contribute to the State through property taxes and other ways. Lt. Gov. Rex Bell, former Hollywood cowpoke, declares:
"I don't know why we should be put in

the position of apologizing for our gambling

industry.

New York apologize for Belmont "Does Park? Does California apologize for Santa Anita? No. But everybody knows that racing doesn't give the player nearly the honest shake that, say, dice does. There aren't enough people in the whole State of Nevada to keep a New York or California racetrack going."

Big operators around Las Vegas fear that what they call the "Bible beit" Congressmen in Washington soon will be demanding a Federal share of money being gambled all over the State.

HIGHER TAXES

They plead a Federal tax would be confiscatory. But they seem resigned to the fact that the politicos at Carson City will in time increase the State tax. At this writing there are plans for a jump to 4 percent. The operators will fight it.

Some of gambling's earliest promoters here were criminals. A handful remain, but the trend long has been toward respectability.

The older thugs are in happy retirement here, by and large, content to sit back and let the house percentage take care of them.

COLLEGE TRAINED

The elders lean more and more on young men they scarcely would have trusted in the old days. These are mostly college trained and willing to put in long hours.

The prototype of this second generation of important figures in the Las Vegas gambling, hotel and entertainment picture is Allard Roen of the Desert Inn—which was begun by Wilbur Clark and completed by a Cleveland bootlegging and gambling combination, which retains control.

In response to queries, Roen writes: "Our earnings are made on a relatively small percentage and operate no more dramatically than the stock market fluctua-

"Owners and operators of Las Vegas and Reno establishments are busy training a new group of younger people to handle this oc-cupation. I am of this group. I was gradu-ated from Duke University in 1942, majoring in business administration. I entered the Navy in 1943 and served until 1947, a period which included 27 months in the Pacific and participation in several engage-ments, including Okinawa. I left with the grade of senior lieutenant.

"I studied complete hotel management, for that is what this hotel embraces. My Work entails booking and supervising the production of our stage shows, setting up credit systems for casino as well as hotel operations, and a host of other duties which include scheduling and handling the activities of our annual golf Tournament of Cham-pions, from whose proceeds we donate each year \$35,000 to the Damon Runyon Cancer

"Beyond a program of perpetual building, the revamping of existing structures, and maintaining this 400-room operation, I work closely with Lawrence Hughes, who built our golf course from the desert up.

"These multifarious details have been my responsibility. I, too, have just completed a

home on the course for my wife, Evelyn, and our daughters, Priscilla and Judith Anne.

"There is no onus attached to gambling in Las Vegas. The community has a good moral tone, a low crime rate, a population of almost 50,000 who attend 35 churches of all denominations. There is a good junior and senior grade school system. Residents, in general, are proud of Las Vegas.

BRINGS PROSPERITY

"The present prosperity of Las Vegas is, of course, due to gambling. Most Americans know this is a legal business in Nevada, carefully controlled by officials appointed by the

Governor.
"Gambling in Nevada is directed by men who have been engaged in this occupation for many years. Western States were a natural for gambling, what with mining camps, prospectors, and quick fortunes in gold and silver mines. Nevada comes honestly by this principal occupation. It was a pioneer business, once illegal but now respectable and very important to the State's economy.

"Those who are attracted to Nevada to practice the business of gambling were men who had learned their trade elsewhere, and Until recent times there beyond the law. were no legal practitioners of this business because there was no place to learn it in the full light of legality.

HIS PHILOSOPHY

"You ask me to outline my philosophy about choosing this career. I feel that many of the biggest fortunes in our country were originated by men who ignored the laws of the time to take advantage of the natural needs of supply and demand.

"These included fur trappers, land poachers, cattle rustlers, early railroad barons, and bootleggers, among others. But time and a new life within the law and the raising of families placed their descendants among the blue bloods of the Nation's society.

"In the old days of floating crap games and high-stakes contests an operator might make a quick killing and move his action to another locale.

"Our setup is different. We are now, and hope to remain, a permanent fixture in Las Vegas, performing in a perfectly legitimate manner. To the very best of my knowledge, the operators are civic-minded and charitable and have been exemplary members of the community.

"I do hope this gives you another view of

Gambling Capital of the United States Unmasked-VII

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, the following is the seventh and last article in the series by Bob Considine on the story of Las Vegas, the gambling capital of the United States, which was published in the Chicago American on January 29, 1955:

CHICAGO HOODLUMS HOLD HIGH SPOTS IN VICE CITY

(By Bob Considine)

LAS VEGAS, January 29 .- If you collect characters, this is your town.

If you want contrasts, buy a ticket to Las Vegas, which was located a million miles from nowhere until circumstances turned

it into the world's lushest gambling spa, serviced by several airlines, the Union Pacific Railroad, bus companies, and fine roads.

If an early figure in the gambling business in Las Vegas, Tutor Scherer, a well-educated and frequently married man, took a full page in the January issue of Las Vegas Magazine, hired an artist to draw the head of a man looking hungrily at a voluptuous doll, and with his eye in a fine frenzy rolling, wrote:

"I love your hands; I hold them.

I love your arms;

I fold them.

I love your lips; I kiss them.

I love your eyes; I miss them

When closed in sleep."

-Tutor Scherer, Poet Laureate of Nevada.

Scherer, in his 70's, married Laveeda Marie Varley in what turned out to be Las Vegas' biggest social event of 1951. The attractive bride, about half a century his junior, was a former cocktail waitress and bingo manager.

TWENTY-FIVE-THOUSAND-DOLLAR CHAMPAGNE PARTY

The champagne party after the wedding was reputed to have set back the happy poetgambler \$25,000, and the necklace he gave his bride was valued in the local press at

Not long after this happy event, Tutor showed up in a hospital shot through both legs, but filed no complaint.

Shortly thereafter, Laveeda sued for di-vorce and, in court, estimated her husband's income at a good \$50,000 a year more than the President of the United States receives. Several of his friends were offended because, they said, she low-rated him.

The poet laureate is happily remarried. this time to Judy Cauley, 24-year-old former

cocktail waitress.

Las Vegas lost a colorful resident when Benny Binion, once of Dallas, was cordially invited to jail as a tax dodger.

Benny, an old-style gambling operator who would also gamble, arrived in Las Vegas somewhat hurriedly several years ago in the wake of an indictment that associated him with the numbers business in the Dallas area and a dynamiting job on the car of a business rival, Herbert Noble.

Mrs. Noble, unfortunately, was the one to step on the starter of the car, touching off

volcanic charge.

Binion was succeeded in the operation of the huge Horseshoe Club in downtown Las

the huge Horseshoe Club in downtown Las Vegas by Joe W. Brown, who casually paid him \$558,000 for the property and is proud of the fact that he got his license pronto.

Brown has oil and gas holdings that bring him \$40,000 a month, and made a great fortune running gambling establishments in New Orleans in competition to Frank Costello and Phil Kastell, and in Texas.

A distinguished-looking and articulate man, Brown told me as we sat in his office, not far from the \$1 million in cash he has

on display at his front door:

"Don't listen to any talk that I have silent partners. The only partner I have in this enterprise is Mrs. Brown. I didn't need this, financially. I went into it to help Binion, a friend of mine, though it didn't turn out to be much help to him. Also I had a dozen fellows who had been with me a long time in gambling operations, and I wanted to see they had a steady place to work in."

Brown, who has 50 thoroughbreds in train-

ing, and owned the famous Dorsett line, employs 400 in his Casino at wages ranging from \$50 a day pit men (supervisors) to \$25 a day dealers. His payroll runs a couple of million dollars a year. He told me:

"But I make money here. I want anything I do to be a success. It's a matter of pride, I guess."

I asked him if he was ever tempted to gamble himself. He seemed surprised, and

"We get a 1.40 percent break on craps and the rest of the games give us more. If I went against that, even the dice I figure my arm would drop off."

A MONEY-MAD TOWN

"But," he continued, listening contentedly to the offstage sounds of a busy day, "I guess a lot of people don't agree."

Las Vegas is a town which produced an \$8,000-a-year executive secretary who quit her job to become a cocktail waitress in one of the "strip" hotels. Figured she could make more money—and had the figure to

It is a place where one of the property holders—apartment houses—is Marshall Caifano, who made the mistake of going over to Beverly Hills, Calif., the weekend before last. There, Police Chief Clinton C. Anderson arrested him for failure to register as a convicted felon—a precaution Caifano (a handsome Chicago hoodlum also known as Joe Russo, Frank Rinaldi, and George Mariani) does not have to take in Las Vegas. He was fined \$50 and told to blow.

Anderson said Caifano had a record of 12

Anderson said Caifano had a record of 12 arrests between 1929 and 1952, including arrests on murder, auto theft, and bank-robbery charges.

Caifano is expected to get a thoroughgoing inspection from the Nevada Crime Committee when and is set up. He has not applied for a gambling license, which would have to be screened by the State tax commission. The crime committee, however, is not limited to such things.

VIRGIL PETERSON'S OPINION

Las Vegas police say Caifano, sometimes called Mr. Marshall, is the messenger for Tony Accardo, who once was arrested as a vagrant (one of the richest ever) in the city of Las Vegas but is welcome along the "strip" outside.

Virgil Peterson, director of the Chicago Crime Commission, calls Caifano important in what is left of the Capone organization.

Insiders say that in June of last year a meeting was held in Chicago which served as a test of strength between Accardo and Paul (the Waiter) Ricca, jockeying for the overall top spot. The meeting proved indecisive.

A second meeting was held in July with Frank (Buster) Wortman, syndicate chief in East St. Louis, and his lieutenant, Elmer (Dutch) Dowling, attending along with Accardo and Ricca. Johnny Torrio, Chicago boss before Capone, sat in as mediator. Still nothing conclusive.

In August a third meeting was held, this time in Las Vegas. Caifano sat in on that one, along with Phil (Milwaukee) Alderisio and James (the Weasel) Fratianno. Meyer and Jake Lansky were on hand, too, according to reports.

These meetings preceded the violent deaths of Charles (Cherry Nose) Gioe and Frank (the Immune) Maritote, Al Capone's brother-in-law and one-time muscleman for the outfit.

Caifano, who carries a slight cauliflower from his ring days, is the younger brother of Leonard (Fats) Caifano, killed in 1951 while attempting to kidnap Theodore Roe, wealthy Negro numbers king in Chicago. Marshall was picked up for questioning in that case but Roe could not identify him. A few weeks later, Roe was killed,

CAIFANO'S CHICAGO CAREER

Caifano was a familiar figure on Chicago police blotters by 1943 when he was questioned in the bludgeoning and burning to death of Estelle Carey, dice girl and friend of a hoodlum named Nick (Dean) Circella, now fighting deportation.

now fighting deportation.

In 1950 he was questioned again after the murder of former Chicago police lieutenant

William Drury, foe of Accardo and Jake (Greasy Thumb) Guzik.

When he was arrested in the Roe case, it meant the 19th time he had been pinched for crimes tanging from bad to worse.

for crimes ranging from bad to worse. But Mr. Marshall up to now is as accepted along the "strip" of Las Vegas as Marlene Dietrich, who was paid somewhere in the neighborhood of \$25,000 a week for singing and wearing a dress with a plastic bodice, or that even more welcome soul, Joe Blow, a visitor eager to try his hand at the tables.

Calfano lives or lived not far from the Last Frontier Hotel in whose dining room the Rotary Club, among other local civic groups, meets.

I went to one of the club's luncheons during my stay in Las Vegas early this month. It could have been a Rotary luncheon in Osawatomie, Kans., or Snohomish, Wash.

ROTARY FUNCTIONS NORMALLY

We sang America, pledged allegiance to the flag, ate chicken and peas, sang Happy Birthday to a lot of fine elderly members, and listened to a speech on communism by Chet Lauck, who is Lum of Lum and Abner, and had just returned from making a TV film in Yugoslavia.

Explained Maxwell Kelch, who runs radio station KENO:

"Las Vegas has three populations. First are the tourists, who range from 20,000 to 25,000 a day, even in summertime—now that almost everything is air conditioned.

"Then there is the gambling fraternity, perhaps 8,000 to 10,000 strong and tending now to be less transient and settle here.

"And finally the basic population, moral and sober sided. There's a church for nearly every 1,000 of us. We're building new school-rooms at the rate of about 2 a day. Our bank accounts are about 75 percent demand, or checking accounts, and 25 percent savings, which is about right for an expanding area.

"The locals do little gambling. In fact, I don't think the operators like to have us around the tables. But we're not too hard to discourage. We just have other things on our minds. That's why the racetrack here falled. A track needs a solid local gambling backing. We couldn't supply it."

GAMBLING HELL IN NEXT ROOM

While we ate, sang, prayed, and listened to Lum on Tito, action was fast and loud in the next room of what was then largely Jake Kozloff's Gambling Hell.

Since then, Jake has bowed out and been replaced chiefly by Beiden Katleman, young (36) lone wolf with a nongangster background who has almost if not all of El Rancho Vegas down the road.

Jake won't starve, exactly. Years ago as time is measured in fast-moving Las Vegas he picked up a slab of desert hard by the colorful old Last Frontier. It cost him the Vegas equivalent of peanuts.

It cost him \$40,000 in 1948. It is now worth \$550,000.

There are a variety of stories as to why Kozloff, a former brewer, bowed out. He denies the report that it is a result of Katleman's vigorous demand—as a stockholder—that the books be scrutinized.

Kozloff, the favorite innkeeper of the younger and livelier nuclear physicists who come to Les Vegas for A-bomb tests, says he agrees with oldtime downtown gambler Guy McAfee, who states:

"Gamblers have too much invested to gamble with trouble. We'd be knocked right out of the box."

Gambling in Las Vegas, and probably elsewhere through the State, often has financial structures and labyrinths which would confound the wolf of Wall Street.

The Hot Dice Hotel and Casino, to name a mythical spot, but one not far from actuality, may have up to 50 owners of the basic corporation, which owns the land and the main building. But they've usually plunked

down only a downpayment on this property and have a husky mortgage to sweat out.

CORPORATIONS GALORE

The basic corporation, once it has its license, leases out the gambling, the bar, restaurants, newsstand, and other shops.

Whoever takes over the gambling concession usually must underwrite the loss on the cabaret, where the floor show could cost almost as much per week as fine long-playing Broadway productions used to cost.

Often the gambling equipment is on lease from as many as 10 different corporations. If the Hot Dice Hotel and Casina takes

If the Hot Dice Hotel and Casina takes hold, it begins to expand. A wing of rooms is put up by a new finance group and leased back to the basic corporation, which may guarantee as much as a 12- to 25-percent-ayear return on the investment.

And so on. One famous "strip" hotel and casino is a nest of 67 separate corporations and leases.

People, by and large, don't seem to care. They are pouring through Las Vegas, for instance, at the rate of about a million a year, leaving behind tens of millions of dollars. They would rather see "Nick the Greek" play faro or "go with the house" all night at dice than know about the worries and connivings of the operators behind the scenes.

Americans like to gamble, and as long as Las Vegas lasts they won't have the slightest difficulty getting a little action—with girls, comedians, crooners, attractive hotel rates, sun, A-bombs, jet planes, and a dam named Hoover to boot.

The Tragedy of Yalta Should Be Repudiated

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, to-day, February 7, 1955, marks an anniversary in history. Not a glorious anniversary day for celebration and rejoicing, for honor and commemoration, but the anniversary of an event which has cast a shadow across the bright unsullied shield of the United States itself. Today, February 7, is the 10th anniversary of the "Big Three" meeting at Yalta which led to the now infamous Yalta agreement.

This was an agreement reached by Stalin, Churchill, and Roosevelt. It was an agreement entered into by Franklin Delano Roosevelt as a great career was fast drawing to its close. Ill, worn by the terrible responsibility of the war years, forced to look to those he trusted for the facts upon which to base his momentous decision, with a scant 60-odd days of life remaining, Roosevelt in the eyes of history made a tragic mistake in entering into the Yalta agreement.

The United States was just emerging triumphant in victory in the last months of World War II. By force of arms and sacrifice, at the cost of the youth of our Nation, a war was won. At Yalta in a few ill-fated hours, the victory and the peace were irrevocably lost.

A decade of uneasy peace, hot and cold war, record spending and debt which has placed a yoke of high taxes, military conscription, and depleted value of currency upon the American people has emerged as the result of the Yalta agreement.

Through the door opened at Yalta, Russian imperialistic expansion has reached the proportions of a menace to all freedom-loving nations of the world.

During the last decade China has been lost to the Reds. Poland was abandoned to Soviet domination. The Iron Curtain was forged shutting off millions from the freedom they had cherished and fought for. Korea brought a futile war where for the first time in the history of the United States victory was not the objective. Indochina fell.

And today only the 11th hour decision of our great President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, to stand firm in the Far East to stem the Communist aggression of Red China, and the instant backing of his policy by the Congress, has momentarily stemmed the Red tide.

The Yalta agreement was indeed the opening of a modern Pandora's box which has brought and is still bringing tragedy to the free world.

But we can be grateful for one thing. The Yalta agreement was never given the force of a treaty. It was referred to the Senate but it was never ratified, and thus is not legally binding upon the United States.

And its complete repudiation should be effected by the Congress and the Executive to eliminate all doubt as to the position of the United States on this agreement.

To fully realize the infamy of the Yalta Agreement, perhaps the best example for examination is the tragic plight of Poland, a nation which throughout its history has championed the cause of individual freedom and religious tolerance, two of the most cherished ideals of our own Nation and fundamental to our American philosophy.

The Poles have founght courageously and tirelessly in the face of insurmountable odds to restore freedom to Poland during their darkest hours of enslavement. During the black years of partiticn, Polish legionnaires fought with French troops in the hope that a Napoleonic victory would bring liberation to Poland. Seventy thousand of them marched with Napoleon's Grand Army into Russia, and the battlefields of Europe heard the song of the Polish legions:

Poland has not perished wholly While we live to own her.

This song is echoed in the hearts of Poles wherever they may be found in the world today.

Parliamentary procedure existed in Poland dating from 1454, and as early as 1505 Poland gave its citizens the greatest guaranty of personal freedom and independence. It was a nation where religious wars never took place in spite of the deep religious conviction of its people

As an example of Polish tolerance, these were the words of Chancellor Zamoyski, who served the Polish people during the reign of Stephen Batory. Referring to Poles who had strayed from the church, he said:

I would give half my life if those who have abandoned the church should voluntarily return to its fold; but I would rather give all my life than suffer anybody to be constrained to do it, for I would rather die than witness such oppression.

Poland regained its independence as a nation at the end of World War I as a result of the Allied victory. The work of restoration of the Republic was monumental, but great strides were made and a nation described as "by the whole of the people for the whole of the people" emerged.

It is, indeed, a tragedy that the Allied victory in World War II and the resultant Yalta agreement destroyed Polish hopes of freedom and independence.

Poland enjoyed a scant 20 years of liberation before the German invasion, and now Poles in all parts of the world as well as in the Polish homeland pray for independence for their nation, which was denied at Yalta.

It is high time the Congress of the United States takes official action to repudiate the Yalta agreement which has brought so many millions under the Communist domination of Soviet Russia, and on this 10th anniversary of the Yalta agreement I sincerely urge that this action be taken without further delay.

Administration Health Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. WOLVERTON

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. WOLVERTON. Mr. Speaker, I have introduced the administration's health bill, H. R. 3720. It is an omnibus bill that has six titles. These separate titles provide the necessary legislation to make effective the several recommendations made by President Eisenhower in his health message addressed to Congress.

The enactment of the legislation would go far in providing improved health facilities for our people. It deserves the favorable consideration of the Congress,

The following is a summary of the several titles of the bill as they deal with separate features of the legislation:

SUMMARY OF TITLE I—HEALTH SERVICES PREPAYMENT PLANS

IN GENERAL

As a partial attack on the problem of making needed health services and facilities available to the maximum number of people on a prepayment basis, this title of the bill would authorize a two-pronged program within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, namely (a) technical advisory and informational services, without charge, to health services prepayment plans, and (b) reinsurance for health services prepayment plans established and operated by commercial insurance carriers or by non-profit carriers.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

1. The bill would vest all responsibility for the administration of the program in the

Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. (Under existing law, the Secretary could delegate all or any part of this function and either place it in an existing major unit within the Department or place it in a new unit.)

2. The bill would provide for a national advisory council on health services prepayment plans consisting of 12 members appointed by the President, one of whom would be designated by the President as chairman. The council would advise, consult with, and make recommendations to the Secretary on matters of policy relating to the Secretary's activities and functions under this title of the bill.

3. In addition to authorizing, in general terms, utilization of other Federal agencies, or of any other public or nonprofit agency or institution, the bill would provide for maximum utilization by the Secretary of the various State insurance departments (or other State agencies supervising carriers of health services prepayment plans), especially in determining compliance with requirements and standards prescribed by the Secretary as a condition of approval of a health services prepayment plan for reinsurance. Final responsibility for such determinations would, of course, rest with the Secretary.

4. Regulations under this title of the bill could not authorize any Federal officer or employee to exercise any supervision or regulatory control over any participating carrier, or over any hospital or other health facility or personnel furnishing personal health services covered by a participating prepayment plan.

TECHNICAL AND ADVISORY SERVICES

Under this part of the program, the Secretary would be authorized to conduct studies and collect information on the organizational, actuarial, and other problems of health services prepayment plans, make the results of such studies and the information so collected generally available, and provide to sponsors of such plans, without charge, organizational and other technical advice and information, including information on morbidity and organizational methods.

bidity and organizational methods.

For this part of the program a separate appropriation would be authorized.

REINSURANCE PROGRAM

1. Four types of plans would be eligible for reinsurance under title I of the bill.

(a) Plans for average and lower income families: These are plans designed primarily to provide reasonable coverage for families of average or lower income, and which meet certain requirements set forth in the bill. These requirements are—

(1) For service type plans, provision of—
(i) Seventy or more days hospitalization

per year;
(ii) in-hospital surgical and other medical care;

(iii) home and office physician care.

(2) For indemnity-type plans—
(1) not more than 15 percent coinsurance

 not more than 15 percent coinsurance for hospital care, 25 percent for physician care, and 25 percent for other care and services included in the plan;

(ii) maximum deductible of \$100 per illness per beneficiary or \$150 per year per beneficiary or family and maximum liability of at least \$750 per illness per beneficiary, or \$1,000 per year per beneficiary or family.

(3) For both types of plans—

(i) no illness exclusions (except for certain specified illnesses, such as tuberculosis,

etc.);
(ii) maximum age of at least 70 years and automatic renewal on reasonable terms after 5 years;

(iii) conversion of group policies on reasonable terms;

(iv) compliance with other requirements in regulations.

(b) Major medical expense plans: These are plans designed to provide protection against the exceptionally high costs of medical and hospital care per illness per beneficiary, which meet certain specified condi-These are: Not more than 25 percent coinsurance (with respect to the personal health services specified in the plan), coverage of all illnesses (except for certain specifled ones), conversion of group policies on reasonable terms, and other requirements in regulations.

(c) Plans for rural area families: Plans designed primarily for rural area families which comply with requirements in regula-

(d) Other plans: Other plans which will carry out the purposes of this title of the bill and which comply with requirements in regulations.

The Secretary would also be authorized, as a condition of granting reinsurance, to establish by regulation terms, conditions, and requirements as to the other types and kinds of prepayment plans which will be reinsured, coinsurance, deductible amounts,

2. This program is designed to be selfsustaining, over a reasonable term, through reinsurance premiums paid into a revolving reinsurance fund. An appropriation of not to exceed \$100 million to a capital-advance account in the Treasury would be authorized, which would be available, without fiscal-year limitation, as a line of credit for advances of working capital to the reinsurance fund. When and as the condition of the fund permits, such advances would be repayable to the capital-advance account and the amount so repaid would again be available for future advances to the fund if needed. Until repayment, interest on the outstanding balance of advances to the fund would be payable to the Treasury as miscellaneous receipts.

3. Reinsurance premiums would, pursuant to regulation, be fixed by the Secretary at rates determined with a view to achieving the objectives of the program and fiscal self sufficiency over a reasonable term. Such premiums could, and probably would, be fixed separately for each plan (for the initial reinsurance term, and thereafter again for each renewal term).

4. Reinsurance liabilities under the program would be limited to and paid from the fund, except that the Secretary could set up separate reinsurance accounts within the fund, in which event liability would be limited to the account to which a plan is allocated. It would be possible, under this provision, to establish, for example, special re-insurance accounts for each of the types of plans eligible for reinsurance as described above in paragraph 1, for classes of carriers, or for members of a group of affiliated or

5. The fund would be invested in Federal, or federally guaranteed, interest-bearing se-

associated carriers.

6. Authority to write reinsurance in given field would be subject to a standby or no-competition provision. That is to say, the Secretary could reinsure plans of a given kind or type only if, in the Secretary's judgment, reinsurance for such plans, on terms and conditions, and at premium rates. comparable to those offered under this title of the bill, is not available from private sources to an extent adequate to promote the purposes of the program. By implication, the Secretary would have to stop writing reinsurance when such a finding could no longer be made.

7. Reinsurance for a plan could not be granted unless (a) the applicant carrier is operating and proposes to operate according to law, (b) there is no reason to believe that the carrier is financially unsound or that it operates in an unsafe manner, (c) the reinsurance of the plan will promote the purposes of the program, (d) the carrier

agrees to submit such reports concerning its operations under the reinsured plan as the Secretary may from time to time reasonably require, (e) the carrier has agreed to the reinsurance premium rate fixed by the Secretary for the plan, and (f) the plan, the policies or contracts thereunder, and proposed method of operation comply with the terms and conditions prescribed for reinsurance. Certification by the State insurance department (or corresponding supervisory agency) of the carrier's home State as to whether there is reason to believe the carrier is financially unsound or unsafe, as determined in accordance with criteria established by the Secretary, could be accepted by the Secretary as conclusive. As to utilization of State agencies with respect to (f). see paragraph 8

R As a condition of granting reinsurance, the Secretary could, among other things, specify (a) minimum benefits; (b) safeguards against undue exclusions of preexisting conditions or of specific illnesses, against other undue exclusions or limita-tions; (c) standards for deductible and coinsurance provisions, limits of maximum liability, waiting periods for benefits, and other such policy provisions; (d) standards for the duration, cancellability, and renewability of such policies or contracts: and (e) standards for plan provisions with respect to costs and charges of providers of personal health services payable by the carrier, to the extent such standards are necessary to protect the fund against abuses or arbitrary cost increases. The Secretary would be precluded from reinsuring any plan for which the car-rier's premium rates are such as to make the plan financially unsound, or any plan with respect to which the carrier's breakdown of its single-premium rate, as between reinsured and nonreinsured types of benefit costs, is unreasonable, or any plan reinsurance of which would not promote the purposes of this title of the bill, but in other respects the Secretary would be pre-cluded from setting any standards for the carrier's premium rates. The State insurance department or corresponding State agency of a carrier's home State (as defined) would, if willing, be utilized to certify to the Secretary whether the plan complies with the terms and conditions stipulated as a condition of granting reinsur-

ance. 9. The Secretary could not approve for reinsurance any plan for direct provision of medical or dental services by the carrier through a salaried staff of physicians, surgeons, or dentists in the employ of such carrier, unless the carrier has an organizational structure vesting control over the practice of medicine or dentistry solely in duly licensed members of the professions

10. The liability of the reinsurance fund with respect to a reinsured plan would be fixed and limited as follows:

(a) The reinsurance base

The fund would not underwrite all of the carrier's annual benefit costs under the plan. Rather, the reinsured portion of such costs would be limited to the excess, if any, of

(1) aggregate annual incurred benefit costs under the plan, over

(2) the difference between (i) gross annual earned premium income and (ii) a portion of such income called the "administrative-expense allowance."

The administrative-expense allowance applicable to a given year for a reinsured plan would be determined by multiplying the gross earned premium income for the year seven-eighths of the carrier's preestimated (and thus predetermined, prior to the commencement of the reinsurance term into which the year falls) ratio of its annual

administrative expenses under the plan 1 to its annual earned premium income under the

Thus, before reinsurance would begin to apply, the carrier would in effect have to absorb fully out of its premium income, as benefit costs, (1) the anticipated portion of premium income normally devoted to benefit costs for such a plan, (2) the portion anticipated as available for profits (in the case of a carrier organized for profit) and for contingencies, and (3) one-eighth of the portion of premium income anticipated as administrative expenses. However, there is one variation of the foregoing for rural-area plans. Instead of absorbing one-eighth of the anticipated administrative expenses, the carrier could at its option absorb 2 percent of its anticipated premium income if this would result in reinsurance of a larger portion of its benefit costs.

Procedurally, the ratio of administrative expenses to earned premium income of the carrier under the plan would be estimated by the carrier, and that estimate would be submitted, with supporting data, with the application for initial reinsurance or renewal of reinsurance. In order to prevent distortion, the Secretary could require the submission of an average ratio based on a period not in excess of 3 years. The carrier's estimate would have to be approved by the Secretary unless considered to be unreasonable or not

in good faith.

For plans operated to a substantial extent on the basis of personal health services to be furnished by the carrier directly through its own staff or indirectly through the staff of an affiliate, or on the basis of payments made by the carrier to a provider of personal health services which is an affiliate of the carrier, the above formula would not apply, but the Secretary would, by regulation, prescribe a formula calculated to achieve for such plans reinsurance protection reasonably comparable in scope and extent to that provided for other types, taking into account their inherent differences.

(b) Coinsurance

The liability of the fund would be limited to 75 percent of the carrier's reinsured cost so arrived at. This is an adoption, for this purpose, of the principle of coinsurance.

11. The reinsurance term would be stipulated for a given (regular) period, e. g., a Secretary could, by or pursuant to regulation, provide for letting the reinsurance term extend beyond such regular period with respect to policies or subscriber contracts issued during such period and running beyond it. Also authorized pursuant to regulations would be the combination of a carrier's experience under two or more reinsured plans during the same term. In addition, regulations could provide for the extent to which experience during a term will be combined with experience during extensions thereof and the extent to which policies issued during, but running beyond, the reinsurance term will be treated as though issued in a subsequent term.

12. Reinsurance for a plan could be terminated by the Secretary on any ground specified in regulations in effect not less than 90 days in advance of the commencement of the current initial or renewal term of such reinsurance. However, reinsurance with respect to policies or subscriber con-

As here used, the term "administrative expenses" is intended to include all of the carrier's expenses and charges incurred under the plan, except the benefit costs and except any provision for contingencies, profits, dividends, and refunds. The Secretary would be authorized to define "administrative expenses" for such purposes more particularly.

tracts in effect on the effective date of such termination would remain in force until the normal expiration of the term.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. The bill would confer broad powers on the Secretary with respect to enforcement or settlement of claims, and would authorize the Secretary to hold hearings, etc., in connection with investigations under the program,

2. Criminal penalties would be imposed, not only for falsely advertising or representing that a carrier is reinsured or has applied for reinsurance but, regardless of the truth or falsity of the representation, also if the representation is not authorized by, or falls to conform to, regulations prescribed by the Secretary.

3. The effective date would be the 30th day following enactment, but in view of the necessity for a preparatory period the Secretary would not be required to receive or consider applications for reinsurance before a date determined by the Secretary.

SUMMARY OF TITLE II—MORTGAGE INSURANCE FOR CONSTRUCTION OF HEALTH FACILITIES

IN GENERAL

In order to facilitate further the financing and development of needed facilities, the bill would authorize the establishment, within the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, of a program of mortgage insurance to stimulate, on a self-sustaining basis, a continuing flow of private credit to finance the construction, expansion, modernization, and conversion of privately owned and operated health facilities. It would also remove certain restrictions on certain federally regulated lending institutions with respect to their investments in loans on real property in the case of such federally insured mortgages, and the existence of the program would encourage the removal of similar restrictions imposed on such loans under State

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

- 1. The bill would vest responsibility for the administration of the program in the Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare. Under existing law the Secretary could delegate all or any part of this function and either place it in an existing major unit within the Department or place it in a new unit. In addition, the bill carries express authority to utilize, by delegation or otherwise, the services and facilities of any other Federal agency by agreement with the head of the agency.
- 2. The bill would authorize the Secretary to consult with and otherwise use the services of existing advisory councils, to appoint new members to serve with such councils for purposes of this program, or to establish additional advisory groups as deemed necessary.
- 3. Except as otherwise specifically provided, no Federal officer or employee would be authorized to exercise any supervision or control over the administration, personnel, or operation of any privately owned and operated health facility. The bill also expressly precludes any possibility of its being interpreted as authorizing any association or corporation to engage in the practice of healing or medicine as defined by State law, or as conferring on any person the right to exercise any control over any individual's personal right to select his own hospital, physician, or group of physicians.

FINANCING OF THE PROGRAM

1. The health facilities mortgage insurance program is designed as a self-sustaining business-type financial operation. Premiums for insurance of the principal of eligible mortgages would be paid into a revolving fund, to be known as the health facilities mortgage insurance fund, which would be used for carrying out the program. An initial appropriation of \$10 million, and such additional sums thereafter as necessary, would

be authorized for the purpose of establishing a separate working-capital account from which needed capital would be transferred to the health facilities mortgage insurance fund by the Secretary. Such capital advances would be repayable to the workingcapital account as the condition of the insurance fund permits, beginning not later than July 1, 1965, and would then be available for future advances to the fund on like terms. (Interest would accrue to the Treasury on such capital advances, and would be payable annually as and when sufficient reserves, etc., have been built up in the insurance fund.) Should additional funds be required to meet liabilities incurred under insurance contracts of the program, such funds could be obtained by the sale of notes or other interest-bearing obligations to the Treasury, which would become liabilities of the insurance fund and be redeemable out of income and other assets of the fund. This line of credit has a limit of \$25 million or, if greater, 75 percent of the outstanding total insurance under the program.

2. The aggregate authorized insurance outstanding at any one time would be limited to \$200 million. This program ceiling could be raised by the President up to an aggregate increase of \$150 million, if he determined that such increases were in the public

3. The Secretary would be authorized to fix premium charges at rates adequate to cover expenses and reserves but not in excess of 1 percent of the outstanding principal obligation of insured mortgages. Reasonable charges for appraisal and inspection would also be authorized.

ELIGIBILITY FOR MORTGAGE LOAN INSURANCE

1. Mortgages would be eligible for insurance if made to secure loans to finance health facilities conforming to standards of construction and equipment satisfactory to the Secretary and to all applicable requirements of State law. The mortgagor would also be required, as a condition of eligibility, to give satisfactory assurance that operation and maintenance of the completed facility would be in compliance with applicable require-ments of State law. No mortgagor would be eligible who was not the owner and operator, or prospective operator, of the facility and who could not satisfy the Secretary as to his responsibility and ability to repay. ever, employers and nonprofit organizations (as defined) would be considered "operators" for purposes of this program if they owned the facility and had made contractual arrangements with providers of health services to use the facility primarily for furnishing services in the facility for such owner's employees, subscribers, or members, or their dependents, under a plan of such employer or organization, though use of the facility would not necessarily be restricted to such employees, subscribers, members, or dependents. No mortgagee would be eligible unless approved by the Secretary as responsible and able to service the mortgage properly.

2. The mortgage insurance program would assist in financing the new construction, or expansion, modernization, and so forth, of a wide variety of health facilities, including hospitals, diagnostic or treatment centers, nursing homes licensed by the States, and rehabilitation centers. It would not be available to finance facilities devoted primarily to domiciliary care. The loan secured by the insured mortgage could include costs of construction, initial equipment, and site acquisition, and, in the case of expansion, remodeling, or conversion of an existing building, it could include the cost of acquiring the existing building and site or of refinancing an existing indebtedness thereon.

3. Mortgage insurance would be authorized for mortgages securing loans in amounts not in excess of 80 percent of the estimated value (upon completion) of the property (including the land), for terms not in excess of 30

years. This maximum percentage could be lowered by regulation, either for particular classes or types of facilities or otherwise. As a condition of insurance the mortgagor would be required to agree to repay forthwith any amount by which the mortgage loan exceeded 80 percent of the actual cost (as defined). (In determining such estimated value or such "actual cost," the Secretary would be required to deduct the amount of any Federal grant, such as a grant under the hospital survey and construction program, to which the sponsor is entitled for the project.)

The Secretary would be authorized to prescribe by regulation the form and content of applications to be made by mortgagee and other terms and conditions for the insurance of eligible mortgages and would be required to find in each case, as a condition of insurance, that the project was economically sound and that the health facility would be operated on a basis that provided a reasonable prospect of continuing and adequate sources of revenue to pay the secured obligation. (In passing on the question of economic soundness in the case of a hospital project, the Secretary would be required to take into account available information as to existing hospital facilities, population-bed ratios, and bed-utilization rates in the area to be served, other programed hospital construction which would affect utilization of the projected facility, and similar relevant matters.) Each mort-gage would be required, among other things, to contain an undertaking that, except as authorized by the Secretary and the mort-gagee, the property would be used as a health facility during the life of the mort-gage or until the contract of insurance had been otherwise terminated.

INSURANCE CONTRACT AND INSURANCE BENEFITS

1. The insurancy fund would be primarily liable under mortgage insurance contracts. The Government's obligation under the contract of insurance would be to pay in cash to the mortgagee, upon 30 days' default of the mortgagor, 95 percent of the value of the mortgage (defined as unpaid principal, plus certain charges and expenses for taxes, insurance, etc.) with 3-percent interest from the date of default. As a condition of this payment the mortgagee would either assign the mortgage to the Secretary or, through foreclosure or otherwise, convey to the Secretary title to the mortgaged property, but in the event of mere assignment of the mortgage to the Secretary, which would relieve the mortgagee of foreclosure costs, etc., 1 percent of the unpaid principal of the mortgage would be deducted from the insurance payment.

2. In addition to the payment in cash of an amount equal to 95 percent of the value of the mortgage, the Secretary would also issue to the mortgagee a certificate of claim for the difference between the amount of the cash payment and the amount the mortgagee would have received if the mortgagor had paid all his obligations in full under the mortgage, plus an allowance for the mortgagee's expenses where the mortgagee had foreclased the mortgage or otherwise acquired title for the Secretary. The certificate of claim would bear 3-percent interest but would be payable only out of the proceeds of the property after the fund had been made whole for all payments and expenses incurred under the mortgage insurance transaction.

3. The bill provides for adjustment of premium charges in case the principal obligation of an insured mortgage is paid in full prior to maturity, and for termination of the insurance contract in the event the mortgage, after 30 days' default of the mortgagor, fails to assign the mortgage, or to have title delivered to the Secretary, as required under the bill in such cases and elects not to claim the insurance after de-

fault of the mortgagor. In addition the Secretary would be authorized to require the mortgagee to accelerate the debt on breach of covenant or other undertaking contained in the mortgage, if that course should be found to be necessary for the protection of the insurance fund or required by the purposes of the program.

MISCELLANEOUS

1. The Secretary would be given broad powers to sue and be sued, compromise claims, acquire, manage, and convey property in carrying out the program, and generally to exercise all the rights of a mortgagee with respect to mortgages and the rights of an owner with respect to property acquired in the administration of the mortgage insurance program. In order to facilitate the sale of mortgages acquired by the Secretary or executed in connection with the sale of property which had been acquired by the Secretary, the insurance of such mortgages would be authorized without regard to the limitations with respect to eligibility for mortgage insurance otherwise applicable.

2. The bill would authorize the collection

The bill would authorize the collection and distribution of information and statistics pertaining to the insurance of mort-

gages

3. Insured mortgages would be exempted from certain investment and other restrictions under Federal laws, as is the case with mortgages insured under the National Housing Act.

4. Criminal penalties are provided for in the bill for fraud or forgery in connection with transactions under the mortgage insur-

ance program.

The effective date of this program would be October 1, 1955.

SUMMARY OF TITLE III—PRACTICAL NURSE TRAINING

Title III of the bill authorizes a 5-year program in the Office of Education for the extension and improvement of practical nurse training through grants to State vocational education agencies for the training of practical nurses.

GENERAL

Vocational education grants to States for the 5-year period beginning July 1, 1955, for extension and improvement of practical nurse training of less than college grade would be authorized. The program would be applicable to all States, including Alaska, Hawail, the Virgin Islands, Puerto Rico, and the District of Columbia.

APPROPRIATION AUTHORIZATION

Two million dollars would be authorized for fiscal 1956, \$3 million for fiscal 1957, and \$4 million each for fiscal 1958, 1959, and 1960.

ALLOTMENTS

Allotments to the States would be based on relative State population, but with a minimum to each State of \$7,500 per fiscal year (\$3,750 in case of the Virgin Islands).

MATCHING

The Federal share of approved projects for extension and improvement of practical nurse training would be 75 percent for the first 2 fiscal years, and 50 percent for last 3 fiscal years.

STATE PLANS

The States would have to submit plans—
1. Designating the State board (the State board of vocational education or the State board primarily responsible for supervision of elementary and secondary education) as the sole agency for administration of the plan, or for supervision of administration by local educational agencies, with a registered professional nurse in charge of or available for consultation to the State board.

2. Showing the plans, policies, and methods to be followed under the plan and providing such fiscal procedures, etc., as are necessary for efficient administration.

3. Containing minimum qualifications for teachers, teacher-trainers, supervisors, and directors.

4. Providing for reports to the Commissioner of Education as necessary.

WITHHOLDING OF FUNDS

The Commissioner may withhold payments, after notice and hearing to the State board, for fallure to comply with requirements applicable to State plans. A State may appeal to Circuit Court of Appeals and then to United States Supreme Court if dissatisfied with the withholding of funds.

ADMINISTRATION

This title of the bill would be administered by the Commissioner of Education. The Commissioner would (a) make relevant studies, investigations, and reports, (b) render technical assistance to States, and (c) disseminate pertinent information. He would also be authorized to make rules and regulations and to delegate his powers and duties, other than rule-making, within the Office of Education.

EFFECT ON OTHER LAWS

Nothing in this title would affect the availability of amounts paid to States under the Smith-Hughes Act (39 Stat. 929), as amended and extended, or the George-Barden Act (60 Stat. 775), as amended and extended, for practical nurse training.

SUMMARY OF TITLE IV—GRADUATE TRAINING OF PROFESSIONAL NURSES AND OTHER PRO-FESSIONAL HEALTH PERSONNEL

Title IV of the bill authorizes a revised program of traineeships in graduate nursing and in public-health specialties.

This title of the bill adds a new section 305 to the Public Health Service Act authorizing the Surgeon General to establish and maintain two broad categories of traineeships in the service and elsewhere. There would be traineeships for graduate or specialized training in public health for doctors, engineers, nurses, and other professional health personnel; also authorized would be traineeships for training professional nurses for teaching or for administrative or supervisory duties in the various fields of nursing.

This new section of the Public Health Service Act also authorizes the provision of the traineeships through grants to public and nonprofit institutions. The traineeships would include stipends and allowances in amounts to be determined administratively.

SUMMARY OF TITLE V-PUBLIC HEALTH

This title of the bill would, effective July 1, 1955, replace the present separate authorizations for public-health grants under section 314 of the Public Health Service Act, including the separate authorizations for control of particular diseases, with an authorization for grants for support of publichealth services generally and for extension and improvement of such services and grants for special projects.

GRANTS TO STATES FOR PUBLIC-HEALTH SERVICES
Allotments and payments for public-health
services

Allotments and payments under the revised section 314 of the Public Health Service Act for general support grants would be made as follows:

1. For the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, and the fiscal year ending June 30, 1957, each State would be allotted an amount equal to its allotment under section 314 for the current fiscal year (ending June 30, 1955), including its current allotment for cancer grants but excluding its current allotment for mental-health grants.

2. The remainder, after allotment according to paragraph (1), of the appropriations for the fiscal years 1956 and 1957, and all sums appropriated in succeeding fiscal years would be allotted in accordance with regulations on the basis of (A) population, (B)

extent of particular health problems, and (C) relative financial need of the States,

3. Payments from the State's allotment, except from sums set aside under subsection (c) for extension and improvement grants, would be made in accordance with the Federal share (established for each State, as described below, on the basis of relative per capita income) of the cost of public health services under the State plan, the cost of training personnel for State and local public health work and the cost of administering the State plan.

Extension and improvement grants

The Surgeon General would be authorized to establish a percentage, not in excess of 20 percent, to be set aside from the allottenents to the States for public health services. The percentage would be uniform for all States. The percentage of the allotments so earmarked could be used only for approved projects for extension and improvement of public-health services, which are included in the State plan. Payments for any 1 such project could be made for 4 years only. Payments would equal 75 percent of the cost of the project for the first 2 years, and thereafter could meet not more than 50 percent of project costs, including costs for administration and training of personnel for State and local public-health work.

State plans

The Surgeon General would be required to approve any State plan which meets the requirements prescribed by regulation. Separate State plans for mental health would have to be submitted in States with a separate State mental health authority.

Regulations

As under existing law, all regulations with respect to grants to States under the new section 314 could be made only after consultation with a conference of State health authorities, including State mental health authorities when grants for work in the mental health field are concerned, and with their concurrence insofar as practicable.

Withholding of grants

As under existing law, notice and hearing to the State authority is required prior to the discontinuance of grants for noncompliance with the requirements applicable to the State plan.

Such withholding would apply to the State's allotments for public health services, including extension and improvement thereof, and including its allotments under the new section 315 for mental health services, or the withholding could apply only to a particular project or portion of the State plan affected by the State's failure if the Surgeon General deemed such action appropriate.

Judicial review would be authorized for any State dissatisfied with the Surgeon General's action withholding its allotments.

The Federal share

The Federal share establishes the portion of the cost of public health services which may be paid from grants under the new section 314 (not earmarked for extension and improvement projects). It is defined as a percentage which equals 100 percent minus the percentage which bears the same ratio to 50 percent as the per capita income of the State bears to the per capita income of the continental United States (excluding Alaska). However, the Federal share could not exceed a maximum of 66% percent nor could it be less than 33% percent; and the Federal share would be fixed at 50 percent for Hawaii and Alaska, and at 66% percent for Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands,

Method of computation and payment of grants

Payments of amounts from the State allotments (including the portion for exten-

sion and improvement projects) would be based on estimates made on the basis of records and information furnished by the State and any other necessary investigation with subsequent adjustment to correct any errors in estimates. Payments would be made in such installments as the Surgeon General might determine.

In case an officer or employee of the Public Health Service is detailed to a State, or to a political subdivision, or public or nonprofit organization or agency in the State, for the convenience and at the request of the State, the Surgeon General would be authorized, when so requested by the State health authority, to reduce any payment to the State by the amount of the pay, allowances, traveling expenses, and other costs related to the detail of such officer or employee. The amount of that reduction would then be available for payment by the Surgeon General of the costs of the detail.

Technical assistance and detail of personnel

The Surgeon General would also be authorized, in order to assist further in the extension and improvement of public health services, to train personnel for State and local public health work, to detail personnel to Guam and American Samoa, and to extend training investigation, demonstration, and consultative services to Guam, American Samoa, and the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands.

Combination of allotments

The new section 314 also authorizes the Surgeon General, at the request of a State, to combine a portion of its allotment for public health services, or extension and improvement projects, with that of another State for purposes of supporting a particular and clearly defined public health service, or a project, undertaken by another State.

GRANTS FOR SPECIAL PROJECTS

Section 502 of the draft bill would amend section 303 of the Public Health Service Act (which now relates to mental health) by replacing it with a new section.

The new section 303 would authorize appropriations, beginning with the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956, to enable the Surgeon General to make two types of project grants: (1) grants to States (or with the approval of the State authorities, to interstate agencies or political subdivisions) for part of the cost of public health services having importance for the solution of public health problems which are emergent or acute in specific geographical areas or are common to several States, or problems for which the Federal Government has a special responsibility: and (2) grants to State and local agencies, universities, laboratories, and to individuals for investigations, experiments, demonstrations, studies, and research projects which have been recommended by the National Advisory Health Council.

For purposes of this section, Guam would be deemed a State.

SUMMARY OF TITLE VI-MENTAL HEALTH

Title VI of the bill would authorize a separate grant program for mental health for the 5-year period beginning July 1, 1955, consisting of grants for public health services in the field of mental health, comparable to the grants authorized by title V for public health services in general. It would also authorize special project grants for specific problems related to the improvement of care, treatment, or rehabilitation of the mentally ill and improvement in the administration of institutions providing care for such per-

GRANTS TO STATES FOR MENTAL HEALTH SERVICES

Section 601 of the bill would amend the Public Health Service Act by redesignating present section 315 as 316 and inserting a new section 315.

The new section 315 would authorize, in addition to the sums appropriated under

the new section 314, which are also available for mental public health programs, additional appropriations for a 5-year period, beginning with the fiscal year 1956, to be available specifically for public health services in the field of mental health.

Allotments from these appropriations to the States would be made in accordance with regulations, on the besis of population, extent of mental health problems, and financial need.

The provisions on payments from the State allotments are the same as under section 314 (as amended by title V of the bill); and the provisions of that section on regulations, methods of payment, and combination of allotments of States would be applicable here also.

GRANTS FOR SPECIAL PROJECTS IN MENTAL HEALTH

Section 602 of the bill would amend the Public Health Service Act to add a new section 304.

The new section 304 would authorize annual appropriations for a 5-year period, beginning with the fiscal year 1956, to enable the Surgeon General to make project grants in the mental-health field similar to the grants authorized in section 303 (a) (2) for public health in general. The special projects in mental health authorized under this section would be directed particularly toward improved methods of care and treatment of the mentally ill and improved methods of operation and administration for institutions providing such care and treat ment. Grants could be made to individuals and to public and private agencies, including the State agencies responsible for administration of State institutions for care and treatment of the mentally ill. Grants could be made only upon recommendation of the National Advisory Mental Health Council.

For purposes of this section, Guam would be deemed to be a State.

TRAINEESHIPS IN MENTAL HEALTH

Section 603 would amend the Public Health Service Act by adding a new section 306.

The new section 306 would make clear that the general authority of the Surgeon General (sec. 433 of the Public Health Service Act) to establish and maintain traineeships in fields of diseases in which an institute has been established in the Public Health Service applies in the field of mental health.

Salty Alameda History Recalled by Windjammer Restoration

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Mr. Speaker, the slender masts of the Alaska packers' fleet of sailing ships were a part of Alameda, Calif., up until the early thirties.

The estuary of San Antonio knew the graceful lines and towering masts of windjammers long beyond the memory of our oldest living inhabitant.

I am glad that the Alameda Times-Star has assigned Thad Spinola to write a series of articles on the history of these once-proud ships. It is part of the heritage of the West that should be preserved. Mr. Speaker, here is the first of these articles:

SALTY ALAMEDA HISTORY RECALLED BY WINDJAMMER RESTORATION

(By Thad Spinola)

"Two big windjammers, right, tight, and shipshape, poked their clean-cut bows through the Golden Gate on the morning of April 3 (1928) bound for the shores of Bristol Bay * * * just north of the Aleutian Archipelago.

"When well clear of The Heads, towlines were let go as big ships broke out their gleaming white tops'ls, to-gallants'ls and fore-and-afters. Their high-flung canvas caught a rollicking breeze out of the south-west—a fair wind—sending them acuttling away into the North, the spume hissing and roaring under each sharp prow."

The two windjammers were both flying the house flag of the Alaska Packers Association and they were contending for speed honors in the last blue-water classic the world was ever privileged to witness.

LAST BACE

The bark Star of England and the ship Star of Alaska, both Yankee windjammer were subjects of a stirring account written by Tom White in the July 22, 1928, issue of the San Francisco Chronicle. The occasion being a do-or-die race to Alaska and the stakes being the high-flying honor and glory of two of APA's most illustrious ships.

The race was reminiscent of the days when hard-sailing, hard-fisted skippers cracked on every drag they could find to be the first home with their fragrant cargoes from the Far East, wrote White:

"Oh, a Yankee ship came down the river; Blow, bullies, blow.

A Yankee ship with a Yankee skipper, Blow boys, bully boys, blow."

The Star of Alaska got her canvas up first almost as soon the red-stack tugs dropped their towlines and left the two ships to the skilled hands of their skippers. As the tugs pulled away, the Star of Alaska was clearly 6 miles ahead of her sister rival, the Star of England.

The wagers were against the Alaska, but the racing wind filled her salls fit to burst as if in contempt of the bettors, and in 17 days, 21 hours, with her bow raking the sky like she owned it, the Star of Alaska dropped anchor off Chirikof Island. She had won a cup of gold—the fastest run between San Francisco and Alaska ever made.

tween San Francisco and Alaska ever made.
Romping with the spirit of the victor, she set sall again westward to Chignik, making the passage in 19 days, beating her rival by 14 days, 4 hours.

Telegraph Hill and Cliff House were favorite sitting spots for shipping men and the old skippers who watched as the old windjammers slipped through the Golden Gate (the heads) and dipped obediently to the long swells of the sparkling Pacific, headed north.

ALASKA RUN

Out in the spring and back in the fall. The Star Fleet outward bound carried tinplate, box shooks, cannery supplies, and other materials for putting up the salmon pack, and the cannery workers themselves—150 to 200 packed "tween decks."

This was the beginning of the end of the Star Fleet. The long, black wispy hair of smoke along the horizon coming from the newfangled steamers looked threatening and forbidding to the oldtime saliors, whose contempt knew no limits when expressing their opinions about the lumbering hulks that bullied themselves through the sea, blackening the skies all the while.

It was a battle to the death between wind

It was a battle to the death between wind and steam power—between the windjammer and the coal-burning steamer—and the monkey wrench all but vanquished the marlinspike.

Alaska Packers operated 25 of the old-timers even as late as 1922; but their number was gradually cut down, with the old ships returning 5 and 6 at a time to be laid up

indefinitely.

Nineteen of these were "Star ships"—The Star of France, the Star of Russia, the Star of Bengal, the Star of Italy, the Star of England, the Star of Chile, the Star of Falkland, the Star of Finland, the Star of Greenland, the Star of Holland, the Star of Iceland, the Star of India (called the fleet's fairest). the Star of Lapland, and the Star of Peru, the Star of Poland, the Star of Scotland, the Star of Shetland, and the Star of Zealand are all part of a rich history now and but only one remains to tell of it.

Moored to the narrow quays at their Alameda winter quarters, their long, slender bowsprits nuzzled gently against but well over the poop deck of the one just ahead, the slender sisters of the Star fleet crooned softly in the language of ships, recounting weird tales of adventure in the Bay of Bengal, the terrible Cape of Good Hope, the howling Hatteras hurricanes, and the heady breath of offshore winds in the South Seas.

DIFFERENT ENDS

Many of the ships went many different Some gave up the struggles against the pounding sea and now rest on the ocean's breast; others were mutilated, stripped of their identity, hulls used to cart copra between the Tropics; coal from New Zealand. Others were bought greedily for scrap iron by the Japanese and some became targets for Nazi torpedoes during World War II.

Of one of the ships that went the way intended for it, White wrote:

"But this fall when the prim old ladies of the deep remove their quaint, white hats and shawls and foregather for another winter their tales will be tempered with a note of sadness at the loss of one of their sisters, the Star of Falkland, whose battered hulk with tangled rigging lies on the rocks of Unimak Pass

"Better at that," they agree bitterly, "than

to end her days as a coal barge."

'The packer's ships are headin' north: There's one that sails today. Her skipper had his orders To proceed to Bristol Bay."

The Star of Alaska returned to Alameda last summer, the last of a long and laudable breed, she was spared an indecent end when a group of public-spirited citizens in San Francisco decided to buy the ship, restore it as much as financially possible, and place it on view for all future generations to see.

The San Francisco Maritime Museum believes "from understanding of our past flows confidence in our future," Argonaut Bay. confidence in our future." Argonaut Bay, where the Star and other vessels will be anchored, will be a living memorial to the great sailing ship era, and to the men and ships that made it great.

TWO REMEMBER

There aren't many men left who remember the iron sailing ships, but there are a few who de recall that the Star of Alaska, now the Pacific Queen, was launched in Scotland. christened Balclutha. At least two of these men still live in Alameda.

The ship was built in 1886 at Glasgow, Scotland, by C. Connell & Co., for R. Mc-Millan, of Dumbarton, who ordered two fullrigged ships of 1,600 tons each to join his McCleod. The Sirenia and her sister ship, Balclutha, were the first steel ships built by Connell.

The Sirenia was lost 2 years after her launching when she sank off the Isle of Wight, homeward bound from San Francisco, according to information furnished by D. P. Campbell, captain and master mariner who joined the Sirenia as an apprentice sea man and served aboard her until she was lost in March 1888.

A. K. Tichenor, former vice president and superintendent of Alaska Packers, now re-tired, lives at 1717 Dayton Street. The other man sailed under the late Capt. Nick Wagner on the Star of Alaska as a carpenter in

He is John Rankin, of 2151 Lincoln Avenue, born in Scotland, the birthplace of the Balclutha.

Small Business and Government Procurement Programs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, I am convinced that the arbitrary definition and classification of small business in connection with Government procurement programs is completely failing to achieve the objective of Congress when it created the Small Business Administration. The intent of the law was "to utilize the potential production capacity of plants operated by small business concerns." I am told that the standard of 500 or fewer set by the Defense Department and acceded to by the Small Business Administration can be and is being vitiated by the simple process of large concerns appointing individual sales agents. It appears to me Congress should spell out its intent and see to it that small manufacturers are favored in Government procurement.

For the information of Members, I am inserting a copy of my letter to the Administrator of the Small Business Administration together with a copy of his

Needless to say, I think the reply is unrealistic and unsatisfactory.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, Washington, D. C., January 20, 1955. Mr. WENDELL B. BARNES,

Administrator, Small Business Admin-istration, Washington, D. C.

DEAR MR. BARNES: As you know, Congress provided in the Small Business Act of 1953 that a small-business concern shall be deemed to be one which is independently owned and operated and which is not domi-nant in its field of operation. Thus, it is the policy of the Congress that a fair pro-portion of the total purchases and contracts for supplies and services for the Government be placed with small-business enterprises.

I understand that the Small Business Administration has the power and is directed "to consult and cooperate with officers of the Government having procurement powers in order to utilize the potential production capacity of plants operated by small-business concerns." This consultation with procure-This consultation with procurement officers has included defining of small business, and after such consultation I am informed it was decided that the Small Business Administration would follow the same definition in procurement-assistance programs that the Department of Defense uses; namely, any business having 500 or fewer employees including affiliates is considered

Is this arbitrary ruling regarding 500 or fewer employees in conformity with the policy of Congress? I think not and, in fact, I believe it will be found that this definition in many cases actually is working to the detriment of small business.

The glaring weakness of the 500 employees or less classification definition is that in one or less classification definition is that in one line of business 1,000 employees is small business, such as in the steel industry, whereas in another type of business 500 employees would be definitely big business. But the real weakness, in my opinion, of the arbitrary ruling comes from failure to distinguish between the manufacturer and the distributor. Thus, a large manufacturer represented by a small distributor or sales agent is favored as against a small manufac-

turer represented by a large distributor.

A fairer method of classifying big versus small business could easily be worked out within the wording and intent of the present law. But it appears that the Small Business Administration is reluctant to open up this subject and prefers to duck its responsibility by going along with the old Defense

Department definition.

Meanwhile, I am informed that many large manufacturers are appointing individual agents to handle their bids on Government business. Incidentally, this results in unsatisfactory service to Government agencies because individual agents do not carry inventories or give the service offered by regular distributors. However, I believe the important factor which the Congress should consider is that aid to small business is best accomplished at the production level. other words, production per dollar involves many times the expenditure of labor that selling or the distribution dollar involves. Thus, it appears to me the size of a sales force of a business concern is not nearly as important as the size of a manufacturer's payroll. No consideration is apparently given to the number of employees in the manufacturer's plant; rather, preference is given in procurement by the Federal Government to the number of employees of the selling agent.

Altogether it seems to me that appropriate legislation to correct this situation should be considered by Congress, or the Small Business Administration should recognize its responsibility and forthwith review its present policy.

Before bringing this subject to the attention of the Congress, I would greatly appreclate a statement of your viewpoint.

Sincerely,

THOMAS M. PELLY.

SMALL BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION, Washington, D. C., February 1, 1955. Hon. THOMAS M. PELLY, House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C.
DEAR MR. PELLY: This is in reply to your recent letter pertaining to the definition of small business.

As you state, for procurement purposes any concern with fewer than 500 employees including affiliates is considered a small business. As you know, this definition has been used by the Government procurement agencies for several years.

We recognize that size varies depending on the industry or other kind of business activity. We also recognize the inequities of the 500 standard, or any other single nu-merical standard to define a small-business concern. While we take size variations into consideration in designating which business concerns are small for SBA financial assistance program purposes, the number of small business-loan applications is very few compared with the number of Government procurement transactions. This difference in numbers permits us to consider applications for loans more deliberately on an individual basis than is possible for Government procurement actions.

A departure from the 500 standard has been discussed with officials in the Department of Defense. After careful consideration of the administrative problems which would result from changing the present standard and of what would be gained in the way of small business procurement assistance as a result of such change, it has been decided that it is not advisable at this time to change the definition of small business for the purposes of procurement-assistance programs.

We are also aware that a small distributor may sell commodities purchased from a large manufacturer and that occasionally a small manufacturer does lose out to a small distributor. On the other hand, our experience is that this happens infrequently.

In the circumstances, we feel that we are doing a reasonably good job by using our present definition of small business. We think you will agree that it would not be possible to achieve absolute perfection no matter what approach were taken to the solution of this problem. The choice which has to be made is to provide the maximum of assistance to small business with the resources which are available.

Sincerely yours,

WENDELL B. BARNES,
Administrator,

Tenth Anniversary of Yalta Meeting

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HAROLD D. DONOHUE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. DONOHUE. Mr. Speaker, the approach of the 10th anniversary, on February 7, 1955, of the famous wartime meeting at Yalta of the Big Three, which marked the beginning of a series of retreats of the free world before the forward march of Soviet aggression, serves to forcefully remind us of the continuing tragic fate of Poland.

With the current gravity of governmental indecision in the Republic of France, and the pregnant situation in the Far East, it is becoming increasingly evident that the American people must concentrate upon the vital need for a prompt overall European settlement. It is supremely important that the Government of the United States decide whether any peaceful and lasting world order can be achieved when such international commitments as those written in the Atlantic Charter and the Yalta agreement are so boldly violated.

It is increasingly evident that there is no semblance and no intent whatever of any real democracy being permitted to exist in Poland under Russian dominance.

This country is morally bound to make it clear that in its conscientious judgment what did occur, and is now occurring, in Poland embraces a violation of the third article of the Atlantic Charter, to which every member of the United Nations is committed.

The duty of the American Government to take a decisive stand in Poland's case cannot be forever disregarded. It is a matter of official record that in addition to the pledges set forth in the Yalta agreement, the United States during the war years repeatedly and specifically assured the Polish people, through their representatives, that it would never recognize a government "not representative of Poland."

The United States cannot hope to retain the confidence of the smaller nations, and to exercise a continued influence in world affairs, if it disregards pledges of so solemn a character. The United States must redeem our pledge by calling upon the United Nations to assume the humanitarian responsibility of demanding that the Christian people of Poland, who suffered so much in the Allied cause, shall not become victims of the ruthless pagan imperialism of an oppressive totalitarian government.

Lynwood, Calif., High-School Students
Put on Successful Get-Out-the-Vote
Campaign in the November 2, 1954,
Election

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by reason of unanimous consent granted me heretofore so to do, I am pleased to herewith set forth information and evidence of the very active, very well-organized, and very successful campaign by the students of the Lynwood, Los Angeles County, Calif., High School, which started October 18, 1954, and continued through election day, November 2, 1954.

The Lynwood Press, a community-conscious newspaper, gave the students deserved and extensive publicity by printing on the very front page thereof on October 28, 1954, the following letter:

OCTOBER 18, 1954.

DEAR STUDENT BODY: We seniors at Lynwood High School are out to prove that we have what it takes to really make democracy live. Seniors in previous years became truly alarmed when they learned that but 67 percent of the qualified voters of Lynwood had shown up at the polls when some truly crucial issues were at stake. The senior problems classes sparked a "Get out the vote" campaign, the results of which were astounding. In the presidential campaign of 1952, 92 percent voted.

We're proud of what these "alums" did, but we're not yet satisfied with the civic participation of our voters. We know more moms and dads should get to the polls. We're wondering how you feel about this situation, and we're thinking maybe you will be interested in knowing what we are doing. Maybe you can give us some ideas, too.

Under the chairmanship of two livewire seniors, we've organized committees that are really on the beam. We've a big sign ready to stretch from walk to walk over our main street. When Mom goes to the market she's going to find a right smart hand bill stowed away with the groceries. Even car bumpers are reminding Lynwoodites that November 2 is a day to remember. (We're particularly proud of the seniors who designed these signs, and of the printshop boys who did the producing.) One of the very special features of our homecoming parade is going to

be the surprise "Get out the vote" senior

To be sure that mom gets to the polls, we're sending out crews of specially trained baby sitters; expert chauffeurs will drive her to the polls if she doesn't have her own transportation. We don't care how mom votes, and dad's choice for Senator is his own secret, but we do want to be sure they both get to the polls—our neighbors, too. We want to make the voting percentage of our Lynwood the highest in the good old United States.

Will you go along with us on this project, and make your plans for a get-out-the-vote campaign? May we hear from you? Footnote: As the November elections draw

Footnote: As the November elections draw nearer Lynwood high-school students are working fast and furiously toward a goal which is vastly important to us and to the American way of life.

What we are asking of you, our parents, is not a difficult thing to accomplish. It requires no effort, no money, and very little time. What it does require is thought—thought for your future and for ours—thought for freedom and a way of life surpassed nowhere, by no one. When the November elections roll around, we want you to get out and yote.

to get out and vote.

We want to keep alive not only the idea of democracy, but the practice of it as well.

Our efforts in this campaign are not en-

Our efforts in this campaign are not entirely unselfish, however. We want to be sure you leave our country in great shape for the time when we take over your privileges and responsibilities—the greatest of which is the right to vote.

If you need transportation or a baby sitter so that you can visit the polls, call NE 1-6153. The candidates will not thank you for your votes nearly as much as we will, the future citizens, who will benefit by them.

We are willing to put forth time and effort to get you to the polls. Are you willing

to get out and vote?

Nora Gaede and Jim Dunn,
Cochairman of Steering Committee,
Florene Herreid, Secretary,
Sally Johnson,
Director of Public Relations,
Tom Bancroft, Supervisor.

Other publicity channels carried the same story and the Lynwood High School student paper Castle Courier on October 29, 1954, on the front page of that splendid, sizable 6-page student publication carried in prominent place the following text:

VOTE—STUDENTS IN ALL-OUT CAMPAIGN FOR URGING COMMUNITY TO VOTE

Vote more in 1954. That is the slogan used by the senior class this year in an allout campaign to get citizens of Lynwood out to vote November 2.

The campaign is under the direction of Mr. Tom Bancroft, faculty advisor, and Nora Gaede and Jim Dunn, student chairman of the student steering committee. The members of this committee are Florene Herried, Secretary; Jerry Ackley, Dale Costa, Sam Leonard, Diane Olhoeft, Meredith Perkins, Sondra Sanders, Carol Sturtevant, Sally Steele, Mary Cornell, Arlene Watts, Jackie Crammer, and Margie Stone.

The committee has organized various ac-

The committee has organized various activities that they are undertaking. They have already sent out letters to every school in southern California telling of plans and asking that they might try to do something on the same order to by to increase their voting percentage.

Students have contacted the ministers of Lynwood asking them to remind the people of their churches to vote. Handbills were printed and were distributed throughout the community in the gas stations and in the grocery stores. Speeches were made to the various service clubs and to the schools around Lynwood.

A banner was erected to hang across Long Beach Boulevard in front of the bank. This is a constant reminder to the citizens of Lynwood to vote on November 2.

A float that will long be remembered by everyone in Lynwood was the one entered by the student steering committee, in the

homecoming parade.

The senior class has asked that the citizens who vote on November 2 turn on their porch lights. If their porch light is not on it will help the students to find the ones who have not yet voted and they will remind them to do so.

Meredith Perkins, senior class president, says, "We of the senior class are hopeful of a 100 percent turnout this year for Lynwood."

In addition thereto the same Castle Courier, on its editorial page carried the following:

FROM THE EDITOR'S DESK

Vote. Vote. Vote. That is the cry of the senior class. This year they are going all out in a campaign to get 13,000 people out

How do they propose to do it? Well, they have many activities planned and they are working very hard to carry them out. The senior problems classes elected a representative to represent them on the Student Steering Committee. They are Jerry Ackley, Dale Costa, Mary Cornell, Jackle Crammer, Jim Dunn, Nora Gaede, Florene Herreid, Sam Leonard, Diane Olhoeft, Meredith Perkins, Sondra Sanders, Margie Stone, Lynn Butler, Carole Sturtevant, Sally Steele, and Arlene Watts. They are guided by a very efficient advisor by the name of Mr. Tom Bancroft.

From this committee they appointed two co-chairmen who are Nora Gaede and Jim Dunn. Also a secretary, Florene Herreid.

Among the activities that they have carried

Among the activities that they have carried out, has been, the banner stretched across Long Beach Boulevard, reminding the voters to vote on November 1.

The print shop has been busy printing up the handbill which will be passed out throughout the community to the gas stations and grocery stores. They have been busy making speeches to the primary schools, in an effort to get them to tell their parents about the campaign. Also they were given the handbills to take home to their parents and to those who don't have children.

Letters were sent to all the schools in southern California, telling them all about the all-out campaign put on by the senior class, and suggesting that they might do the same.

Speeches were given to the service organizations of Lynwood asking for their support.

Then they had their float in the homecoming parade advertising their campaign. The public address system was used to advertise it all the more.

Election day they will supply free babysitters and free transportation for mothers who wish to vote at that time.

These students have put hours upon hours of work on this, and I think we should all take our hats off to them and the whole senior class for the tremendous job that they have done.

Now let's all help them by reminding our parents to vote on November 1.

FLORENE HERREID.
Assistant Editor.

The same Lynwood Press carried the following:

TURN ON YOUR PORCH LIGHT AT 5 P. M. IF YOU HAVE VOTED

Next Tuesday, November 2, is election day in California. Every registered voter is urged to get out and vote for the candidate of his choice by the get-out-the-vote committees of the Lynwood High School, chamber of commerce, Kiwanis Club, realtors, and many other organizations.

The committee at the high school asks that at 5 o'clock, if you have voted, turn on your porch light. Students will call on every home without the porch light on, to remind the residents that it is still not too late. If you need a babysitter call the high school, NE 1-6153, and one will be furnished. If you need transportation the high-school students or any member of the Lynwood-Compton Realty Board will furnish it.

The sample ballots mailed recently tell where to vote.

In addition to all the foregoing vigorous and timely publicity, the Lynwood High School students in their own print shop produced many thousands of handbills on the outside of which were the following words: "For Adults Only," while on the inside thereof was used a graph of a Democratic donkey and a Republican elephant. But in addition thereto the following language in very readable type: "Get-out-the-vote campaign—sponsored by Lynwood High senions and Lynwood Chamber of Commerce. For free transportation and baby care call NE 1-6153 until 3:30 p.m." These were distributed throughout the total city population.

Nor was this Lynwood student body in my great 23d Congressional District the only student body which actively put on campaigns to get out the vote. However, so far as has come to my attention, it appears that the Lynwood High School student body was the most active with its punch line and with a large number of students participating and with a very sizable and active community response and cooperation.

Mr. Speaker, I know that you and all my distinguished colleagues join with me in extending congratulations to this very large high-school student body which, by the evidence of its activity to get out the vote has become early conscious of this duty of every American entitled to cast his or her ballot.

As you well know, Mr. Speaker, each one of the four terms I have already previously served in this great legislative body I have very strongly emphasized on the floor of this house and in many visible ways my belief that it was the duty of every Member of this great legislative body to do his or her utmost in their respective congressional districts to cooperate with all community groups and organizations to see to it that the maximum number of American citizens exercise their voting franchise and perform their duty at the polls. For instance, on August 4, 1954, on pages 12449 and 12450, appear my remarks on the subject of "vote on election day."

And now I wish to emphatically state that I think it is not too early for all Members of this great Congress to in every practical way urge and assist every possible community effort in their respective congressional districts to promote and plan that the largest possible number of American voters in their respective congressional districts shall go to the polls and vote. Nor do I confine myself just to elections for Members of Congress and for the President of the United States. I refer to what might be termed local elections, as well as State, county, and national elections.

This voting participation is one of the factors which is clearly certain to help perpetuate democratic processes and, therefore, our American way of life

The Serious Game

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from the Textile Challenger, official publication of the United Textile Workers of America:

THE SERIOUS GAME

President Eisenhower believes that 90 cents an hour is enough for millions of underpaid workers.

His economic advisers certainly know that living costs are at the peak and that manhour productivity has reached the highest point.

There is a delightful musical on Broadway called The Pajama Game based on the book Seven and One-half Cents, the same being an increase in wages demanded by overworked pajama workers. The President has increased the 7½ cents, but the Pajama Game is a play; we are dealing here with real, live, hard-working humans. "This is for keeps" affecting the home life of millions of men, women, and children. They want and need a living wage.

A DECENT MINIMUM

Labor is united for \$1.25 an hour as a minimum and this can be justified when we consider what has happened to the dollar and to living costs since the 75 cents an hour became effective.

The President's economic advisers should also know, for example, that workers in the textile industry are producing at back-breaking speed, and if they can work 40 hours at 90 cents, their weekly wage of \$36 is not a living wage.

Labor's proposal for \$1.25 would not only provide decent living standards, it would provide increased purchasing and consumer power with more employment. Last but not least, it would provide added compensation for increased production, a vital necessity if we desire to keep the economy in balance.

Governor Harriman, of New York, has recognized these principles when he advocated a minimum wage of \$1.25. He sees it as the means of combatting unfair competition, creating industrial stability, a curb on runaway mills, and the evil of migratory subsidies.

The working people are looking with expectation to Congress. The President's proposal is inadequate. Ninety cents is too low. Congress can right the wrong.

New York's multi-million dollar men's clothing industry backed Governor Harriman in his appeal for a Federal minimum wage of \$1,25 an hour.

EMPLOYERS FAVOR \$1.25

The New York Clothing Manufacturers Exchange, representing 36 companies with 40,000 workers, became the first major employer group to record itself in favor of a 50-cent rise in the present wage floor.

The clothing association, whose members all pay wages well above \$1.25, sent telegrams to all members of the legislature endorsing the Harriman proposal.

CHANGE WOULD AID INDUSTRY

The employer group contended that the \$1.25 base would "protect New York industry against the unfair competition of low-wage areas, would deter movement of industry out of the State, and would improve business by increasing consumer purchasing power."

The messages were signed by Isidore Grossman, president of the exchange, and Arthur

J. White, its executive secretary.

Some sections of the clothing industry have been especially hard hit in recent years by the establishment of rival plants in the South and in other areas where unions are weak and wage standards are low.

The Open Shop Crusade

· EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE M. RHODES

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. RHODES of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith an editorial from Trainman News, official publication of the Brotherhood of Railway Trainmen:

THE OPEN SHOP CRUSADE

Not many railroad workers are going to be fooled by the so-called right-to-work bills now being pushed in State legislatures throughout the country by the Nation's most

reactionary interests.

At least none will be fooled who stops to recall another trick phrase which down through the years has prejudiced people against us and persuaded some lawmakers that we are just a bunch of highbinders trying to get something for nothing.

That phrase is "featherbedding." It was coined by an unprincipled word artist who didn't know anything about railroading or about the workers who keep the railroads running and cared less.

He did know how to count, however, so he just took what the rallroad companies said about us and made it pay off handsomely for himself and for the railroads.

The result was one of the most effective propaganda weapons ever conceived to im-Pede organized labor's march toward fairer wages and working conditions and economic

fustice generally.

The word "featherbedding" poisoned the minds of many people against the railroad minds of many people against the railroad. man and his goals and has been a formidable obstacle in every wage and rule campaign.

And it all started when the railroad companies dangled some gold before a conscienceless writer.

We don't know who thought up the term, "right to work." but judging by the sponsors of such legislation we're fairly sure that they don't care much about anybody's rights and positive that they don't give a damn about any worker's rights.

The people behind these laws are those Who have always fought labor every inch of the way in its struggle for economic and social justice and just a plain square deal for the Nation's workers. They're the open for the Nation's workers. They're the open ahoppers, the hirers of thugs and strike-breakers in days gone by, the die-hard opposers of social security, fair labor laws, railroad retirement, broader public education and every other endeavor of the worktion, and every other endeavor of the workingman to improve his way of life and to Participate more fully in the fruits of civilization and technological progress.

The right-to-work drive is a concerted, well-planned, and richly financed campaign of the National Association of Manufacturers, the United States Chamber of Commerce. and many State and local affiliates, various employer associations, and certain so-called better citizens and patriotic groups which are nothing more or less than political arms of the giant corporations.

The reason they're working so hard now on the States is that they know in the present Congress there isn't a ghost of a chance in making the Taft-Hartley Act into a tighter straitjacket than it already is. And they want to get all their licks in against labor before the next presidential year, when the voters are apt to be fed up with reaction and turn out the legislators upon whom they must depend to tie labor into knots.

The right-to-work bills have no relation to anybody's right to work. They have been conceived as a device calculated to destroy labor unions, reduce workers to what would amount to slavery, and in general put workers in their place, which means at the mercy

of the bosses.

These laws do not guarantee a man a right to work any more than they create employment. If anything, they curtail the right to work by placing the employee at the whim of his employer-for wage cuts, complete loss

of employment, dignity, and self-respect.

Delegates to the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen's recent convention put the BRT squarely on record against such legislation when they said: "We denounce the use of the title 'Right To Work' to describe these measures as a subterfuge, intended by false and misleading language to obtain a favorable response from citizens who are all of one mind respecting our right to work, when, as a matter of fact, these victous open-shop measures have the real purpose of undermining existing trade unions, preventing their growth and responsibility in the field of collective bargaining."

Some people are bound to be misled by Big Business' self-righteousness and its proclaimed big bleeding heart for the rights and welfare of labor. Not many unionists, how-ever, will fall into the trap. Even if they're too young to remember labor's long and bitter struggle for recognition and for achievement, their commonsense should tell them that the Devil doesn't prescribe any elixir for long life.

"Featherbedding" or "right to work." they're both trick phrases to blitz labor unions. Is there anything in the NAM's or chamber's record to indicate any concern at any time for the welfare of workers?

We're not fooled, and we're going to do everything in our power to see that the public and the legislators are not fooled, although it's an uphill fight all the way, with the press, radio, and propaganda media all at the disposal of the open-shoppers

Authorizing the President To Employ Armed Forces of United States To Defend Formosa, Etc.

> SPEECH OF

HON. JOHN D. DINGELL

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, January 25, 1955

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, I have listened with keen attention to the words of our wise and beloved Speaker the gentleman from Texas [Mr. RAYBURN], and with equal deference to the opinions of

our level-headed and experienced col-league the gentleman from Texas [Mr. KILDAY] as he, too, expounded his views regarding the requested authority by President Eisenhower in connection with the Formosa threat. I agree heartily with all they said. Their deductions are patriotic, sound, and unimpeachable, but I am not going to quibble about the President's interpretations to the contrary. I am going to vote as the President requests, to prove to the world that there is unity among us on the point of presenting a solid front, and to disregard minor differences where security and peace are the chief concern.

I agree, too, with my good friend the gentleman from California [Mr. Holi-FIELD] whose analytical mind and brilliance are equaled by his patriotism and aggressiveness, so valuable to our beloved country. I not only listened to his brief remarks here on the floor, but also read and agree with his statement which is to be printed in the RECORD and which was released to the press. I believe the President owes it to the people to make some explanations about the employment of the 7th Fleet. What he, the President, said to Congress on February 2, 1953, does not square with what was said as he backtracked on the same subject in his address to the Congress on January 24, 1955. I shall circulate the released Holifield statement in my district should I deem it necessary to do so for the edification of the people who are interested in unimpeachable facts.

Who Owns Formosa?-Walter Lippmann Says Nobody, Vicente Villamin Says the Republic of China (Nationalist)

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Friday, January 7, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the question of who owns Formosa has been raised by Mr. Walter Lippmann, the distinguished columnist. He contends that its ownership has not yet been determined. Mr. Adlai Stevenson, the former candidate for President, and an increasing number of radio commentators and writers agree with him.

Mr. Vicente Villamin, the well-known Filipino lawyer, economist and writer, disagrees with Mr. Lippmann and says that Formosa is a part of the Republic of China-Nationalist-having been automatically reincorporated into the Chinese national domain immediately after Japan lost the war and lost control of that island which she took from Japan as a war booty in 1895.

His article follows:

FORMOSA IS PART OF CHINA (By Vicente Villamin)

In a recent article Mr. Walter Lippmann said that Formosa belongs neither to Nationalist nor to Communist China (Mr. Adlai Stevenson has since repeated it), and that the right of the United States to defend that island from Communist attack "rests on the fact that it is territory ceded by Japan about which 'the ultimate disposition' not not been settled." He also said that Formosa was "captured from Japan by the United States, not by China."

He then asserted that, in saying that the United States would defend Formosa and the Pescadores but not certain islands which are not vital to their defense, President Eisenhower predicated the policy position of the United States on consideration of strategy rather than law, and he called it American imperialism and implied that the United States was intervening in Chinese internal affairs—the very claims the Communists have been loudly making.

If Mr. Lippmann is right that Formosa's

legal status is not yet settled, then the Na-tionalists have no right to be in Formosa and exercise sovereignty there, as the Communists equally have no right to displace them on that island. From that premise it may be stated that not only the United States but all her allies, 47 signatories to the Japanese Peace Treaty of San Francisco, should defend Formosa from Communist attacks because, if they succeeded, they would take over the island. Therefore, Mr. Lippmann's theory, if carried out, would lead to a general war, the very sequel he is trying to avoid.

This paper contends that Formosa automatically became a part of China when the war was won by the Allies in 1945 and before the conclusion of the Japanese Peace Treaty in 1951-6 years after. It was recaptured from Japan, the illegal possessor, not by the United States alone, though, indeed, she exerted the major effort, but with the help of her allies, including China, which had been fighting Japan for 4 years before the United States entered the war.

Now let me give the ground for my contention: Chapter II, article 2-b of the Japanese Peace Treaty, which Mr. Lippmann cites to uphold his thesis, states that "Japan renounces all right, title, and claim to Formosa and the Pescadores." Then he called attention to the fact that "though Japan has renounced the title, no one else has acquired it," that is, China, its lawful owner, had not acquired it.

Mr. Lippmann is upheld, but only episodically, by the following language in the report on the treaty of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee: "It is important to remember that article (chapter) 2 is a renunciatory article and makes no provision for the power or powers which are to succeed Japan in the possession of and sovereignty over the ceded territory."

A similar thought is expressed in the statement of principles which the United States delegation to the peace conference operated under. Its relevant part reads: "Japan * * * (c) would accept the future decision of the United Kingdom, the U. S. S. R., China, and the United States with reference to the status of Formosa, Pescadores, South Sakhalin, and the Kuriles, In the event of no decision within a year after the treaty came into effect, the United Nations General Assembly would decide. Special rights and interests in China would be renounced."

Of the above statement, only the last sentence found expression in the peace treaty, in chapter 4, article 10. The rest was not acted upon by the conference and therefore not binding.

Now for the refutation of Mr. Lippmann's thesis. On behalf of the United States delegation, which was headed by the then Secretary of State Dean Acheson, Mr. John Foster Dulles, the author of the treaty, told the peace conference the following: "What is the territory of Japanese sovereignty (under the treaty)? Chapter II deals with that. Japan formally ratifies the territorial provisions of the Potsdam surrender terms. * * *

The Potsdam surrender terms constitute the only definition of peace terms to which, and by which, Japan and the Allied Powers as a whole are bound."

The Senate committee report, mentioned above, follows the thinking of Mr. Dulles and "Japan surrenders sovereignty over the territory which representatives of the great powers at the Potsdam conference agreed should be taken from it. Article 8 of the proclamation defining the terms of the Japanese surrender adopted at Potsdam on July 26, 1945, states: 'The terms of the Cairo declaration shall be carried out.'" In other words, that declaration, is a part of the surrender terms, which, in turn, are a part of the peace treaty, specifically those pro-

visions relating to territorial dispositions.

The pertinent part of the Cairo declaration, dated December 1, 1943, follows: three great allies (as represented at Cario, Egypt, by President Roosevelt, Generalissimo Kai-shek, and Prime Minister Churchill) are fighting this war to restrain and punish the aggression of Japan. They covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion. It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the First World War in 1914, and that all the territories that Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and the Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China."

The declaration was endorsed by Soviet Russia in her war declaration against Japan. dated August 8, 1945, in the following words: 'True to its obligation as an ally, the Soviet Government has accepted the proposal of the allies and has joined in the declaration of the allied powers of July 26," (Potsdam) which says that "the terms of the Cairo

declaration shall be carried out."

Conclusion: The Cairo Declaration is written into the Japanese Peace Treaty. When Japan was defeated it became automatically effective even before the treaty was con-cluded 6 years later, and Nationalist China established its Government there forthwith nearly 4 years before President Chiang Kaishek arrived there from the mainland. Its sovereignty was tacitly recognized by the peace conference by its omission to challenge it and to provide for a future conference to determine its status. The fair inference from these two omissions is that the members of the conference accepted the fact of Chinese sovereignty over that island.

Indeed, with its occupation by its rightful owner, China, after the trespasser, Japan, had been driven out, Formosa was thereby reincorporated into China's national domain. There was no need for a formal conveyance because the ownership of China was versally conceded. Formosa had been a part of China from time immemorial until it was wrested from her by Japan as a war booty. Her recovery was the result also of a war. Conceding for the sake of argument that

a settlement is to be made in the future as to who owns Formosa, it would be unthinkable that that island would not be adjudicated to China. A negative determination would be a travesty on history and justice. Verily, to challenge now the ownership of China over Formosa is academic, pure and

The United States position as to Formosa is correct, legally, morally, historically, and internationally. She recognizes Nationalist China as the only legitimate Government of China. Her policy is to defend Formosa and the Pescadores and such islands as the President as Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces decides to defend. That policy is based on her own vital interests and on her treaty obligations to countries, including the Republic of China (Nationalist China), which are alined with her in the life-anddeath struggle against the Communists and their plan of world conquest and domina-

The Formosa Debates

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, FREDERIC R. COUDERT, JR.

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, January 20, 1955

Mr. COUDERT. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include an admirable editorial by the Wall Street Journal of January 31, 1955. This is a cool and objective appraisal of the present Formosa crisis and its relation to American-China policy. past and present.

REVIEW AND OUTLOOK THE FORMOSA DEBATES

The Senate debate on the Formosa resolution finished Friday night. This morning the United Nations Security Council begins its debate on a cease-fire in the Formosa area. There are those who feel misgivings about both the character of the Senate debate and the implications of the Security Council debate.

It is feared, for example, that a proposal to let the Chinese Communists attend, without voting power, the Security Council sessions will only increase their international prestige and might even be the prelude to

U. N. membership for them.

That the Communists' presence at the U. N., if they come, would increase their prestige, particularly in Asia, is certain. But the important question is whether there should be efforts toward a cease-fire. If there should be such efforts, then clearly it is necessary to meet with the Communists. fact that the meeting place, the U. N., happens to be in New York City does not mean that the United States is appeasing the Communists if it lets them into this country for this purpose. In fact, the United States did the same thing in 1950, in connection with the Korean war.

Should the United States, then, associate itself with efforts toward a cease-fire? It depends on what is understood by a ceasefire. Some of our allies may be toying with the idea of a deal whereby the Communists would be given eventual U. N. membership That kind of in exchange for a cease-fire. arrangement the United States could not countenance, and there is no shred of evidence to indicate that Washington would countenance it.

It should be emphasized, however, that a cease-fire which means literally what it says—a cessation of the present fighting in preparation for a peaceful settlement of the Formosa issue—is not appeasement. Those who contend that it is must ask themselves what is the alternative.

Whether there is any hope of a cease-fire is something else again. The propaganda blasts reported yesterday from both Moscow and Peiping do not seem to offer much hope. But the attempt to arrange a cease-fire, providing it is the right kind, is one with which the United States can honorably identify itself.

As for the Senate debate, some concern is expressed about the delay in passing the Formosan resolution. It is thought that this, plus the charges exchanged and the reservations voiced during and after the debate, shows a lack of complete unity on the issue and might play into the hands of the Communist propagandists.

It is certainly true that some of the objections raised in the Senate-particularly the one that the resolution is a green light for preventive war-were ill-considered and remote from reality. All the same, we think it is a very good thing that the lawmakers took as much time as they did to examine President Eisenhower's request. There are Several reasons.

The commitment to defend Formosa and the Pescadores is an old one, made by President Truman at the start of the Korean War. But the resolution offered the Senate does broaden the commitment to permit Mr. Elsenhower to take action affecting other islands and even the Red China mainland If he considers it necessary for the protection of Formosa.

This extension of the original commitment undoubtedly makes military sense. But precisely because it represents an important further step it merited careful questioning. One may deplore the lack of wisdom of some of the criticism, but one cannot deplore the fact of debate on a matter of major policy. The Senate of the United States is not the Soviet parliament.

Moreover, the debate promptly produced a tangible result in the form of a clarification of the President's intentions. To still the idle chatter about preventive war, Mr. Eisenhow-er explained that he alone would decide Whether United States forces should be used for purposes "other than immediate selfdefense or in direct defense of Formosa and the Pescadores."

In other words, he ruled out two possible dangers—that American commanders might too broadly interpret their authority, and that the Chinese Nationalists might bring this country into war by attacking the main-The military discretion is solely reserved to a man who has consistently sought to lessen rather than enhance the chances of War

This clarification should soothe any for-eign fears of American "impetuousness." The slowness of action charged against the Senate debate should operate to the same end. It shows that the Senate, far from being stampeded, took days to scrutinize the resolution to make sure that it did not authorize any rash or precipitate action.

And if the debate stimulates the American People to think deeper about our Far Eastern policy it will serve a further useful pur-pose. For the reaffirmation of the decision to defend Formosa does not answer all the

questions about that policy.
In the circumstances there was no practicable alternative to reaffirming the original decision. But that is not the same as saying the decision was sound in the first place, or that a general policy of defending every piece of the Far East the Communists might choose to threaten is necessarily the best way of strengthening our defenses against communism. We do not profess to know whether it is. But we do know this country has already fought two major Far Eastern wars in little more than a decade; it nearly got into another last year and now again is endan-

The Senate debate did not go into these broader questions. It was not the occasion. Nor can the Security Council debate be ex-Pected to shed much light on them. But the debates may suggest that the questions exist. At some point they will have to be asked.

Statement on Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES G. FULTON

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. FULTON. Mr. Speaker, this is the 10th anniversary of the enslavement of the Polish Nation at Yalta on February 7, 1945. We who have friends and relatives in Poland under the present dictatorship, and who are interested in the regaining of the freedom and independence by the Polish people, keep this date on our calendars for remembrance and for renewed hope.

We commemorate this day each year and renew our associations with our friends in a determined reserve to see a free and independent Poland.

We look forward with confidence to the time when Poland, a free and independent nation, will join the peaceful nations of the world in advancing the progress and raising the standards of living in cooperation with all the friendly nations and the citizens of the free world.

Addresses by Gen. Douglas MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JGHN H. RAY

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. RAY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include three addresses delivered by General of the Army Douglas MacArthur at Los Angeles on January 26.

The three addresses are complementary and I think they should be printed together. I request, under unanimous consent, that these important addresses be printed as parts of one insertion.

ADDRESS BY GENERAL OF THE ARMY DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, MADE JANUARY 26, 1955, AT THE DEDICATION OF A MONUMENT TO HIM IN LOS ANGELES

I have listened with deep emotion to these solemn proceedings. My heart is too full for my lips to express adequately my thanks and appreciation for the extraordinary honor you do me. Even so, I understand full well that this memorial is intended to commemorate an epic rather than an individual; an armed force, rather than its commander; a nation, rather than its servant; an ideal, rather than a personality.

But this only increases my pride that my name has been one chosen as the symbol of an epic struggle in victory by millions of unnamed others.

It is their heroism, their sacrifice, their success, that you honor today in so unforgettable a manner. And this statute and this park are but the selected reminders of their grandeur.

Most of them were citizen soldiers, sailors, or airmen; men from the farm, from the city, from the schoolroom, from the college campus; men not dedicated to the profession of arms; men not primarily skilled in the art of war; men most amazingly like the men you see and meet and know each day of your life. But men inspired, animated, and ennobled by a sublime cause to the defense of their country, of their native land, of their very hearthstones.

DIVINE IMPULSES GUIDED MEN

The most divine of all human sentiments and impulses guided them, the spirit and the willingness to sacrifice.

He who dares to die, who lays his life on the altar of his nation's need, is beyond doubt the noblest development of mankind. In this he comes closest to the image of his Creator who died on the cross that the human soul might live.

These men were my comrades in arms. With me they knew the call of the bugle at reveille, the distant roll of drums at nightfall, the endless tramp of marching feet, the incessant whine of sniper bullets, the ceaseless rattle of sputtering machineguns, the sinister wail of air sirens, the deafening blast and crash of bombs, the stealthy stroke of hidden torpedoes, the aimless lurch of perilous waves, the dark majesty of fighting ships, the mad din of battlelines, and all the stench and ghastly horror and savage destruction of a stricken area of war.

They suffered hunger and thirst, the broiling sun of relentless heat, the torrential rains of tropical storms, the loneliness and utter desolation of jungle trails, the bitterness of separation from those they loved and cherished. They went on and on and when everything within them seemed to stop and die. They grew old in youth; they burned out in searing minutes all that life owed them in tranquil years.

KNOWS GLORY OF THEIR DEATH

When I think of their patience under adversity, of their courage under fire, and of their modesty in victory, I am filled with an emotion I cannot express.

Many of them trod the tragic path of unknown fame that led to a stark, white cross on a lonely grave. And from their tortured. dving lips, with the dreadful gurgle of the death rattle in their throats, always came the same gasping prayer that we who were left would go on to victory.

I do not know the dignity of their birth. but I do know the glory of their death. I am sure a merciful God has taken them unto Himself

In these troublesome times of confused and bewildered international sophistication, let no man misunderstand why they did that which they did. These were patriots, pure and plain; these were men who fought and perchance died for one reason only for their country, for America. No complex philosophy of world intrigue and conspiracy dominated their thoughts. No exploitation or extravagance of propaganda dimmed their sensibilities. Just the simple fact that their country called them, just the devoted doctrine of Stephen Decatur when he said: "My country, may she always be right. But, right or wrong, my country."

BULWARK OF NATIONAL STRENGTH

Be not deceived by strange voices heard across the land, decrying this old and proven concept of patriotism. From the very beginning it has been the main bulwark of our national strength and integrity.

Seductive murmurs are arising that it is now outmoded by some more comprehensive and all-embracing philosophy; that we are provincial and immature, or reactionary and stupid when we idealize our own country; that there is a higher destiny for us under another more general flag; that no longer when we send our sons and daughters to the battlefield must we see them through all the way to victory; that we can call upon them to fight and even to die in some half-hearted and indecisive effort.

That we can plunge them recklessly into war and then suddenly decide that it is a wrong war, or in the wrong place, or at a wrong time; or even that we call it not a war at all, but by some more euphemistic and generic name; that we can treat them as expendables, although they are our own flesh and blood. And even in times of peace, for some romantic reason, they must share not as an act of generosity but as a bounden duty, their national blessings and goods built from nothing to a height never before reached by man-with others because, whether for neglect or not, they have not fared so well.

IGNORE PROPHETS OF DISASTER

That we, the strongest Nation in the world, have suddenly become dependent upon others for our security and even our welfare. Listen not to these voices, be they from one political party or from the other; be they from the high and the mighty, or the lowly and the forgotten. Heed them not. Visit upon them a righteous scorn born of the past sacrifices of your fighting sons and daughters.

Repudiate them in the market place, on the platform, in the pulpit. Those who are our friends will understand. Those who are not we can pass by. Be proud to be called patriots or nationalists or what you will, if it means that you love your country above all else, and will place your life if need be at the service of our flag.

I wish again to express to the citizens of this community my gratitude for their gen-erosity in creating this memorial, and my thanks and appreciation to all those present here today.

You have etched for me in indelible memory a patriotic friendship and sympathetic understanding. You have made me feel far greater than my just deserts and yet more humble than I care to admit.

ADDRESS BY GENERAL OF THE ARMY DOUGLAS MacArthur, Delivered January 26, 1955. AT A BANQUET SPONSORED BY THE AMERICAN LEGION IN LOS ANGELES

Seldom in history has living man been honored as this famous community of Los Angeles has honored me today. You have etched in my heart an unforgettable memory of patriotic fever and national devotion. You have aroused an indelible emotion of gratitude that I am unable to express adequately in words. Yet, the reality of life enables me to apply an appraising perspective: to understand that your action springs not so much from a desire to memorialize a personality as to proclaim a people's adherence to ideals long ago fabricated into the warp and woof of what is called the American way of life.

That you have chosen me to symbolize this rich heritage of principles is an honor which makes me feel far greater than any just merit; that my name should stand for the millions of unnamed others whose faith and courage built the immortal way from which was fashioned the true greatness of our country creates within me a feeling of humility far in excess of all possible pride. It makes me revere the stars in our flag far more than any stars on my shoulders.

I am so grateful to all who have wished me birthday greetings. I know such expressions of good will would have brightened the eyes of that gentle Virginia lady, my mother, on this her day. Thank you—thank you in her name again and again—and, as "old soldiers never die," I promise to keep on living as though I expected to live forever. That famous barrack-room ballad apparently counts on us, those old soldiers who have escaped the carnage of the battlefield, to find the fountain of youth. And, indeed, we might if we only understood what the poet said, that youth is not entirely a time of life—it is a state of mind. It is not wholly a matter of ripe checks, red lips or supple knees. It is a temper of the will, a quality of the imagination, a vigor of the emotions, a freshness of the deep springs of life. It means a temperamental predominance of courage over timidity, of an appetite for adventure over love of ease. Nobody grows old by merely living a number of years. People grow old only by deserting their ideals. Years may wrinkle the skin, but to give up interest wrinkles the soul.

Worry, doubt, self-distrust, fear, and despair—these are the long, long years that bow the head and turn the growing spirit back to dust. Whatever your years, there is in every being's heart the love of wonder, the undaunted challenge of events, the unfailing childlike appetite for what next, and the joy and the game of life. You are as young as your faith, as old as your doubt; as young as your self-confidence, as old as your fear; as young as your hope, as old as your despair. In the central place of every heart there is a recording chamber; so long as it receives messages of beauty, hope, cheer, and courage, so long are you young. the wires are all down and your covered with the snows of pessimism and the ice of cynicism, then, and then only, are you grown old-and then, indeed, as the ballad says, you just fade away.

Many in this brilliant audience were my comrades in arms in the days of used to be. They have known war in all its horror and, as veterans, hope against its recurrence. How, we ask ourselves, did such an institution become so integrated with man's life and civilization? How has it grown to be the most vital factor in our existence?

It started in a modest enough way as a sort of gladiatorial method of settling disputes between conflicting tribes. One of oldest and most classical examples is the Biblical story of David and Goliath. Each of the two contesting groups selected its champion. They fought and, based upon the outcome, an agreement resulted. Then, as time went on, small professional groups known as armies replaced the individual champions, and these groups fought in some obscure corner of the world and victory or defeat was accepted as the basis of an ensuing peace; and from then on, down through ages, the constant record is an increase in the character and strength of the forces. with the rate of increase always accelerating. From a small percentage of the populace it finally engulfed all. It is now the nation in

Within the span of my own life I have witnessed this evolution. At the turn of the century, when I entered the Army, the target was one enemy casualty at the end of a rifle or bayonet or sword. Then came the ma-chinegun designed to kill by the dozen. After that, the heavy artillery raining death upon the hundreds. Then the aerial bomb to strike by the thousands-followed by the atom explosion to reach the hundreds of thousands. Now, electronics and and other processes of science have raised the destructive potential to encompass millions, and with restless hands we work feverishly in dark laboratories to find the means to destroy all at one blow.

But this very triumph of scientific annihilation-this very success of invention-has destroyed the possibility of war being a medium of practical settlement of international differences. The enormous destrucnents makes it impossible for the winner to translate it into anything but his own

The Second World War, even with its now antiquated armaments, clearly demonstrated that the victor had to bear in large part the very injuries inflicted on his foe. Our own country spent billions of dollars and untold energies to heal the wounds of Germany and War has become a Frankenstein to Japan. destroy both sides. No longer is it the weapon of adventure whereby a shortcut to international wealth and power-a place in If you lose, you the sun—can be gained. are annihilated; if you win, you stand only to lose. No longer does it possess the chance of the winner of a duel; it contains rather the germs of double suicide. Science has clearly outmoded it as a feasible arbiter.

The great question is-does this mean that war can now be outlawed from the world? If so, it would mark the greatest advance in civilization since the Sermon on the Mount, It would lift at one stroke the darkest shadow which has engulfed mankind from the beginning. It would not only remove fear and bring security-it would not only create new moral and spiritual values-it would produce an economic wave of prosperity that would raise the world's standard of living beyond anything ever dreamed of by

man. The hundreds of billions of dollars now spent in mutual preparedness could conceivably abolish poverty from the face of the globe. It would accomplish even more than this; it would at one stroke reduce the international tensions that seem so insurmountable now to matters of more probable solution.

For instance, the complex problems of German rearmament, of preventive war, of satellite dominance by major powers, of universal military service, of unconscionable taxation, of nuclear development for industry. of freer exchange of goods and people, of foreign aid and, indeed, of all issues involving the application of armed force. It would have equally potent political effects. It would reduce immeasurably the power of leaders of government and thus render more precarious totalitarian or autocratic The growing and dangerous control by an individual over the masses—the socialistic and paternal trends resulting therefrom— is largely by virtue of his influence to induce war or to maintain peace. Abolish this threat and the position of chief magistrate falls into a more proper civic perspective.

You will say at once that although the abolition of war has been the dream of man for centuries every proposition to that end has been promptly discarded as impossible and fantastic. Every cynic, every pessimist, every adventurer, every swashbuckler in the world has always disclaimed its feasibility. But that was before the science of the past decade made mass destruction a reality. The argument then was along spiritual and moral lines, and lost.

It is a sad truth that human character has never reached a theological development which would permit the application of pure idealism. In the last 2,000 years its rate of change has been deplorably slow compared to that of the arts and the sciences. But now the tremendous and present evolution of nuclear and other potentials of destruction has suddenly taken the problem away from its primary consideration as a moral and spiritual question and brought it abreast of scientific realism. It is no longer an ethical equation to be pondered solely by learned philosophers and ecclesiastics but a hardcore one for the decision of the masses whose survival is the issue.

This is as true of the Soviet side of the world as of the free side, as true behind the Iron Curtain as in front of it. The ordinary people of the world, whether free or slave, are all in agreement on this solution; and this perhaps is the only thing in the world they do agree upon. But it is the most vital and determinate of all. The leaders are the laggards. The disease of power seems to confuse and befuddle them. They have not even approached the basic problem, much less evolved a working formula to implement this public demand. They debate and tur-moil over a hundred issues, they bring us to the verge of despair or raise our hopes to Utopian heights over the corollary misunderstandings that stem from the threat of war. but never in the chancelleries of the world or the halls of the United Nations is the real problem raised. Never do they dare to state the bald truth, that the next great advance in the evolution of civilization cannot take place until war is abolished.

It may take another cataclysm of destruction to prove to them this simple truth. But, strange as it may seem, it is known now by all common men. It is the one issue upon which both sides can agree, for it is the one issue upon which both sides will profit equally. It is the one issue-and the only decisive one-in which the interests of both are completely parallel. It is the one issue which, if settled, might settle all others

Time has shown that agreements between modern nations are generally no longer honored as valid unless both profit therefrom But both sides can be trusted when both do profit. It becomes then no longer a problem based upon relative integrity. is now no longer convincing to argue, even if true, that we cannot trust the other side, that one maverick can destroy the herd. It would no longer be a matter depending upon trust, the self-interest of each nation outlawing war would keep it true to itself. And there is no influence so potent and powerful as self-interest. It would not necessarily require international inspection of relative armaments, the public opinion of every part of the world would be the great denominator which would ensure the issue, each nation would so profit that it could not fail eventually to comply.

This would not, of course, mean the abandonment of all armed forces, but it would reduce them to the simpler problems of internal order and international police. It would not mean utopia at one fell stroke, but it would mean that the great roadblock now existing to the development of the human race would have been cleared.

The present tensions with their threat of national annihilation are kept alive by two great illusions. The one, a complete belief on the part of the Soviet world that the capitalist countries are preparing to attack them; that sooner or later we intend to strike. And the other, a complete belief on the part of the capitalist countries that the Soviets are preparing to attack us; that sooner or later they intend to strike. are wrong. Each side, so far as the masses are concerned is equally desirous of peace. For either side, war with the other would mean nothing but disaster. Both equally dread it. But the constant acceleration of preparation may well, without specific intent, ultimately produce a spontaneous combus-

I am sure that every pundit in the world, every cynic and hypocrite, every paid brain-washer, every egotist, every troublemaker, and many others of entirely different mold, will tell you with mockery and ridicule that this can be only a dream—that it is but the this can be only a dreamvague imaginings of a visionary. But, as David Lloyd George once said in Commons at the crisis of the First World War, "We must go on or we will go under." And the great criticism we can make of the world's leaders is their lack of a plan which will enable us "to go on."

All they propose merely gravitates around but dares not face the real problem. They increase preparedness by alliances, by distributing resources throughout the world. by feverish activity in developing new and deadlier weapons, by applying conscription in times of peace-all of which is instantly matched by the prospective opponent. We

are told that this increases the chances of peace-which is doubtful-and increases the chances of victory if war comes—which would be incontestable if the other side did not increase in like proportion. Actually, the truth is that the relative strengths of the two change little with the years. Action by one is promptly matched by reaction

from the other.

We are told we must go on indefinitely as at present—some say 50 years or more. With what at the end? None say—there is no definite objective. They but pass along to None say-there is no those that follow the search for a final solu-And, at the end, the problem will be exactly the same as that which we face now. Must we live for generations under the killing punishment of accelerating preparedness without an announced final purpose or, as an alternative, suicidal war; and trifle in the meanwhile with corollary and indeterminate theses—such as limitation of armament, restriction on the use of nuclear power, adoption of new legal standards as propounded at Nuremberg-all of which are but paliatives and all of which in varying form have been tried in the past with negligible results?

Dangerous doctrines, too, appear-doctrines which might result in actual defeat; such doctrines as a limited war, of enemy sanctuary, of failure to protect our fighting men when captured, of national subversive and sabotage agencies, of a substitute for victory on the battlefield-all in the name of peace. Peace, indeed, can be obtained at least temporarily by any nation if it is prepared to yield its freedom principles. But peace at any price-peace with appeasement-peace which passes the dreadful finality to future generations—is a peace of sham and shame which can end only in war or

I recall so vividly this problem when it faced the Japanese in their new constitution. They are realists: and they are the only ones that know by dread experience the fearful effect of mass annihilation. They realize in their limited geographical area, caught up as a sort of no-man's land between two great ideologies, that to engage in another war, whether on the winning or the losing side, would spell the probable doom of their race. And their wise old Prime Minister, Shidehara, came to me and urged that to save themselves they should abolish war as an international instrument. When I agreed, he turned to me and said, "The world will laugh and mock us as impractical visionaries, but a hundred years from now we will be called prophets."

Sooner or later the world, if it is to survive. must reach this decision. The only question is. When? Must we fight again before we learn? When will some great figure in power have sufficient imagination and moral courage to translate this universal wish-which is rapidly becoming a universal necessityinto actuality? We are in a new era. old methods and solutions no longer suffice. We must have new thoughts, new ideas, new concepts, just as did our venerated fore fathers when they faced a New World. must break out of the straitjacket of the past. There must always be one to lead, and we should be that one. We should now proclaim our readiness to abolish war in concert with the great powers of the world. The result might be magical.

This may sound somewhat academic in view of the acuteness of the situation in the Far East. Strategically, the problem there has developed along classical lines—the familiar case of a concentrated enemy in a central position deployed against scattered allies. Red China, inherently weak in in-dustrial output for modern war but strong in manpower, engaged on three fronts— Korea, Indochina, and in civil war with Nationalist China. Fighting on all three simultaneously meant defeat, but individually the chances were excellent. The hope for tory depended on getting a cease-fire some fronts so that the full potential of its limited military might could be thrown against the remaining one or ones.

That is what has happened and is happening. First was the cessation of the civil-war action by the isolation in the Formosa area which practically immobilized National China, one of the allies. Red China then concentrated against Korea and Indochina. But even the double front was too much for its strained resources. So a cease-fire was obtained in Korea. This immobilized the so-called United Nations forces and the South Koreans and left Red China free to concentrate on the third front-Indochina and the French. Successful there, the Reds now turn back to the old first front located in Formosa. As Napoleon Bonaparte once said: "Give me allies as an enemy so that I can defeat them one by one."

Militarily the situation demonstrates the inherent weakness of the theory of collective security-the chain is no stronger than its weakest link, and what is even more vital-its full power can only be utilized when all links are brought simultaneously into action. The diverse interests of allies always tend toward separation rather than unity.

Whatever betides the ultimate fate of the Far East-and indeed of the world-will not be settled by force of arms. We may all be practically annihilated—but war can no longer be an arbiter of survival.

I cannot close without once more thanking this beautiful city of Los Angeles for its gracious hospitality. It has been an inspira-tion to be here, where missions once stood as lonely outposts in the advance of our Christian civilization, but where this great metropolis now stands as a monument to American industry and adventure—a symbolic reminder of Californian strength and fortitude. I hate to leave-but, as I once pledged under very different circumstances, I shall return.

ADDRESS BY GENERAL OF THE ARMY DOUGLAS MACARTHUR, MADE ON JANUARY 26, 1955. UPON RECEIVING IN LOS ANGELES AN AWARD OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH FOR DISTINGUISHED SERVICE TO THE CHURCH OF GOD AS A CHRISTIAN STATESMAN AND SOLDIER

Your honor, your grace, and all in reverent attendance at this convention, I cannot begin to express adequately my thanks and appreciation for the signal honor you have conferred upon me. It creates an unforgettable sense of distinction far in excess of any just merit, and arouses a feeling of gratitude that is indelible.

Much of my life has been dedicated to the profession of arms. Much of my experience has been in the practice of the art of war. For such a one it is a rare privilege, indeed. when an occasion arises permitting construction rather than destruction, to build not to

destroy.
Such was the unusual and unique opportunity presenting itself in the field of religion when our victorious soldiers entered Japan. These were veteran troops, troops who had come from behind, soldiers constantly outnumbered, and consequently constantly operating in the shadow of death. Now they had come through against all odds, and were duly thankful to a merciful God. They were spiritual to the highest degree. The most religious army of modern times. Men who prayed before they fought. Men who built their churches even before they built their hospitals.

Japan itself was in a state of utter collapse. It was completely exhausted. Its long war effort had reduced its industrial output to almost nothing. Its military defeat had de-stroyed not only its sense of self-reliance, but its sense of self-respect. The religious disintegration was even worse. It was universal and absolute.

In this vacuum, material, social and spiritual, the occupation began. Three concepts of divinity existed in Japan prior to the war: Shintoism, bred to the native culture of the Japanese; Buddhism, introduced from the Asiatic mainland; and Christianity, an occidental importation, a poor third. The latter influence became negligible during the war.

The first two were practically taken over by the Government as a means of regimenta-tion of the masses. The priesthood represented one of the most cultured, influential and intellectual segments of society, but was dominated by the state. The temples were supported by national funds, and the priests themselves, to all intents and purposes, were but agents of those in political power.

Under Government tutelage, the people had been thoroughly indoctrinated with a belief in the invincible character of their armed forces. The propaganda was complete, and up to the very end no Japanese dreamed of anything but victory. The shock of sudden defeat was thus enormously increased, and left the populace doubtful and resentful, not only of their military and political leaders, but of their religions as well. I am a Christitan and an Episcopalian, but I believe in all religions. They may differ in form and ritual, but all recognize a divine Creator, a superior power, that transcends all that is mortal. I, therefore, felt that it became my duty as a soldier of God to attempt to restore and revive religion in Japan, to fill this moral vacuum, just as it was my duty as a soldier of the Republic to revitalize the material well-being of the country; that to fulfill my obligation it must be of the spiritual as well as of the flesh. But the problem was how.

Should I, with my full military power, arbitrarily decree the adoption of the Christian faith as a national religion? Like all men of human frailty in their hour of defeat and despairing agony, I knew they must turn to some higher spiritual power for moral comfort and support. Would not this be the moment to order them to abandon their own and turn to our God? Their utter help-lessness, their dire necessity, born of complete disaster and dependence, would have perhaps forced an outward compliance, but it would have been only a fictitious and superficial sham, and would surely have defeated the very purpose I had in mind.

The solution I adopted I believe you would have approved. It was to befriend all religious, to permit complete freedom of religious worship as individuals might choose, to free all creeds, Shinto, Buddhist, and Christian, from any Government control, to stop all proselyting of the church by national subsidy, to return to the temples their fundamental obligation of religious tutelage, to make the priest no longer an agent of political coercion or espionage activity. In short, to render unto God that which is His, and not unto Caesar which he would.

It worked like a charm. The priesthood responded to their relief from governmental dominance with a spiritual fervor that swept all before it. No slave passing to freedom ever exceeded their buoyant reaction. The religious vacuum disappeared, and, because I was Christian, and had acted so, it aroused among the Shintoist and Buddhist a great curiosity of the religion which had dictated my decision.

Their own creeds, good in part as they were, were based to some extent on a quid pro quo concept that one should do good in this life, because he would profit from it in the life to come; that he would be repaid; that he would get back more than he put in as a reward in another world was a main incentive. The concept of faith, the concept of Christ that man should do what is right, even if it entailed personal sacrifice, that the urge of conscience was greater than any material reward, was something new and novel.

It seemed to me that the great opportunity was to guide Shintoism and Buddhism toward this basic concept of religious faith, rather than the impossible task of replacement by a conqueror's own creed. That if the lessons of the Scriptures of the Sermon on the Mount could be integrated and welded into their own religious cultures, if basic spirituality could be common to all, it would mean little whether a Japanese were a Buddhist, a Shintoist, or a Christian.

I called upon America for Bibles. An offer of 100,000 was raised by me to 10 million, with an ultimate figure of three times that number, and that is the story up to now.

I am not trained in ecclesiastical methods, nor am I skilled in theological lore, but I want you to know that with such frail personal equipment as was mine I did my best, and that no phase of the occupation, with its many attempted military, political, social, and economic reforms, has left me with a greater sense of personal satisfaction than my spiritual stewardship. Although I am of Caesar, I did try to render unto God

that which is His. And I even dared to hope that through this resurgence of religion Japan will, in the struggle that lies ahead, be indissolubly confirmed against any whose doctrines embrace the deadly poison of atheism. It might prove more potent than bullets, or bayonets, or bombs, or even bread.

Eisenhower Position Squeezes Democrats

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER FRELINGHUYSEN, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. FRELINGHUYSEN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I should like to include the following article by Roscoe Drummond, from the Christian Science Monitor of February 5, 1955, entitled "Eisenhower Position Squeezes Democrats":

EISENHOWER POSITION SQUEEZES DEMOCRATS
(By Roscoe Drummond)

Washington.—The 84th Congress is into its second month and, in the judgment of most correspondents, the Democrats have not come up with a national issue they can use effectively against the Eisenhower administration either this year or next.

There is Democratic criticism of the administration decision to bring down the military manpower during the next 18 months, but few Americans will distrust the President in believing he would lightly put dollars ahead of needed defense.

There is Democratic controversy over the Dixon - Yates - Atomic-Energy - Commission private power contract, but this is not an issue on which elections are won or lost.

There is Democratic talk of trying to repeal the Benson flexible farm price support program and restore the rigid 90 percent of parity in its place, but it is doubtful if the Democrats have the votes. Also, the principal evidence in the 1954 congressional campaign was that the farm vote stayed substantially on the Republican side.

What is significant about this Democratic plight is that it looks as though it might continue. Naturally, you can't rule out sudden and unexpected political change, but the present consensus is that the Democrats have not any good issues in prospect unless there is a recession.

As the White House sees it, this is no accident. There's a reason. Its reason is that the Eisenhower leadership is succeeding in making conservative government sufficiently humanitarian—in fact, not just in theory—in staking out the best political ground come 1950.

The significant political fact is that Mr. Elsenhower is proving himself effective in making his brand of conservatism popular largely because this conservative administration is not negative and is showing that the conservative approach, while different from the New Deal at vital points, is a way of dealing with national problems, not an excuse for neglecting them.

As measured by presidential elections, conservative leadership has not been nationally popular with the American electorate since the depression—until Dwight D. Eisenhower became the symbol of the Republican Party. Mr. Eisenhower has disappointed some Republicans by showing himself too humanitarian. He has dismayed many Democrats

by showing himself too effectively humanitarian.

I foresee that if the President's principal policies become the fabric as well as the symbol of the Republican Party and if the Republican Members of Congress give him genuine voting support, the Democrats face a formidable political drought

formidable political drought.

Mr. Eisenhower constantly identifies himself as a middle-road person. What this means, it seems to me, is that the President—probably because it comes natural to him—has planted himself right in the middle of American thinking. His leadership leaves the Democrats relatively little room in which to maneuver for position. This is the plight in which the Democrats in this Democratic-controlling 84th Congress find themselves. The consequence is that the Democrats today are having a hard time finding points at which to attack him without sliding off into one extreme or the other.

Some right-wing Republicans will argue that President Eisenhower is Just a New Deal welfare stater under a conservative label, and some left-wing Democrats will argue that he is just an economic reactionary under a humanitarian label. It is a fair and fundamental question to ask, therefore, what the President really means by "conservative" and "humanitarian." These are his own terms. He uses them often—"conservative" with the people's money and "humanitarian" in dealing with their problems. What are the tests of "conservatism" and "humanitarianism"? I think it accurate to say that the administration considers itself truly conservative:

Because it stands against what it deems the central error of the New Deal philosophy—the "Federal fixation," the theory that "Washington knows best," that the best solution to any problem anywhere in the United States is for the Federal Government to pass a law about it, appropriate a billion dollars, and spend it fast.

Because it is arresting, slowly but visibly, the long trend toward drawing to Washington more and more power over more and more things.

Because it is steadily replacing this policy of Federal control with a policy of Federal-State partnership. This applies to power development, school construction, medical facilities, etc.

Because it aims to take the Government out of competition with private business (for example, the recent sale of 24 Government synthetic-rubber plants) and free competitive private enterprise from most controls.

Because it believes that American competitive enterprise will be more productive and expansive for the benefit of all without minute governmental direction, and that the Government can do more for both capital and labor by creating a favorable climate for both than by trying to ration the economic raindrops.

On such a foundation the Eisenhower administration believes it can erect sound social-welfare measures without fostering the welfare state. It is carrying forward most of the social legislation initiated during the New Deal and expanding some of it. Its conviction is that these measures—expanded social security, unemployment insurance, health reinsurance program, etc.-make for a fluid, stable, resilient society when they are sustained by a private enterprise free from continuous Government Intervention. Its purpose is not to use welfare measures to redistribute the wealth but to distribute wealth by increasing it.

This is not to suggest that the Eisenhower administration is always right and that performance parallels promise. But these are its fundamental directives and its fundamental direction.

Travelers Aid Celebrates Its 65th Anniversary

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, RICHARD W. HOFFMAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HOFFMAN of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, the Travelers Aid Society of Chicago is commemorating its 65th anniversary of continuous service to humanity, irrespective of creed, color, or national origin. Here is an agency of mercy that has been and is daily accomplishing miracles, without fanfare or publicity. Very few are familiar with the vast and complex problems that confront these fine Workers every hour of the day and night. In this complex world, of which we are all a part, we are prone to take for granted the existence of certain agencies composed of many good men and women Who go about doing some of God's work, with the only reward being the consciousness of knowing that they are helping mankind. In 1953, over 234,000 people were helped in some way by Chicago Travelers Aid; over 18,000 of these had serious problems requiring casework service. Their volunteers served over 71,000 hours gratuitously, and its board of directors include some of the leading citizens of the great community of Chicago. In this connection, I direct the attention of my colleagues to the following article which recently appeared in the Chicago Tribune:

TRAVELERS AID CELEBRATES ITS 65TH ANNIVERSARY

(By Norma Lee Browning)

It was a day just like any other at the La Salle Street station—milling mobs, clanging bells, droning loudspeaker announcements of train departures—and a young girl alone threading her way cautiously through the crowd in search of something.

She found it, a desk with a white globe thus lettered in blue, "Travelers Aid."

"I want to see someone about getting a job," she told the volunteer worker at the desk.

The girl wore blue jeans, yellow T-shirt, white ankle socks, and black-patent sandals. She carried a gray poplin jacket and no lugge gage. She was slender and pretty, but disheveled, tired, and obviously bewildered. She wore a wedding band. Inside the office as a caseworker interviewed her she began to cry.

It happens every day and dozens of times a day in Chicago's big, bustling railroad and bus terminals. Here at the Nation's transit crossroads thousands of runaways, escapees from life, get trapped in the crossroads of their own emotions.

Here, where east meets west with a railroad timetable, the big station clock ticks off a steady stream of broken hearts in flight. Destination: nowhere.

Like the girl who asked Travelers Aid for a job. She didn't want a job. She had just left her husband, an alcoholic, and two children, walked out on them cold, hitchhiked for 3 days, and wound up in Chicago—her first big city—with only \$2. Hers is a typical, not an isolated, case. Behind the simplest request at the Travelers Aid desks is usually a well-masked emotional scar. The woman who asks for a diaper pin is probably running away from herself—or trying to.

"And it can't be done," says Dr. Henry H. Fineberg, psychiatric consultant and board member of the Travelers Aid Society. "Trying to escape through travel is a very common experience, but you cannot escape what's inside you. Flight is one of the fundamental characteristics of the human animal. When trouble hits, it's either fight or flight, and those who can't fight try to maintain the phantasy of escape through flight.

"They always hope that somewhere else things will be different, but hope is merely a delusion for those who hit the road to get away from it all."

Traveling, adds Dr. Fineberg, is not really living, and anyone who travels excessively and purposelessly, anyone who talks of retiring just to travel constantly, anyone who floats from job to job, from city to city, is fleeling from some inner conflict he cannot solve.

His theory is borne out by the day-by-day records of the Travelers Aid workers. Most people think of Travelers Aid as a between-trains service of incidentals such as checking schedules, playing nursemaid to children, advancing short-term emergency loans when a ticket is lost, or finding overnight housing for stranded passengers. All this and much more Travelers Aid does.

But 90 percent of its time and money is spent on travelers in flight from reality.

Some are searching for the pot of gold at the foot of the rainbow, some are drowning their troubles, some are seeking a one-way ticket to a hazy and happier past that won't be the same when they get there.

be the same when they get there.

Not long ago a feeble, 84-year-old man was guided to the Travelers Aid desk by a station-master. He was distinguished looking, impeccably groomed, and independent as a hog on ice. All he needed, he said, was a day's rest. He had plenty of money; he used to be an engineer. But he'd been living in London, Ontario, and his last wish in life was to go West and die with his boots on. So he was going.

Travelers Aid found him a room and, to his disgust, a physician who advised against continuing the trip until he was stronger.

He escaped. A week later a Dallas newspaper carried his obituary, the brief account of a bewhiskered old gentleman who had insisted on dying with his cowboy boots on, but a complete stranger to the past he had tried to recapture. No friends or relatives came to claim his body. It was sent back to Ontario.

These things happen daily, a pathetic parade of old people returning to the past, but even more tragic are the unwanted ones shunted from relative to relative.

An 83-year-old man was brought to the desk in a wheelchair. He sobbed out a story that is all too familiar to the case workers. His daughter and her husband had put him on the train in Montana, presumably to

visit relatives in a nearby town.

It was long after the train pulled out before he realized what had happened. His ticket read Chicago. He had no friends or relatives here. He was suffering from severe fatigue and malnutrition, and was placed in a sanitarium while Travelers Aid got busy locating his relatives. A son in New York, whom he hadn't seen in 4 years, offered to come to Chicago and get him. Overjoyed, he kept saying he didn't know that any of his children would do that much for him. He was luckier than many.

In-flight travelers fall into six major categories: (1) the senile, (2) runaway children and teen-agers, (3) custody cases, i. e., youngsters shunted between squabbling parents and relatives, (4) fugitives from marital problems, (5) chronic wanderers, and (6)

serious neurotics or psychotics.

Last June, Travelers Aid in Chicago helped write finis to an incredible but true flight from reality case that had baffled social agen-

cies and police for 12 months in nearly 48 States.

A policeman found a small boy sitting sobbing on a suitcase in the Greyhound bus station. He took the child to the Travelers Aid desk. The boy said his mother had told him to sit there until she got back. He had been waiting for 2 days. The child was placed in a home. Two more days later the mother walked into the bus station and nonchalantly asked. "Where's my child?"

She had got a job as a waitress, she explained, and fully intended to come back for her son when she had enough money to buy a bus ticket.

It developed that the woman was a paranoid. She had escaped from a mental hospital in the South, kidnaped her own son, and for more than a year had been traveling from town to town and leaving her child at the bus station while she earned a day's wages to exist and move on. She carried a revolver and had definite homicidal tendencies.

Her husband and family back home, in a small backwoods town, had been paralyzed by fear and shame and apparently had not made much effort to find her. A Travelers Ald worker escorted the boy home to his father. The deranged mother is now safe behind the walls of Cook County Hospital's psychopathic unit.

This, of course, is an extreme case. Most travelers who need aid are not psychotics at all, but emotionally disturbed people running away from life's problems.

In some, particularly the chronic wanderers, the basic problem is so deeply rooted there is little a social agency can do except offer temporary superficial assistance.

There is, for instance, Horace, the nice, docile little man who drifts in and out regularly. Travelers Aid has become probably his only permanent address. He usually turns up in Chicago in the spring of the year, or sometimes in the fall. Travelers Aid helps him find a cheap room and a job—as a waiter, busboy, or bellhop—and tries to persuade him to save enough money to go home and visit his old mother in Alabama. But he never does.

When the loneliness of one city overpowers him he moves on to another.

Why?

"We've never found out," says Mrs. Betty Gordon, supervisor of Travelers' Aid case workers at La Salle Street and Dearborn stations. "Horace comes back to us every year, but all we know is that in some way life has damaged him too much."

On the records Korace is listed simply as a statistic under the heading "Financial Difficulties." But, like many of the more than 300.000 served annually by the Chicago Travelers' Aid, he is fleeing from something inside himself.

Sometimes in a strange city, a strange setting, in the muted, kaleidoscopic chaos of a railroad station, the fugitive does his first backtracking to reality. He may suddenly think, "My God, what have I done?" Or she may cry her heart out in the waiting room, then take the first train home.

A matron found a 19-year-old serviceman's wife sobbing hysterically in the waiting room and called a Travelers' Aid worker. The girl had a 5 months' old baby. When she was finally calmed and could talk coherently, she said she had been home with her husband on leave, visiting his family in Ohio, and after an argument had stormed out of the house—with no place to go. She had no family or relatives. She was sure he wouldn't want her back, and, besides, she didn't know where to locate him. He was being transferred, to San Diego, or Portland, or somewhere.

He was eventually located and took his wife back.

Chicago's Travelers' Aid was organized at the YWCA in 1890 to meet trains bringing girls to the city in search of jobs. This was in the heyday of the notorious Everleigh sisters' bawdy-house business, and the main purpose of Travelers' Aid then was to keep good girls from going wrong in the city.

Today some 500 part-time volunteers, plus nearly 100 full-time paid employees, including 22 caseworkers and 5 supervisors, cover 8 big transportation terminals—6 railroads, bus, and airport. Last year the agency advanced \$99,821.97 in emergency relief loans to stranded passengers and got \$97,450.22 of it back—a 97.6-percent reimbursement.

"Most people who come to us," said Mrs. Gordon, "are honest. But they're unhappy. They're seeking some kind of temporary gratification in flight. Often it's a minor request—for a safety pin or a train schedule—that provides an outlet for an emotional tempest that has been brewing.

"We try to help them pick up the pieces, bring their problems into focus, and face realities with this question: 'Is this really the thing I want to do?' Not only are they passengers stranded between trains; they are people stranded between conflicts that are too much to cope with; they always think they'll be happier somewhere else, and it just is not true."

A fat woman trailed by five rumpled youngsters approached the desk and asked, "How do I change my ticket from Portland, Oreg., to Mississippi?" Then she broke into sobs; bells clanged; the loudspeaker droned on; and the big station clock ticked off another runaway trapped at the crossroads.

An Open Letter on Tariffs to All Congressmen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I assume that the Members of the House are aware of the fact that a member of the Randall Commission has proposed, in connection with H. R. 1-the trade-agreement extension-that any industry, or the town in which it is located, that is ruined by imports shall be moved to some other part of the country, and if necessary the employees of that industry be retrained for some other line of business. This proposal is meeting with violent opposition from the employees of the various industries of this country. The employees are so worried over this proposal that they are carrying paid advertisements to let the Members of Congress know how deeply they and their families feel against this un-American proposal.

Under leave to extend heretofore granted, I am inserting the 1-page advertisement which appeared in the Stafford Press, Stafford, Conn., on Thursday, February 3, 1955, which was paid for by 1,004 workers in the textile, button, and allied industries:

AN OPEN LETTER ON TARIFFS TO ALL CONGRESSMEN

DEAR MR. CONGRESSMAN: I like living in the United States. I like living in Connecticut. I like living in Stafford, because it's my own choice, so is my job. But Mr. Congressman, H. R. 1 will change my freedom of choice. It will give away my job protection. I may have to move and find another job. Maybe I am too old.

And, Mr. Congressman, if you have the right to set my minimum pay, why give up your right to protect me from wages in foreign countries that are from less than one-tenth to one-third of what I get.

My boss has spent a lot of money for new equipment to make my job easier. Even so, I can't compete with the fellow overseas. I don't want to lower my standard of living nor give up my freedom of choice of job and where I live.

And, Mr. Congressman, there are a lot of people just like me all over the country.

And, Mr. Congressman, there are lot of other people in this town and in other towns that are dependent on my job and pay and that of my fellow workers for their livelihood.

And, Mr. Congressman, don't forget a uniform is the first issue to a boy in the Armed Forces. I have helped make a lot of woolen cloth for those boys. I don't want the uniform of my son or any other boys to come from some foreign country.

from some foreign country.

And please, Mr. Congressman, if you are interested in me, my family, my home, my job, and my town don't approve H. R. 1.

Respectfully yours,

CHARLES W. FITZ, A Worried Worker.

(This advertisement was paid for by 1,004 workers in the textile, button, and allied industries.)

The Late Judge Camille Kelley

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BROOKS HAYS

OF ARKANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HAYS of Arkansas. Mr. Speaker, in the death of Judge Camille Kelley at the home of her son, Heiskell B. Kelley, in Little Rock, the Nation lost a distinguished jurist. The universal esteem in which Judge Kelley was held was well

in which Judge Kelley was held was well expressed in a tribute in the Arkansas Gazette, and under leave to extend my remarks I include the following editorial which appeared on January 30:

JUDGE CAMILLE KELLEY

Judge Camille McGee Kelley left a deep and lasting imprint on the social fabric of her generation. Few jurists have achieved the wide recognition she won in her chosen field—the juvenile court.

The kindness and understanding of the problems of the young prompted the National Probation Association to award her court the description of second to none in spirit. It also became known as the heart center of Memphis and the city honored her further by setting aside February 20 as Camille Kelley Day to commemorate her work among the youth.

Camille Kelley's interests were broad and far reaching. She was a noted speaker, an authority on juvenile delinquency, and following her retirement in 1950 had written an impressive number of books and television scripts on her career as an aid and adviser to young people in trouble. They, along with the learned members of her profession and the laity as well, will remember her as a wise and gentle lady whose presence made the world of young people a better place.

H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. T. JAMES TUMULTY

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. TUMULTY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include herewith a statement of the Lead Pencil Manufacturers Association, Inc., re H. R. 1 submitted to the Committee on Ways and Means. I enclose the statement because of the presence in the city of Jersey City, which city I represent in the Congress, of the Joseph Dixon Crucible Co. and the General Pencil Co., members of the association. If these firms are adversely affected by H. R. 1, I am afraid that serious unemployment difficulties may arise in my district. The statement reads as follows:

STATEMENT RE H. R. 1 PURPOSE OF STATEMENT

It is the purpose of this statement to present the viewpoint of the lead-pencil manufacturing industry relative to pending legislation which would permit further possible reductions in lead-pencil tariff rates.

This statement is submitted by the Lead-Pencil Manufacturers Association, Inc., 60 East 42d Street, New York, N. Y., on behalf of the 18 lead-pencil manufacturing companies of the United States, comprising 13 association member companies and 5 non-member companies which have specifically approved this statement. A full list of the participating companies is attached to this statement as exhibit A.

BACKGROUND OF INDUSTRY Nature of product

The lead-pencil manufacturing industry is approximately 100 years old in the United States. During this period, the lead pencil has been the basic writing instrument of education and industry at an economic, consistently low cost to users, in striking contrast to the general price inflation seen in other consumer products.

The lead pencil is a precision-made instrument, composed of up to 40 ingredients which are put through more than 125 operations to bring to the public the writing tool with which it is so familiar. Among the better known ingredients are California incense cedar, sheet brass, crade and synthetic rubber, graphite, clay, waxes, adhesives, pigments, lacquers, and packaging materials. The industry is a substantial contributor, relative to its size, to the import trade through its foreign purchase of clay, graphite, rubber, waxes, an dother raw materials.

Makeup of industry

The lead-pencil manufacturing industry is a small industry. The 18 manufacturers, who account for the entire production, range in size from firms employing less than 50 persons to those having upwards of 500 employees. In total, the industry employed 5.433 persons as of January 1, 1954, and its payroll amounted to \$15,504,000 in 1953, representing 57.3 percent of the industry's \$27,024,000 sales during that year.

The 18 manufacturers of lead pencils in the United States have an investment in land, buildings, production equipment, and inventories in excess of \$60 million. In 1953, the industry paid taxes of more than \$2 million to Federal, State, and local agencies, aside from the taxes paid by its employees, and in 1954 paid at least an equal amount.

ESSENTIALITY OF PRODUCT

Black and colored pencils are indispensable operating supplies for every branch of the Armed Forces and are essential to the maintenance of practically all functions and operations of cooperative life and business. They are required for the entire student population. They are indispenable in the Pursuit of all trade and commerce, for the luse of financial and insurance organizations, for the operation of all transportation and communication services and systems and for public utilities, and by all operating departments of the Federal, State, and local governments.

Because production of all machines, machine products, and construction of every type starts on the drawing boards, the lead pencil is a basic tool of the designer and draftsman in preparing his original sketches, finished drawings, and blueprints. The products of the industry are used not only in offices and drafting rooms, but black-lead pencils, colored and copying pencils of many types are used in all factories for planning, supervising, and directing production, and for recording production data on which workers are rated and compensated.

The wood-cased pencil is a product which meets all of the standards of essentiality laid down by the War Manpower Commission in World War II, except that it is not directly utilized for combat purposes. In a large measure, it is almost like a machine tool: Neither is used directly in combat, but both are essential to the manufacture of combat materials. Actually, huge quantities of pencils go into combat areas along with other small but indispensable items.

A review of lead-pencil import figures during the past 50 years will show clearly that in 1914 and 1940 this country and its allies were abruptly cut off from all foreign supplies of lead pencils. Had not American manufacturers been able to fill the critical need for general and special pencils required by all civilian, military, and industrial elements a truly serious situation would have resulted. Maintenance of the pencil industry and its skills on a standby basis, to be activated only in time of war, is impossible.

CURRENT DISTRESSED INDUSTRY CONDITIONS

Competitive industry

The lead-pencil manufacturing industry in the United States is a highly competitive, low-profit industry. Due to falling exports and other factors, present production is considerably less than the industry's capacity, which was enlarged to meet war and early postwar demands. This has resulted in intense competition in the domestic market and a depressed price level. In spite of drastic cost increases, as will be shown later, lead pencils are still selling at the same retail prices of 2 for 5 cents, 5 cents, and 10 cents, which our grandfathers paid 50 years ago for pencils that could not compare in quality with today's product.

As a result of this, it is well to note that the rate of profit for the lead-pencil industry in 1953, although sales volume increased, was below 1 percent of invested capital. This is in marked contrast to the average rate of profit for all manufacturing corporations in 1953, which was 10.4 percent, according to a Federal Trade Commission study. Figures for 1954 are not yet available, but they would show no improvement over 1953.

Rising costs

During the last 20 years (1934-54), all elements of industry costs have increased substantially. A 1954 survey showed that wood costs are up by 189 percent, erasers by 103 percent, leads by 180 percent, brass by 187 percent, packaging by 176 percent, and labor by 265 percent. Since the survey date, wood, rubber, and brass costs have again risen. The industry's cost increases from 1934 to the present time have far exceeded

the 1930 tariff rate on imported lead pencils. The industry has barely managed to survive by improving its processes and equipment to the maximum possible extent.

Falling production

The last official Bureau of the Census production figures for this industry, covering the year 1947, reveal that 10,890,000 gross of pencils, having a manufacturers' value of \$31,181,000, were produced, of which 2,968,-220 gross were exported. By 1953, industry grossage, according to industry records, had fallen to 9,472,000, with a manufacturers' value of \$27,024,000, of which only 553,347 gross were reported.

The substantial decline of pencil exports in recent years has been a serious blow to the industry. Exports have fallen 81.3 percent between 1947 and 1954. Some of the industry's most important export markets have been entirely lost to foreign manufactures following their postwar rehabilitation. Domestic manufacturers are unable to compete pricewise in the few export markets still open to them because of the substantially lower cost advantages enjoyed by foreign producers.

Exports and imports

Our industry is vulnerable to foreign competition, in both export and domestic markets. Because of the industry's difficulties, caused by keen competition, distressed price levels, a production overcapacity, and the fact that exports have been drastically reduced, the industry is definitely at the peril point, or below, under present tariff rates. Any further reduction of lead pencil tariff rates would greatly increase pencil imports and destroy the domestic industry. Even under present rates, foreign manufacturers continue to increase their share of the American market. They do not need lower tariff rates to be effectively competitive in a normal, peacetime economy.

The reasons for this are clear. Our domestic pencil products have no important differences in appearance or performance to shield them from being displaced by closely comparable imports. Foreign manufacturers are equally mechanized and have equivalent know-how. Their production per man-hour is equal to ours. However, according to official Government figures, the average hourly earnings for individual workers in the United States is \$1.78, while in Japan it is \$0.19, and in Germany it is \$0.44, and this sub-stantial wage gap will probably increase as higher wage minimums are enacted. The effect of this tremendous disparity in wage rates can be judged by the fact that payroll represents over 57 percent of the industry's dollar volume.

In 1932 and 1933, when the full tariff rate of 50 cents per gross and 30 percent ad valorem was in effect, Japanese producers were able to flood the American market with cheap pencils. This created such a serious condition for our industry that the United States Tariff Commission, after an exhaustive study of the wood-cased lead pencil industry, sent its Report No. 91 (second series) to the President of the United States, with recommendations to give the industry relief from this foreign competition. As a result of this study, the State Department negotiated an agreement fixing a quota restriction on the Japanese imports complained about. This relief was granted in recognition of the distressed economic status of the pencil industry, shown by the conditions in the industry set forth in the Tariff Commission's report.
Since 1945, the ad valorem duty on lead

Since 1945, the ad valorem duty on lead pencils has been cut by 50 percent. To further reduce these tariff rates would cause dire hardship to American lead pencil manufacturers.

CONCLUSIONS

The lead pencil manufacturing industry of the United States earnestly opposes leg-

islative provisions that permit further reductions in import duties on pencils or pencil leads. The lead-pencil industry is already at the peril point and must have for survival at least the present tariff protection for the following reasons:

- 1. The ad valorem duty on all important classifications has already been reduced the full 50 percent permitted under existing law.
- 2. The industry's products are articles of prime essentiality and of strategic necessity.
- 3. Since the industry is in serious difficulty because of rising costs, loss of exports, and a depressed price level resulting from intense domestic competition, it is clear that a large influx of foreign pencils, which would inevitably follow a further reduction in duty, would be fatal to American manufacturers.
- 4. The American pencil industry cannot convert its main productive facilities into the manufacture of any other product; its machinery can be used only to make pencils.
- 5. The total dollar volume of the American pencil industry is so small that if foreignmade pencils captured the entire domestic market the resulting benefit to international trade would be insignificant, yet American workers would lose wages in excess of \$15 million each year, Government would lose annual industry taxes of more than \$2 million, and a century-old industry, essential to the Nation in time of war and peace, would be destroyed.
- 6. So long as our domestic market is protected by a reasonable, competitive tariff, the sale of lead pencils in the United States, as shown by past records, will rise and fall according to general business activity. This industry does not wish its domestic market to be curtailed by unemployment and business depression brought about by reducing tariffs that now protect many other industries vulnerable to foreign competition, which industries, we understand, employ more people in this country than industries whose productivity or special nature is such as to make them independent of foreign competition.

H. B. VAN DORN, Chairman, Foreign Trade and Tariff Committee, Lead Pencil Manujacturers Association, Inc.

Delaware River Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM T. GRANAHAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following resolution passed by the City Council of the City of Philadelphia relative to the deepening of the Delaware River:

Resolution memorializing the President of the United States, the United States Senate, and the House of Representatives relative to the deepening of the Delaware River at Federal expense

Whereas the Delaware River from Trenton, N. J., to the Atlantic Ocean is the very lifeline of one of the most populous areas of the United States; and

Whereas the industry and commerce of this great section depends in a large measure on the possibility of oceangoing vessels making their way safely to the great cities on its banks, including Philadelphia and Chester in Pennsylvania, Trenton and Camden in New Jersey, and Wilmington in Delaware, in addition to many other smaller communities; and

Whereas since the earliest days of our national history it has been the responsibility of our Federal Government to maintain rivers and harbors in navigable condition for the promotion of trade as well as for the recurity of our Nation; and

security of our Nation; and
Whereas this policy remains in effect, as
witness the Federal Government defraying
the cost of river and harbor operations in
the St. Lawrence, in Puget Sound, in the
Florida Keys, and elsewhere; and
Whereas the Delaware River must be

Whereas the Delaware River must be dredged to the depth of 40 feet to permit the safe passage of craft bearing supplies for defense plants and other industries; and

Whereas the Federal Government appears to be discriminating against the three States of Delaware, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania in requiring that local interests must defray two-thirds of the cost of the operation, a requirement unprecedented in the history of our Nation; and

Whereas this requirement will do much to destroy the growth of business and industry in Delaware Valley, United States of America, an area of 10 million inhabitants: Therefore

Resolved by the Council of the City of Philadelphia, That we hereby memorialize the President of the United States, the United States Senate, and the House of Representatives to avoid this unfair discrimination and, on behalf of the security of the Nation, and the prosperity of Delaware Valley, United States of America, to proceed forthwith with this vital project of deepening the Delaware River, and at Federal expense; and be it further

Resolved, That certified copies of this resolution be forwarded to the President of the United States, the President of the United States Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Director of the Bureau of the Budget, the United States Senators from Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Delaware, and the Members of Congress from the metropolitan area representing districts in the Delaware River Valley.

JAMES H. J. TATE, President of City Council.

Senator Taft on Formosa in 1950

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, from a newspaper editorial which appeared in the Chicago Tribune of February 5, 1955, it appears that the late Senator Taft, in January of 1950, suggested that the United States Navy patrol the Straits of Formosa to prevent a Red invasion. At that time, his suggestion was not looked upon with any favor. Five years have lapsed since he made that suggestion. Now the general agreement as expressed by Congress in its passage of the Formosa resolution shows the wisdom with which Senator Taft was endowed.

The editorial is as follows:

WHAT HAPPENED TO THE ANVIL CHORUS?

We have been waiting in vain for some manifestations of dissent to Mr. Eisenhower's assertion that Formosa is essential to American security and that the United States will not permit it to fall to communism, even if there has to be a shooting defense.

For, in January 1950, when the late Senator Taft suggested that the United States Navy patrol the Straits of Formosa to prevent a Red invasion, the verdict was practically unanimous that he was all wet.

When Dean Acheson, then Secretary of State, made a speech dismissing Mr. Taft as a backward pupil, the Washington Star pronounced this rebuttal brilliant and far reaching and said it should be "required reading for all Americans who have let their emotions get the better of their heads" over China.

The Star has now said (January 25) of Mr. Eisenhower's request for a conditional declaration of war in defense of Formosa, "No one disputes the point that the security of the United States requires that Formosa be kept out of Communist hands." But we thought that was just what the Star was disputing when Senator Taft said it.

The New York Herald Tribune announced its position even in advance of Senator Taft's statement. On December 31, 1949, it said editorially that the risk of identifying American policy with the now discredited Chiang, are greater than the political risks which would have to be accepted should the island fall to the Communists and so become a base for further Communist infiltration."

Now that Eisenhower has spoken, the Herald Tribune has no objection to defending Formosa and the Pescadores, and even talks of the support from free nations which we can properly expect in executing this policy. This newspaper also says, "The President's message will stand as a landmark in the development of American policy, an example of the way a great nation can use its strength for good."

This catalog of flip-flops could be extended endlessly through a whole roster of newspapers and commentators. But the point is plain enough: When Mr. Elsenhower catches up with one of Senator Taft's ideas 5 years later, it is an inspired decision and everybody is disposed to say, along with the New York Times, "We welcome this development."

But when Senator Taft, along with General MacArthur, and Herbert Hoover, had the original idea, nobody had a kind word.

Rules of Debate in the Senate and House

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, the people generally have an idea from what is taught in our schools just how Congress works, but that theory is far from the actual operation of Congress. I am not familiar with how the Senate operates, but, from reading the newspapers, it seems to me that it is like ancient Gaul, divided into three parts. Those are the majority, the minority, and investigation committees. In this body there are more investigating committees than fleas on a homeless dog. Every department has to be investigated, employees have to be investigated, Senators have to be investigated, then, finally, the Senators have to talk. There is no limit in the Senate how long a Senator can talk. It depends not on what he knows about the subject but the state of his health. If he can talk for 4 nights and 3 days without

stopping he impresses the country. There may be no one in the Senate but the Presiding Officer and the clerks, but he can take encouragement because when one of the 2-mile horses gets going the public likes to see him go. I do not know whether the public bets on him or not, but it is safer than betting on horses. A horse may quit, but a Senator never. Senators like two I have heard do not look like endurance champions, but you cannot always go by looks. You would swear that neither one of them could last 30 minutes, but there is where the public is fooled. Either one can talk from Washington's Birthday to the Fourth of July without any perceptible weariness. One stumbled and fell once, but before he received any aid he was up and going stronger than ever.

It is an education in itself to hear these 2-milers talk. You can never tell what the subject is, for they go into minute details from building a mousetrap to building an atomic bomb, and, of course, they are not experts at either. They are not curtailed because they might give away top secrets. What they say is not top secret at all, but it is something that everybody already knows. New thoughts are seldom added, but they grind up known information and spit it out in better rhetorical form than the language facts come in. Football, baseball, horseracing, and the other sports will never please the rooters like one of these marathon exertions of a Senator.

In the House the Members have no such unbridled liberties. The majority and minority committee members deal out the time. Committee members have the first call, and if a Member wants to talk on a subject where there are 30 committee members each having 30 minutes—and this is greatly underestimated—900 minutes are consumed by these members. That would be 15 hours debate. Usually the longest debates are 8 hours, so you can see where a Member, if not a committee member, gets limited time.

There is only one way another Member can talk at all, and that is when the actual debate ends and the bill is read for amendment. A Member can speak then, providing he offers an amendment that the Speaker thinks is germane, and he has 5 minutes. Most of these attempts are ruled out as "Not being germane," whatever that means. Anyway, it means that the Member cannot talk.

The worst part of the whole proceeding is that if a Member thinks he has just a mere chance of getting the floor. he has to stay in the Chamber and hear all these speeches and grin and bear it. Some do not even grin. Another impediment to a noncommittee Member is that after he gets his 5 minutes, he is asked to yield by some friendly Member-and these noncommittee Members are always polite—and the natural result is that most of his time has been consumed before he has said a word on the pending bill. This happened to me one time—I obtained 5 minutes and a friendly Member asked me to yield and, being polite, I did so. This Member

consumed 4 minutes—a little over that—and I saw that the Chairman was getting all set to bang down the gavel and end the great contribution I was making to the bill. I saw my time was short. I did not want to say "Goodby" as I was too riled up for that, so I had time to say, "I have waited a year to speak on this bill. I did not have time to say a word about it, so if you Members do not see me in the well of this House for another year, allow me to wish you all a Merry Christmas and a Happy New Year."

There is one good thing about the House practice, though. If you never say anything, you cannot be quoted in the next campaign by some devilish upstart that goes gunning for your seat in Congress. This has brought me through a winner in many campaigns. Probably if I had been permitted to talk, as I wanted to, I would not be here now. So you can see that while you are limited in debate by the rules of the House, plus the advice of the Speaker, I presume it is a premeditated plan to keep these silent Members in Congress.

Personally, I would rather spend a short time in Congress than to be roped and hog-tied for 20 years. During my service here I have learned to be a good listener, and while you hear very little that will enlighten you, good manners and the rules of the House give you great protection in campaigns if you have your heart set on being a Member of Congress term after term. Increased congressional salaries will be before the House in a few days now, and when it comes up I am going to propose that hog-tied Members receive a raise and the volatile Members get just what they are now getting, or less. It is worth more to sit here year after year and be compelled to listen to what committee members have to offer-which is not

Here you have a picture of the debates in the Senate and House; which method to pursue, for political reasons, I hesitate to say.

Democrats Impair Atomic-Energy Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, TIMOTHY P. SHEEHAN

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. SHEEHAN. Mr. Speaker, according to an editorial in the Washington Star of February 5, it is stated that the Democratic member of the Atomic Energy Commission has testified that the controversy over the Dixon-Yates contract has impaired the Atomic Energy Commission's work in both the military and nonmilitary fields, and he has warned that there is likely to be further serious damage in that respect if the administration insists upon going ahead with the project.

If the above is true, then the Democrats ought to put the welfare of their country above partisan politics and per-

mit the Dixon-Yates contract to go through without further obstruction, so we can get along with our atomic-energy program.

What should come first—the country's welfare or partisan politics?

The editorial from the Washington Star is as follows:

POLITICS AND THE ATOM

It is unfortunate that the Joint Congressional Committee on the Atom continues to be at political war with itself, along strict party lines, over the so-called Dixon-Yates contract, and more unfortunate still is the fact that the Atomic Energy Commission remains caught in the middle of the fight. Nevertheless, if the contract itself is as meritorious as he obviously believes it to be, the President is on sound ground in declaring his firm intent to go through with it even though the committee's Democratic majority has voted solidly in favor of cancellation.

True enough, veteran Commissioner Thomas E. Murray has testified that the controversy over this issue has impaired the AEC's work in both the military and nonmilitary fields, and he has warned that there is likely to be further serious damage in that respect if the administration insists upon going ahead with the project—a private undertaking designed to supply the TVA system with 600,000 kilowatts in the Memphis area in order to make up for a comparable amount of TVA power being delivered to our atomic plants at Paducah. But Mr. Murray has taken an on-again-off-again position on the matter-first opposing the contract, then approving it in its final form, and now switching back to the opposition-and his latest change of mind seems to have been brought about primarily by a desire to put an end to partisan politicking rather than by any sudden discovery of grievous faults in the contract's terms.

In other words, if this is a fair assessment his new position, Mr. Murray would abandon the contract, not so much because it lacks merit as because the joint committee's Democratic members (who do not have the unanimous support of their party colleagues) threaten to keep on vexing and distracting the AEC with unremitting attacks on the Dixon-Yates project. However, the Republican administration can hardly be expected to surrender to such a threat if it is honestly convinced of the project's worthwhileness, and this seems particularly true in view of considerations like the following: (1) Chairman Lewis L. Strauss' categorical assertion that the undertaking has in no degree been injurious to the AEC's primary operations, and (2) the fact that the con tract's terms appear to be economically better than those already in effect with private companies supplying power to atomic installations elsewhere.

Yet, politics being what they are, and because advocates of public power regard Dixon-Yates as a phrase meaning an encroachment of "creeping capitalism" on the territory of the Tennessee Valley Authority, the joint committee's Democrats are not likely to diminish their attacks.

Thoughts From the Grassroots

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN C. WATTS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. WATTS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to

insert an editorial appearing in the News-Herald, of Owenton, Ky., on February 3, 1955. While the comments paint a rather desolate and dark picture. it nevertheless points up very lucidly the situation with which many of our smaller communities are confronted. It brings home the need for prompt and immediate action on the part of Congress to provide a program of Federal assistance for school-construction purposes during this session. It is our responsibility: the needs are known to all of us. Further delay on the part of Congress in enacting an affirmative, constructive, and practical program under which there would be eliminated these black marks would be a serious error of omission.

I urge each of my colleagues to read this splendid editorial carefully.

OUR SCHOOL PROBLEMS

Once again a group of citizens are organizing themselves in the county to try and help solve the many problems facing the county board of education. A large group of parents met Monday night at the REA building and set up a committee. Highly unsanitary conditions at the Owenton elementary school was the chief topic of concern—although the list of complaints is a long one. The group visited the school on Tuesday morning for a personal inspection of the building.

Previously a committee had been set up by the New Liberty School PTA to tackle similar problems in their school.

Many of the Owenton group reported that, despite the conditions of the building which is in reality too old and unsafe to be used, the place is not kept clean. Everyone knows the danger in this. Disease germs breed in uncleanliness and fiith. This is too great a risk to run for the welfare and health of our children and community.

We believe these unsanitary conditions can be corrected and the heating system operated to provide sufficient heat for the children and teachers. On cold days they are forced to keep their overcoats on until around noon.

All this reemphasizes the age-old problem of the county school system. There is not sufficient revenue for the school board to operate all the schools properly. Something is going to have to be done in the not too distant future as far as financing is concerned. Several of the school buildings in the county are inadequate. They must be replaced. We don't know where the money is coming from to do all this—but the problem has been put off about as long as possible.

Granahan Says Showdown on Delaware River Project Will Come in Appropriation Bill

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM T. GRANAHAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. GRANAHAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I submit herewith a statement I have made in support of legislation I introduced making an appropriation for the prosecution of the Delaware River Channel deepening project:

Granahan Says Showdown on Delaware River Project Will Come in Appropriation Bill

Congressman WILLIAM T. GRANAHAN, Democrat, of Philadelphia, said today the showdown on the Delaware River Channel project from Philadelphia to Trenton "will probably have to come in the appropriation bill if present efforts to persuade the President to change his mind do not succeed."

Granahan introduced a bill today to provide for a \$25 million Federal appropriation in the coming fiscal year to begin work on the \$90 million project. President Eisenhower's budget for the 1956 fiscal year had called for only a \$6 million appropriation contingent on local industrial interests (United States Steel Corp.) providing \$18 million toward the project before any Federal funds are made available.

"The series of conferences we have been holding in devising strategy to try to get the President to change his mind and allow this project to go forward—as Congress said it should—without the \$18 million local contribution, may be effective, and should certainly be pushed full-speed ahead. Governor Leader, Governor Meyner, and Governor Boggs are all making a fine contribution to this goal.

"But unless the President changes his mind, we will have to get this thing accomplished in the same way we pushed through the enabling legislation last year—that is, by convincing the Congress of the dangerous precedent which would be set if the administration's position were allowed to

prevail.
"That is why I am cosponsoring a special appropriation bill to get this matter formally before the House Appropriations Committee when the civil functions appropriation bill

is called up for hearings.

"We must not only convince the Appropriations Committee of the soundness of our position but we must also impress on all Members of Congress whose districts include navigable waterways that the President's idea of requiring huge private contributions to waterways-development work will stiffe industrial expansion and raise all kinds of serious economic problems for the future.

"We are pretty much in the same situation that we were last year when the enabling legislation was before Congress. At that time the administration insisted that the authorizing law require an \$18 million local contribution. Intense efforts were made to try to get the administration to change that position. When those efforts falled, we took the fight to the Congress and won. We may have to do exactly the same thing again—and I sincerely believe we can win the fight all over again."

Devastation of Low Tariff on Industrial Expansion in the United States

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am inserting, under leave to extend, a letter from Mr. Earle W. Gage, editor of the Jamestown Shopping Guide, of Jamestown, N. Y., together with an article which appeared in the Buffalo Eve-

ning News of February 1, 1955. As stated in the article the Depew, N. Y., mill of the Albert Goode Bedin, Inc., has abandoned plans to erect a new plant in Depew because of the threat of strong competition from imported goods.

FEBRUARY 2, 1955.

Hon. DANIEL A. REED,

Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Reed: I enclose clipping from Buffalo News which is in line with your brave fight against reducing tariff rates, and hope that you may place this in the Recomp for all to read who wish to know what could happen to American industry with flood of cheaply made foreign products.

Sincerely,

EARLE W. GAGE.

[From the Buffalo Evening News of February 1, 1955]

TOLD TARREST CUT IS THREAT TO JOES—GOODE BEDIN CONCERN ABANDONS PLAN TO BUILD NEW PLANT, SAYS IT MAY HAVE TO SHUT OLD ONE

A 37-year-old weaving mill in Depew which makes silk boiting cloth and stencil silk has told its employees that their jobs are in danger because of a proposal before Congress to cut the tariff on this type of textile.

The mill is the production unit of Albert Goode Bedin, Inc., 437 Fifth Avenue, which does an extensive business in silk bolting cloth and nylon and vinyon-filter fabrics. About 60 are employed in the Depew plant. Many of them are writing United States Senators and Representatives protesting the tariff-lowering proposal.

Because of the threat of strong competition from imported goods, the Depew mill has abandoned plans to erect a new plant in Depew, according to Julian Faisant, su-

perintendent.

ASKS HELP OF EMPLOYEES

The new building was to have been located on Calumet Street. Operations will be continued in the older plant at Calumet Street and Terrace Boulevard, part of which was taken over by the Marco Industries about 10 years ago.

Bolting cloth is used in flour mills to sift flour. It is in a class with stencil silk used in the process of printing on fabrics.

President Henri Barbet, of Albert Goode Bedin, Inc., in a bulletin for the employees

at Depew, said:

"If the proposed cut in the tariff becomes effective, this country will be flooded with Japanese stencil slik which, in the event of war, could no longer reach our shores. * • • Your help is needed to put a stop to this tariff-cutting plan."

CALLED STRATEGIC MATERIAL

Mr. Barbet told the employees in Depew that "this time the Government people want the tariff cuts to apply directly for the benefit of Japan. They have said so officially." He added:

"If the United States goes on cutting tariffs without seeing to it that foreign nations do their fair part in helping build up trade, this company believes our country will be hurt badly. We believe your jobs will be endangered.

"Sooner or later, lower tariffs can only mean the closing of this company and the loss of your job. In the long run, it won't help Japan or anybody else if tariff cuts wreck an American industry."

Mr. Barbet pointed out that boiling cloth is regarded as a strategic material—that this textile has been used to sift explosives, abrasives, and chemicals, ingredients necessary for the conduct of war.

The Spirit of Free Poland

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM E. McVEY

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. McVEY. Mr. Speaker, the 7th of February marks the 10th anniversary of the famous wartime meeting of the Big Three which marked the beginning of a series of retreats of the free world before the forward march of Soviet aggression. The spirit of Poland, although at times under the yoke of foreign aggression, still lived in the hearts of the Polish people, and we firmly believe that it survives today. Her courage under various circumstances should be an inspiration for future generations of Poles to carry on with that same indomitable spirit which has characterized their actions throughout the years.

Much disappointment has been felt not only by the people of Poland, but by many nations who share the spirit of liberty, that the Atlantic Charter has failed to carry out its provisions with regard to the rights and freedoms of people who have been subjected to the yoke of oppression. Those who committed their signature to the Atlantic Charter gave their approval to the following ideals on the part of the charter's membership.

First. Countries should seek no aggrandizement, territorial or otherwise.

Second. The signators desire no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the people concerned.

Third. The rights of all people to choose a form of government under which they will live is sanctioned by the Atlantic Charter, and the charter expresses the dictum that the sovereign rights and self-government shall be restored to those who have been forcibly deprived of them.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics endorsed these objectives and became a signator to this charter on January 1, 1942. The freedom-loving people of Poland accepted this charter and hoped that it meant a spiritual rebirth of the principles of freedom to which they had dedicated their lives on May 3. 1791. By their previous record they had earned the right to such expectations. They had made the same sacrifices on the altar of human decency and liberty as the soldiers of other lands in their fight against the tyranny imposed by Adolf Hitler. They had also placed their trust and their faith in the intellectual honesty of America.

But what happened? The agreements made at Yalta surrendered much of the principles which had been laid down in the Atlantic Charter. The freedom-loving people of Poland were locked behind the Iron Curtain, where they remain today. The events of those fateful hours at Yalta in the year 1945 constitute, perhaps, the darkest pages in the history of

our Republic. We pray that in some manner we may atone for the wrongs committed on a people who placed their trust in our honor.

Today the Polish people are under the yoke of a conqueror, but their spirit is not crushed. That intense patriotism which has always characterized this people will continue to exist until the day when they will again throw off the rule of the oppressor and take their rightful place among the freedom-loving peoples of the world.

Spiritual Issue in World Schism Will Be Neglected at Our Peril

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES RAPER JONAS

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. JONAS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Record, I include an editorial that appeared on Sunday, Februrary 6, 1955, in the Charlotte Observer of Charlotte, N. C. This is a thought-provoking editorial and makes points about which too little has been said in the debates on our foreign-aid programs. I commend the contents of this editorial to the consideration of my colleagues in the House. I also hope it comes to the attention of officials in the State Department and in FOA.

Norman S. Buchanan and Howard S. Ellis, of the University of California, have made a report for the 20th century fund saying that one of the best weapons against communism is to help underdeveloped countries improve their economic status. They offer this as an offset to the quick and easy remedies of communism.

The two professors do not say that economic development is the only antidote to communism, but too many people do. They do not contend that a higher standard of living will automatically make good democrats, but many other people do. The professors argue that economic improvement cannot be imposed from without but must grow up from within, stimulated by only a minimum of outside aid. This aid, they say, should be chiefly in the form of private capital investment and a better opportunity to sell goods on the world market.

With all of that we are in hearty accord. But the danger of overemphasizing economic development as an antidote to communism is that we shall look upon it as a quick and easy remedy on our side. We have been doing that too much already. Many Americans were so enthusiastic about such panaceas as point 4 that they became convinced that all that is needed to make good democrats of a backward people is to raise their standard of living.

That reasoning is an adaptation of the very Marxist materialism that we are trying to counteract. Those who contend that materialism can be overcome by more materialism have forgotten that the facts of history do not bear them out.

The classic example of how a backward country can be opened up and helped to develop economically was United States friendly aid to Japan beginning with Peary's visit in 1860. The subsequent economic growth of Japan was one of the marvels of

the next half century, but it did not make Japan a democratic nation—just the opposite. The Japanese did not become democrats until we crushed them in a bloody war, and there is some doubt even yet.

Few nations have been more advanced technically, economically, or educationally than Germany under the Kaisers and under Hitler. Czechoslovakia, one of the most industrialized countries of Europe with one of the highest living standards, was an easy pray to communism. The countries that fell first and most easily to communism were not backward nations.

On the other hand, the stanchest foes of communism have been Greece, Turkey, and Spain, all backward industrially and with low living standards. Iran, one of the most underdeveloped of all, has been under the direct threat of Russia for years but has stubbornly held to its independence.

Economic improvement is desirable; it will be a great help in the struggle against communism; it should be promoted by all practicable means. It is not, however, the main issue in this world schism. That issue is moral and spiritual. The underdeveloped people want independence and freedom more than they want any amount of industry; they want human dignity more than they want the highest standard of living.

Those moral and spiritual-values are America's specialty. They are the one boon we can give to oppressed peoples that communism cannot give them. If we forget that—if we allow ourselves to be deluded into offering those people the stone of materialism when they ask for the bread of the spirit—we shall throw away our strongest weapon.

Discrimination in Hospitals

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to number among my constituents Dr. Quentin D. Young, an eminent physician who on January 24, 1955, spoke at the luncheon circle meeting of the Council Against Racial and Religious Discrimination in Greater Chicago, on the board of which worthy organization I have enjoyed the high privilege and honor of serving. I commend Dr. Young's address to the thoughtful reading of my colleagues.

Dr. Young's address is made the more noteworthy by statistics, compiled by indefatigable research, showing that many sick persons of a minority group who are willing and able to pay for hospitalization are compelled to go as charity patients to a public hospital for the one and only reason that there are no facilities available for them in private hospitals.

Because of the unusually clear and illuminatingly practical nature of this address on a subject challenging the interest of all good Americans, and believing that many of my colleagues having read it will wish to preserve it for future use and reference, I have sought to make its reading easier by inserting subheads. The address follows, the subheads being mine:

This afternoon, in a spirit of mixed optimism and distress, I shall attempt to bring you up to date on the pattern of discrimination against minority groups in hospitals. The optimism stems from increasing signs that conscience and social pressure are combining to effect a decisive change in a bad situation. Distress, because even at this late date, the actual gains have been small. The established practices in so fundamental an area as accessibility to health facilities remain indefensible and demand correction.

In Chicago, when one speaks of a minority, one speaks of the Negro segment, which constitutes perhaps one-sixth of the total population. Of course, it is self-evident that the meeting of health needs requires more than access to hospitals: poor housing, low income, inadequate education, all contribute to intensifying health needs. However, this afternoon I hope to delineate the extent of the discriminatory pattern as regards hospitals, and to suggest some reasonable and workable proposals for revision.

One way to analyze the effects of inequality of health opportunities is to examine the causes of death of the minority population and compare these with the causes of death among the white population. Dr. Herman M. Bundesen, president of the board of health of the city of Chicago, has very generously prepared for us a body of statistical material which, I submit, vividly portrays in terms of death the culmination of discrimination. These figures are based on the latest available information, all deaths throughout the city of Chicago in 1953.

WHAT NEGROES DIE OF

There is a group of so-called degenerative diseases, such as heart disease, cancer, cirr-hosis of the liver, which are generally associated with increasing age and represent processes which medical science has so far failed to cure. Sixty-six and two-tenths percent of white deaths were of these three causes, whereas only 49 percent of the Negro deaths fell in this category of essentially unpreventable deaths. What, then, did the Reviewing Dr. Bundcaen's Negroes die of? tables, we find that accidents, tuberculosis, pneumonia and influenza, and diseases of infancy-all causes of death which modern techniques have largely controlled-accounted for 9.5 percent of white deaths, while Negroes dying of these causes constituted a startling 21.1 percent of total Negro deaths. These cold figures represent, in terms of death, net costs of inequality to the Negro population.

An interesting sidelight is the fact that a significantly higher proportion of Negroes (59.3 percent) die in hospitals than do whites (50 percent). This stems from the causes of death themselves in that the acute, overwhelming cause of death results in hospitalization more consistently than does a terminal chronic, degenerative disease. We have the paradox, then, of proportionately more Negroes dying in hospitals—and incidentally, proportionately more than twice as many Negroes as whites dying en route to hospitals—and yet, when we examine the opportunities of these people to enter hospitals in Chicago, we are confronted by an ominous and menacing picture.

COOK COUNTY HOSPITALS GETS 71 PERCENT

Warden Fred A. Hertwig, chief administrator of Cook County Hospital, has asserted, "We're the attending physician to Chicngo's Negroes. While some other hospitals in the city—notably Provident and Michael Reese—do care for a large number of Negroes, we get more. The plain truth is that there are not enough other medical services available to Negroes in Chicago today." With these words, Mr. Hertwig has ably defined the problem.

Dr. Bundesen was unable to supply statistics relative to the racial distribution of hospital admissions, since "hospital admis-

sions are not reported to the board of health by race." However, there remained another valid yardstick for measuring the composithe number of tion of hospital populationsdeaths, Negro and white, which occurred in these hospitals during the period of a year. In the few hospitals where the racial com-position is known, notably Cook County, Michael Reese, and Provident, deaths by races

conform closely to admissions by races.

To validate Warden Hertwig's statement, 71 percent of all Negro hospital deaths in occurred at Cook County Hospital. Indeed, a Negro dying anywhere in Chicago in 1953 had a 42-percent chance of breathing his last at County Hospital. There are 8 other hospitals in Chicago—2 of them, like County, public institutions-which accounted for 21.5 percent of Negro hospital deaths. Thus, in all, the other sixty-odd hospitals in Chicago, 7½ percent of Negro hospital deaths occurred. In 22 hospitals not 1 solitary Negro death occurred (although as many as 432 whites died at just one Negro death. Six hospitals had two. These 35 hospitals reported 19 Negro deaths out of a total of 6,643. This is the pattern of discrimination in Chicago hospitals.

SCANT MATERNITY FACILITIES

The Welfare Council of Metropolitan Chicago in May 1953 published an extremely complete and authoritative study of maternity facilities in Cook County. This report deserves careful study by every thoughtful citizen. But just a few quotes will reveal how even childbirth is beset by bigotry:

'Seventeen of the 61 [maternity] pitals had no Negro births and 24 had less than 10 Negro births. On the far South Side of Chicago, the area with the second largest number of Negro mothers in 1951, no hos-pital reported as many as 10 Negro births." (Yet 22 percent of Negro mothers lived there.)

"Eighty-two percent of Negro births in 1951 were in four hospitals, or under the supervision of the Chicago Maternity Center; 54 percent took place at Cook County Hospital, as compared to 2 percent of the white births."

QUESTION OF INDIGENCY

Invariably the question of indigency is raised when discrimination is under scrutiny, yet a survey of Cook County maternity pa tients in the welfare council's report indicated that in 1 sampling 20 percent of patients were of sufficient income for pri-vate care and 78 percent of these were Negroes. The whole problem is best summarized by the welfare council report itself:

"3. Regarding lack of availability of beds

to Negro patients:

"(a) Voluntary hospitals and their medical staffs would need to remove intake limitations based on race, where such limitations exist, to relieve Cook County Hospital of its large load of patients (principally Negro) who are not medically indigent. Relaxation of limitations based on race would enable voluntary hospitals to use their beds more fully for the medically indigent in the event that additional funds from public or private sources are made available for this purpose.

"(b) Although approximately 20 percent of births in Cook County are Negro, maternity beds are virtually unavailable for Negroes in 2 out of every 3 hospitals.

(c) The concentration of the population in certain areas makes some maternity beds too far distant to be available, practically.

"(d) The almost complete lack of medical staff appointments for Negro physicians in virtually all voluntary hospitals limits the opportunity of Negroes who are private patients of Negro physicians to receive hospitals of Negro physicians to receive hospitals. pital maternity care under the supervision of their own private physicians."

WILLING AND ABLE TO PAY

The problem of discrimination is only to a very small extent a problem of indigency. Of far greater concern to the fair-minded citizen must be the denial of access to hospitals of the financially competent citizen, because of race. The direct effect of this ill, of course, is denial of free choice of physician, the bulwark of our free American system of medicine. Far from being medically indigent, thousands of Negro citizens are excellently prepared for hospital costs by virtue of their employment in basic in-dustries. These industries, such as steel, meatpacking, farm equipment manufacture, all have as a condition of employment comprehensive health insurance plans. Is it fair for American citizens to spend substantial amounts of money in good faith to insure against hospital costs, only to find themselves at the county hospital, an institu-tion created by law for charity patients? The effect of this highly developed trend is to strain the already loaded facilities of Cook County Hospital, at the taxpayers' expense, by patients who are willing and able to bear their costs in private hospitals. The time is arriving when insurance carriers and the general public must answer whether this practice can, in conscience, be considered justifiable.

Just one example will dramatize the inequalities in the situation: all employees of the meatpacking industry in Chicago are the beneficiaries of the most liberal type health insurance plan. Far from medically indigent, a man and his family so insured are well prepared to meet major medical costs. Local No. 347, UPW, CIO, covering Armour & Co. employees, examined the claims from hospitals from December 1, 1953, through November 18, 1954. There were 946 such claims, 217 or 23 percent of which were from Cook County Hospital. Eighty percent of the members of this local union are Negroes.

SUGGESTION OF REMEDIES

This, then, is the pattern of discrimination. What remedies are available? Some reside in the conscience and good faith of the community and responsible authorities. We physicians and our organizations must extend our traditional concern for maxi-mum private free choice medicine to the area of minority citizens. Hospitals, hospi-tal councils, and hospital board members must face their responsibilities to render eare without racial discrimination. Finally, taxpavers and county officials must safeguard charity institutions from the abuse wherein financially competent persons of the unwanted race are channelled into county hospital.

In addition, there are specific legislative remedies: the tax-exempt status enjoyed by most hospitals is, in effect, a subsidy from all Certainly, this privilege from the State of Illinois cannot justifiably be granted an institution which will not serve an important segment of the State of Illinois, the Negro people. Therefore, a bill to remove the tax-exempt status of hospitals which discriminate because of race or color has been introduced into the State legislature and should be adopted.

The Chicago Board of Health licenses hospitals and requires certain health and safety standards to be maintained-discriminatory admission practices logically fall within this purview, and therefore the ordinance which provides "no hospital shall deny admission or equality of care, or the use of any of its facilities to any person on account of race. creed, color, national origin or ancestry, except that hospitals maintained by religious, fraternal or other associations may limit admission exclusively to members of its group or may grant preferential admission to said members, provided however, that all admissions and care provided for persons other

than said members be made available without regard to race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry" should be passed.

BRANCH OF COUNTY HOSPITAL

There is one other legislative matter of importance. There has lately been considerable serious discussion and proposal of an extension or branch of the Cook County Hospital. Certainly all needed expansion of that institution to meet its legally constituted responsibility-the care of charity patientsmust be provided. However, the expedient of locating a branch of county hospital in the midst of the Negro area of the city might well serve to extend and crystallize the pattern of shunting all Negro patients to county. A logical location of any needed extension would be on the far south side of Cook County, where distance is a factor in securing hospital care for many medical indigents.

In presenting this outline of the current situation, I feel I must not leave you with a sense of inactivity. A number of factors are combining which seem to indicate that a basic change is in the making. outstanding institutions, of which Michael Reese and Billings Hospital are examples, have a rich experience in democratic, interracial policies. Their success offers all the reassurance needed to the rest of the hospital community. A small but significant number of Negro physicians has been admitted to white staffs. I must stress that staff membership for the Negro doctor is the crux of this entire problem. No total solu-tion can be implemented that does not provide for full equality for the Negro physician.

In the American tradition, injustice is not countenanced endlessly. More and more, in-dividuals and organizations have concerned themselves with the search for a solution to this problem. And I am confident it will soon be solved when reason, fair play, and maturity, coupled with sound medical practice, prevail.

Back Home Again-Mission Accomplished

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CARL HINSHAW

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HINSHAW. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following clipping from the Pasadena Star News, January 17, 1955, by the sports editor, Rube Samuelsen, title of the article, "Back Home Again-Mission Accomplished":

RUBE-BARRS

(By Rube Samuelsen)

BACK HOME AGAIN-MISSION ACCOMPLISHED

It happened in Bombay. Maj. Sammy Lee, the world's greatest diver and a good-will emissary of the United States State Department, was giving an exhibition from the high tower. As he appeared for the third straight day, attendance had increased to the extent where fences were broken down and ropes severed when the crowd became unwieldy. Police reserves were called out. An Indian girl was hurried before a microphone-to sing that country's national anthem.

Why the turmoil? Why the unmanageable

excitement?

It is best explained by the fact that the tiny Lee, standing out 5 feet 134 inches in height, so captured the Indians' imagination—even the Communists—that, by the hundreds, they impetuously sought his autograph, to shake his hand, or, more than anything else, to touch him. The hope, apparently, was that some of Sammy Lee's class, his very beliefs, would rub off on them.

his very beliefs, would rub off on them. Sammy, now visiting here with his charming Chinese wife, Rosalind, says one of his strongest memories is that of, when he was being ushered out through quickly drawn police lines, seeing two long rows of outstretched hands. All of them, as he passed by, strove to rub his arms softly. That, incidentally, is an oldtime custom in India.

ON BOTH COUNTS

It need not be emphasized that Maj. Sammy Lee, United States Army Medical Corps, and self-styled oriental from occidental, did himself, and also Uncle Sam, proud during his recent tour of southeastern Asia, Brutus Hamilton is in India now, bent upon a similar mission, while Rev. Bob Richards, Mai Whitfield, and Harrison Dillard have also had State Department assignments in recent months. But it was Sammy Lee, the dedicated patriot, who blazed the trail. Nor could a better choice, which was that of a young man of vision in the State Department by the name of Harold E. Howland, have been made.

Sammy, who will remain here for another week before reporting at Fort Carson, Colo., his next base, reveals a tell-tale incident in Colombo, Ceylon, which points up the effectiveness of his good-will trip. So expertly have the Communists propagandized that portion of Asia that a large percentage of the natives believe that members of minority races get nothing but the shabblest of treatment in the United States. For instance they couldn't conceive of Lee, a brownskinned Korean by ancestry, being both a world's champion athlete and a man with a profession (ear, nose, and throat specialist). And so, he had a straightforward, point-bypoint debate with a rabid Communist who insisted the United States frowned upon a two-doctrine world and, as a result, communism would be adopted sooner or later on a worldwide basis.

"Why can't the entire world be democratic?" Lee asked.

"Because your capitalistic country insists upon subjugating the colored races," was the answer.

"Then," persisted Lee, "how could I possibly become a world's diving champion and also a doctor of medicine? And, how is it that, in two Olympics, I have never seen a member of the colored races represent the Soviet Union or one of its satellites in that brotherly competition?"

"That is because orientals are backward in the Soviet Union," the Communist returned.

"Then who, in this world of two doctrines, is retarding the colored races' development?" Lee declared.

Score one for the champion. That's the way it went for Sammy Lee all over south-eastern Asia. I say it was one of the best one-man jobs ever turned in for his country.

IN A LIGHTER VEIN

Now for the humorous side:

It happened at Dalac, Vietnam. No pool being available, Sammy was asked to dive into a muddy river in giving his exhibition. Assured the depth was 18 feet and that the bottom was free of sharp objects, Lee gave his quick assent.

On his last dive, Sammy, upon returning, cut his foot on broken glass and, reaching the surface, shouted to the French recreational director in charge, that he was in trouble. The director gave gestured instructions to an aid, who scurried away and soon returned with a small bottle. Then he gave it to Lee, who started to pour the contents on his bleeding foot.

The director, astounded, held up his hands in horror.

"No, no, no," he remonstrated. "Eeet ees 20-year cognac. You do not geeve eet to the feet. You dreenk eet."

Welcome back, Sam.

Shocking and Dangerous

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill providing for scholarships in the undergraduate and graduate levels for students desiring to engage in a career relating to the field of atomic energy.

Each Senator and Representative would nominate a worthy applicant to be the recipient of a Government scholarship to include tuition and living expenses of the student.

If the student accepts employment in the Government within 90 days of the completion of the course of study, that time spent in school would be considered as a continuous period of Government employment.

Each day spent under the scholarship program would be considered the equivalent of one-half day of service by the then applicable military training law.

In view of the fact that at our present rate of graduation of scientists and engineers the United States will lose its lead by 1960, as a member of the Atomic Energy Committee, I feel the passage of my bill is a long-needed and most important step in the right direction. By recognizing the importance of our scientists in our overall military preparedness program, congressional attention on much the same basis as already granted to officer-training programs would be effected.

Under this plan, both men and women of outstanding caliber would be selected to further provide scientific leadership of our Nation for both peacetime technological advances and national security.

While we are all aware of the lack of trained scientists and engineers in our industrial activities and Government agencies, this program should alleviate to some extent at least the shortage now existing.

The following is an editorial from the Washington Evening Star:

SHOCKING AND DANGEROUS

It is clear that the United States is facing a serious shortage of sorely needed engineers. The latest warning to that effect—voiced at a press conference in New York the other day—has come from a group of distinguished authorities, including Dr. M. H. Trytten of the National Research Council and Dr. John R. Dunning, atomic expert and dean of Columbia University's School of Engineering. These men are not alarmists, but they have left no room for doubt that there is reason for deep concern over indications that the Soviet educational system threatens to move far ahead of ours in training young people for scientific work.

In fact, in Dr. Dunning's judgment, it is impossible to overemphasize "the true gravity of the situation." This is his feeling because authoritative figures show that we are in danger of quickly losing the present advantage we enjoy in having about 15 or 20 percent more engineers than the total at work in the Soviet Union. Of course, if such a margin of difference could be counted upon to be lasting, there would be no cause for alarm. Unfortunately, however, if present trends continue—that is to say, if our educational system fails to effect a sharp increase in the annual output of engineering graduates—the Russians will catch up with us in the next 5 years, and after that they will pass us in the race.

To bear out Dr. Dunning's warning, Dr. Trytten has cited a fact whose seriousness can hardly be exaggerated. As he has put it, "Although the industries and the Government of the United States are urgently calling for more scientists and engineers, the supply fell from a peak of 50,000 engineering graduates in 1950 to 19,000 in 1954." Meanwhile, by way of contrast, "Russia completely reversed this situation, with 28,000 graduates in 1950 and 53,000 in 1954." other words, there has been a steady and drastic decrease in the number of such scientifically trained personnel turned out by our schools, while in the Soviet Union there has been a spectacular increase. The comparative figures seem almost unbelievable, but they are none the less true, and they should shock the Nation into taking corrective action.

Certainly, in this supremely technological age, our shortage of engineers (and a similar deficiency exists in other categories of scientific personnel) is much too dangerous in its potentialities to be shrugged off and ignored. Quite obviously, with our population increasing at a rate of about 24 million every decade, and with our country confronted with implacable hostility from the Communist world, we need far, far more engineering graduates than our schools are turning out. And action, not just talk, is what we must have to solve the problem. Otherwise, by continuing to be negligent or indifferent in this field, our Nation can lose vital ground to the Kremlin.

Lincoln: A Great American Who Sought To Preserve Union Without Bloodshed

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. USHER L. BURDICK

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. BURDICK. Mr. Speaker, in the history of the world truly great men seldom advance beyond their own geographical confines and become world characters. Again, it is not only the ability of the man himself, but the surroundings in which he is placed and the gravity of the situation before him that brings out those characteristics and qualities that stamp him as an immortal in history.

The United States has contributed its share of great statesmen who have risen above their own territorial limits.

In this category George Washington's name stands out among us, and throughout the world itself, because he led a movement for freedom, and not content with winning the cause of which he was

the commander, he followed it up with the organization of a great republic in the New World, where life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness was guaranteed to every citizen. This purpose of government was the prayer of man for ages; hence it was that the name of George Washington is a familiar one in every country on earth.

The name of Thomas Jefferson is another name that has flashed across the history of the world, due to his able writings on the principles to be pursued in a republic such as ours. Many nations in adopting their constitutions, were inspired by Jefferson and their documents followed his words very closely.

HOPE TO OPPRESSED

The name of Abraham Lincoln flashed across the country and did not dim at territorial lines, but went on and on throughout the world where people were struggling for freedom. Abraham Lincoln was unique, as he came up from poor people and did not have the advantages of schools to attend, but was largely his own teacher. He struggled for an education; he struggled against poverty; and what he learned in this flery furnace of necessity he never forgot.

Some have said and written that he was an accident, but when you come to study his ancestry you find that one of his granduncles was a surveyor for General Washington and author of a book on mathematics. The textbooks he wrote were written in longhand and illustrated in freehand; and anyone examining one of these rare books is impressed with the exactness of the writing and the illustrating figures. There is not a blot in the whole book, not a line retraced. Several of the early Lincolns were men of this type, and it is not surprising that Lincoln's speech at Gettysburg is a model of English expression.

The environment surrounding Lincoln was a grave epoch in the history of the United States. The old question of the sovereign rights of States as to owning slaves was not settled in the Constitutional Convention, and in Lincoln's time was threatening the preservation of the Union. The South was backing the cause of State rights and the North was aroused over slavery. Lincoln saw that the people were divided and he did his utmost to pacify the two divergent views. His famous statement that "a house divided against itself could not stand," while logical and prophetic, did not allay the rising storm.

ASKED COMMONSENSE

On entering upon his duties as President of the United States he again appealed to the commonsense of the people to avert hostilities and unite in preserving the Union. This failed of its purpose and the War Between the States ensued.

Some of his contemporaries thought he was too slow to action and too temporizing with those who had declared themselves out of the Union, but he stood firm as a rock upon the proposition that the Union must be preserved, and prayed that it might be done without bloodshed.

His own administrative assistants were not always working in the best interests of the President, and many of them were candidates for that office themselves. Knowing of the many disloyal acts and disagreements between himself and some members of his Cabinet, most Presidents would have discharged these men, but Lincoln knew, and said that in spite of their interference with his plans they were the best men for their places.

He was besieged for jobs, and one illustration of this annoyance may be cited. A gentleman from Ohio, who had done outstanding work for the President in the campaign, wanted a job. He came to Washington and saw Lincoln. During the course of his conversation with the President, this man asked, "Mr. Lincoln, don't you think I merit a job with the Government?" Lincoln then stated, "Of course you are entitled to a place, but the trouble is I do not seem to have much influence with my administration."

CONVINCED BANKERS

When a delegation of bankers met with the President and protested against his plan to issue greenbacks directly from the Government, a great and noisy argument ensued. In the midst of all the talk Lincoln said that the situation reminded him of a man who was traveling horseback through an unsettled portion of Kentucky where there were only trails and no roads and in some way missed his path. To add to his difficulties night came on, and with it a terrific rainstorm. The lightning crashed all around the traveler, and it was only on these occasions that he could see any portion of the trail. Soon a terrific flash of lightning struck. The man fell off his horse and was brought to his knees on the ground. He was by no means a praying man, but since he was already on his knees and the storm still raged, he made the following prayer: "Oh, Lord, if it is all the same to you, give us a little more light and less noise." That settled the conference and the bankers left. The greenbacks were issued, and some are still in circulation.

People in any country who read the life of Lincoln can see how a very humble citizen had arisen in the Republic of the United States to carry the torch of freedom.

Lincoln's ringing voice we still hear when he said:

Our safety, our liberty, depends upon preserving the Constitution of the United States as our fathers made it, inviolate.

The people of these United States are the rightful masters of both Congress and courts, not to overthrow the Constitution, but to overthrow the men who pervert the Constitution.

Lincoln's sound judgment, his patience, his indifference to any consequences that might come to him, his great human heart, his deep and abiding sympathy, always exhibited in every act of his as President, gave a new definition to this Republic, and people throughout the world came to love this great man of the people. A world character he surely is, and his thoughts and actions live with us today. The name of Abraham Lincoln today means more to the people of the world than the name of any other man who has crossed the stage of history, save one.

Lincoln and Unity

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES A. HALLECK

OF INDIANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to participate in the 30th annual Lincoln Day memorial exercises held Sunday, February 6, at the Nancy Hanks Lincoln State Memorial at Lincoln City, Ind. The impressive program honoring the memory of Abraham Lincoln and his mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, was sponsored by the Santa Claus (Ind.) Chamber of Commerce. Among organizations taking part in thees traditional ceremonies were St. Meinrad's Archabbey, the Funkhouser American Legion Post, Veterans of Foreign Wars, Indiana Department of Conservation, and the Spencer County Home Demonstration Chorus. It was a matter of particular pleasure to me that I was introduced by my former colleague in the House of Representatives, the Honorable D. Bailey Merrill. Under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include herewith the text of my address on Lincoln and Unity, delivered on this occasion:

Not so long ago, as the world measures time, a barefoot lad came with his family from the hills of Kentucky to begin a new life here among the rugged pioneers of the old Pigeon Creek neighborhood of Spencer County.

The family's heavy burden of poverty is a matter of historic record.

We can only imagine the added anguish suffered by the little boy and his sister occasioned by the illness and death of their beloved mother not long after they had arrived on Hoosier soil.

That we are here today paying homage to the memory of Abraham Lincoln, a backwoods boy, and his mother, Nancy Hanks Lincoln, is, in itself, a tribute to the greatness of America and to the greatness of our people.

Abraham Lincoln and his family were what our sociologists today would probably call underprivileged people.

Fortunately for us, Lincoln didn't know he was underprivileged.

My guess is that he felt lucky to be a freeborn American.

Certainly, at any rate, he refused to give up to what must have appeared to him a forlorn prospect that he would ever amount to much.

There is, perhaps, little new we can say about Lincoln's life here in southern Indiana.

We know this is where he spent his formative years—14 of them—growing into manhood before he moved once more with his family, this time to Illinois.

In our mind's eye, we can see Abraham Lincoln, the boy, doing what he could as a child to help the family carve a home out of the wilderness.

We can see him as a youth, doing the physical work of a man to provide the essentials of life, not only for himself but for others of a household enlarged as a result of his father's remarriage to a good widow with three children of her own.

with three children of her own.

We know of Lincoln's early thirst for knowledge and we have read of his attempts to educate himself by reading the Bible, Pligrim's Progress, Weem's Life of Washing-

ton, and whatever other books might come his way in a day when schools were few and far between and public libraries were an unknown luxury.

Yes; history leaves no doubt that Lincoln's earlier life was one of underprivilege as far as material blessings were concerned.

We must go deeper into his background to discover and to understand the secret of his greatness.

The devotion of mother and son offers us a clue.

The later understanding and sympathy of a stepmother offers another.

What did Sarah Johnson, this widow with three children of her own, see in little Abe that led her to give him the encouragement that meant so much?

Did she, perhaps, detect the spark of greatness even then developing into a flame destined to light the way for freemen through the ages?

As Hoosiers, we like to think, and I believe not without justification, that the hard and simple life of Pigeon Creek in the early part of the 19th century offers us another clue to the genesis of Lincoln's wisdom and

Lincoln came to Indiana because his was a family seeking a better way of life-not an easier way of life, but a better way.

Here he joined in the work and play of other rugged Christian pioneers-God-fearing people dedicated to the simple virtues honesty, thrift, and self-reliance, a dedication, may I say, still appropriate for every American citizen.

It was here in Indiana that Abraham Lincoln developed his sense of perspective.

It was as a Hoosier that he learned patience, tolerance of others, and his deep humility.

And we can surmise with safety that here he enjoyed a companionship rich in the ways of homely Indiana humor—a peculiarly Hoosier type of wit which Lincoln himself employed so often and to such good purpose throughout his adult career.

The sad face of Lincoln the President portrays vividly the loneliness, the personal tragedies, and the compassion of this great

But if the gravity of his responsibilities left their mark on his soul, one thing we know about Lincoln-and it is one more great-hearted virtue that endears him to us-Abraham Lincoln could laugh at himself.

He was a man of positive virtues-integrity, ambition, courage in the face of adversity, and an abiding faith in his fellow men.

However, there is, it seems to me, something else we must consider in seeking the ultimate answer to Lincoln's greatness

Lincoln was a man incapable of malice.
"I shall do nothing in malice," he once wrote to a friend. "What I deal with is too vast for malicious dealing."

There was no trace of bitterness in his soul-this man who might well have excused whatever failures came his way on the grounds that, after all, he had never had the advantages of more than the barest material wealth nor more than a meagar formal education.

Here, I think, was the true measure of Lincoln's greatness: the measure of a man fighting his way from humble circumstance to the most powerful office in the world. without losing that most precious of giftsgentleness of character.
This, my good Hoosier friends, is the mark

of a truly noble man.

The time of Abraham Lincoln was a diffi-

cult period for America.

This young Nation, dedicated, as he put it, "to the proposition that all men are created equal," had been forced to the acid test by the secession of the Southern States.

Fortunately for us, the country had at its helm during those trying days a man who had learned, as a member of a family working together for its very survival here in Indiana, that in unity there is strength.

Succeeding generations of Americans have revered Abraham Lincoln as the man who saved the Union in its darkest hours. Engraved on the wall of the magnificent Lincoln Memorial in Washington are these majestic words: "In this temple as in the hearts of the people for whom he saved the Union the memory of Abraham Lincoln is enshrined forever.'

Today, we look to his memory for strength and guidance in another battle to preserve our way of life from the threat of a creeping menace-the menace of a militant communism determined to destroy human liberty as we have known it.

These, too, are times that try men's souls. Already a great portion of the world's people has been trapped into a new form of bondage—slavery to political masters—and the end is not yet in sight. There can be only one answer to that

threat.

It is the answer Lincoln would have given.

Americans must stand united in their determination to defend the precious birthright of freedom regardless of the sacrifice.

We have witnessed a heartening demonstration of such unity of purpose in recent

The Congress of the United States, almost to a man, acting as the elected representa-tives of the people of this Nation, has stood foursquare behind the President in his courageous decision with respect to our foreign policy in the Pacific.

By this action, we have demonstrated our ability once more to rise above partisanship

for the common good.

By this action, we have kept faith with Lincoln's admonition: "Let us at all times remember that all American citizens are brothers of a common country, and should dwell together in the bonds of fraternal feel-

Lest I be misunderstood, let me hasten to assure one and all that we have not reached

the millenium in Washington.

The art of politics-that art so deeply relished by our good citizens of Indiana—and an art, I might say, in which Abraham Lincoln himself was no amateur-is still very much alive in the Nation's Capital.

Lincoln, we must not forget, was a firm champion of the two-party system-a champion who understood its strength and its weaknesses.

And it is by no means to his discredit that he worked for the success of the party he represented-that he worked at politics, if you please-in his long and difficult campaign toward the Presidency.

One of the Lincoln anecdotes which took on a new significance for me after November of 1952, and which serves to illustrate the ridiculous extremes of responsibility which sometimes fall to a man in the White House, is this one:

When Lincoln became President, the Democrat Party had been in power for many years.

(That part of the story certain has a familiar ring.)

Every patronage job had been filled with a Democrat, and now Republicans besieged the White House demanding appointments.

(So does that.)

One day, a Senator, coming into the President's office, found him holding a note. There was an expression of anxiety and detection on Lincoln's face.

"What's the matter, Mr. President?" the Senator inquired.

"Has something gone wrong? Have you heard bad news from Fort Sumter?"

"No," said the President, shaking his head wearily, "It's the post office at Jonesville, Mo

So, I don't want to imply that the recent display of unity in Washington means that a complete moratorium has been declared as far as partisan politics is concerned.

But I do think this action in support of President Eisenhower serves to point up an awareness on the part of all men and women in responsible positions that these are, indeed, serious times.

These are times when all of us-we in public life and you with your important duties and obligations as private citizens of this great Republic-must do our best to heed the precepts of Lincoln.

We must do our best to be worthy of the priceless heritage of freedom-a heritage. may I say, saved for posterity by this noble man and the thousands of his fellow Americans who rallied to his leadership.

Make no mistake about this: America is faced with a battle for survival today just as much as America was faced with a battle for survival during the time of Abraham Lincoln.

The foe today is external, but it is no less dangerous to our national security.

History plays no favorites.

During the Civil War, the Nation was guided by Republican leadership.

During World Wars I and II, and for most

of the Korean war, leaders of the Democrat Party were at the helm.

At all such times, right-thinking Americans dedicate themselves to the task of defending their beloved country.

So today, as we struggle to solve the problems arising from the aggressive intent of dictator nations, it seems to me that all loyal citizens will want the present leadership to succeed in its program to provide for the security of our Nation and to achieve a just and lasting peace for the world.

We are not in a war.

Living, as we are today, in the awesome shadow of the mushroom of the atomic bomb. it is the hope and prayer of all of us that we will never be subjected to the horrors of a military holocaust.

But ours is a world of uneasy peace. The task before us is to win that peace, however long and difficult the road.

It is a task calling for an exercise of those virtues which characterized Abraham Lincoln's leadership:

Integrity.

Patience and forbearance.

Courage and steadfastness of purpose.

Self-reliance and a willingness to sacrifice. Faith in the Almighty and a belief in the dignity of man.

The program set before us for winning the peace is not an easy one.

The burden of building and maintaining defense adequate for America is heavy.

The necessity for calling our young men into the service as long as the threat to our freedom exists is not to the liking of a people by tradition unmilitary in their inclina-

But we are today in a zone of uncertaintya zone of dim shapes and shadows, some reassuring in their promise of things to come, others fearful in their portent of evil.

Let us all hope we are in the morning light of a lasting peace and not groping in the twilight hours before a new darkness of armed conflict.

In such a period, these words of Abraham Lincoln echo from another age:

"The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As our case is new. so we must think anew and act anew."

Today it is the challenge of communism which must be met.

We dare to hope the time will never come when that challenge must be resolved on the field of battle.

Of this you may be certain: Under the leadership of Dwight D. Eisenhower, every avenue in the direction of an honorable world peace is being-and will continue to be-explored.

But until that way is found, we cannot relax our efforts to provide a maximum defense against armed attack-a maximum defense consistent with the minimum needs

of our domestic economy.

This is the crux of the Eisenhower administration's program for a secure and prosperous Nation.

Somewhere between the extremes of opinion on what our course of action should be lies the proper balancing of needs-needs of our Armed Forces and needs of the civilian machinery on which the military must always depend for its sustenance.

I see these extremes of opinion reflected in the mail I get as a Congressman and I respect the sincerity of those expressing such views.

There are some, for instance, who believe the efforts we are making to provide an adequate defense against Communist aggression are too little.

These people urge an all-out mobilization

There are others who hold that the defensive structure we are undertaking to maintain is too much-that disarmament and wholesale discharge of military personnel, together with an end to the draft, is the surest way to peace.

Close examination of either position poses

sober questions.

How long, we may fairly ask, could this Nation, great as it is—with all its vast re-sources, its massive industrial potential, its inventive genius, and its capacity for production-how long could we stand the strain of an all-out mobilization?

And what if, having mobilized, we found

curselves without a war? The risk of such a course is obvious,

It is the risk of the destruction of our economic system from within—a system crushed under the sheer weight of a defensespending burden-without a shot having been fired either by or at us.

The Communists would like that. It must

not happen.

Even more evident, however, is the peril to our security in a course of drastic dis-armament and cutbacks in military man-

power at this time.

No, my friends, the realism and commonsense that was so typical of Abraham Lincoln demands that we maintain what has been aptly called a posture of strength as long as the leaders of Communist-dominated na-tions maintain their hostile and belligerent attitudes toward the peoples of the free world.

Until, by acts of good falth, these leaders demonstrate an unmistakable willingness to forego aggression as an instrument of international policy, realism and common-sence dictate that we remain prepared and vigilant.

As we set ourselves to this continuing task, it is vital, as President Eisenhower pointed out in his state of the Union message to the Congress, "that each of us understand the frue nature of the struggle now taking place in the world."

"It is not," he said, "a struggle merely of economic theories, or of forms of government, or of military power. At issue is the true nature of man.

"Either man is the creature whom the pealmist described as 'a little lower than the angels,' crowned with glory and honor, holding 'dominion over the works' of his Creator; or man is a soulless, animated ma-chine to be enslaved, used, and consumed by the state for its own glorification.

"It is, therefore, a struggle which goes to the roots of the human spirit, and its shadow falls across the long sweep of man's destiny. This prize, so precious, so fraught with ultimate meaning, is the true object of the contending forces in the world."

No mortal in the history of the world was ever more deeply conscious of the majesty of the human soul than Abraham Lincoln. None was ever a greater champion of

liberty.

honor him today for his magnificent contribution to freedom, justice, and peace, the support of which is-today as thenforemost among the purposes of government.

As we meet here on ground hallowed by association with our martyred President, it is fitting and proper that we heed his admonition, delivered in those immortal words

at Gettysburg:
"It is * * * for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us-that these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave their last full measure of devotionwe here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain-that this Nation, under God, shall have a new birth of free-dom—and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth."

A man named Homer Hoch once wrote, "There is no new thing to be said of Lin-

"There is no new thing to be said of the mountains, or of the sea, or of the stars.

'The years go their way, but the same old mountains lift their granite shoulders above the drifting clouds, the same mysterious sea beats upon the shore, and the same slient stars keep holy vigil above a tired world.

"But to mountains and sea and stars men turn forever in unwearled homage.

"And thus with Lincoln.

"For he was mountain in grandeur of soul, he was sea in deep undervoice of mystic loneliness, he was star in steadfast purity of purpose and of service. And he abides.

Yes, Lincoln abides.

And we need say nothing new of him. We need only look to his memory as a source of towering strength in these years of turmoil and strife.

His strength is our strength and his great faith in America—her institutions and her people-is our faith as we move with courage and diligence toward a brighter and happier tomorrow.

The Turning of the Tide in Vietnam

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF.

HON. EDGAR W. HIESTAND

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. HIESTAND. Mr. Speaker, with the attention of the world concentrated on Formosa and the Communist threat toward it, the critical and perhaps encouraging situation in Vietnam is escaping attention.

Having studied this situation by firsthand observation last September, I am happy to present to the House and for the RECORD a summary of the situation which appeared in the January 1955 issue of Vietnam, which says in part:

THE TURNING OF THE TIDE

After the Geneva armistice of July 1954, a dangerous pessimism about Vietnam developed in America, a pessimism fed by

stories and newspaper reports, true or false, of internal discensions in South Vietnam among the different authorities and forces that should have been working together for the defense of the free world. Reports circulated of disagreement among the American and French authorities; among the Vietnamese Government, the police, and the army; and among the politico-religious sects. In the light of recent developments in Vietnam, is that pessimism justified?
That there were disagreements no one can

And in truth, the rebellion of the army chief of staff set an example of insubordination and paralyzed the government for nearly 3 months, at one of the most critical periods in the history of Vietnam. The rebellion was finally quashed by his dis-missal from office at the end of November 1954 by Vietnam's chief of state, His Majesty Bao Dal.

Since then, in just 6 weeks, President Ngo dinh Diem has succeeded in restoring order through a series of political successes, the vital importance of which has gone almost unnoticed in the United States, lost in the bustle and preoccupations of the new year.

The following events are of decisive importance for the future of Vietnam and deserve to be better known and understood in the United States.

DIRECT AMERICAN AID

1. On December 21, Gen. Lawton Collins handed a check for \$28 million to President Ngo dinh Diem to be used for aid to the refugees. Compared to the enormous needs to be met and to the hundreds of millions of dollars lost by the United States in the Indochinese war, the sum is relatively modest, but "it is not what you give, it is the way that you give it"-this check marked the beginning of direct American ald which alone could have saved and can still save Vietnam.

ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

2. On December 31 the government obtained the abrogation of the Pau Accords of November 1950, which had permitted the French authorities to maintain control of the economy and finances of Indochina. New economic accords were passed, the administration of the port of Saigon was transferred to the Vietnamese Government and on January 5, the Bank of Issue and the Office of Exchange as well. Without these Vietnamese independence had been largely theoretical.

THE SECTS RALLY

3. Early this month, armed only with high principles, President Diem was bold enough to order the closing of the famous gambling house, Le Grand Monde, operated by a powerful armed sect, the Binh Xuyen, said to be in control of the Saigon-Cholon area. Gen. Le van Vien, the head of this sect, the so-called gangster, had enough wisdom and patriotism himself to bow to this decision and to accept the integration of his private troops into the national army as well. Le Grand Monde and two other gambling houses were closed on January 16.
4. On January 9, Col. Trinh Minh The.

leader of the Cao Dai dissidents, who for more than 2 years operated on a guerrilla basis in order to fight both the French and the Viet Minh, announced that he was going to rally to the national government, with his

army of 5,000 men.

5. On January 16. Col. Nguyen Van Hue, one of the leaders of the Hoa Hao religious sect, who had also gone underground for the same reasons, offered to come over unconditionally with about 3,000 armed men, "having become convinced," he said, "that Vietnam was now independent of French rule."

WELCOME TO DIEM

6. In the first days of January President Diem received a movingly enthusiastic wel-come from the people during his 3-day tour of the Nha Trang Phan Rang, Phan Ri, and

Pham Thiet areas of South Vietnam, which had just been freed from Viet Minh control His trip is described in Time of January 17 as well as in a report from the United States Information Service dated January 5 and reprinted here.

THE EXODUS CONTINUES

7. On December 31, 4,549 refugees arrived in Saigon aboard the American ship, General Howze. Among them were 2,900 coming from Vinh, the native Province of Ho Chi Minh.

8. On January 4, 4,000 more refugees left

Haiphong for the south.

9. The newspapers of January 11 reported that three highly placed Viet Minh officials

had asked to leave the north.

10. On January 11 the International Control Commission had to send 2 international mobile units, one after the other, to settle a bloody incident which broke out at Ba Lang between 10,000 Catholics, who wished to evacuate, and regular Viet Minh troops, who were attempting to stop them.

Coming just at Christmas and the new year, these events passed almost unnoticed. Yet they are very important and indicate that the press reports of a month ago erred in representing President Diem as an incorruptible, patriotic, but politically incapable leader. The best government in the world could not have obtained better or more important political results in so short a time and under such difficult circumstances.

THE TIDE TURNS

Above all, these events show that there is no reason to be pessimistic, and that in Vietnam the tide is turning, even turning strongly, in favor of the free world. It was enough for the Ngo Dinh Diem government to act as an authentically national and rigorously honest government, and for it to receive firm American moral support. The rallying of thousands of Hoa Hao and Cao Dai dissidents who controlled large areas in South Vietnam and thus created a state of insecurity which favored Communist expansion; the continuing flow of refugees from the north, abandoning all their possessions, risking their lives on frail boats, and even fighting, barehanded, with Viet Minh regular troops that try to stop them; the warm reception given President Diem as he toured South and Central Vietnam; all are moving testimony to growing countrywide support And thus this government which had been called shaky has been able to bring about an almost miraculous reversal of the political situation within a few weeks and to become the rallying center of the anti-Communist forces of Vietnam.

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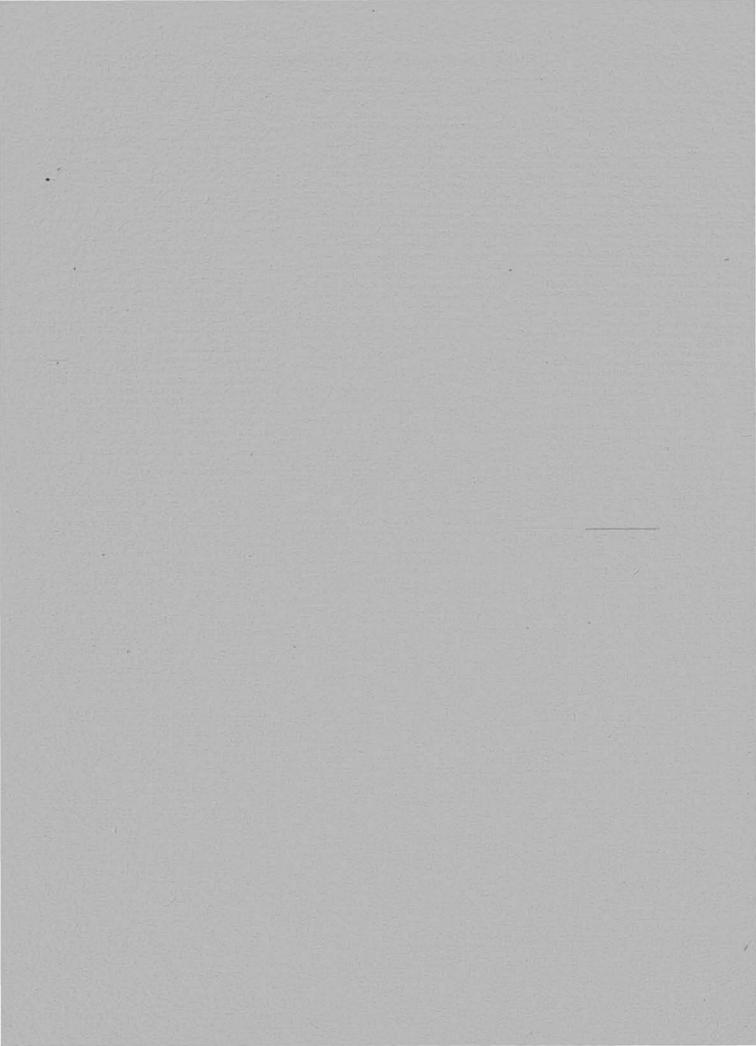
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Appendix

Unity in Charity-Freedom in Justice

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JOHN W. McCORMACK

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following splendid sermon of Most Rev. Lawrence J. Shehan, bishop of Bridgeport:

Unity in Charity—Freedom in Justice (Sermon delivered at the Red Mass in the Cathedral of St. Matthew, Washington, D. C., February 6, 1955, by the Most Reverend Lawrence J. Shehan, bishop of Bridgeport)

While the year is still young and the new Congress is still planning its program, we have come to the Cathedral of St. Matthew to ask God's blessing on the three branches of our Government: On the President and the executive departments which are under his direction; on the Congress in whose hands lies the legislative power of our country, and on the judiciary to whose wisdom is committed the interpretation of the law in the circumstances of our national life.

It is doubtful if our Government ever faced a more difficult and important task than that which now confronts it. During the Civil War, it is true, the whole future of our country was at stake. But then it was only our own country that was involved. Now the fate of all Western civilization depends in large measure on the decisions and actions of our Government. In World War II we lived through some very dark days. Then, however, we were united by the presence of a threatening enemy and by our determination to triumph, and we were supported by allies who were joined to us in a common will to victory. Now we face an even more powerful and insidious enemy With our unity often severely tested but happily, in recent days overwhelmingly reaf-firmed with and uncertainty about allies on whom we can count.

Nor is the problem simply one of external threat. Here at home are grave evils which, if permitted to grow, are bound to sap our national strength. Increasing breakdown of family stability, mounting crimes of violence and dishonesty, of wanton cruelty and gross sensuality; youthful delinquency of a magnitude frightening in its implications for the whole of our younger generation-all demand our undivided attention and united effort. Nor can we overlook the fact that in the years of our greatest prosperity the national debt has grown to a size that surpasses our powers of realization. In spite of earnest efforts to balance our budget, our mounting financial obligations constitute a problem which requires the joint concern of both parties, of all branches and departments of government, and of all our people.

If we are to meet these problems, we as a Nation must have unity—unity of mind, unity of heart, unity of effort. What we need is not that monolithic unity imposed from above, which from the beginning has been characteristic of Soviet Russia and

every country that has come within its orbit, as it was also the mark of Nazi Germany. Such a unity is contrary to our most sacred traditions and is repugnant to the free institutions which have been our most prized possession and the source of our greatest strength. What we need is a moral unity—a unity which springs from the will of all our people—a unity which, with a full recognition of the gravity of our problems, will lead us to join our efforts in the determination to save not only ourselves, but also the whole free world, from disaster. Such a unity can be achieved only in a national atmosphere of charity; for charity is the bond of unity—it is the first duty that springs from our common brotherhood.

The brotherhood of man is more than a mere phrase—it is a sacred truth springing from the fatherhood of God and capable, with God's inspiration and grace, of transforming man's world. That, in the face of this common bond, enmity should exist anywhere in the world is indeed a tragedy; that there should be enmity, bitterness, dissension among the citizens of this country is a double tragedy. For, in addition to the bond of our common brotherhood, the ties that should bind us together in mutual love and understanding are stronger and more urgent here than anywhere else on earth.

First, there is the bond of our common heritage. Practically all of us are descended from ancestors who came to this country to escape oppression of some sort—religious, political, or economic. Here they established, or came into the enjoyment of, true freedom. Here they found unrivaled opportunity. Here they found abundance waiting to be called from the rich land by their skill and effort. Here they developed a civilization and a culture, admirable in many respects and great with potentialities—a civilization and a culture which is our very own. All these form the heritage which together we must preserve.

No part of our common heritage is more sacred in our eyes than the freedom which has always been the outstanding characteristic of our country and the dominant theme of its history. What particularly we must bear in mind is that freedom depends upon justice just as truly as the plant depends upon the soil in which it grows. freedom is man's distinguishing characteristic and, after life, his most basic right, fustice has no higher object than the protection and preservation of man's liberty. Furthermore, freedom can exist only as a sacred right; it cannot exist as a privilege granted by government. It is no accident that under regimes that have discarded the concept of man's rights, the ideals of both justice and freedom have been banished.

So close is the dependence of freedom on justice that, whenever justice is breached, freedom is impaired; where justice is seriously and consistently impeded, freedom ceases to be. In the early history of our own country, the blot of slavery could have existed only against a background of grave injustice to the members of a whole race. The history of the labor movement shows that insofar and just so long as the workingman failed to obtain real justice, he was deprived of true liberty. Religious freedom, on the other hand, has continued to flourish in this country because from the very beginning it has been protected by provisions of justice written into the Constitution through

the amendments known as the Bill of Rights. It is justice then that safeguards liberty; when justice fails freedom is imperiled.

One of our most precious rights is freedom of education, so closely allied to freedom of religion, freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly. Like all freedom, that of education can be hampered and even destroyed by lack of justice. While no one will deny that lack of justice. While no one will deny that the state has a legitimate and even necessary concern with education, yet it seems to many of us that the exclusive support by government of a system of state education of ever-increasing costliness can, in the long run, seriously hamper and ultimately destroy real freedom of education. The wealthy, no doubt, will continue to be able to support, in addition to the state program, the kind of education they desire for their children. But already is some places freedom of education seems to be threatened for the man of small or moderate means, who feels that he has a duty to provide for his children the kind of education which includes religious instruction and training as an integral part of the school curriculum. Justice would seem to require recognition of the public service involved in all properly qualified educational programs carried on by private groups and voluntary associations. time when increasing recognition is being given to the importance of restoring religious and moral influence to education and to the whole of life, those should not be misunderstood who ask for consideration of what justice requires for the preservation of freedom as a part of their sacred heritage.

Even more than by a consciousness of our common heritage the citizens of this country should be united by a sense of their mutual dependence. For all the good things we possess come not from the wisdom and power of some benevolent despot who has set us to work and stands ready to turn benevolence into tyranny at the first sign of our lagging. Under God it has come from the joint thinking and planning and working of the millions who have found in this land their true home. It is perfectly clear that our blessings will remain secure in our hands only so long as we continue to think

and plan and labor together.
But that love which is the bond of our unity involves something more than a consciousness of our common brotherhood, an appreciation of our joint heritage and a sense of our mutual dependence. It involves also love of the country of which each of us forms an integral part. America is something more than the sum total of its land and its citizens. It is a nation; it is a state; it is a body politic in which each of us has a voice, and each of us exercises a vital function. No nation on earth can boast an origin more noble and inspiring. None of the great states of the world was conceived and brought into being with such deliberation, such wisdom, such care. No body politic has more consistently pursued as the object of its existence the common good of its people.

In the course of our history the Constitution has become the symbol of what is best in this country and the foundation of that juridical system which is the framework of our national life. The strength of that Constitution comes not merely from the human wisdom with which a system of government truly representative of the people was devised. It comes also and especially from the clear concepts embodied within it, first of the dependence of civil law on moral law, and, secondly, of the true nature of the common good as the sole object of government

Our own times have seen a tendency worldwide in scope to ignore or to deny the con-nection of moral and civil law, and to sub-stitute the good of the state, i. e., the advantage of the government, for the common good. In the broadest and true sense the good of the government must coincide with the common good, since government has no other reason for existence. But often there is a vast difference between the common good entertained by governing people. Too often men who come into power show a tendency to make the common good secondary to the good of themselves and their party. That legislators, administrators, and jurists in this country have some times been affected by this trend is no doubt true. is to be hoped that by increasing emphasis on moral law as the foundation of all law, and on the concept of common good as the sole object of government, our country will preserve its noblest traditions which are the basis of our patriotic love.

Perhaps that which has done most to endanger the sense of brotherhood and the feeling of grateful love of the country which has brought us so many blessings has been man's worship of material progress-particularly his worship of the science which was so largely responsible for that progress. a little book published not long after the end of World War II, Charles Lindbergh, who perhaps more than any man has symbolized the generation which came to manhood in the years following World War I, and to the full stature of maturity during World War II, tells us how he and so many of his generation worshipped at the altar of science. 'I grew up," he says, "as a disciple of science. I know its fascination; I have felt the Godlike power man derives from his machines. To me in youth science was more important than man or God."

But in the wisdom that came with the experiences of World War II, the illusions of youth faded away. At its end, seeing the horrible destruction science has brought about, and contemplating the even more horrible disaster of a possible world war III, he came to the conclusion that: "if his civilization is to continue, modern man must direct the material power of his science by the spiritual truths of God." And he ends with these words: "There is no material solution, no practical formula which alone can save us. Man has never been able to find his salvation in the exact terms of politics, economics, and logic." From Plato's Republic down to the latest blueprint for a better order of things, "his planned utopias have not proved the answer, for the answer is at a deeper level. Our salvation, and our only salvation, lies in controlling the arm of western science by the mind of western philosophy, guided by the eternal truths of God."

To God then modern man must turn for his salvation. That salvation will come not merely from a knowledge of the truths of God, but from the love of God which is the essence of true religion. From God comes the brotherhood of man, and from God comes all the blessings this country has brought to us. Only through love of God can man overcome that selfishness which seeks to destroy both love of fellowmen and love of country.

In our hour of need we turn to Christ, the God-Man, who in His unity with the Father and the Holy Spirit is the perfect exemplar of that unity which must exist among men. In His hour of peril He prayed: "that all may be one as Thou Father in Me and I in Thee; that they may be one in Us." In that prayer we, the people of this country, are included.

Dear Saviour of mankind, in our hour of trial and temptation give to Thy children of this great country true unity of mind and heart. Grant that they may put aside all hatred, rancor, and division. Give to them the wisdom to see clearly the tasks that must be done. Grant that, being truly united, they may put forth that strength which may save both themselves and all the world from the forces of slavery and of destruction. Amen.

H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALBERT W. CRETELLA

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. CRETELLA. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent granted to me, I should like to introduce into the Record a letter addressed to my colleague, the Honorable Antoni Sadlak, Congressman at Large of the State of Connecticut and a member of the Ways and Means Committee, from Alfred C. Gilbert, Jr., president of the A. C. Gilbert Co., of New Haven, in my district.

The letter and accompanying statistics are self-explanatory.

When I was a young man, still in my teens and working my way through school, I was an employee of the A. C. Gilbert Co., and have had the privilege of seeing this small concern grow to its present size and contribute so much to the welfare of the youth of America, as well as to the defense of our country.

I am mindful of the inroads made on this company by the importation of Japanese-made goods and the importation and sale in this country of a competitive erector set, which is the hallmark of this company. It must compete with an inferior quality of merchandise, a much lower wage scale, and, to add insult to injury, a competitive name used with the obvious intent of deceiving the American buying public.

While I am mindful of the very serious consideration to which H. R. 1 is entitled, nevertheless, I believe this is an industry which would be vitally affected if any further changes were made in the tariff schedules which would permit further importation at further reduced tariff rates.

The letter follows:

JANUARY 27, 1955.

Hon. Antoni Sadlak,
House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR CONGRESSMAN SADLAK: As a toy manufacturer I am extremely concerned with the President's request for power to cut tariff rates, toys having been specifically mentioned. I understand that hearings are now underway on H. R. 1 before the House Ways and Means Committee, of which you are a member.

About 40 years ago my father appeared before this committee, then considering the Smoot-Hawley Act. As a result, toys were given a 75 percent ad valorem rate. At that time, even Senator Garner, a free trader, approved of the provision for the toy industry on the pasis that next to the school itself the toy industry is the most important educational factor in America. Many toys, such

as the career-building ones we manufacture (chemistry, microscope, erector), are responsible for the great national interest in engineering and science. Many great scientists and engineers have told us our toys were the original stimulus for their having followed technical vocations.

President Eisenhower has expressed concern for the preservation of essential defense industries. I submit that the supply of technically trained men is the most vital factor whole defense program. Since it is an established fact that educational toys are a key factor in getting men into the technical sciences and professions at an early age, it should certainly be obvious that our toy industry should not be sabotaged by imports of foreign toys, primarily from Germany and Japan. Today there are Japanese microscopes in toy stores that undersell ours due to the fantastic differences in wages paid their workers. The same holds true for German electric trains.

If the American toy industry was deemed essential by the administration 40 years ago, and since the reasons for its importance are even stronger today, let's not ruin it by further reducing tariff rates on imported toys.

Yours very truly,

THE A. C. GILBERT CO.,
A. C. GILBERT, Jr.,

President.

Net sales by year, civilian versus Government (defense and war)

	Civilian	Govern- ment	Total	Percentage, Government to total
1941	4, 102, 000	77, 000	4, 179, 000	1.8
1942	2, 262, 000	5, 015, 000	7, 277, 000	69
1943	898, 000	9, 535, 000	10, 433, 000	91
1944	846, 000	11, 752, 000	12, 598, 000	93. 5
1945	1, 509, 000	6, 184, 000	7, 693, 000	80
1946	6, 028, 000		6, 028, 000	
1947	10, 729, 000		10, 729, 000	
1948	13, 933, 000		13, 933, 000	
1949	11, 025, 000	CONTRACTOR OF THE PARTY OF THE	11, 025, 000	Participation of the Participa
1950	12, 429, 000	103,000	12, 532, 000	2.6
1951	13, 519, 000	1, 015, 000	14, 524, 000	7
1952	13, 013, 000	5, 022, 000	18, 035, 000	28
1953	16, 641, 000	2, 682, 000	19, 323, 000	14
1954	14, 640, 000	977, 000	15, 617, 000	6, 25

Our average wage for men, \$1.62; for women, \$1.41.

Sermon of Most Rev. Lawrence J. Shehan, Bishop of Bridgeport

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I have been informed that my colleague from Massachusetts, the Hon. JOHN W. McCORMACK, will secure permission to print in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the sermon of Most Rev. Lawrence J. Shehan delivered yesterday at the Red Mass at the Cathedral of St. Matthew here in Washington. It is a beautiful sermon and I greatly enjoyed hearing it. I am sure it will be inspiring to others. When Bishop Shehan was at St. Patrick's Church here in Washington, I always enjoyed talking with him when there was an opportunity, being fellow New Englanders we had a good many things in common.

The Formosan Situation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record a very interesting article by the distinguished columnist and author, Mr. Walter Lippmann, entitled "A Main Clew," which appeared in the New York Herald Tribune on February 7, 1955. I think it will be of much interest to Members of the Congress.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RZCORD, as follows:

TODAY AND TOMORROW
(By Walter Lippmann)
A MAIN CLEW

In calculating the risks and in estimating the top abilities in the Far East, we need an explanation of the fact that both Peking and Washington talk as if the struggle to seize Formosa were a near possibility. Yet, except for the lone voice of Mr. Joseph Alsop, who thinks that the intelligence estimates of Chinese power may be unreliable, the general assumption is that the Red Chinese do not have the military means needed to conquer Formosa. They have no navy and the hundred miles of water in the Formosa Strait are guarded by the most powerful navy in the world. Yet, as Mr. Alsop says, "the Peking government has been promising its people to take Formosa this year at the top of its voice," and "it is really hard to see why the brilliant Chou En-lai should have engaged Peking's prestige to the very hilt if the threat to Formosa is a mere vain-glorious maneuver."

Mr. Alsop's point is, I believe, well taken. The question then is why Chou En-lai, who has no navy, can afford to talk about conquering an island a hundred miles out at sea? How does he think he can capture Formosa this year, or even next year? The answer to this question, and the answer to many of the obscurities and ambiguities in the whole problem is that Chou En-lai is counting upon the instability of Chiang Kai-shek's regime in Formosa. He could not be promising to "liberate" Formosa soon unless he hoped and believed that the Chinese Army and officials might do on Formosa what was done so often during the civil war on the mainland—that is to say, to change sides and to make peace.

If this is the basis of Chou En-lal's hope, it is the basis of Washington's underlying fears. No doubt we believe that Chiang's regime is more solid than Chou En-lai is assuming it to be. But a dominating consideration in our whole Chinese policy is the knowledge that the regime at Formosa is fragile and that to keep it going everything must be done to bolster its morale. If the administration feit sure that Chiang's regime in Formosa were solid, it would not hesitate much longer to recognize it for what it really is—as the government not of China but of Formosa. The bloc to that policy is the well grounded fear that the Chinese in Formosa would not settle down peacefully as exiles but would come to terms with the mainland Chinese.

The Chinese on Formosa tell us, and Americans who are in close touch with them believe that Chiang's regime would crumble in disaffection and intrigue if there were cut off the practical hope of a return to the mainland. Whether or not this is the fact, the Formosan Chinese insist on it and their supporters in Washington agree with it. Yet the fact of the matter is that the United Sates Government has not only abandoned hope of a restoration but has put its decision in this matter in writing in connection with the proposed Formosa pact.

Nevertheless, in Formosa the decision is not regarded as final and conclusive. The speculation is still alive that the United States will be and can be drawn into a great war in which Chiang might be able to return to the mainland. The Administration, afraid that morale might crumble, has allowed the government in Formosa to nourish this hope. It has at least refrained from dashing it conclusively. This desire to keep up Chiang's spirits by letting him go on hoping for war is almost surely the real reason for the costly and dangerous fuzziness about the offshore islands. These islands are not part of the strategic defense of Formosa. They are symbols of a conceivable return to the mainland.

The administration does not have a clear policy. There is in it a basic contradiction which will in one form or another have to be resolved.

On the one hand, there is the decision not to support an attempt by Chiang to return to the mainland. This decision carries with it the unavoidable conclusion that Chiang's government in Formosa is not the Government of China, and that it is not entitled to the Chinese seat in the United Nations.

On the other hand, there is the desire to keep Formosa out of Red Chinese control, and the assumption that the only way to do this is by supporting the Chinese Government in Formosa.

The combination of these 2 decisions would be the policy of the 2 Chinas, and it would be a feasible policy if only 1 uncertainty could be removed. That is whether the Chinese in Formosa would stay in Formosa and would not make their peace with Peking. If we could be sure of that, which we cannot, the defense of Formosa ought to be quite feasible.

Chou En-lai's hopes are based on the belief that the Chinese in Formosa can be induced to come over to his side. We are not sure that they cannot be induced to do that. It is not a comfortable situation, and that is why every one who is serious about this business feels that he is standing on very uncertain ground.

We have staked a lot on the reliability of Chiang's regime. Yet in deciding, as our own vital interests require, against supporting his return to the mainland, we have done what is most likely to sow fatal doubts within his regime. To offset these doubts, to preserve the morale of the Chinese of Formosa, we have felt compelled to become entangled in the Chinese civil war on the offshore islands. So we find ourselves unable to draw a clear line or to take an intelligible position that can command the support of world opinion.

The President's Stand on Formosa and the Pescadores

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an edi-

torial entitled "The President Backed," which appeared on January 30, 1955, in the Greenville News, of Greenville, S. C. The editorial lauds the unity of Congress in backing the Formosa joint resolution, and appears in one of the Nation's outstanding newspapers.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PRESIDENT BACKED

There have been few displays of such unity as that Congress showed in backing the resolution authorizing President Eisenhower to use our Armed Forces as he sees fit in guarding Formosa, the Pescadores, and related positions and territories against Chinese Communist attack. The House supported it by a vote of 409 to 3, the Senate by 85 to 3. Some constitutional lawyers contend that it did not confer upon the President any power that he did not already have, but certainly it makes it clear that the people's representatives approve the policy of removing any doubts that the potential enemy might have about our readiness to fight for the preservation of what we consider our own defense line.

The authority now specifically given the President means that should the Chinese Reds force war upon us there will be no privileged sanctuaries on the mainland. Moreover, in the event of such a development, the United States forces will be in action in support of their own Government's proclaimed policy, and presumably would not be subjected to United Nations restrictions which many people feel cost us a real victory in Korea. That does not mean that we are not sincerely hopeful that the U. N. may be able to bring about an acceptable cease-fire agreement before matters worsen.

Passage of the resolution is a tribute to the trust that the American people have in President Eisenhower. No one desires peace more earnestly than they; yet they are willing, under his leadership, to run the gravest risk of war in the hope that such action will prevent it. This is the response to the way in which the President himself has shown his eagerness for the establishment and preservation of real peace in the world. If war should come, it will certainly be despite very valiant Presidential efforts to avoid it.

Address Delivered by Hon. William F. Knowland, of California, Before the Montgomery County Republican Organization

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. BEALL. Mr. President, on February 2, 1955, at the Congressional Country Club, Senator William F. Knowland delivered an address before the Montgomery County Republican organization.

The force and scope of that address so impressed me that I ask unanimous consent to have it made part of today's RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

DEFENSE OF THE PACIFIC

(Address by Senator WILLIAM E. KNOWLAND)

Mr. Chairman, distinguished guests, and fellow Americans, we are gathered here to pay tribute not only to our first President but to discuss in the limited time that we have some of the accomplishments of the administration of a great American and outstanding President of the United States, Dwight Eisenhower. Now in the few years that he has occupied the office of President of the United States, he has given leadership to this Nation and has helped to bring our economy back to our free economic system which built this Nation of ours from a small colony of 3 million on the Atlantic seaboard to a great Nation of 165 million people with the most productive industrial and agricultural economy the world has ever known. When he took office, the Nation was under a system of controls-price controls, wage controls, and the allocation of materials. And in conformity with the platform pledges, they were removed. The cost to the Federal Government in the limited period of time he has occupied the White House has been cut by more than \$10 billion. The American people have been given substantial tax reductions by the last Congress amounting to over \$71/2 billion. In addition to that we have had a better administration of the Federal Government. We have had number of reorganization acts passed. We have created the new Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. The President, who perhaps more than any other man has a keen knowledge of the defense needs of the Nation, has been giving his personal attention to the increasing of the firepower of our armed services in the troubled world in which we find ourselves. There has been an extension of social-security legislation and the unemployment-reserves legislation.

But tonight I want to talk with you about one of the great problems that concerns us not as Republicans, not as Democrats, but as Americans. I speak of the issue now growing up in the Pacific relating to the defenses of this Nation and the defenses of the free world. It has been my position, and I believe it has been the position of responsible Republicans in the administration and in the Congress of the United States, that in these grave prob-lems facing our Nation, Americans regardless of their partisan affiliation must stand shoulder to shoulder in meeting whatever the challenge that may confront us. I have said time and time again that there is only one party of treason in our Nation. That is Communist Party and all Americans should stand shoulder to shoulder in seeing that that does not subvert our institutions. So it happens that in addition to being the anniversary of the first of our Republican Presidents, the month of February is also another anniversary and one that we do not remember quite as timely. This coming week is the 10th anniversary of the Yalta conference which met in the Crimea 10 years ago from February 4 to February 11, and in that brief span of 1 decade, Communist world has increased its hold upon human beings—increased it from 200 million in 1945 until today they control more than 800 millions of people as we meet here tonight. This has been a tremendous change in the world's balance of power. The President of the United States this past week came to the Congress with a message dealing with the critical situation in Formosa and in the far Pacific. He made his recommendations, and in a display of national unity seldom equaled in our Nation, the House by a vote of 409 to 3, and the Sanate by a vote of 85 to 3 approved the necessary resolution supporting the President. Now I believe that this was a demon-

stration of President Eisenhower's fundamental belief in our constitutional system of Government. There are some who legalistically might argue that as Commander in Chief, it was not necessary for him to come to the Congress of the United States, but he has felt and he has known that under our constitutional system, the President and the Congress are coequal branches of the Federal Government. He has never wanted and he has never expected and does not want and does not expect the Congress of the United States to be a mere rubber stamp. And in this great problem which confronted our Nation and after consulta-tion not alone with his own party leaders in the House and the Senate but on a bipartisan basis with the Democratic leaders as well, he determined to submit the matter to the Congress so that we could present to our friends abroad and to the would-be aggressors abroad a demonstration of what a great and free constitutional Republic can when it has finally been challenged in the matter that affects its own vital security interests. And that was done. Now there are some who tried to make out that this resolution was an act or a prelude to an act of aggression on our part. no such thing. Those who made charges of that kind knew that they were not true. There is not a single scintilla of evidence to support any such thesis that this was anything other than what the President purported it to be and that was an effort to stabilize conditions in the Pacific and to preserve the peace of the world. It was on this basis and after free and full debate in the House and in the Senate of the United States that he received overwhelming approval. Now some may have asked what is the importance of Formosa in this scheme of things as far as our defense is concerned. Formosa is not some isolated island in the Pacific.

It contains 91/2 million of free Chinese. This is a larger population than 32 members of the United Nations have today. It is a larger population than such important countries as Sweden, Norway, Finland, Denmark, Austria, Ireland, and New Zealand, and it is the approximate population of Australia. So, in itself from a population point of view, it is important that it not pass behind the Iron Curtain. But what is more important is that it is a part of a defense chain in the Pacific for ourselves and the free world which runs from the Aleutians down through Japan through our great air base at Okinawa through Formosa to the Philippines and anchors on Australia. And if the island of Formosa should pass into unfriendly hands, it would drive a wedge into the heart of that defense position. It would outflank Okinawa a few hundred miles to the north and would outflank the Philippines a few hundred miles to the south. The think that is difficult for me to understand is how some of our associates in the United Nations or elsewhere constantly fell that the way of solving the problem with the Communist world is by taking the road to appeasement. world should have learned at the time of Munich that the road to appeasement is not the road to peace. It is only surrender on the installment plan. Now we have drawn a line in the Pacific. It is for the purpose of preserving the peace in the Pacific and the peace of the world. There is no intent of aggression against any other nation on the face of the earth . But if our Air Force is challenged and fired upon, they are not going to sit there as sitting ducks. They are going to fire back with effective fire. If our fleet which in consultation with the Government of the Republic of China may be used for a screening opposition is subjected to attack, they in turn will defend themselves. But this, Mr. Chou En-lai and Mr. Mao Tse-tung should understand; they should understand in advance. If there is trouble in the Pacific, it will come because they have precipitated it. And if they precipitate trouble in the Pacific, they must know in advance that there will never again be a Yalu River sanctuary behind which they can go to rearm and refuel. Now we must not be deceived by those who would think that we can get a cheap and easy solution problem through the course of

appeasement.

There are some who believe that this doctrine of so-called peaceful coexistence is some new indication of a basic change in Soviet policy. It is no such thing. basic concept of Soviet policy is no different today under Malenkov than it was under Stalin or under Lenin. Their idea and peaceful coexistence was discussed by Lenin and by Stalin. Their idea of peaceful co-existence is that they will allow their neighbors to exist only until they can be subverted from within or destroyed by armed aggression from without. It is the type of peaceful coexistence that they planned for us that a Thanksgiving turkey has up until few days before our national holiday of being well fed and housed until the ax falls on its neck. Now I had a letter not many days ago from a minister of the Gospel who had been concerned by this talk of peaceful coexistence. He had known some associates of his who had suffered at Communist hands in Communist China and in some of the satellite states of eastern Europe. He sent me this quotation from the second Corinthians 6, 14: Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers, for what fellowship has righteousness with unrighteousness, and what communion has light with darkness. I think that the minister who wrote me had a much better appreciation of the meaning of communism and their type of coexistence than the sum of our socalled neutralist friends of India and others who even tonight as we are meeting here have come up with various suggestions including the admission of Communist China into the United Nations; the giving up of the islands of Quemoy and Matsu to the Chinese Communists; the ultimate turning over if need be of the entire island of Formosa to the Chinese Communists. I have said on the floor of the Senate of the United States and I repeat to you here tonight that in my judgment the admission of Communist China into the United Nations would be a betrayal of every principle that that organization is supposed to represent. They have not qualified in any sense of the word as being either willing or able to live up to the charter obligations of a nation devoted to international law and order. As far as I am concerned, as long as I have a voice and a vote in the Senate of the United States, I shall oppose the admission of Communist China into that Organization.

Now the American people want peace, but we want peace with honor, and there is a vast difference between peace with honor and peace at any price. If anyone asks what the hopes and the aspirations of the American Government and the American people are in regard to living together with our neighbors, would point to our great neighbor of Canada to the north where we have a frontler of more than 3,000 miles stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Along that entire frontier there is not a single fort or military post of any type or character whatsoever. Our hope would be in our lifetime or that of our children other nations would be as civilized and as peaceloving as our great neighbor of Canada to the north so that not only in the Americas but in Europe and in Asia and in the Middle East people might live together as good neighbors as we live with our great neighbor of Canada to the north. But, if we are half as prudent as the men who gave us our Republic, if we are half as prudent as those who pioneered the winning of the West, we will continue to hope and to pray for peace, but we will, like they, keep our powder dry. For we know that the age in which we find ourselves all nations are not as civilized or as peaceloving as are some of our friends to whom I have referred. I am reminded of a quotation out of one of Kipling's verses called the "Truce of the Bear." He said, "When he stands up like a tired man, tottering near and near; when he stands up as pleading, in wavering, man-brute guise; when he veils the hate and cunning of his little, swinish eyes; 'when he shows as seeking quarter, with paws like hands in prayer, that is the time of perilthe time of the truce of the bear'."

I think we must recognize that the mere fact that the Chinese Communists may accept an invitation to go to New York and discuss a cease-fire is no guaranty that while they are discussing they may not at the same time be fighting. I call your attention to the fact that when the negotiations at Panmunjom were going on some of the bitterest fighting of the Korean war took place. Why? because the Communist technique is to try to win victories and to break the morale of the opposition. When the great powers had gathered together at Geneva, out of a spirit of mercy the request had been made that they permit the evacuation of the wounded from the fortress of Dien Bien Phu, They turned it down and they insistedwhile the countries were meeting-on reducing that fortress and causing a complete surrender of its garrison. So in that case the mere fact that they negotiate in no sense guarantees that they may not use the same time to cause us trouble if they can. have been some who have suggested that perhaps, as a price of a temporary cease-fire, the Chinese Nationalist Government should be requested to give up fortress outposts of Quemoy and Matsu. This not only would be detrimental, in my judgment, to the defense of Formosa because it would open up the great harbors of Amoy and Foochou in which invasion fleets would be mobilized for the amphibious attack upon Formosa, but, in addition to that fact, it would be psychological defeat for the Republic of China, which again wuld be asked to give up more territory as the price of appeasement to the Chinese Communists. They will not be satisfied with any such price being paid, for they have publicly time and time again an-nounced that their determination, regardless of our position and that of the free world, is to take Formosa by force. I do not know why it is that there are some nations in the world, who should know better, who constantly advocate that the free world retire and give up territory and give up human beings behind the Iron Curtain. I have never seen a suggestion from Mr. Nehru or any of the others that the Communist world give up some of its territory and free some of its people.

They suggest the doctrine of the two Chinas—a fatal policy. For in the first place neither the Communists or the Nationalists could possibly accept the doctrine of the two Chinas. You would not bring peace in the Pacific. You would make inevitable a conflict. Just as in the long term of history you cannot have two Germanys or two Koreas. But I am convinced that if we as a Government and we as a people only use the same courage and the same commonsense that motivated the men who sat at Philadelphia and under what I believe was divine inspiration gave us first our Declaration of Independence and later our Constitution of the United States, there are none of our domestic problems which we as a free people cannot solve, and there is no foreign foe we need ever fear.

Address of Paul M. Butler, Chairman, National Democratic Committee, Before the National Press Club

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM J. GREEN, JR.

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. GREEN of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech by Paul M. Butler, chairman of the Democratic National Committee, before the National Press Club, Washington, D. C., February 1, 1955:

Since coming to Washington as chairman of the Democratic National Committee, I have been impressed repeatedly with the truth of the observation that "most of the world's troubles arise from words."

This was not said originally, as some may suppose, as a comment on John Foster Dulles' diplomatic methods. It is generally credited to Lord Mansfield back in the 18th century.

So it seems that the habit of using words carelessly or imperfectly is not a recent phenomenon, nor is it entirely a peculiarity of Republican Washington. This business of words is, of course, an old story to you, but it is a subject endowed with perpetually fresh interest to man who is just beginning to learn his way around in the verbose air of the National Capital.

For one thing, I find that publicity and public relations represent a large and growing part of the national committee chairman's duties. For another, our committee develops material for a certain monthly magazine, the Democratic Digest, 35 cents a copy, only \$3 a year. We also issue fact sheets featuring analyses of Presidential messages, and we prepare other memoranda—both special and confidential—which steadily grow more numerous and, we think, more interesting.

This development is not at all surprising in a day when the range, volume, and complexity of our public affairs taxes the indexing powers of even the New York Times. Though much of this is routine to most of you, I propose to discuss it here today since the operation is largely new to me, and I am concerned with ways in which we can make the Democratic National Committee's part in the news presentation more useful to you. to the general public, and the Democratic Party. We have to live together and work together, and a better understanding of each other's operations and purposes will contribute much to the pleasantness and the efficiency of that relationship. Perhaps I can best illustrate the point by referring to a few recent incidents which indicated that understanding of our committee's functions was something less than total.

Let me say here that I mention these matters not at all in a spirit of complaint or faultfinding, but entirely with the object of reaching a clearer definition of responsibilities that rest on all of us in the realm of public debate in a free society. Some of you doubtless recall there was a difference in interpretations of my New Orleans statement last December. My remarks were reported accurately in the press, but in some quarters there seemsd to be an exaggerated notion as to what constitutes a personal blast. You know, of course, that there is a profound difference between personal attacks, such as those made on the President by a conspicuous member of his own party, and questioning or challenging his conduct of national

affairs. I have said this before, but apparently not too often. You know, too, that the normal practice in American politics is to hold the President responsible for the act of his administration and the leadership of his party. To pretend—as some do—that the taking of such a stand is introducing a new policy, or is a departure that is somehow inimical to orderly political relations, is simply preposterous. Worse than that, such confusion over our natural and traditional political processes cannot but have the purpose to discourage the normal exchange of information, views, and opinions, upon the continuation of which the good health of the Republic depends.

When the Republican national chairman and others sought to dismiss my statement as a personal attack on the President, and as a junking of Democratic pledges of cooperation in the 84th Congress, they were at variance with the long-established ground rules for American political debate. It is impossible to view their action as other than an effort to muffle legitimate Democratic criticism of the man who today heads the Republican administration. The effort to put the President on a pedestal, ruling out realistic debate whenever it touches the Chief Executive, is detrimental to effective Government today and every day. None of our past Presidents has been sacrosanct. Republicans who seek to silence Democratic critics of Mr. Eisennower today were following a quite different rule when Mr. Truman and Mr. Roosevelt were in office.

Let us face it, the rule which the Rapublicans now are attempting to introduce would limit us to blind opposition or blind approbation. Through 20 years, the Republican leadership followed the rule of blind opposition. Viewing the effects of that partisan extremism today, Democrats are not tempted to follow their example. But blind approbation can have even more devastating results. A nation without an articulate opposition is no longer a democracy. If we were to retreat to the position deemed proper for Democrats by Chairman Hall and others who want to hear no word of Mr. Eisenhower's mistakes, we might as well close up shop at Democratic headquarters and discard the two-party system. There is going to be no such retreat, I can assure you, but in-stead, there will be a continuing effort to play the part of a responsible constructively critical opposition.

This represents no departure from the Democratic position in this matter which was stated repeatedly and definitely long before my election as chairman. One of the notable statements came near the close of the 1954 campaign, when Mr. Elsenhower's confusion of cold-war tactics with domestic politics prompted Democratic Senate Leader LYNDON Johnson and House Democratic Leader Sam RAYBURN to send the President a joint telegram. In view of some subsequent events, I believe that their remarks on that occasion bear repeating. After citing the numerous instances in the 83d Congress where the Democrats upheld the President against the extremists of his own party, on important policy questions, they said:
"We believe that issues like these are the

"We believe that issues like these are the overriding ones that are vital to the continued security of our Nation, and we believe that on these issues a Democratic Congress and any man who is determined to be Precident of all Americans can work together in harmony. This is no pledge of rubber-stamp support. We will continue to oppose you when we believe you are wrong. To do any less would be to betray ourselves and those who voted for us."

I do not see how anyone can read into that message any declaration of a Democratic moratorium on legitimate criticism of the Chief Executive. I have not heard from any Democratic source on Capitol Hill or elsewhere the slightest suggestion that we are

now committed to a policy of unthinking approbation. On the contrary, in this and in all other Democratic expressions we find a clear restatement of the Democratic policy

of responsible opposition.

The record of the 83d Congress shows that the Democratic Party consistently stood on this ground—when the Democrats fought to protect the President's rights against the GOP Old Guard which tried so hard to re duce them, and when they criticized the President for his surrenders of Executive rights; when Democrats supported the President on foreign policy, but opposed his New Look cuts in our defense program; when they fought for the President's liberalized -trade program, but opposed his effort to pack the Tariff Commission with high protectionists; when they fought to save the President's public housing program, but still criticized the Executive for his inadequate housing plan. In the 84th Congress, which they control, the Democrats continue to follow this balanced approach to the twin objectives of bipartisan action and intelligent opposition.

All of us are improved by legitimate criticism. Dwight Eisenhower, I should say, has been blessed in this regard. Whatever prog-ress his administration has made, he owes quite as much to the thoughtful Democratic criticism he has received as to the discriminating support from the same quarter.

Republican confusion over the ground rules in the exchange of public information was demonstrated again in the GOP reaction to Democratic analyses of the President's messages to the 84th Congress. For example, our committee's memorandum on the state of the Union message was pictured in some quarters as dooming the bipartisan approach in the present session of Congress. Senator STYLES Bamges, Republican policy chairman, spoke of this preliminary analysis of the state of the Union message as a "blast" against harmony in Congress. Senator Estes Kepauvez pointed out that it was strictly an analysis, confined entirely to relevant figures, facts, and questions. Senator Kefauver cleared up the confusion by reading sample passages from the memorandum itself. It's a technique which Democrats recommend to others. Let us use it here as applied to just one item in the analysis of the state of the Union message. The committee memo quoted this passage from the President's message: "So today, the transition to a peacetime economy is largely behind us."

The comment in the Democratic memo was: "This could hardly be called a peacetime economy since defense spending, while down from its peak, is still well above what it was at the height of the Korean fighting.

In both his state of the Union and his budget messages, Mr. Eisenhower spoke of the supposed war-to-peace transition. Now the committee's memos did not point, as they might well have, that these phrases on the mythical war-to-peace transition re-peated one of the major Eisenhower themes in the recent campaign. Some might ques-tion the propriety of injecting stump speeches into messages of state. However, we left the Republicans to follow their own sense of the proprieties. On the other hand, we admit to some surprise when Democrats are accused of adopting disruptive partisan tactics on the basis of a release which simply points up facts that do not support the warto-peace transition fable.

These memos and fact sheets are routine operations of the committee. The one issued on the state of the Union message represented no departure, in either style or content, from what the committee has been doing for the last 2 years. In other words, they come under the heading of pure and essential research. They are, we believe, useful to our busy Senators, Congressmen, and other party leaders. And we hope they are also useful to the press in getting a balanced account of the issues before the reading public.

It is only natural, I suppose, that there should be a certain amount of misinterpretation and misunderstanding over almost every conceivable report or comment in the political arena. You encounter this phenomenon in your own work quite as much as we do in ours, I am sure. I am also certain that you have observed that the habit mislabeling research and objective reporting as something irreverent and even unpatriotic has been carried to ridiculous and dangerous extremes by overzealous partisans.

In addition to the incidents I have already mentioned, there are other recent instances in which research and criticism have been falsely pictured, in what seems to me a patent attempt to drown out the voice of the opposition, or to make it unpopular to

exercise the critical faculty.

You will recall that not so long ago the Republicans advanced the proposition that the Democratic Digest should be stopped at the water's edge, on the basis of the unsupported accusation that the Digest was-and quote—"deliberately encouraging distrust courselves and our ideals abroad." Actually, what troubled the GOP was that

the Democratic Digest was rather completely reporting the masterful job that anti-Eisenhower Republicans were doing to undermine confidence in the President's stoutest policies.

You remember, too, the recent Republican "gloom and doom" chant, which was de-signed to drop a black-out on realistic discission of the nation's economic condition.

But why go on? There are about us today too many evidences of pressures which would drive Americans toward blind approbation.

These matters are of immediate concern to you, for the effort to stifle Democratic criticism is one part of a still growing movement to restrict freedom of expression in many espects of our national life. In the last two years, you gentlemen of the press have en-gaged in a long series of battles against that backward trend.

One of the major issues today is this Administration's Federal employees' security program. Without the light that was shed by a free press, there would have been no effective stand against the fantastic injustice that was done against Wolf Ladejinsky. For the partial redress that was made when he was reinstated in Harold Stassen's FOA, Mr. Ladejinsky acknowledged his debt to our newspapers, radio, and TV. In what certainly must be classed as one of the year's more eloquent statements, he said: "I pro-pose three cheers for these media." I am happy to join him in that toast.

But the battle is far from over. The press already has turned a searing light on the GOP's "security risk" numbers game, but the recent upping of the hoax figure to 8,008 tells us that the searchlight of an informed public must have a still wider and more

piercing beam.

Masked political raids on the civil-service system have raised a challenge which can be met only by an active opposition and a free press. The Nation needs to have much more information about the administration's defense cuts. Commerce Secretary Weeks' establishment of an Office of Stategic Information designed to guide newsmen in publishing information concerning unclassified strategic data, needs much more explaining. The Dixon-Yates deal requires further airing.

In all these matters there is a concerted effort to pit the President's popularity against the public's right to know. The mere questioning of the accuracy of a presidential statement of fact is represented as a personal attack on the President, or a scrapping of bipartisan harmony. Whether or not it is designed to do so, this tends to have a restraining influence on potential critics—and it is a disservice to both the President and his country when his prestige is used to stifle honest dissent.

Now there are those who centend that there remain few, if any, vital issues between the two parties, since, it is claimed, President Eisenhower has stolen the Fair Deal-New Deal thunder, and left us no issues for 1956. Actually, there are rather more grave issues than is good for the country and it is not a healthy sign when some of our important citizens are blind to that fact.

We do not mind when President Eisenhower borrows Democratic policies, for he always returns them as he did after the 1953 campaign. But those of us who are genuinely devoted to those policies could wish that his attachment to Democratic ideas was a little less fleeting as in the cases of his pledges on 90 percent parity prices for farmers, TVA, civil-service protection, Federal aid to education, rural electrification, and a long

list of other programs.

In closing, I must refer again to the issues that is, or should be, the first concern to all of us-the issue of the free press, monitor

of all our liberties.

In our committee, we read some 200 daily newspapers and also check carefully some 80 other periodicals, along with radio and TV cripts. We get, I think, a pretty good crosssection of what the press is saying and we have a very lively appreciation of the con-tributions which this Nation's publishers, editors, and reporters are making to the defense of our first freedom.

Bearing on this point, I would like to quote briefly from a recent address by one of the country's foremost editors. It was spoken in memorial tribute to John Peter Zenger, the first American editor to go to jall in the

long stand against tyranny.

"Liberty, like peace, is indivisible." said Editor Palmer Hoyt, of the Denver Post. "Once we permit any demagog to lay hands on the rights of individuals and let him get away with it, it only becomes a matter of time before all other rights guaranteed under the Constitution, including freedom of the press, are placed in mortal jeopardy."

We have seen, in our daily study of the press, a growing realization that the drive toward anti-intellectualism, toward conformity and creation of a fear psychosis, is aimed at shackling free speech and freedom of thought. We have observed mounting awareness that the distortions and the intimidation methods practiced by some among us strike first and hardest at the integrity of the press. We have seen increasing recognition that the deliberate perversion of words and facts is as violent an attack on the free press as are overt invasions of constitutional guarantees.

We have seen more and more evidence that newspapermen realize that their own freedom is under attack when the constitutional rights of Government employees are infringed under an unconscionable "security risk" system, designed primarily to serve partisan ends; when ministers, teachers, and scientists are falsely linked with subversion under the evil doctrine of guilt by association; when our great foundations are sullied by political extremists who label honest research and experimentation as "socialism" "communism."

In our own magazine, we have told some of the recent instances of the editorial profession's stout defense of the questing mind, and we will tell more. In this work, we like to think not only that we are useful to the free press but that we are in fact a part of the free press.

There has been frequent comment on the fact that many of the reports and com-ments in the Democratic Digest come from Republican or pro-administration journals. Actually, there is nothing remarkable in this, for the free press knows no party line. There is still a large one-party press in this country but there is also a vigorous "noparty press." It dwells in city rooms all over the country, and these enlightened inde-pendents include some who are Democratic and some who are Republican by inclination. But they are all newspapermen first, and they have a much greater future than the one-party press.

My sentiments are well expressed in the often quoted remark of Thomas Jefferson:

"Were it left for me to decide whether we should have a government without newspapers, or newspapers without a government, I should not hesitate a moment to prefer the latter."

Fortunately, we do not have to make that choice, but it is perhaps truer today than it was in Jefferson's time that man's hope for the reign of liberty, justice, and decency on earth is principally in the keeping of the gentlemen of the press. Nowhere is the image of a better tomorrow imprinted more clearly than upon a column of clean type.

Thank you.

Address by Hon. Theodore R. McKeldin at Dorchester Day Memorial Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DeWITT S. HYDE

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. HYDE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I include in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD the following speech made by the Honorable Theodore R. McKeldin, Governor of the State of Maryland, on February 4, at the Dor-chester Day memorial service at the B'nai Israel Synagogue, Washington,

We are gathered here today to pay tribute to a living man. True, his body was long ago claimed by the insatiable sea and, in our petty carnal way of reckoning, the place that knew him shall know him no more forever; but he has passed beyond that reckoning, and places that never knew him in the flesh know him now-all places where valor is held in honor and holiness in reverence know him, and shall know him forever. He lives in a truer sense than you and I, here present in the body, are living; he is more vibrantly

alive than most of us will ever be.
With our feeble human mathematics we count him as one of four, but in a tremen-dous moment of terror and glory the four were fused into one. Our creeping, earthbound logic deems him a Jew standing with a Catholic and two Protestants; but in the soaring logic that rules the universe there stood together neither Jew nor Catholic nor Protestant, neither creed nor dogma, no trace of division but only a group of servants of the Most High God who, standing face to face with the Arch Fear, proved worthy of

The tale has the stark simplicity of all great epics. Four chaplains, noncombatants charged with the cure of souls of our fighting men, were on a ship struck by the enemy so swiftly and so furiously that it was immediately plain that all could not escape; so the men of peace handed to men-at-arms the lifebelts that might have meant rescue, and standing together on the blood-smeared, battle-torn deck, repeated the supreme con-fession of faith of the patriarch Job, "Though he slay me, yet will I trust him; he also shall be my salvation."

The sea closed over them, but "dull must he be of soul" who could think that that was the end of their lives. On the contrary,

that was the moment when millions first learned of their existence, and it is only since that moment that they have been shining figures in the hearts and minds of men throughout the Nation. At the moment when the sea closed over them, the mortal put on immortality, and a nation filled with pity and awe could begin to understand the meaning of that great taunt to the terror of the world: "O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?"

"Let us now praise famous men," sang him whom we know only as the Preacher, we are gathered here in response to that admonition; and we do well to respond,

"The Lord hath wrought great glory by them Through His great power from the beginning.

These were honored in their generations. And were the glory of their times.'

But we shall not do well if we pay tribute only to the splendor of the deed and take no note of the stern rebuke it carries to the narrow mind, the small soul, the bitter heart all too prevalent among us. How dare I say, how dare you say of any man among them, "He was not of my religion"? If my religion teaches that it is God who has planted in the human heart the knowledge that there is something more precious than life, something more necessary that life, then in the fundamental thing he was of my religion and I am of his. In the pres-ence of that great unity, the bickering and strife, the spite and prejudice that we allow to creep into our human relations shrivel into cinders, little and mean and pitiful.

As a schoolboy I was taught that George Washington, when he was a schoolboy, entered in his copybook the motto, "Labor to keep alive in your breast that little spark of celestial fire—conscience." As a schoolboy I accepted it as a pious platitude, with-out thinking much about it. Not until I had become a man did the experience of life pound into my mind with hammer-blows reason for keeping alive the spark of celestial fire. It is by way of preparation of one of those terrible moments that come to every man when he stands face to face with stark reality.

For if the spark is still aglow when that moment comes, the blast of the tempest may cause it to burst into full flame and the man is transformed, is lifted above the human level and becomes a miracle striking all beholders with amazement and dread. I am certain that this is what occurred in the case of the four chaplains. As far as we know, all their lives up to that moment they had been quite ordinary men, not very different from you and me; but throughout all their humdrum days they had kept alive the spark of celestial fire, and that made the difference. Blown upon by the fury of the storm it flamed up and enveloped them, so that they were no longer men but be-came what Moses encountered when he saw the bush that burned and was not consumed—they were visible evidence of the presence and power of God and the place whereon they stood was holy ground.

So their story comes down to us as both a rebuke and a promise, and so we must cherish it while memory lasts. It is a stern reminder of how the quarrels and spites and prejudices that we think important-

"Thronging the safe, companion'd ways of

life, Shrink trembling from the cold, clear eye of death."

Which sees all men as one. It rebukes our wasted years and wasted energies, our silly pride and our equally silly fears. Down through the years it calls to us in the words of Abraham speaking to Lot: "Why should there be strife between thee and me? For we be brethren."

Let us acknowledge here today that the rebuke is merited. Let us make part of our tribute a firm resolve that it shall be heeded, not in a moment of transfiguration, but in our daily lives, and that the influence of these men, far from diminishing, shall strengthen and increase with passing times; so they shall live forever and mortality have no power over them.

The promise of the story lies in the fact that we, too, carry within our breasts the celestial spark unless we shall have extinguished it by our own act; and while it glows we to may hope that in the moment of our utmost need it may be fanned into flame, giving us power not of ourselves to face triumphantly what of our own strength we could not bear.

So bringing to this rite of remembrance humility and contrition we may carry away from it pride and confidence, not in ourselves, but in the knowledge that he who is the servant of the Most High may hope in his most dreadful hour—to stand not of himself alone, but with the borrowed strength of the God of Hosts, "and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

Yet while I believe that this story tells of a moment of transfiguration when the spirit of God lifted mortal men above the human level, there still remains the purely human After all, they did wear the uniform of the United States of America, and, after all, they did add to the wordly honor of this Nation. Therefore they are due the customary honor that the world pays to the brave; and while I regard it as a lesser thing than their spiritual honor, I render it gladly, it briefly.

These were among the valiant whom it is not fitting to mourn, but only to honor and praise; and the style has been set for us in the stately music of John Milton. Here then, is their epitaph:

"Nothing is here for tears, nothing to wail or knock the breasts; no weakness, no contempt.

Dispraise, or blame; nothing but well and fair,

And what may quiet us in a death so noble."

A Program for an Expanding New **England Economy**

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the following program for an expanding New England economy adopted by the newly formed New England Council of the CIO, which I am confident the membership will find to be of interest and enlightening:

We, the trade unionists of New England, have faith in the future of our region and are determined to work for the growth and stability of the economy of these 6 States.

We point to the weak spots in the economy of New England so that we may develop sound plans to protect our standards and build for the future of our region.

The CIO economic program for New England seeks to protect and promote the regional economy and support the growth of the national economy. There are special problems within the region which require attention. They stem from the contraction of the textile, leather, and electrical products

industries, which are shrinking in the region either through direct closings or migration. The protection of our standards from unhealthy competitive pressure must be combined with a positive program of stimulation of the regional economy to both help the older industries and aid in the development of new plants and employment opportunities.

We look askance upon the ideas promoted by financial circles that only the increase in jobs in service and durable-goods manufacturing industries means improvement for the region. The exact reverse has taken place. The wages paid by many new plants continue to be low and to undercut the wage levels in the established textile, leather, and electrical products industries.

The CIO dedicates itself to rally the workers in these plants to correct this condition through trade-union action. But we note with alarm that the workers formerly employed by closed plants who have obtained new employments have had their earnings severely cut in these new industries. We must face up to the fact that thousands of displaced workers from older plants have not been absorbed by new plants or industries.

The New England community has not addressed itself wholeheartedly and with de-termination to the stimulation of new employments and enterprise. The CIO program is intended to awaken the entire region to the need for concerted action by all groups working unitedly behind the planks which we herewith offer. Our program will aid all sectors of the population and convert our economic stagnancy into one of active, healthy growth.

1. Minimum wage: We urge the approval

of \$1.25 minimum wage.

2. Walsh-Healy Act: We urge repeal of the Fulbright amendment, immediate enforcement of the Secretary of Labor's findings and full implementation of the act.

3. Federal tax system: We urge the denial of all tax exemptions to local government bonds issued for the purpose of financing the construction of equipment of private enterprises or the use of local communities' concessions in the capitalization of any company for tax purposes. The Federal tax law must disallow as expenses all allowances for transportation of machinery and equipment where such transportation results from the abandonment of a plant and disallow the deduction of rent from taxable income by companies which lease plants built from the proceeds of municipal bond issues.

4. State and local tax laws: We urge the prohibition of all tax exemptions or subsidies or the use of public credit for private busi-

ness enterprise.

5. Federal tax on abandoned plants: We urge a 25 percent tax on all gains from liquidation of plants. Such proceeds should be used to finance local development programs, aid workers to adjust themselves and set up public works and development of local resources and facilities.

6. Unemployment insurance: We urge the adoption of Federal minimum standards which shall provide benefits of at least 65 percent of a worker's full-time weekly wage. up to the State minimum which should be at least two-thirds of average weekly wages in covered employment, for a period of 39

weeks.

- 7. Federal old-age security: We urge the enactment of a Federal long-term disability law; 60-year retirement age for employees displaced as a result of plant closings; liberalization of benefit provisions.
- 8. Vocational education: We shall work for a more adequate program of Federal and State vocational education to enable persons displaced from older industries to adapt and train themselves to newer employments.
- 9. Textile industry: The Federal Government should immediately pursue the following course to help the stimulation of the textlle industry:

(a) Government stockpiles of textiles for military uses so that production orders can be released immediately.

(b) American textiles should be used in

the same fashion as surplus food and coal

for the relief of needy peoples overseas.

(c) Textiles should be distributed to needy Americans as surplus food is now distributed.

(d) Government contracts should be negotiated and awarded to mills in distressed manpower areas.

- (e) The United States Department of Agriculture should provide the leadership in establishing a wool fabric "library" to stimulate new design and aggressive merchan-
- dising.

 (f) The Federal Government should provide a research program for the develop-ment of new products, uses, markets and programs for stimulating new demands for textiles and textile products.

10. New England tax system: We urge greater reliance by State governments on personal and corporate income taxes and reduction and elimination of sales taxes.

- 11. New England power: Public development of power resources must be under-taken by valley authorities. Funds for the development of Passamaquoddy power must be appropriated by the Federal Government. We applaud Governor Muskle's proposal for the repeal of the Fernald Act. A regional investigation must be undertaken to determine why power rates in New England are the highest in the United States. Necessary steps must be taken to assure that power from St. Lawrence and Niagara is made available to the public and nonprofit bodies at the lowest possible cost.
- 12. Regional expansion: A regional planning and development board should be established representative of the various interested groups, to undertake the study and development of the regional economy. shall also provide aid to State and local community development projects.
- 13. Small business: Development of lending technical assistance and government contract aid for small business.
- 14. Integrated steel mills: We urge the establishment of an integrated steel mill in New England.
- 15. Atomic energy: We urge the formation of a public corporation to produce and distribute electricity produced by atomic reactors.

The CIO State councils hereby establish a New England Council of CIO to promote and follow up on the enactment and realization of this program.

Tariffs on Textiles

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following letter and statement:

TEXTILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA. New York, N. Y., January 11, 1955. Hon. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS,

House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.
DEAR CONGRESSWOMAN ROCERS: We are enclosing a copy of a statement we filed with the United States Tariff Commission in connection with the pending treaty negotia-tions with Japan. We are inalterably opposed to any reduction of ad valorem or specific rates on textile items. The attached brief provides the basic facts in support of our position.

Our position stems from the serious dislocations and widespread unemployment in all regions in the textile industry. Further reductions in tariff rates on textiles would invite a greater flood of goods at reduced prices which will compound the unfortu-, nate plight in which hundreds of thousands textile workers find themselves. shrinkage in the industry resulting from the loss of markets to competitive materials and technological advances are displacing large numbers of workers. This is not a proper time to aggravate internal conditions.

The rising level of productivity will ultimately permit the American textile industry to hold the domestic market in face of any foreign competition. As a result, no foreign country can hope to hold permanently markets which it would gain temporarily in this country. Tariff reductions would aggravate bad conditions in the domestic in-dustry without providing permanent outlets for increased foreign trade.

We hope that we can count on your support for this program to exempt the textile industry from reductions in tariff rates in the forthcoming trade agreement negotiations with Japan.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN CHUPKA.

STATEMENT TO THE UNITED STATES TARIFF COMMISSION CONCERNING POSSIBLE TARIFF CONCESSIONS ON TEXTILE ITEMS IN THE NEGOTIATION OF RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREE-MENTS WITH JAPAN, SUBMITTED BY SOLO-MON BARKIN, DIRECTOR OF RESEARCH, TEX-TILE WORKERS UNION OF AMERICA, CIO, DECEMBER 22, 1954

We appear before your committee to attest to the impropriety of reducing tariff rates on textile items. An expansion of textile imports would have a highly unfortunate effect upon the workers in the industry. They are now suffering under the double impact of a high rate of technological change and intense competition among different fibers, processes, and products. Thousands of workers have been displaced and thrown onto a labor market where few opportunities for alternative employment exists. It would be unfortunate to add to the workers' dislocation and anxieties by threatening the continued existence of those branches of the industry which would be seriously affected by foreign competition. Moreover, the lowering of tariff rates would create further dislocations without providing a substantial permanent market for the foreign textile industries in this country.

We are impressed with the unusually high level of unemployment in our industry at a time when the country is enjoying a high level of employment and business activity. The high rate of displacement of jobs because of technological and style changes is of a continuing character and therefore any move which would add to the difficulties of the industry would have lasting effects upon the economy and would scriously aggravate the problems of the unemployed.

The utmost care must be employed in a review of tariff rates on textiles at this time. We submit the following propositions as basic to the consideration of the textile tariff problems:

1. A high level of unemployment prevails in many divisions of the textile industry. Alternative employments are limited in textile areas.

2. Current technological changes, interfiber, interprocess and interproduct competition are threatening many more jobs

3. In view of the prevalance of unemployment this is an inopportune time for further concessions which would complicate the adjustment process.

4. Certain branches of the textile industry included in the current negotiations are the branches of the traditional industries which

have the best chance for continued survival in interfiber competition and therefore should not be threatened by a new increase in the volume of imports.

5. The industry has lost many foreign markets and export volume has been sharply re-

duced and is further threatened.

6. Concessions to Japan under Most Favored Nations Treaty will extend to all world textile exporters.

7. Textile imports should not be conceived as primary sources of international trade for countries involved in the proposed negotia-

8. The maintenance of an adequate American textile industry is essential to our na-tional standard of living, position, and de-

9. The American textile industry is one of the largest of all national textile industries and its position must be maintained.

10. Protection of the American industry has had few unfavorable effects upon the American or world textile economy.

11. The tariff mechanism is a faulty determinant of the flow of textiles and is complicated by current raw material price poli-

12. Concessions should not be negotiated for products which are primarily supplied by countries other than those with whom negotiations are contemplated.

13. Limited types of imports of textile products can contribute to new ideas, developments, fabrics, and designs but they should not come in such volume as will destroy segments of the American industry.

14. We urge the promotion of international fair-labor standards in the world textile industry to avoid competition on the basis of exploited labor.

I. A HIGH LEVEL OF UNEMPLOYMENT PREVAILS IN ALL DIVISIONS OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY. ALTERNATIVE EMPLOYMENTS ARE LIMITED IN TEXTILE AREAS. TEXTILE WORKERS ARE OLDER PERSONS SO THAT REEMPLOYMENT PROVES DIFFICULT; PERIODS OF UNEMPLOYMENT PRO-LONGED; MANY EXHAUST UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS; LARGE NUMBERS PREMATURELY FORCED OUT OF LABOR MARKET

Unemployment is currently widespread among textile workers throughout the coun-The number of workers in the textileproducts mills in October 1954 was 988,000 which is 281,000 less than in February 1951. This is the net reduction in jobs. The total number displaced is much greater, as many who lost their jobs have been replaced by others.

All textile areas are suffering from this unemployment. (See table I). dred and seventeen thousand jobs were lost to the industry during the past 2 years in New England,85,000 in Middle Atlantic States, and 52,000 in the South. The largest employment reductions were suffered in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania and substantial losses were also registered in several southern

As textile mills are generally located in nonmetropolitan areas, frequently comprising 1-industry or 1-mill communities, alternative employments in the locality are lacking. The slump in textile employment, therefore, depresses entire communities and leaves workers and their families stranded. The significance of this concentration is borne out by the fact that 5 of the 8 major areas in the continental United States which are designated areas of very substantial labor surplus by the Bureau of Employment Security, are textile areas. In addition, 4 smaller textile areas are classified in this category (having 12 percent or more of the labor force unemployed). There are also 20 textile areas (including 7 major communities) in the substantial labor-surplus classification, i. e., with more than 6 but less than 12 percent of the labor force employed. (See table II). These communities have not prepared for this situation with new industrial developments. The people have a life-time investment of skills in the textile

The concentraton of textie manufacturing in the States along the Atlantic seaboard makes these areas peculiarly dependent upon the industry. The proportion of total manufacturing employment accounted for by the textile industry is in excess of 50 percent in North and South Carolina and more than 25 percent in Rhode Island and Georgia. In addition, substantial proportions of the factory employment in New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Vermont, Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Virginia, Alabama, and Tennessee are provided by the textile industry.

Many thousands of the textile workers who are unemployed have no prospect of reemployment in their communities because the mills in which they were employed are permanently closed. At least 556 plants in the major branches of the textile industry (cotton and rayon, woolen and worsted, and dyeing and finishing) have been liquidated since the end of the war, throwing more than 144,000 workers out of their jobs. (See table III.) Many of these are located in isolated communities where no opportunity for other employment exists. As a result, with year ended June 30, 1954, almost 100,000 New England workers were unable to find jobs during the period covered by unemployment compensation, exhausting their benefit

The effect of the current drastic contraction in the textile industry is being felt particularly by the older workers because this industry has an unusually large proportion of mature and middle-aged employees. Mill liquidations and reductions in employment are most severe in the areas with the oldest work populations. The latest study of the ages of workers in establishments covered by the old-age and survivors insurance shows that the proportion of male workers 65 years of age and over was 5.2 percent in textiles as compared with the average for all manufacturing industries of 2.7 percent.

The older workers are the chief sufferers from mill liquidations. They have the greatest difficulty in finding new jobs when the mills in which they have been working, frequently for several decades, shut down. skills which they have acquired over the years are largely wasted, as there has been little transferability of skills from the textile industry to the industries which are growing in textile areas. Indeed, the recruitment policies of the firms which are expanding militate against the employment of former textile workers because of the emphasis on hiring young people. As a result, thousands of able-bodied men and women are being relegated to a new industrial scrap heap.

The insurmountable obstacles faced by older workers seeking employment as a result of technological displacement or plant shutdowns are indicated in a number of surveys conducted in recent years on the experience of the labor force of liquidated textile mills. In July 1947, the Oakes Mill in Bloomfield, N. J., was closed permanently and the union surveyed 132 of the former employees a year later to determine their experience in obtaining employment. While 63 percent of the workers had found some job during the year following the mill's closing, only 6 percent of the workers aged 65 and over had been so fortunate. Moreover, while 44 percent of the workers were still employed on the date of the survey (July 31, 1948), none of the 65 and over group had retained his job.
In May 1948, the Esmond Mills in Esmond,

R. I., was liquidated and a union survey of 628 former employees in November 1948 vealed that while 48 percent of the workers were able to obtain a job in the half year following the mill's shutdown, the proportion of successful job seekers dropped sharply after the age of 50: In the 40-49 bracket, 56 percent had obtained a job, 30 percent in the 50-59 class, 28 percent in the 60-64 class, and only 15 percent in the 65 and over category. Similar disparities were indicated in the distribution of former Esmond Mill workers who were employed as of November 30, 1948: While 39 percent of all workers were employed, only 15 percent of the 65

and over group had a job.

In 1952, the staff of the Committee of New England of the National Planning Association conducted studies of the postliquidation experience of employees of two textile The report of the committee is currently in the process of publication. It will show that there was little transference of skill levels among those who were able to find jobs. With regard to one of the plants studied (a New Hampshire woolen and worsted mill) the committee found that 13 percent of the labor force withdrew from the labor market after losing their jobs, most of these being older workers, particularly women past 60 years of age.

A study currently underway by the Bu-

reau of Business and Economic Research of Northeastern University in Boston, has resulted in the interviewing of 756 from 3 liquidated mills in New Hampshire and Massachusetts (1 in Fall River and 1 in Lowell). William H. Miernyk, director of this study, has reported the first findings Displaced textile workers are as follows: generally not being absorbed by the growth industries. "New industries evidently are filling jobs with newcomers in the labor market instead of with displaced textile market instead of with displaced workers, according to the bureau's findings," workers, according to the bureau's findings," Lowell, younger male workers found new jobs, but those over 45 years of age still were largely unemployed after a year. In New Hampshire, 2 years after the shutdown, almost a third of the 200 laid off in the woolen mill were still out of work."

The above report of the Committee of New England concludes that "job displacement as a result of the liquidation or migration of a mill or factory is particularly hard on the older worker. If a worker past 50 years of age can continue at this present work, he may have many years of productive and remunerative employment left to him. If he loses his job most employers will be reluctant to hire him. He may be barred from productive work at a relatively early age and he may be forced to accept such casual employment as comes his way or to withdraw from the labor force entirely."

The prevalence of these circumstances in the textile communities makes it vital for us to insist that no concessions in tariff rates be granted which would aggravate this condition.

TI. CURRENT TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGES, INTER-FIBER, INTERPROCESS, AND INTERPRODUCT COMPETITION ARE THREATENING MANY OTHER

The record of postwar technological changes in the textile industry is most impressive. The advances of modern tech-nology are penetrating the American textile industry and affecting processes, procedures, mill layout, and mill management. It is not our purpose herein to provide any detailed sketch of these changes. We mean merely to indicate that productivity per man-hour is rising primarily through the reduction of manpower. The current rate of increase is in excess of 5 percent per annum. The large numbers of employees already displaced is a symbol of the more far-reaching difficulties facing the textile worker. Older skills and personal associations are being eliminated by these advances.

A measure of the amount of technological change is provided by data on textile mill expenditures for new plant and equipment reported by the Department of Commerce. Since World War II, the industry's expenditures have amounted to over \$4 billion. bulk of these expenditures was for the purchase of new equipment rather than new buildings. Moreover, the rush of new equipment suggests strongly that there are new and more far-reaching changes on the drawing boards and in the pilot stage. These are radically changing the production meth-

ods in the industry.

These new innovations are of many kinds. The most dramatic is of course the introduction of new fibers. Rayon came in the thirties. Nylon was truly the fiber of the early postwar period. Now orlon and dacron have gained substantial footholds, displacing the older textile fibers. Saran, glass, dynel, and other fibers are being produced. was dealt a striking blow by nylon. Wool is now being seriously threatened by dacron and other synthetics in the suiting fields, by synthetics in the floor-covering area, and by new chemical finishes which provide insula-

The mills whose products are being displaced generally cannot handle the new fibers. Plants which had not manufactured these products have come into the field to take the place of the traditional producers. Ghost towns are beginning to develop and workers are left stranded.

Older textile industries are being revolutionized by new machines. They are sturdier, faster, run more smoothly, telescope processes into fewer operations, and reduce the amount of labor required for their operation. Parts are being added which facilitate the operation and thereby reduce subsequent processing. Better mechanical and new electronic controls are increasing the precision of each operation and make them more and more automatic. Material is being mechanically delivered and removed. Better layouts are reducing the required floor space and the amount of handling. Fans, blowers, and suction pipes are eliminating much of the manual cleaning. Oiling is being done by mechanical oiling systems or parts are being inserted which require little oiling. Air conditioning is improving operations and reducing yarn-breaks. Better parts are insuring longer life, less replacement, and less maintenance.

These changes can be found in each division of the industry. One-process pickers and material-handling devices have sharply cut the manpower in the opening and picking operations in the cotton mills. drawing frames and long-draft devices have telescoped the roving and spinning operations. Winding has become so automatic that the work force on these operations is a mere fraction of the labor required in prewar mills. Warpers have been speeded, slashers have been made more automatic. Looms have been speeded and made more versatile and more revolutionary changes are impending.

In the woolen industry, opening and picking have been mechanized. The mules have been displaced by spinning frames. Highspeed winders and warpers have replaced older equipment. The nonautomatic loom has practically disappeared. In the worsted industry, the most radical changes have been the introduction of the pin drafter and long draft frame spinning which have radically reduced manpower complements.

The finishing processes on all fibers have been revolutionized through the introduction of ranges which combine several operations in continuous processes with machinery which is controlled through instrumentation.

But these changes have also been accompanied by process competition. Cotton-type spinning equipment is making great inroads in the worsted-type processing of long fibers. The conversion of tow into yarn is competing with the spun-rayon manufacture. Bonded fibers and roving are competing with fabrics, yarns, and ropes. Knitted products are supplanting woven products in many areas. Tufted carpets are replacing woven ones. Synthetic filament fabrics are displacing spun-yarn fabrics of different fibers. Finishing processes are being required to perform services which the weaving industry had formerly done.

In addition to these changes, the textile Industry is losing out to other products. Plastics are substituting for textile fabrics in some uses such as automobile-seat covering, household uses such as draperies, tablecloths, seat coverings, packaging. Paper products have displaced textiles in household uses such as towels, napkins, bookbinding, packaging, etc.

The increase in the rate of technological change has also affected management. accent today is on efficiency. Management has been reorganized to exercise centralized control over production. New techniques have been developed to safeguard quality. Mechanical controls have been introduced at virtually every point in the manufacturing process. Time and motion study methods have been used to improve plant layout and raise work assignments. Incentive wage systems have been more widely adopted. chief objective and chief result of this pursuit of efficiency has been to reduce the labor required per unit of output.

On top of all these technological and fiber changes the textile industry has been hit hard by marked changes in consumer tastes. With millions of families moving to the suburbs, taking up backyard sports, and puttering around home workshops and gardens, interest in attire has been lessened. Television has helped make the home the focal point for leisure-time activities. As a result, apparel has become a more casual item in the consumer budget and casual wear has become acceptable for a multitude of uses for-merly requiring "dressy" attire. Thus, pro-duction of men's suits fell to 21.8 million in 1953, a decline of 25 percent per capita from the 1939 level. Along with this trend toward casual attire there has been a marked shift toward lighter clothing and housefurnishings. Men's overcoat and topcoat production in 1953 was at the same level as in 1939 in spite of the rise in the population of males 18 years and over of 17 percent. Blankets and comforters are among the other products which have felt the impact of these trends.

The net effect of these shifts in popular preference and the vast increase in consumer indebtedness flowing from the postwar boom in housing construction and consumption of durable goods like TV sets, automobiles, refrigerators, and the like, has been a sharp decline in the proportion of total consumer expenditures going for apparel. From 10.4 percent in 1946, this proportion declined to 7.3 percent in 1953, and the 1954 ratio will probably be less than 7 percent. This production is well below the prewar level of 8.6 percent recorded in 1939.

The combined result of these changes and shifts has been a serious blow to the workers in the industry. Such industrial transitions are rarely easy even when other jobs are available. The new openings seldom arise at a time and place where displaced workers can take advantage of them. Moreover, the long-term trend in the consumption of textiles is not reassuring. The higher productivity of the industry is not being matched by a rise in the per capita consumption of textile products. New uses have not arisen. Further contraction of employment opportunities in this industry appears inevitable even in a period of relatively high employment in the economy as a whole.

We are therefore particularly concerned lest the number of jobs be further reduced through the substitution of foreign products for American output.

III. CERTAIN BRANCHES OF THE TEXTILE INDUS-TRY INCLUDED IN THE FORTHCOMING NEGO-TIATIONS ARE THOSE WITH THE BEST CHANCE FOR CONTINUED SURVIVAL IN INTERFIBER COMPETITION AND THEREFORE SHOULD NOT BE THREATENEND BY A NEW HIGH VOLUME OF IMPORTS

A number of branches of industry as indicated above are faced with serious competition from new fibers and processes. These are bringing critical problems to the fore. However, several branches of the industry subject to the forthcoming negotiations are the ones in the best position to survive this competition and thereby moderate the degree of disturbance within the textile industry. The workers involved will continue to be subjected to the sweeping technological changes now being effected. It is essential to avoid challenging the survival of these branches through a higher volume imports.

The products which are in a good position to provide a degree of stability to the industry during these difficult times are, among others, the following:

Fine cotton fabrics (par. 904).

Velveteens (par. 905).

Sheets and pillowcases (par. 911 (b)). Lacings (par. 912).

Staple fiber (par. 1302). Bureau and table covers, etc. (par. 1529

Quilts and bedspreads (pars. 911 (a) and 1529 (a)).

Specific discussion of a number of other items will be presented in a detailed analysis of the specific commodities.

IV. TEXTILE IMPORTS SHOULD NOT BE CONCEIVED AS A PRIMARY SOURCE OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE FOR COUNTRIES INVOLVED IN THESE NEGOTIATIONS

One major problem in formulating tariff policy is to determine whether the encouragement of the imports of textiles into this country will in the long run be desirable for these countries. Can they be expected to maintain long run advantages? Can they be expected to maintain a textile export industry?

Current technological product and fiber changes in the American textile industry point to large-scale reductions in labor re quirements per unit of output. A significant proportion of these technical changes are American in origin and spring from our needs and technical culture. Moreover, the increased penetration of modern scientific development in the textile industry of the United States is suggestive of the continu-ing future volume of changes.

In the utilization of these technical innovations, the American industry enjoys many advantages which assure its wider use of these developments. First is the great wealth of the American textile industry. Its huge war and postwar profits have resulted in the amassing of tremendous capital resources, which, at the end of 1953 amounted to \$6.2 billion as compared with \$2.5 billion at the end of 1939. The industry can afford to spend freely for innovations. Some new textile buildings are coming up to exploit the advantages of modern plant design. trast, other countries do not have the money for complete modernization of their equip ment and structures. Japan had one major experience in the post war period but is not likely to engage in a similar program again. As time passes, the advantages of more modern productive capacity in the United States will probably become more marked and should offset the differences in wage rates.

Our textile manufacturer is acquiring an increasing knowledge of the procedures and methods followed in other American industries. They are being introduced into the textile industry. These procedures are particularly adapted to our large mass market. Textile production and marketing

techniques are feeling the influence of the introduction of characteristic American industrial techniques. By converting the industry into a modern one, the American product becomes less vulnerable to foreign competition.

Our working population is also best pre pared for the operation, maintenance, and development of the newer technology. new, precision-built machines need a highly trained operative who can keep records and understand the principles of production.

The textile worker had been converted into a machine tender after serving years as an artisan. Now he is being increasingly required to be the operator and regulator of complicated machines which involve refined use of electronic techniques and instrument controls and careful recording of observed performance. The high level of education makes it easier to install these techniques on a wholesale scale in this country.

The large-scale organizations in this country with accumulations of capital, scientific knowledge and skilled technical, production, and merchandising personnel, provide a base for the introduction and rapid extension of

technological changes.

In contrast, the other countries of the world are short of capital, lacking in facilities for large-scale modernization, and suffering from a shortage in trained personnel. The more advanced industrial countries are likely to find, as England is concluding, that there are more attractive avenues for investment of such capital as it does have available. In the search for relative returns on various type of industries, textiles will rate very low in advanced countries and in Japan.

Another phase of the problem is the determination as to whether the foreign countries are likely to maintain a large volume of textile exports. There has been an expansion of textile capacity into new countries and in older industrialized countries. despite the destruction of equipment during the war. Among the countries which have expanded cotton goods production are the following: India (from 3.9 billion yards before the war to 4.9 billion in 1953); Pakistan (240 million yards in 1953); Chile (from 14 million yards before the war to 28 million yards in 1952). Total world consumption of cotton has risen by 10 percent since 1939 (from 30.6 million bales in crop year 1939 to 33.4 million in crop year 1953).

The significant fact about the volume of production is that it has been moving into new areas. With this expansion has come the contraction in the volume of international trade. While total production of textiles has expanded over the last few decades, the volume of international trade has steadily declined. In cotton textiles, world trade was estimated at 9.5 billion yards per year before World War I. The volume declined to an average of 8.5 billion in 1926-28, to 6.4 billion in 1936-38, and was 5.8 billion in 1951-53. The proportion of total consumption supplied by domestic production was 82 percent in 1936-38 as compared with 73 percent in 1926-28. In 1951-53 the proportion of consumption provided by domestic production of cotton goods was approximately 88 percent.

There is every indication that these trends are being continued. The newly industrialized countries are determined to provide their own textiles and reduce their depend-

ence on textile imports.

We believe that it is unwise to build up any significant degree of dependence in these countries upon the export of textile products. Moreover, these very countries are likely to have to expand their own consumption of textiles in order to raise the standard of living of their own peoples. The more advanced industrial countries, some of which are included in these negotiations, must look toward more productive channels for their industrial expansion. One such channel may well come through the utilization of their textile experience in the production of textile equipment

V. THE MAINTENANCE OF THE AMERICAN TEX-TILE INDUSTRY IS ESSENTIAL TO OUR NATIONAL STANDARD OF LIVING, POSITION, AND DEFENSE

The American textile industry has developed many characteristics peculiar to the American market. Unlike the textile industries in other countries, its products are designed for mass production and consumption of quality merchandise. The manufacture and distribution of apparel fabrics is responsive to the desire for an economic product which meets style trends prevailing in this country. The great middle class provides the pattern for our goods.

Our producers are constantly developing new effects and products which can gain favor in the American market. Innovations must be devised and experimented with in this country. The very nature of the style trends requires proximity to the market and close understanding of the underlying trends

within the society.

The textile industries in other countries have been differently fashioned. They have either sought to meet the needs of the lowest income groups or the luxury trade; they have grown up in periods when mass markets were not available; they have emphasized short runs for the international luxury trade or large runs of staple fabrics for special export markets; they reflect the patterns of the economies in their countries, in which the distinctions in consumption patterns among various income levels are much sharper than they are in this country.

In the field of household fabrics the same trends may be noted. We have an emphasis on mass consumption even of the more highly priced fabrics. Our large expanse makes this possible. The ready acceptance of new style trends makes it easy to introduce the higher-priced material in great The foreign textile producers have not adjusted themselves to this type of pro-

duction and merchandising.

We wish also to point out that it is essential to maintain the textile industry of our country to furnish us the textile products needed for military defense. The capacity which was considered excessive in the prewar years proved indispensable to military Cotton production was expanded to 12 billion yards, woolen and worsteds to onehalf billion yards, and rayon to 1.5 billion yards, and many other textile products were turned out. Without them we could not have clothed the large armies we put into the field nor met the large needs of our allies. Nor could the industries of our country have been kept going. No combination of countries in the world could have performed the assignment in textile production which we met. It is, therefore, vital to keep this capacity available.

VI. THE AMERICAN TEXTILE INDUSTRY IS ONE OF THE LARGEST OF ALL NATIONAL TEXTILE INDUSTRIES AND ITS POSITION MUST BE MAIN-TAINED

By clearly comprehending the size and proportions of the American textile industry, we can appreciate the degree of caution which one must use in proceeding to affect its ability to meet the country's needs.

A. The total number of employees covered by all sections of the textile products and synthetic-yarn industry in December 1953 was 1,200,000. (Textile mill products plus textile bags, handkerchiefs, curtains, draperles, and other textile housefurnishings, and synthetic-yarn fibers).

B. These workers constitute a substantial proportion of the total employment in a number of States along the Atlantic seaboard.

The high concentration of textile employment in several States is significant for sev-

eral reasons: (1) It suggests the absence of local alternative employment, and (2) the dependence of vast areas of our country upon this industry. The industry has deep roots in many local and State economies. The largest proportion of the industry is located in the nonmetropolitan areas. They are concentrated in one-industry and some times one-mill communities. Alternative oppor-tunities and facilities for transfer are completely lacking. The disappearance of industries in many areas means migration for the workers as new local industries are not usually available. The communities have been backward in securing diversified industrial development. Textile employers in many instances have discouraged such diversification. Such migration as will result would have to be out of the regions affected. It is therefore vital to legislate with great care.

Employers and our private economy have blindly pushed ahead in the pursuit of their profits and left ghost towns and displaced thousands of persons. We call upon the Government not to aggravate the condition of

the textile communities.

C. The American textile industry is one of the largest in the world. As of July 31, 1953, we had 22.9 million cotton-system spindles in place, 18 percent of the world's total. In the year ended July 31, 1953, we consumed 9,457,000 bales of cotton, over 28 percent of the total consumed in the world. Per capita consumption of the 3 major apparel fibers in the United States was 16.9 kilograms in 1952, compared to a world

average of 4 kilograms.

The destruction of the textile capacity of this country would be a disservice to the world economy. It would aggravate the net deficit in textile-producing capacity which It would aggravate the net is likely to exist over the next several years. The lifting of the standards of living in all parts of the world will require an expansion of consumption. A destruction of capacity would therefore be undesirable. development of a fund of dollars for international trade must come from other sources.

VII. PROTECTION OF THE AMERICAN TEXTILE IN-DUSTRY HAS HAD FEW UNFAVORABLE EFFECTS UPON THE AMERICAN OR WORLD TEXTILE ECONOMY

One of the complaints against protection has been that it results in monopoly and consequently high prices. This contention cannot stand up in the case of the textile industries

Most of the American textile industries have been highly competitive as to price. The reductions in costs of production through technological developments have been transmitted to the consumers. In fact, during the thirties, the consumers reaped the greatest benefits so that the workers were kept at substandard wage levels.

It may be confidentially declared that textiles are now better and cheaper the world over because of the contributions made by the American industry. More recent changes have been initiated in this country than in any other. The American environment has been and is at present conducive to technical advances. No other country has made the strides we have, and we have shared them with the rest of the world.

Prices of American textiles at the present time are, with few exceptions, within the range of reasonableness which is to be found in American industry.

We have established the highest wage levels in the textile industry the world over and. therefore, have provided a wage target toward which textile workers in other countries might aspire. We have not attained the might aspire. wage levels of the large modern industries characteristic of American production, but our organization is determined to move in that direction. Average straight-time hourly earnings in the textile industry are now

\$1.33. In the synthetic-yarn industry the average hourly earnings are \$1.80.

The textile industry in the United States has been the most technically progressive one in the world. It has contributed substantially to the advances in foreign technology, styling, and merchandising.

VIII. THE TARIFF MECHANISM IS CIRCUMVENTED BY POREIGN GOVERNMENT POLICY AND IS COM-PLICATED BY CURRENT RAW MATERIAL PRICE POLICIES

The tariff mechanism is based on the as sumption of a free market in which only commercial considerations enter into the determination of the final selling price. This assumption is no longer characteristic of most foreign countries. In many countries, industries enjoy special advantages in the form of subsidies either in the purchase of equipment or raw material or in the sale goods to foreign countries. The final costs are not truly representative of those common to a private industrial enterprise. The wholesale manner in which subsidies are applied considerably affects the competitive situation. Prices offered by foreign sellers may not truly represent the comparative advantages of their countries in the production of various goods for international trade. These unusual price determinants are now strongly affecting the flow of commerce. To protect the American textile industry from low wage and subsidized industries, the tariff rates must be maintained.

The current Japanese experience highlights this fact. A cutback of some 15 per-cent in cotton spinning is being contemplated to dispose of a surplus of stocks and to effect a rise in export prices. Various attempts to check the dominant trend in export prices had failed because mills which had previously agreed on a voluntary reduction had violated the agreement. Japanese stocks of cotton goods at the end of June had risen to 420,000 bales. While exports during the first 9 months had increased from 634 million square yards to 924 million square yards, prices had dropped more than 25 percent. The Japanese cotton manufacturers carrying large debts at high interest rates given to them by banks dependent on government aid felt compelled to dump goods on the world market almost in the prewar manner in order to keep ahead of the banker.

In the textile industry we have another serious problem arising in connection with the prices of raw materials. American cotton prices are maintained by an internal price control program which has raised them to abnormal levels. They are unrelated to the actual costs of production. If it is desired to relieve the foreign drain on American dollars, there is a suitable procedure for doing so by lowering the prices of raw cotton exports. They are a heavy call on available dollar exchange. If this country is intent upon protecting the price of raw cotton and maintaining a market for cotton in the United States, then the cotton textile industry must not be victimized by a flood of foreign imports.

We have been financing the export of raw cotton to Japan. Now in order to permit that country to pay, we are being urged to permit the Japanese to displace American textile products so as to provide them with dollar exchange to repay in part the cost of the cotton we sent them. The result is that we are asking the cotton textile industry to be sacrificed for the large raw cotton growers with little ultimate benefit to them. Since each yard of Japanese cloth sold in this country will displace a yard of American cloth with a consequent loss of an equivalent American market for raw cotton. Moreover, the prices paid by Japan for cotton are exorbitantly high as they are for the American consumer. The American taxpayer, in-

cluding the textile worker has underwritten these high prices. We are therefore financing the very forces which seek destruction of major sectors of the American cotton textile industry.

We are being asked in the interest of cotton growers who have forced the sales, to Japan pay them, and the Government endorsed loans.

The textile workers are being asked to yield their jobs to help cotton growers continue to sell their surpluses to Japan as the growers have been unwilling to curtail their acreage in the degree necessary to obviate this neces-We do not believe that the textilemill industry should be sacrificed to get the growers out of difficulty which they have brought upon themselves and which course can be of no ultimate profit to themselves.

In the case of wool, another price problem exists. Our domestic wool industry is protected by tariff rates and financial grants. The domestic consumption of woolen products is handicapped by the constant rise in raw wool prices. If they continue to in-crease on the international market, the woolen products may truly become luxury items. One of the ways in which to reduce the cost and thereby assure a higher volume of raw wool imports is to eliminate the raw wool tariff and increase the direct financial alds to the domestic wool grower. But if the present tariff on raw wool is maintained, tampering with tariff rates on woolen products will only have adverse effects on the consumption of wool in this country. The program designed to protect domestic wool growers will also be injured. The soundest solution is a program of lower tariff rates for raw wool and an income-support program for wool growers.

The Textile Works Union of America, CIO, has affrmed its keen interest in a restudy of the agricultural price practices in this country. Certainly, the present program, except for the new wool-payments system, benefits the small farmer only moderately and pays off substantially to the larger farm-The domestic consumer pays twice for this program, through high prices and high governmental expenditures. The conflict in approaches between the foreign-trade program and the agricultural-price program is brought sharply into focus in the discussion of textile items. To allow any substantial increase in the volume of imports of textile products would be injurious to the agricultural program. Present high prices are also reducing the consumption of textiles. The way to approach this basic question is not by adversely affecting the textileproducing industries. It is by finding a new method of aiding the agricultural popula-tion which would lower raw-material prices, encourage expanded consumption, and assure adequate income to farmers and growers, provide foreign countries with lower-priced raw materials and allow for higher imports of raw materials.

IX. CONCESSIONS SHOULD NOT BE NEGOTIATED IN THE FORTHCOMING DISCUSSIONS FOR PROD-UCTS WHICH ARE PRIMARILY SUPPLIED BY COUNTRIES OTHER THAN THOSE WITH WHICH THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE TO BE CARRIED ON

A number of the products up for negotiation in the forthcoming discussions are sub-stantially supplied to the United States by countries other than Japan. Thus, in 1953, the United Kingdom was the largest source of United States imports of bleached countable cotton cloth (3,934,000 square yards, as compared to imports from Japan of 2,102,000 square yards) (tariff par. 904 (b)). India was the major supplier of imported quilts and bedspreads, block printed (excluding jacquared-figured), accounting for 71,707 of the 102,959 articles imported; only 9 came from Japan (tariff par, 911 (a)). The Refrom Japan (tariff par. 911 (a)). The Republic of the Philippines accounted for imports of 180,443 dozen pairs of knitted gloves and mittens wholly or chiefly cotton or other vegetable fiber, compared to 83,555 dozen from Japan (tariff par. 915). Belgium shipped us 5,802 terry-woven towels (not under 45 cents each) and we received none of this category from Japan in 1953 (tariff par. 923).

In schedules 10, 11, 12, 13, and paragraph 1529, most articles currently under consideration are predominantly supplied by countries other than Japan. In fact, the 1953 record shows no imports from Japan in the following categories:

Jute yarns or roving (single) and sliver (par. 1003).

Jute webbings (par. 1015).

Jute bagging (par. 1019). Wool blankets (par. 1111).

Wool floor coverings, n. s. p. f., valued over 40 cents per square yard (par. 1117 (c)). Silk gloves and mittens, not embroidered,

no lace (par. 1208). Rayon and other synthetic yarns, except single yarns weighing 150 deniers or more (par. 1301).

We believe that it is desirable that these products not be included in the discussions since the principal beneficiaries from any concessions would not be required to recip-

X. LIMITED TYPES OF TEXTILE IMPORTS CAN CONTRIBUTE TO NEW IDEAS, DEVELOPMENTS, FABRICS, AND DESIGNS, BUT THEY SHOULD NOT COME IN SUCH VOLUME AS WILL DESTROY SEGMENTS OF THE AMERICAN INDUSTRY

We recognize that there is a place for a limited import volume of specialized textile These can offer new ideas in products. design, pattern, use, and style. We learn much from foreign countries. In fact, some of the products imported into this country can stimulate domestic interest and demand for textile products. But these imports must be selective. The present tariff rates allow for such imports. They have come in. No prohibition of textile imports is contemplated by the present tariff-rate structure.

XI. WE URGE THE PROMOTION OF INTERNA-TIONAL FAIR LABOR STANDARDS IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY TO AVOID THE PRODUCTION OF TEX-TILES ON THE BASIS OF EXPLOITED LABOR

We wish to point out that the labor movements of various countries recognize that low earnings and substandard working conditions and long hours have provided unfair competition with the workers in other countries.

Many of the complaints of unfair competition built on law wages could be eliminated through the negotiation of fair minimum labor standards for all textile producing countries.

We shall submit specific data and analyses on the individual items to be considered in the negotiations.

TABLE I .- Employment in the textile-millproducts industry, by State, February 1951 and October 1954

	Employment (wage and sal- ary workers)		Change Feb- ruary 1951- October 1954	
State	Feb- ruary 1951	Octo- ber 1954	Aggre- gate	Per- cent
United States 1		Thous. 1, 082. 0	Thous. -283.0	-20.7
New England	286. 1	169.5	-116.6	-40.8
Maine New Hampshire Vermont Massachusetts Connecticut Rhode Island	27. 5 21. 1 5. 2 125. 0 41. 6 65. 7	20. 8 14. 1 2. 4 66. 8 26. 9 38. 4	-7.0	-35.3

Footnotes at end of table.

TABLE I .- Employment in the textile-millproducts industry, by State, February 1951 and October 1954-Continued

	Employment (wage and sal- ary workers)		Change Feb- ruary 1951- October 1954	
State	Feb- ruary 1951	Octo- ber 1954	Aggre- gate	Per- cent
Middle Atlantic	Thous. 307. 2		Thous84. 6	-27.
New York New Jersey Pennsylvania Delaware	96. 1 65. 8 141. 7 3. 6	69. 0 46. 0 104. 9 2. 7	-27.1 -19.8 -36.8 -0.9	-30.0 -26.0
South 4	658. 1	605. 7	-52, 4	-8.0
Maryland Virginia North Carolina South Carolina Georgia Aiabama Tennessee Texas	11. 6 42. 7 244. 2 139. 8 114. 8 55. 5 39. 9 10. 2	7. 6 38. 4 224. 3 132. 4 104. 1 47. 9 34. 9	-4.0 -4.3 -19.9 -7.4 -10.7 -7.6 -5.0 -1.3	-10. -8. -5. -9. -13. -12.
Midwest	22.1	17.3	-4.8	-21.
Illinois Minnesota Missouri	13. 5 4. 9 3. 7	11. 1 3. 1 3. 1	-2. 4 -1. 8 6	-36.7
Far West: California.	8. 2	6.3	-1.9	

¹ Data includes States not shown separately.
² October 1954 figure is not available; figure shown is for August 1954.
¹ October 1954 figures are not available; figures shown are for September 1954.

Source: State Departments of Labor and U. S. Bureau of Labor Statistics.

TABLE II .- Textile areas of substantial labor surplus, September 1954

Substantial surplus 1 Very substantial surplus 1

Biddeford

MAINE VERMONT

Burlington

MASSACRUSETTS

Fall River

Lowell 3 Milford New Bedford 3 North Adams

Lawrence Southbridge-Webster

RHODE ISLAND

Providence !

NEW YORK

Hudson Utics-Rome 1

Amsterdami

Paterson 1

NEW JERSEY PENNSYLVANIA

Reading 1 Williamsport

Altoona *
Scranton *
Sunbury-Shamokin-Mount
Carmet
Wilkes-Barre-Hazelton *

MARYLAND

Cumberland

Parkersburg

WEST VIRGINIA

GEORGIA

Cedartown-Rockmart Columbus *

ALABAMA

Alexander Oity Anniston Decatur Gadsden Talladega

- Unemployment from 8 up to 12 percent of labor force.
 Unemployment 12 percent or more of labor force.
 Major area.

Source: Bureau of Employment Security, U. S. De-partment of Labor.

TABLE III .- Textile mill liquidations, 1945-54 1

	Plants	Employees
1945 1946 1947 1947 1948 1949 1950 1951 1952 1963 1964	2 8 28 65 74 51 65 92 86 86 85	600 1, 000 8, 000 15, 000 16, 400 5, 500 9, 600 27, 800 23, 500 38, 000

[†] Includes spinning, weaving, dyeing, and finishing plants; excludes knitting and synthetic fiber plants.

"Voice of Democracy" Contest

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, HAROLD H. VELDE

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Speaker, again this year I should like to call attention to some of the splendid work being done by several of the high-school students in

my congressional district. For the past 8 years the Radio & Television Manufacturers' Association and the Association of Radio & Television Broadcasters have, in conjunction with the junior chamber of commerce, sponsored nationally the "Voice of Democracy" contest. The competi-tion is limited to all sophomore, junior and senior high-school students, who must prepare and deliver a 5-minute script designed for broadcast purposes.

I am sure Members of this House will find the thoughts as expressed by these young people very enlightening and most refreshing.

Following are the names and texts of the four finalists for the Voice of Democracy contest in our Peoria, Ill., area:

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY (By Ben Garber, senior, Peoria High School)

When I came to the United States 5 years ago, many things arrested my attention in this great country. I was amazed by the huge size of everything, the hustle and hurry of the people, the roar of the motors and the factories and the beauty and richness of the American countryside. All these things and many more made me realize what it is to be an American. Yet, there is one thing which stood out in my mind. It was the great number of cars which I saw in the streets. It seemed that every American owned a car, his own car, something which the most powerful and greatest Government upon this earth couldn't take away from him. From the European country that I am from the people didn't own any cars, the people didn't own anything. All your possessions as well as yourself belonged and were a part of the State.

I remember the first time when I went to American school, I couldn't speak in English. Upon entering the classroom I was afraid, greatly afraid that the boys and girls staring at me right now wouldn't accept me

and make me a part of their crowd. The sat down in my seat. Very hard and painfully I tried to understand what the teacher was saying. After some time fear took hold of me, the kind of fear I knew during the Nazi occupation and later during the Russian regime. The fear grew on me from second to second, I wanted to run away, go back to Europe, go anywhere but stay in that classroom. After a while the bell rang and I went out with the other boys into the schoolyard. I stood there alone for a while, when all of a sudden several boys walked up to me and started talking. Although I couldn't understand what they were saying, I realized that they wanted me to join them in a game. Without any hesitation I did, and that is how I played my first game of tag in America. Later, after school they walked home with me. Even then I wasn't sure of them, but after a while I realized that I on that day I learned my first English words.
I learned to say "Yes," "No," "How are you?"
and above all I could say "hokay" like a real American. After getting home I walked to the window and watched them go away. They waved to me and I waved right back to them. "Tomorrow," they said, "we play football, and basketball, and many other games." "Hokay," I shouted back "tomor-Right then and there, for the first time since stepping on American soil I felt at home once more.

at home once more.

I also remember the day when my father came rushing home from work. He ran up excitedly to my mother, kissed her and exclaimed, "Lisa, look what I got." As we looked at the small piece of paper that he held in his hand he said, "My first paycheck \$20. Look everyboy, my first paycheck." That check wasn't just \$20. No it was a symbol, a symbol of the countess doors of opportunity which are open to every American. opportunity which are open to every American boy and girl no matter what their creed is color or religion. It also means that even an immigrant like my dad has a chance for a better and more prosperous life in these United States.

To me America means many things. One of them is that on our Jewish holidays I can go to our synogogue and worship God in my way and not be persecuted for doing so. For in Europe six million of my people were killed by the Fascists and now many more are being killed by the Kremlin's servants because they are Jews.

To me America is laughter, vitality, en-

ergy, strength and power to remove any fears from the hearts of the most persecuted people in the world.

To me America is an equal chance and opportunity for all people, no matter what

their background may be.

To me America is the right to express one's thoughts and not being afraid to do so. I have been to many countries in the world. yet I have not found one where people can say anything they like about their government and get away with it.

These things I speak of and many more represent America to me. I love this country and these people. And I wouldn't change it for any way of life on earth, for there is no country as great and as wonderful as ours. Like you, I am an American; I speak and I will speak for democracy.

VOICE OF DEMOCRACY

(By John Harris, sophomore, Chillicothe Township High School)

Today the whole world talks of democracy. What is it? It is a word that has many meanings. It is a way of life which changes

with the years. It is a state of mind which like the spirit of God is always present. Yet, always must be sought. Democracy is a word, a way of life, a state of mind. It arose from the dreams and ideals of Thomas Jeffera flaming sword which made thrones tremble, a guiding light to the enslaved people of the world, and a priceless heritage.

Let us listen to Jefferson's address to the House of Burgesses, as he links this heritage to the future. "Gentlemen, for the first time in the history of this world we have a privilege never given to civilized men before—the privilege of beginning anew, here, now, a government of freemen. This is a glorious challenge."

Our forefathers accepted this challenge and so began a new way of life—democracy. Having secured this precious heritage of democracy, what do I, a twentieth century high school student, possess? What do I, and my fellow Americans, hold in our hands?

First of all I am free. My parents were American citizens and I was born to the high privilege of citizenship in this republic.

Any person so born is free.

I am the spiritual descendent of those who fought at Lexington, Concord, and Bunker Hill. The blood of Ticonderoga, Valley Forge, and Yorktown was shed for me. John Paul Jones, Ethan Allen, and George Washington are my spiritual forebearers. I am an American. Every door is open to me because I am an American.

When I was old enough to begin my education the finest free school system in the world was at my disposal. I did not need a rich father to secure my admission. I had a rich uncle—Uncle Sam. When I completed my elementary education, a fine high school was waiting, and when I graduated from high school, a State-supported university-all free.

If I enter politics I can aspire to the highst honors in the land for which my talents

and abilities have fitted me.

In commerce I can win my way without interference of class or handicap of birth. Every great American fortune has been accumulated by a poor man of genius and ambition who was willing to work.

This is the heritage. These are a few of the privileges and opportunities that I, and my

fellow Americans, hold in our hands.

For every privilege there is a responsibility. So it is with democracy. It is our respon-sibility as Americans to defend democracy from the common dangers. Two of these main common dangers as I see them, are: First, ruthless foreign agents here in America want to overthrow our free Government. Let us be on guard. Let's be modern minutemen and fight anyone who attempts to take away our rights, our privileges, and our freedom. Second, let us not be lulled into the false assumption that one vote alone does not count. Your influence and your vote does count. In order to maintain our rights, we must continue to exercise our rights as Americans

As Jefferson and our forefathers accepted the challenge of forming a new government, we must accept the challenge of defending that government. No price is too high, no dangers too great in our struggle for freedom. Our struggle is our strength and glory.

The words of courageous Samuel Adams echo through the years: "For my part, I ask no greater blessing than to share the common dangers, and the common glory."

The greater the struggle, the more glorious the victory. Beware, anti-Americanism. I speak for democracy.

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY

(By Dave Sills, junior, Woodruff High School)

"Democracy" a word derived from the Greek "demos" meaning people and "kratos" meaning government, which literally translated reads "government by the people." If we looked up democracy in the card catalogue in the library, we find many corre-lated subjects—like this: Democracy: See also elections, individual-

ism, laissey faire, and liberty. It would appear then that democracy means many To the politician it is our country's great political system; to the businessman it is our vast and prosperous economic system: to the scientist it's man's initiative to create; and to the teacher it's the right to question in search of the truth. Many different ideas and no two alike, and yet it is this divergency of opinion which is the very essence of democracy. Democracy to me then, is each person's idea of what it is; it's the thing which belongs to you and to me and makes us individuals. This is the American ideal of democracy..

Around this ideal we have built our way

of life founding it on three basic principles. The first of these is social freedom. forefathers sought these shores to break away from a society of privilege to estab-lish a free society based upon justice and equality. In our democracy authority and leadership are dependent upon the individual's diligence, his ability, and his toil. Men are judged according to their abilities, not upon their hereditary rank, wealth, or pres-tige. Our system of free schools and public libraries manifest this equality of opportunity which is the birthright of every Ameri-And as a result of this every citizen enjoys an equal chance to succeed.

The second principle of democracy, economic freedom, is inseparable from the first. Social freedom would be worthless to us if we were victims of a regimented economy. For this very reason we respect and encourage free enterprise and private initiative. Every American, great or obscure, rich or poor, is free to select his own occupation. We can till the soil, serve industry, or aspire to the Presidency, but most important, it's our choice, and democracy gives us the right to decide for ourselves. This spirit of fair competition has built for us a dynamic economy which has given us a higher standard of living than any other people in any other place at any other time.

The third principle of the American way is political freedom. Political freedom is more than majority rule or representative government. It is that freedom granted to all of us to speak, to read, and to think as we please. It is our right to worship God as our conscience dictates. It is our guaranty to a speedy and just trial and our protection against cruel seizure or punishment. Such freedom does not, however, give us the right to infringe upon the liberties of others. simply means that we must respect the rights of all people, remembering our freedom ends where the other fellow's begins.

These are the principles, as I see them, upon which democracy is founded. I have attempted to state them clearly and simply so that everyone, child or adult, American or foreigner, can understand them. For by understanding them, we can recapture the confidence, the enthusiasm, the shining faith in democracy which will enable us to meet and surpass the fanatic fervor of those who would change democratic Americanism for isms of another sort.

The future of democracy rests with me and thousands like me. I am only one, and I can't do everything, but I can do something; what I can do I ought to do, and what I ought to do, by the grace of God I will do, for I am part of the whole which is democracy.

I SPEAK FOR DEMOCRACY

(By Mary Jane Tedford, junior, Academy of Our Lady)

I believe in America. I have faith in America because I believe that faith in democracy goes hand in hand with faith in God. I speak for democracy, that light of freedom and liberty which has become a living part of our existence. Kane Republican of February 1, 1955:

Follow this light with me. See our democracy, founded on Christian principles, lit by the torch of freedom. Watch the light. It is a burning, searing fire at Bunker Hill, at Saratoga, at Richmond, at Vicksburg, and at Gettysburg. It is a roaring sheet of flame eating Berlin, pushing back the enemy at the Marne, turning the Pacific a gory red at Pearl Harbor, gleaming on battleworn, victorious faces in Normandy. It burned in the men at Seoul. This light of freedom casts a red glow of courage over the marble monument of the Unknown Soldier and above the row upon row of white crosses in the battlefields of the world where the valiant lie. But our national tradition is not confined to the glories of war or national heroes: It is the light in the first grade of a country schoolhouse where a freckle-faced little girl in a plaid dress is reciting her A B C's; it is in the high school, where the son of an Italian immigrant is being handed the tools to carve a prosperous future; it is in the university, where a young man is developing into a brilliant lawyer, doctor; it is in a school for the handicapped, where a blind person is learning to lead a happy, useful life. It is the flame under a scientist's test tube,

who seeks a cure for cancer; it melts the Nation's gold, silver, and iron; it turns the wheels of the gigantic machinery in America's Industrial centers; it shines in the artist's studio, the writer's den, and on the blueprints of the architect. See the light of democracy reflected on our American coins. True, the writing is small, but the message

tremendous: In God we trust.

It is the warming sun at a baseball game, at a Sunday concert in the park, at a family picnic on Labor Day. It is the soft rays of the moon beaming on a canoe, or hovering on the rooftops of millions of happy, free American homes, reflecting on mile after mile of winding highways. It is the spotlight on the goods of the Na-

tion where Americans can buy the products of a free industry-penicillin and aspirin, automobiles and kiddle cars, bobbypins and home permanents, stoves, refrigerators. These are bigger, better, and more abundant because the light of democracy has shown the way to wealth, opportunity, prosperity.

It is the fire that cooks the Nation's food,

the electricity that freezes its ice cream, the

power that purifies its milk.

It is the flame of candles in a Catholic chapel, in a Protestant church, in a Jewish synagogue. It is the light that guides our Congress. It is the first light an American baby sees and the last light to a dying man before he goes to meet his God.

The light of freedom shows us human dignity at its fullest glory, because America is founded and depends on the belief that all men are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights. Because this light is founded on the recognition of God it becomes the only key to American democracy. It is its origin, its existence, its future. Is this light the key to world peace? I think it is. I believe it is. And because I have faith in the American way of life, I speak for democracy as the light of the world.

A Costly Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. LEON H. GAVIN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. GAVIN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the

A COSTLY BUSINESS

The Pennsylvania Commission on Intergovernmental Relations recently published some interesting facts bearing on what Uncle Sam does for the people of Pennsylvania in the form of financial aid. Among its conclusions was the finding that the Keystone State could easily go it alone, without Federal aid, if left to its own resources.

In 1953, for example, we received a total of \$120,549,000 in Federal grants, as reported by the Census Bureau. Our total income payments to the Federal Government were \$19.4 billion. Of this, \$2.9 billion were in individual income tax payments and withheld old-age insurance payroll taxes. The other billions were made up in corporate income, excise, estate and gift taxes. The conclusion here is simple: Federal aid programs are costing the citizens of Pennsylvania much more than they are receiving.

What's more the Federal grants to Penn-

sylvania only amount to \$9.62 per person while the average for all of the States is \$16.32. And Federal grants to Pennsylvania were only 0.5 percent of the amount we pay the Federal Government compared with a

national average of 0.9 percent.

All of which proves that big government and the socialistic theory that Washington ought to handle everything for the people of the United States is a very costly business for the people of Pennsylvania. The less we have of it the better.

The Republican Record and the Challenge We Face

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CARROLL D. KEARNS

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. KEARNS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I wish to include an address made by the Honorable Ezra Taft Benson, Secretary of Agriculture, before the Women's National Republican Club at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City on January 29:

THE REPUBLICAN RECORD AND THE CHALLENGE WE FACE

(Address by Secretary of Agriculture Ezra Taft Benson)

It is a signal honor and a most welcome privilege to be your guest at this 34th annual luncheon of the Women's National Republican Club.

Since November 2 my talks have been largely concerned with such things as parity, the corn-hog ratio, and efficient farming. am happy to have this opportunity to don my political headgear for the day and discuss Republican record and the challenge which confronts our party.

Although this is a larger gathering of women than I ordinarily have the pleasure of dining with, I am not a complete stranger to such company. In addition to Mrs. Benson, there are four young ladles on the distaff side of our family. Consequently, although I may not always know what women are thinking about, I am something of an authority

on what they are talking about.

And—very seriously—I believe the foremost issue American women are thinking about, talking about, and trying to do something about thing about is the preservation of peace. They want, above all else, a world in which the family life of each succeeding generation

shall not be broken or even shattered by the juggernaut of war. The wives and mothers and the children of this world have suffered too long from such disasters.

Here in the United States, this quest for a peaceful and more secure world has unquestionably been reflected in political developments of recent years. American women are participating more actively in politics than ever before. They are not only registering and voting. They are joining political organizations such as yours. They are becoming candidates—and successful candidates for public office in greater numbers.

I am told that in New York State, more women than men registered for the 1952 elections-the first time this had ever happened. The conclusion is inescapable that a great majority of the new women registrants voted for President Eisenhower. The political pulse-takers are generally agreed the women of this country contributed greatly to the sweeping Republican victories of 2 years ago.

There is some evidence that the women of America are still more strongly Republican than the men. As you know, Minnesota has been one of the most consistent "barometer" States in presidential elections. A recent poll conducted in that State by the Minneapolis Tribune is most interesting in that connection. It shows that President Eisenhower would again carry Minnesota by a comfortable margin, against the same opponent, and that his popularity is greatest among women voters. Fifty-eight per-cent of the women polled said they would vote for President Elsenhower; only 38 percent for Governor Stevenson. indicated a preference of 53 percent for the President; 41 percent for Stevenson.

There is a further statistic which I pass along to you without comment. Six percent of the men who were polled couldn't make up their minds. Among women the

figure was only 4 percent.

All of this suggests that American politics might be in surer hands if we follow the advice of that panel show and Leave It to the Girls. Certainly "the girls" - the women of America-our wives and mothershave made themselves a force to be reckoned with in the political arena. And I will be candid enough to admit that this has come about in no small measure because the men were not always doing the best possible job. Women are exerting a constructive, healthy influence upon our national affairs todayin elective and appointive positions and as informed and vigilant voters.

When historians of the future appraise the record of the Eisenhower administration, I am certain that the efforts to achieve last ing world peace will rank high on the list of accomplishments. The constant objective has been to attain not peace at any price but a permanent peace with honor.

There is peace in the world today, uneasy though it may be. The prolonged fighting in Korea has been brought to an end.

The transition from war to peace always involves some economic readjustments. The American people infinitely prefer these re-adjustments to war and bloodshed.

Actually, we have been making the changeover to a peacetime economy with far fewer dislocations than ever before. There is still some unemployment, but it is less than in 1950 and only a fraction of what it was in the decade preceding World War II. Disposable personal income reached a record rate last month. As a matter of fact, 1954 was the most prosperous year of peace in all of our history.

Truly the economic health of America is good.

Gross national production in 1955 will equal, probably exceed, the 1954 level of \$357 billion. It could even equal the record of \$365 billion in 1953. Our gross production is expected to reach \$500 billion by 1965. This would mean an average increase of 20

percent for each of us, above our present living standards.

Ranking high on the overall list of administration accomplishments is the restoration of honesty, integrity, and efficiency in Gov-The saving, rather than the spending, of a dollar has again become a respectable objective in Washington. Sharp reductions in Government expenditures—\$11 billion last year—made possible the greatest tax cut in history—\$7.4 billion. That is the equivalent of \$180 for every family in America.

Inflation has been halted. The dollar has been stabilized. The savings of our people, the pensions of our retired citizens are no longer being gnawed away by a continuing decline in the buying power of the dollar.

Stifling bureaucratic controls over the national economy have been ended. The housewife no longer has to get in line to buy a

roast at the grocery store.

Today we have the strongest and most efficient Armed Forces in all of our peacetime history. A tax dollar is buying a dollar's worth of defense.

We have an agricultural program which will permit us in the years ahead to work toward better balanced production and a generally prosperous, expanding, and free farm economy

This Nation has made real progress during the first 2 years of the Eisenhower ad-ministration. That forward march will be continued during the 2 years ahead and-I sincerely hope-well beyond 1957.

In our great President, we have a man of character, a man of honor, a man of unswery ing devotion, and dedication to the eternal principles which made this Nation great. Yes, he is a man of deep spirituality recognizes that this Nation has a spiritual foundation. He is providing the kind of leadership that is so sorely needed in this troubled world—the kind of leadership that gave this country direction in its formative

I believe with all my heart that our Constitution was established by men whom the God of Heaven raised up for that very purpose. I believe that this is a Nation with a great mission—a great destiny. It's not just another nation. It's a truly special great country. The God of Heaven intended that it should serve as a beacon to liberty-loving people everywhere.

I believe that liberty-freedom-is a Godgiven eternal principle. It didn't begin with the Founding Fathers. They didn't originate it. It came from above. It's one of those inalienable rights—this right of men to be free. It's not right in the eyes of the Al-mighty that men should be in bondage one to another. It was intended that men should be free. This means freedom of choice, freedom to make their own decisions, freedom to move about, freedom to choose their own vocations, freedom to assemble and speak their own minds, freedom to make mistakes and to pay the penalty for those mistakes.

Governments were intended to be the servants of the people, not their masters. There's no true joy without freedom. When there's coercion, intimidation, and force, the antithesis of freedom, there can be no real soul-satisfying joy and happiness.

I believe today we are living a part of eternity and it is our obligation while living here to build ourselves into upright men and women. Character is the one thing we make in this life and take with us into Any program, whether it is sponsored by party or another, one group of men or another, by one government or another, any program which tends to weaken character. is not worth the price.

A planned and subsidized economy tends destroy character-to demoralize the people. Frograms sponsored by government should help people to help themselves and protect, preserve, and strengthen their freedom of activity. No program sponsored by government should ever be manipulated to serve partisan political purposes.

Now, I don't claim to be a historian but I love to read history. I enjoy prophecies. And true prophecy is just history in reverse. It's an account of things before they happen and history is an account of events after they have transpired. I am deeply impressed by the causes eminent historians have assigned for the collapse of some of our earlier civilizations. One book, entitled "Caesar and Christ," embraces the years from 800 B. C. to 325 A. D. It covers the period of the rise and fall of the Roman Empire and the coming of Christianity. As I read it for the first time some years ago, I couldn't he!p but think: Are we in America moving in the same direction? And I became convinced that in some particulars, at least, we were tending to move in the same direction. I checked some other accounts of the fall of the great Roman Empire and other empires now dead. I jotted down a summary of the things that seemed to cause those great empires to crumble.

The first reasons were what you might call social. They have to do with the family, the weakening of the home, the refusal of people to shoulder the sacred, all-important responsibilities that must go with home and family life. Moral decay resulted. There was a deferment and avoidance of marriage. It started first among the wealthy classes, the so-called educated classes, and then

Another group of causes had to do with the waste of natural resources; with deforestation, erosion, neglect of irrigation systems. But most important of all was the national neglect of harassed and discouraged menthe failure to teach high moral principles even to the youth of the land. Of course, youth is every nation's greatest asset.

Then, there was another group of causes:

the rising costs of government created by great standing armies, by doles, public works, expanding bureaucracy, by parasitic courts. There was depreciation of the currency and absorption of investment capital by confiscatory taxation. Inflation stole the savings of the people. Doles weakened the poor. Luxury weakened the rich. National decay resulted.

Then, there was a group of political causes rooted in centralized control and the increas ing despotism of the state. This tended to destroy the citizens' civic sense and to dry up statesmanship at its source. People be-came powerless to express themselves because of the authority of the state and its control over the mass media of information. The people lost interest in government. Yet I presume, in the case of Rome at least, she had few rivals in the art of government. She certainly achieved a democracy of free men and then destroyed it by mismanagement, by corruption, by violence.

We have seen in the last two decades some evidence of tendencies in these same directions. Nations may sow the seeds of their own destruction while enjoying high prosperity, full employment, and other outward appearances of strength.

In fact, a nation may sow the seeds of its own destruction long before it reaches the zenith of its power. I believe there are a few signposts along the road today if we will look. Even in this blessed land, there is always the danger that we will be lulled away into a sense of false security. That is why we need real leadership in governmentmen of strength, men of character and principle, men of vision-for where there is no vision the people perish-men who will put the national welfare above their own personal interests.

It seems to me that the goal of any administration in Washington should bethe goal of this administration is-to preserve our eternal principles, to strengthen the American way of life, to achieve a pro-ductive, free, and expanding economy in

which all of our people will share. It should preserve and strengthen our capitalistic system-our free enterprise system. Admittedly this system has some weaknesses because it's operated by men and women who have weaknesses. Yet it has produced more of the good things of life, a higher standard of living, and a greater abundance of individual freedom, than any other system. It is still fashionable in some quarters to point out the weaknesses of our system without referring to its virtues and its accomplishments.

The job of defending the American way against creeping socialism and the other "isms" has fallen largely upon the Republican Party during the last 2 decades. This is not to say that only the Republican Party stands for free enterprise and for the preservation of our Constitutional rights. Mil-lions of Democrats believe in these same things. But I do say that the Republican Party has never been successfully penetrated by left-wing elements. Republican Party policies have never been shaped by the starryeyed dreamers who would remake America as a welfore state. And, to borrow a phrase from the advertising copywriters, no other major political party can make that state-

Now I realize that some of our Democratic friends are very sensitive on this point. They have never been at all comfortable in the associations which have been forced upon them through the ADA and certain other adjuncts of the Democratic Party.

It is the responsibility and the duty of the Republican Party to carry forward the fight against creeping socialism, subversion and undue concentration of power in the Federal Government. In that effort I am sure we will be joined by those Democrats who still believe in the principles of representative government laid down by Thomas Jefferson many years ago. We must preserve and strengthen the foundations of our free enterprise system which has made possible so many of the good things of life for all of us.

The Republican Party must also exercise continued vigilance to insure integrity and efficiency in the operations of our Govern-This must flow from the top down, as well as from the bottom up.

Economy must remain a watchword. know that greater local responsibility-both in administration and cost-sharing-can promote increased efficiency and considerable savings in some of our Federal assistance programs. A tax dollar just can't make the trip to Washington and back home again without a substantial bite being taken out We'd like to see our people spend more of their tax dollars at home.

I believe there is a growing sentiment in America for less competition by Government with its own citizens in various business fields. Before Government embarks upon any new enterprise, it seems to me that we should ask three questions: First, can this service, assuming it is needed, be performed more efficiently by Government than by private enterprise? Second, how will this venture affect our free institutions, our State and local governments, the home, and our schools and churches? Third, we need to ask how will it affect the morale, the character and the general well-being of our citizens? Unless the people can be reassured on these three points, Government should certainly not undertake the program.

Just as an example of government encroachment, you might be interested to learn that when I became Secretary of Agriculture, I also found myself in the hotel business. As a member of the Virgin Islands Corporation Board, I discovered that among our properties, which by the way way were losing huge sums annually, was Blue Beard's Castle Hotel, a plush establishment when built by the Government back in 1934.

For a hotel operating as far in the red as this one was, the use of the word "blue"

in its name seemed singularly inappropriate. We sold it for \$410,000. It has been estimated that when the Eisenhower administration was installed 2 years ago, the Federal Government owned or had a stake in \$120 billion worth of railroads, ships, coffee roasting plants, sawmills, paint factories, bakeries, and refineries, as well as a rum distillery and a package liquor trade, and countless other enterprises. It was operating more than 100 business-type activities and was adding steadily to the list.

We are at last moving steadily in the op-

posite direction now. And none too soon.

You-along with many other active party workers throughout the Nation-will determine in large measure whether this Republican crusade shall continue. Your ability to convince your fellow citizens—Republi-cans, Independents and Democrats alike that the interests of this country will be best served under a Republican administration will again be tested next year. \ It is not too early even now to begin the spadework within the precincts.

The Women's National Republican Club, under the fine leadership of Mrs. Anderson and your other officials, has a great opportunity to keep the fires of freedom burning. I know that you, as members of this great organization, will welcome this opportunity for service to your country and will accept the challenge under the leadership of our great President. With your help we will not fall in the great task that lies ahead.

I have never posed as a political expert. Most of my experience has been in other Yet I have always felt that what is right is good politics. And I know that this administration is firmly dedicated to what is economically, morally, an spiritually right. I wish I might take each one of you into a Friday morning Cabinet meeting that you too might feel the spirit of your administration in Washington.

"Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest can repair; the rest is in the hands of God." These words of George Washington, spoken before the Constitutional Convention, are as sound today as they were

Yes, there is a new look in Washington today and the Nation is better off because Government costs have been cut, Taxes have been reduced. Inflation has been halted. Living costs have been stabilized.

We have proven that it is possible to have peace and prosperity at the same time. The transition from war to peace has been made with fewer dislocations than most people thought possible. The economy is prosper-ous and stable. The trend toward centralized controls has been reversed. Bureaucracy is on the decline. There is less looking to Washington for direction and more of a fceling of pride and responsibility in the States, counties, and local communities. Integrity, honesty, and efficiency in government have been restored.

But we have only made a start. The cusade for honesty, integrity, and efficiency in government must go on.

Some of the grave decisions which lie ahead may not be ours to make. The Communist aggressors who have enslaved half the world give little indication that they will be content with less than all of it. We may have to live with this constant threat for many years.

However difficult the road ahead may appear, however discouraged we may become in our diplomatic dealings with men who recognize neither truth nor compassion, we mu t for the sake of all humanity continue to seek a peaceful solution to the seemingly insoluble problems of our age. At the same time, we must remain strong-strong economically, strong socially, and, above all, strong spiritually—strong enough to meet this ever-present threat of new Communist aggression. To be strong, we must remain productive, for it is the almost unlimited productivity of our Nation which stands as the great barrier against the Red onslaught.

must hold high America's brightburning torch of freedom that one day it will surely dispel the shadows of ignorance and despair now blanketing the minds of communism's slaves.

May God strengthen us in that resolution.

Mettler's Woods and Trenton Marshes Are irreplaceable and Should Be Conserved

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. FRANK THOMPSON, JR.

OF NEW JERSET

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. THOMPSON of New Jersey. Mr. Speaker, the following letter was carried in the letters to the New York Times of February 7, 1955. The author, Julian P. Boyd, is the librarian of Princeton University and the distinguished histo--rian and editor of the Papers of Thomas Jefferson.

Dr. Boyd argues that Mettler's Woods and the Trenton Marshes, virtually untouched by man through the centuries, should be preserved for posterity. Mettler's Woods has more than a monetary value: It has been and should continue to be useful to botanists and others interested in studying a climax forest in equilibrium with its surroundings. The Trenton Marshes, a marsh and lowland area of 2,000 acres of great archeological and ornithological interest, is one of the most valuable feeding and nesting stations for migratory birds to be found on the Delaware River, and is also the site of the largest and best-known Indian village of New Jersey, an area once occupied by aboriginal peoples for over 2,000 years.

The letter is included for its great informational value:

LETTERS TO THE TIMES-TO CONSERVE JERSEY AREAS - METTLER'S Woods, MARSHES DECLARED IRREPLACEABLE

(EDITOR'S NOTE .- The writer of the following letter, librarian of the Princeton University Library, is the editor of the Papers of Thomas Jefferson.)

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NEW YORK TIMES:

The announcement in the New York Times of January 2 that the State of New Jersey had acquired some 56,000 acres of south Jersey woodlands, comprising the greater part of the famous Wharton tract, is good news for all who are interested in the protection of our natural resources.

In July 1953, under Governor Driscoll's administration, the State bought from the Phipps heirs the 10-mile spit of sand dunes and coastal forest separating Barnegat Bay from the ocean, the only primitive beachland in the State still preserved in the condition in which it was seen by 16th-century ex-

In September 1954, under Governor's Meyner's administration, the State acquired the Worthington tract, adjoining the Delaware Water Gap, containing some 6,000 acres of woodlands along a 5-mile stretch of river, in-

cluding a mountain stream with falls and pools along slopes covered with laurel, birch, and hemlock; a lake at an altitude of 1,300 feet, and a forest-crowned summit that provides a spectacular panorama of the mountain ranges of eastern Pennsylvania.

UNIQUE RESOURCES

These and other acquisitions represent a wonderful step forward, and all who have had a part in them deserve applause—the private citizens who labored early and late to awaken the public conscience in the cause of conservation; the State officials who acted with wisdom and far-sighted attention to the best interests of the people, and the owners who recognized the quasi-trusteeship involved in the possession of unique and irreplaceable natural resources.

But much yet remains to be done. Mettler's Woods and the Trenton Marshes, to mention only two tracts that are sorely threatened, should be removed for all time from the dangers of encroschment or destruction that threaten them.

It is to be hoped that the State will take up the option on the remaining 46,000 acres of the Wharton tract. But it would be far better to waive this option than to allow Mettler's Woods to be destroyed by lumber interests that have looked with acquisitive eyes on its 65 acres of oaks and hickories.

This little tract of woods, preserved virtually untouched in one family since its first settlement in 1701, is a tiny island of primitive forest such as the earliest inhabitants of this region knew. Its great hard-woods with underlayers of dogwood and deep shade plants rise out of a carpet of leaf mold and virgin soil that is in places as much as 3 feet deep.

Its surrounding acres of thin, eroded topsoil and shale stand as an eloquent witness to the contrast between nature as the first settlers found it and as, during two and a half centuries, they and their descendants have affected it.

VALUE TO BOTANISTS

Even if it thus stands as a symbolic rebuke, Mettler's Woods has more than a monitory value; it has been and should continue to be useful to botanists and others interested in studying a climax forest in equilibrium with its surroundings. Its acquisition would require only a fraction of the amount of money needed for the remainder of the Wharton tract and would protect such a re-source as cannot be duplicated elsewhere in the State, whereas the purchase of the additional Wharton lands, though desirable, would only add another tract of woodland similar to that already possessed. Both should be protected for the future, but the priority should on all counts be granted to Mettler's Woods.

The same may be said for the Trenton Marshes, a marsh and lowland area of 2,000 acres of great archaeological and ornithological interest. This tract, one of the most valuable feeding and nesting stations for migratory birds to be found on the Delaware, is also the site of the largest and best known Indian village of New Jersey, an area once occupied by aboriginal peoples for over 2,000 vears.

It would be tragic if these woods and marshes, virtually untouched by man through centuries, were not to be preserved "for another century," as John Adams used to say when in his old age he planted young saplings. These salutary resources of forests and mountain streams, of marshes and beach lands, are invaluable to us even today. But, great as our need is, the next century will need them infinitely more, if a thousand signs mean anything at

JULIAN P. BOYD. PRINCETON, N. J., January 31, 1955.

Face the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, LESLIE C. ARENDS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ARENDS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following transcript of a television broadcast of Sunday, February 6, 1955:

FACE THE NATION

Guest: Representative Joseph W. Martin, Jr., Republican, of Massachusetts; Ted Koop, director of public affairs, CBS, Washington, moderator; William H. Lawrence, national correspondent for the New Times; Jack Steele, Washington correspondent for Scripps-Howard newspapers; William K. Hutchinson, Washington bureau chief for International News Service.

Mr. Koop. How do you do. And welcome

to Face the Nation.

Mr. Martin, or, as many people call you, "Mr. Republican," we are particularly happy to have you with us today on your first appearance of this kind.

You are starting your 31st year as a Member of the House of Representative from Massachusetts. Today you are the minority, that is, the Republican floor leader. You and the Democrats' SAM RAYBURN have been swapping the title of "Mr. Speaker" back and forth for more years than we care to remember.

And, as you phrased it when you turned over the gavel to him last month, it's been a case of "Off agin, on agin, gone agin, Fin-

negan."

Next Saturday is Lincoln's birthday, and this week the Nation will resound with traditional Republican oratory. You, as "Mr. Republican," will be in the forefront of the celebrations, and within this oratory may well lie some of the answers to success or failure of President Eisenhower's legislative program, for which you are responsible in the Democratic-controlled House.

The storm signals are already flying on such issues as the size of the Army, the Dixon-Yates contract, and, above all, the serious situation in Formosa, where the answer may well be peace or war.

Millions of Americans are seeking responsible answers to these vital issues.

To direct their questions to you, here is

our panel of newsmen:

Mr. William H. Lawrence, national correspondent for the New York Times; Mr. Jack Washington correspondent for Scripps-Howard newspapers; and Mr. William K. Hutchinson, Washington bureau chief of International News Service.

Now, for the first question, Mr. Lawrence. Mr. LAWRENCE. Mr. Speaker, are we head-ing into war in the Far East?

Mr. MARTIN. No; I don't think we are. I think the Formosa resolution showed strength and was the best guaranty I know of for peace. I believe that the—Red China, they are going as far as they possibly can go without fighting, and that they are testing the American people, but I don't believe there will be any war.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Mr. Speaker, there was, of course, remarkable unanimity on this action proposed by the President and approved by the Congress; and it is, of course, the hope of everybody who passed it that it doesn't mean war. But, do you expect any challenges, do you expect some skirmishes, perhaps, if not fighting?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, no one could say with certainty that there wouldn't be some skir-mishes, but I don't think that it could lead Because, after all, you must realize to war. that Red China can't make any war with the United States. Red China is a country that has no manufacturing of ammunition and no chemical industry; half of the freight of China is transported on human backs. nation like that couldn't wage a successful war with the United States.

Mr. HUTCHISON. Mr. Speaker, along that line, I have heard estimates in the last few days that if the United States was forced into war with Red China, the United States would win within a possible 6 hours, or possibly it might last as long as 30 days.

What are your views on that?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I am naturally conservative and don't want to go in for any extra-vagant claims; but I wouldn't think that Red China could hold out for 30 days.

Now, of course, they'll get, if they should support from Communist Russia, which I doubt very much, that might keep some semblance of fighting going on, but it couldn't be much because you have to re-member that Russia doesn't want to lose its existence, either. It isn't going to go into a hopeless engagement.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. You don't expect Russia to intervene, then, if the United States

should go-

Mr. MARTIN. No; I don't think so because the Russian people must realize what hap-pened to Hitler and those others—the other people who have challenged the free world. I don't believe that Russia would dare risk a general engagement.

Mr. Koop. Gentlemen, just as we came on the air I was handed this Associated Press

bulletin from Tokyo that reads:

"The Red Chinese Pelping radio says the United States 7th Fleet has been conducting military provocations near Chinese waters. The broadcast, which was heard in Tokyo, says the provocations threaten the peace and security of China and the Far East. The broadcast gives no clue as to whether the Communists would interfere with the Tachen evacuation, but, the Associated

Press adds, it has an ominous sound."
Mr. MARTIN. Well, every sound that comes from the Far East will be ominous from now on, and, of course, I am a newspaperman, like you folks are, and we don't underwrite

a story.
Mr. STEELE. Mr. MARTIN, the agreement yesterday between Nationalist China and our Government to evacuate the Tachens focuses the spotlight on two other island groups, Quemoy and Matsu. As you know, they are just off the coast of China and they are regarded as possible stepping stones for a Communist invasion of Formosa.

Do you think we should defend Quemoy and Matsu in event the Reds try to invade

them?

Mr. MARTIN. I'll answer that question, which I had anticipated, by reading a quotation from a very famous statesman. said:

"The belief that security can be obtained by throwing a small state to the woives is a

fatal delusion."

Those are the words of Mr. Churchill, of England, and I believe it. I believe it is necessary—and I think, from what I under-stand, what I gather, it is necessary—I be-lieve that we shouldn't permit the Red Chi-nese to get these islands, which would make it easier for an attack on Formosa.

If we are going to defend Formosa and the Pescadores, we've got to make-defend it under the best possible conditions; and I with Churchill that giving anothera little more to-another little nibble, you might call it that-to the Red Chinese would not be the best way of defending Formosa.

Mr. STEELE. May I carry that one step fur-

President Eisenhower has not given any public pledge to Chiang and the Nationalists

that we will help them defend Quemoy and Matsu if they are invaded. At the same time, administration spokesmen have been quoted as saying that we will.

Do you think it will be our policy, or is our policy now, to defend them in that case?

Mr. MARTIN. I would not want to anticipate what the President would do, or the State Department might make-recommend; but I do believe that it is wise not to make it too definite. I believe President Eisenhower should have all the leeway that he desires to do that which he thinks is best establish the American viewpoint in Formosa.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, Indeed, Mr. Speaker, the Congress did give him precisely that

broad authority.

Mr. Marin. That's why we gave it to him. Mr. LAWRENCE. In the face of efforts to restrict it.

Mr. Martin, That's right. Mr. Lawrence. It did not include Quemoy and Matsu.

Mr. Martin. We wanted to give him a free hand because we can trust Mr. Eisenhower, And we know he is a soldier; he knows the dangers of war and peace, and he knows also how to protect the country; and so we did, with, I think, only three exceptions in both the House and the Senate, we gave him that authority.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, now-

Mr. Koop. Go ahead, Mr. Lawrence.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Now, Mr. Speaker, I'd like to follow up a bit an answer which you gave to Mr. Hutchinson.

You said that you thought if war came. and you don't regard it as likely, but if it came, that you didn't think the Red Chinese could hold out for 30 days.

Mr. Martin. No; not as the Red Chinese.
Mr. LAWRENCE. By that are you talking about a limited kind of war, or are you talking about conquering the mainland of China

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, well, what I mean is that they wouldn't be any formidable opposition after 30 days. They'd be so flattened out.

Wars can go for years, and—take the

Philippine Insurrection, how many years that ran after war was practically at an end. I wouldn't say there wouldn't be some guerrilla warfare.

Mr. LAWRENCE, Where, sir? On the mainland of China?

Mr. MARTIN. Not with us, because we wouldn't send troops to the mainland.

Mr. LAWRENCE. That is what I was getting at. Are you talking about a successful defense, or resisting an attack based on these current operations, rather than a fullscale war with Red China?

Mr. MARTIN. Oh, I don't think there will be a full-scale war. It's not our policy, and I don't think it will be our policy to send any troops into the mainland. We, I think, are pretty unanimous, both Democrats and Republicans, as far as that's concerned.

Mr. LAWRENCE. I just wanted to bring that back into scope, because-

Mr. MARTIN. I am glad you did, so there will be no misunderstanding.

Mr. STEELE. May I follow that, one other step further: Do you think we might have to send our ground troops into Formosa, or into Quemoy or Matsu, to defend them in case of a Nationalist—or a Communist invasion of the Nationalist territory?

Mr. Martin. Well, of course, I am not a soldier, Jack, but I don't believe we would. I think the Chinese Nationalists have got troops enough to defend it with the aid of Air Force and our Fleet. The Chinese Nationalists in the last 2 years have come a long way in being trained and equipped, and I think they have sufficient forces to defend themselves with our umbrella, so to speak.

Mr. Koop, In such a case, you would not anticipate the Congress would issue a declaration of war, but would just let the President act under his new authority?

Mr. Manrin. Well, I think, Ted, we probably would let him act under his authority, but you can never safely predict what Congress would do.

Mr. STEELE. Well, in a sense, Mr. Martin, didn't Congress, in this resolution, which passed so overwhelmingly, abdicate its power to declare war to the President?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, it makes a difference, Jack, what you mean by "declaring war.

There are wars that go along, and they are pretty good sized wars, too, but you make no declaration.

Mr. STEELE. But this war might be, perhaps, as violent and as vigorous and as largescaled, perhaps, as the Korean war, without having a declaration of war.

Mr. MARTIN. We gave the President unreserved authority to defend Formosa and the Pescadores Islands, and he doesn't need to come to Congress, if he doesn't want to. He didn't need, I don't believe really, to ask for that authority. I think that's in hisalthough I understand that it was a twilight border, and he wanted to get this authority to, not only to have the united support of the people back of him, but also to clear up any doubt that might exist in anybody's mind.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, politically, you were drawing a bit of a contrast, were you not, between the handling of this one and the handling of Korea?

Mr. MARTIN. Why, there is no politics in foreign affairs, you know, Bill.

Mr. Lawrence. There never has been, you'll excuse me; it was just an oversight on my part, because I thought there was.

But, to return to the political thing, didn't you think that was a pretty remarkable demonstration of Republican and Democratic-

Mr. MARTIN. I though it was a remarkable demonstration of unity on both the Democratic and Republican sides.

Mr. Koop. In view of this situation in the Far East, Mr. MARTIN, what do you think of the President's proposal to cut the size of the Army?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I think it is a good suggestion, because, I'll tell you why: He is going to devote, he believes, as I understand it, in devoting more money for the atomic weapons that would keep war away from the United States.

You take, it would cost probably, if these additional soldiers were kept, about \$2 million a year, which is a lot of money, and before those soldiers could ever be brought into action, in the event of war, before they could ever be brought into action, we'd have to provide the transportation to bring them over to across the water, and in that interval you could train all the men you wanted to.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, you do remember that we found ourselves caught a little short when we ran into an old-fashioned type of war in Korea.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I don't think we are in that position today.

Yes, we were caught very well short in Korea.

I remember when the Tenth Army was being chased to the sea, we didn't have but one division in the United States that could be sent, and they didn't quite dare to send that because they though it might be needed somewhere else; but we have come a long way in the last 2 or 3 years-

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, aren't the Republicans and the administration taking a chance with this cutback in the Army, that if we should get into that kind of a situation again, the country would be pretty well up in arms about it, that there was this cutback with the possibility of that situation?

Mr. Martin. I don't think we'll get caught in that way.

Another thing to be thought of is this: You can collapse through spending just as well as you can collapse through assault on the battlefield, and apparently the Communist is intent on war some time or other, at least his actions would indicate that. He is only waiting for the day when he thinks he can safely attack. He knows he can't beat us now, and we've got to have-be able financially to continue that defense, so that hour he waits for will never come.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. You see a whole difference, a lot of difference between fighting in Korea and fighting in China; this time there won't be any river boundary that you can't go across.

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I would expect, Mister, if we got into any war, that all-we would fight to win.

Mr. Hurchinson. And with the atomic bomb, too, wouldn't we?
Mr. Martin. Well, I would expect we

would-

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Atomic weapons.

Mr. MARTIN. Use all the weapons within the command of the American forces to win, because we can't—if we got forced into another engagement, we can't continue these frittering wars that fritter away the strength of America and not affecting the nation that is particularly seeking to put its ideology all over the world.

Mr. STEELE. Has something the President said convinced you that that would be the case, that we would attack the Chinese main-

land and bomb it?
Mr. Marrin. No, the President has never given me any intimation of what his course would be, and of course I wouldn't tell you if he had, to be perfectly frank about it, but I am not disturbed over the strength-

You know what I think? I think we, here, not so much in America but in many of the other nations of the world, and perhaps it's logical they should be, because they are nearer to the scene, I think the free world is losing because they fear Russia.

Mr. Lawrence. And this is a step in the

other direction, you saydetermined that there is going to be a free world, in this country, in this world.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, again, the answer you gave Mr. Hutchinson, it seems to me, I'd like

to follow up a bit.

It's been suggested in very responsible quarters that we are not talking in terms of conflict here that would involve trying to destroy China; it would simply be to try to destroy any attack upon our forces or upon any attack which might be made against Formosa or in the related areas, which includes Quemoy and Matsu.

Mr. MARTIN. There isn't any question, the United States wants peace, and they are not going to be the aggressor, but we are not going to let Red China take islands that Would make it so that we would be subjectthat not only Japan and the Philippines and Western coast of the United States would

be open to attack.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Well, we've talked a lot in . the last year about massive retaliation, the doctrine laid down by Mr. Dulles. It's been suggested in this occasion that massive retaliation is "out the window," that that is

not what we are talking about.

Mr. MARTIN. We are not going to send soldiers over. I haven't got the slightest idea that we will send soldiers in millions, like We did in the other wars. No, I don't think that, I think that's out of the question. That's why it isn't necessary to have so many men on the mainland. We are building up a pretty good National Guard, we are developing reserves, we've got pretty good forces that could take care of anything that might happen, if we come under attack here.

Mr. Hurchinson. Can I take you to politics for a moment?

Mr. MARTIN. Certainly.

Mr. Hutchinson. You've been, I think you have a world's record as serving as convention chairman-four times.

Mr. MARTIN. I don't know anything about the world's record; I have the record in America here

Mr. HUTCHINSON, Political party conventions, let me put it that way.

Do you intend to serve again in 1956 as chairman of the Republican Presidential Convention?

Mr. MARTIN. Bill, I'd even hate to think of That's the hardest job I know of. A chairman of conventions sees less of the convention than any man in the convention.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Except the reporters. Mr. Koop. Do you know where the Repub-

licans are going to held their convention yet? Mr. MARTIN. No; I do not. I suppose it will be between Chicago and Philadelphia, and, of course, Philadelphia is handlcapped a bit because of its hotel situation; and, it is further handicapped by the decision of the Democrats to go to Chicago.

I don't necessarily mean that we've got to do what the Democrats do. I'd like once, if it could be brought about, for the Republicans to have their convention after the Democrats. I don't think it makes too much difference in 1956, but one year I'd like to try that just for the novelty of it.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Who are you going to nominate in 1956?

Mr. Martin. Personally, I believe that it will be inevitable that Mr. Eisenhower will be renominated and reelected.

Mr. LAWRENCE. Has he suggested to you that he would prefer not to run?

Mr. MARTIN. Yes. He has, but I will tell

you a little story:

A year and a half ago, I, in an indiscreet moment perhaps, said in Wellesley, Mass., that I thought Mr. Eisenhower would be nominated and elected. The next-2 days later-I happened to be sitting next to him in the Gridiron dinner, and he says, "I saw what you said," and he says, "What would you bet on that?"
"Well," I says, "I am not a betting man, and I wouldn't bet."

I says, "No; let me tell you, Mr. President: I know you are sincere, and I know you believe what you say, but I've been here 30 years, and I know conditions develop that make it-inevitable for a President to be-to accept another nomination and be reelected. Those things work that way."

And, in my judgment, they are getting more serious than I could have anticipated at that time. You have a foreign situation so tense and so-everybody wondering what is going to happen. He's an experienced man, a man that has been through it all. You have the soldier that knows how to fight a war, if one comes, which we all pray to God won't come. So, I think it's inevitable, his nomination and election.

Mr. STEELE. You think he would yield to

that pressure?

Mr. Martin. Well, I'll tell you why I think he will.

They teach, at West Point and Annapolis, service to the country. Mr. Eisenhower has been taught to serve his country if the call comes. If the call comes, I don't think he would refuse.

Mr. STEELE. Well, despite your confidence-

Mr. MARTIN. That he could refuse. Mr. Steele. If he should refuse, does the Republican Party have a lot of other potential candidates around that you could go to, do you think?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I haven't even thought of any more because I felt for a certainty that he would be the one.

Mr. Koop. Now that the Democrats are in control of Congress, how are you getting along with them?

Mr. Martin. Oh; I always get along very well with the Democrats.

Mr. Hutchinson. Going back to your 30 years, Mr. Speaker, in the Congress, you came here about 1924, didn't you? Mr. MARTIN. That's right.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. What do you think of the seniority rule for bossing Congress?

Mr. MARTIN. For what?

Mr. HUTCHINSON, The seniority rule Mr. MARTIN. You mean in the commit-

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Committee chairmen. Mr. Martin. I don't know; there are faults in that system but, frankly, I don't know of any system that is a better system.

Most any man who reaches the top of a committee has had years of service and years of study, and if he is of the caliber that he normally is, he makes a good chairman.

Now, there are exceptions. There are people that get there at the top that aren't; but I think, on the whole, that the-service is the only way you can pick a chairman.

Mr. LAWRENCE. To go back to the statement you made a while ago, that you always get along with the Democrats, I did a little research and find that on September 15, out in Louisville, Ky., 1954, when there was a campaign going on, you said this:

"Should the Democrats control the Congress, there would be a stalemate in Washington. That is something no thoughtful American wants to see happen."

Is your prophecy standing up, or-Mr. MARTIN. I don't know yet. That will be dependent on how the Democrats take action on major parts of the Eisenhower legislation. Certainly anyone knows that it would be-that a stalemate in Congress, between the Congress and the President, is not desirable for the country. It's not a healthy picture, because you can't plan your pro-gram as you'd like to plan it. You can't put You can't put it through in the shape in which you always want it to go through.

Mr. STEELE. Do you see any signs-

Mr. MARTIN. What's that?

Mr. STEELE. Do you see any signs of this stalemate developing as yet in the action in the House?

Mr. MARTIN. Jack, we haven't started yet. We have-the committees are still working, and I think-of course, they are protesting; many Democrats were elected on the platform that they could support the President more efficiently than could the Republicans.

They haven't been given their chance. I think they will, in many instances, and I think occasionally, probably on a vital bill, the temptation, thinking of 1956, will be too much for them.
Mr. Lawrence. What is the—what are the

big, vital bills that you see, that have just got to go through this year?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, there is the reciprocal-

trade bill.

Mr. LAWRENCE. The Democrats will help on that; won't they? Mr. MARTIN. Yes-

Mr. LAWRENCE. Probably more than the majority of the Republicans?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, I don't know. I'm not so sure about that, Bill. I did think so be-fore the session started, but I have noticed that since the industry went down South, that there's been quite a parade of Alabama and Georgia and North Carolina and Louisiana people up and down to the well of the House, all preaching for protection. So, you see, you can't always anticipate what will happen.

Mr. LAWRENCE. You think somebody else's

ox is being gored?

Mr. MARTIN. It's just as General Hancock

said a great many years ago:
"A tariff is a local issue; when it gets so that it affects adversely any local industry, why, sometimes statesmanship vanishes.

Mr. Koop. I believe you are making some Lincoln Day speeches down South this week, aren't you, Mr. MARTIN?

Mr. Martin. Yes, I am. I am making 3 in Florida and 1 in Texas. It happens these speeches are for the most part inwhere we elected a Republican Congressman

last year, the party having had a beachhold, we are going to try to see if we can expand a little bit more.

Mr. HUTCHINSON. Do you expect to win more Republican seats in the South next year?

Mr. Martin. We've got very substantial chances.

Mr. HUTCHINSON, In Florida?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, we might get 2 more; that may amaze you, but there are 2 good chances, and of course we are not going

Mr. Hurchinson. What about Texas? Mr. Martin. Well, I wouldn't say too much

about Texas, although we have-if they redistrict Texas, and cut up Houston, it will take one of the Houston districts.

Mr. LAWRENCE. When is that up; is that up this year?

Mr. MARTIN. Well, it can always be up, because they have a Congressman at Large in Texas, and at some time or other they get around to redistricting.

· Mr. STEELE. Mr. MARTIN, I would like to get in a question-

MARTIN. And in Houston is where probably the break would come, because Houston has got more people than two Congressmen would take care of.

Mr. Steele. I would like to get in a question that some of your colleagues consider

rather touchy.

As you know, the House Judiciary Committee has reported out a bill to increase the pay of Members of Congress from \$15,000 to \$25,000 a year.

I wondered whether you are going to be for that; have you made up your mind? Mr. Marrin. Well, Jack, I don't know. It

hasn't come out. I think they are going to report it out on Tuesday. I think that— I don't know what the amount will be when it finally comes out of committee, but I am frank to admit, this doesn't apply to me so much because I'm a single man and don't have the demands upon my purse that a great many other people would. But these young men, the very type of men you want in Congress, they are coming in with a couple of boys they have to send to college, and girls that they have to send to school, and they are unable to live on the salary that they get, and I think it is better for the country to pay them satisfactory salaries.

Mr. Koop. Since you brought it up, how have you managed to remain a bachelor all this time? I can ask the question which the

married men here cannot.

Mr. Martin. And I am glad you asked, rather than Bill.

Because I haven't had any great tempta-

tions-

Mr. Koop. Thank you, Mr. Martin, for facing the Nation, and answering the questions being asked today by our panel of correspondents: Mr. William Lawrence, of the New York Times; Mr. Jack Steele, of the Scripps-Howard newspapers; and Mr. William K. Hutchinson, of the International News

School Situation in Chicago-Need of Federal Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BARRATT O'HARA

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. O'HARA of Illinois. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, I am extending my remarks to include the following letter from John M. Fewkes, president of the Chicago Teachers' Union, which merits the attention of Members on both sides of the aisle:

Hon. BARRATT O'HARA

House Office Building,
Washington, D. C.
DEAR REPRESENTATIVE O'HARA: The Chicago Teachers Union urges speedy action of Fedfor school construction.

The children of Chicago are housed today in an inadequate number of buildings, many of which are too old for use. Thirty-six percent of the 434 elementary buildings in Chicago were built in 1900 or earlier, and several before the Civil War. To replace these outworn buildings is an educational necessity.

For the next 6 years, children already born will increase the school population by ten thousand every year. It will require 15 new elementary schools each year to house this increase alone. If the 15 new elementary schools are not built, 20 thousand more pupils will go on double shift (or half day) each year. By 1960, the high school population will double. Several of the 43 Chicago high schools are already on extended day programs.

In 1951, the board of education succeeded in obtaining one bond issue for school buildings of \$50 million. This amount has been spent. The legislature on January 31, 1955. authorized a referendum of the voters of Chicago in April on a second \$50 million bond issue, secured by an increase in the property tax. This amount will provide only 27 elementary schools. Thirty are needed for immediate use in the next two years merely to keep up with the increase in pupils without replacing old structures, during that time.

The Chicago Teachers Union is working hard to obtain State aid for school construc-We know however, that the State does not have the resources to make the total appropriation needed. There must be Federal aid, and aid immediately.

Congress is investigating the causes of juvenile delinquency. Inadequate school opportunities are clearly one cause. Here is major service the Federal Government can render quickly to the youth of the Nation.

We ask your active support of immediate

Federal aid to education.

Respectfully yours,

JOHN M. FEWKES, President.

Let's Be Friends

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS M. PELLY

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. PELLY. Mr. Speaker, the State of Washington is holding its fourth international trade fair in Seattle March 11 to 25, 1955. Members of Congress who were here during the 83d Congress will recall the passage of House Joint Resolution 537 authorizing goods for exhibit at this fair to be brought into the United States duty free. Now, as a result of that legislation, another fine example of an enlightened international merchandising program is about to become a reality.

Following is a short explanation, taken from the official prospectus, which I think covers the idea back of this trade LET'S BE FRIENDS

The international trade fair grew out of an oceanwide desire to be friends and exchange goods.

It reaches maturity this year because that desire is universal among the free nations of the Orient and the Far East, just as it is along the western fringes of the world's biggest sea.

The idea of a trade fair first was voiced in Seattle. This city's emissaries carried the thought to Japan where its counterpart already was alive. Out of their meeting of minds grew the initial fair in 1951. The seeds of that exposition found fertile soil in many nations.

In 1954, the third international trade fair attracted exhibits from more than a score of nations. This year, many of the 40 free countries of the Pacific rim, the Far East and the western units of Latin America will display their native merchandise before buyers from throughout the United States and Canada.

The sales made at the trade fair mean precious dollars to this Nation's friends abroad. Many of these dollars return to buy our farm and industrial products. Thus, trade fair becomes a two-way street. And it also exemplifies the commonsense of the policy known as trade-not aid.

Nowhere else in the world can a fair of this scope and significance be found.

Not only is the international trade fair unique in its concept, but it is unmatched in the nature and variety of the products exhibited.

From these many foreign lands, with their millions of artisans, the fair attracts the quality handicrafts. The very best that the age-old skills and and traditions of Pacific Asia can produce are offered to all North

As a market place, it is an economic factor of great significance. As a public showplace, it is unsurpassed in color and interest.

And as an expression of American policy in a troubled world, the fair voices the strongest urge of all who are still free—"let us be friends."

Some Lessons of Our International Experience

EXTENSION OF REMARKS . OF

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, I send to the desk the text of an address which I was pleased to deliver last Thursday night in Dayton, Ohio, to the Dayton Council of World Affairs. I ask unanimous consent that the address be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Some Lessons of Our International Ex-PERIENCE: THE DANGER OF APPEASEMENT AND THE DANGER OF CHARACTERIZING ALL NEGO-TIATION AS APPEASEMENT

(Address by Hon. ALEXANDER WILEY, of Wisconsin)

It is a great privilege to address this outstanding organization.

I am talking tonight to leaders in this community and its surrounding area, leaders in constructive thinking on America's position in world affairs.

America's future course in this great city of Dayton whose plants and laboratories produce so vast a quantity of goods America's security, as well as for our ever higher standard of living.

It was a fortunate choice for America's welfare that placed the Wright-Patterson

Air Base in your area.
The Wright Air Development Center spends. I understand, more than 75 percent of all funds allocated for Air Force research. It has contracts assigned to over 130 colleges and universities in addition to commercial laboratories and manufacturers. This research money is as integral a part of future American defense as is the Strategic Air Force, or the Continental Air Defense Command, or any of the other indispensable arms of United States security which depend so crucially on research.

Fortunately, the leadership of Dayton in science and invention is not a new thing. Many Daytonians who are living today knew the modest pioneer inventors, Orville and Wilbur Wright, thanks to whose efforts man first took wing, thus ushering in a new age of speed and opportunity and challenge.

One of the great inventors of our time "Boss" Kettering, chairman of the Department of Commerce's National Inventors' Council, calls Dayton home. This Council by the way, is in my judgment, one of the outstanding instrumentalities for American strength in this atomic age. Unfortunately, in the postwar years, it has practically been starved for funds, but I have hopes that we are going to see some constructive changes in that picture.

The inventive genius of America, joined with the inventive genius of other Allied Nations, is one of our greatest assets in the critical race-with the Soviet Union-for technological superiority.

"Research, research, and more research"pure and applied research—these are the indispensable ingredients for our survival.

You, here in Dayton, a center of the Air Age-know that we of America cannot rest on previous laurels or live in an outmoded past. You know that we cannot, in this contracted world, live unto ourselves alone. You know that the free, peace-loving nations must stand together or they will fall separately.

You know that the moth-eaten arguments of the isolationists, the backward longers for a so-called "Fortress America", are as impractical as the horse and buggy in this jet age of supersonic flight.

Peace is only attainable by the strong, the forward-looking, the bold.

SEVERAL SIGNIFICANT CURRENT PROBLEMS

Now, as we look around this fast changing World of the atomic age, we see innumerable phases of foreign policy which command our attention. The most obvious phase is, of course, the crisis in the western Pacific.

But there are a great many other problems as well, less dramatic, perhaps, less urgent, but in the long run, equally or almost as significant.

I refer, for example, to the challenge of implementing the inspiring "Atoms for Peace Program." which was advanced by President Eisenhower in his unforgettable address to the United Nations General Assembly on December 8, 1953.

I refer to the future of the U. N. Itself and to possible revision of the U. N. Charter;

I refer to the vital world economic problem, to the conference in Geneva on the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and other phases of the problem of increased worldwide exchange of goods and services;

I refer to the nationalist and racial and economic ferment in the huge underdevei-

oped regions of the earth, the scene of com-It is most appropriate that we consider munism's most spectacular advances—in the recent past, and, unless we are alert and adequate, possibly in the early future.

But since time will not permit my attempting to cover these important questions, let me turn to the immediate problem in the Pacific. And then let us look at a few of the overall lessons which we have learned on the international scene.

LITTLE MARGIN FOR ERROR TODAY

Why learn these lessons?

The reason we must do so is that, as one wise man well said:

"Those who ignore the errors of history are condemned to repeat those errors."

And another thinker said:

"Every time history repeats itself, the price goes up."

Today, it is particularly important that we profit from the lessons of the past. Why? Because we have little margin for error in today's world.

In times past, diplomats or military leaders or politicians could make mistakes. The consequences of their mistakes were usually rather limited—by today's standards.
But today the results of international

error, the results or miscalculations are potentially so ominous as to give pause to any thinking individual anywhere in the world.

The decisions which we make must be the right ones—and they must be timed right.

This does not mean that we can be certain in advance that they are indeed the right ones. On the contrary, almost anything we do or don't do involves risks. Invariably, our choices are between several possibilities, none of which is particularly appealing, and all of which are fraught with varying degrees of danger.

CONGRESS' FORMOSA RESOLUTION A BOLD STEP FOR PEACE

When Congress so overwhelmingly enacted the joint resolution relating to Formosa, the Pescadores, and related areas, there could be no guaranty of the resolution's success in deterring war in the Pacific.

But the fact of the matter is that the alternative to our passing that resolution was an almost certain guarantee of failure.

And so, we chose a path of strength and firmness. We did so with due deliberation and in one of the great historic demonstrations of executive-legislative teamwork in our time.

Thus the test which we must continue to apply is: not which path is certain to bring us peace, but which path is relatively more likely than other paths to bring us peace.

When you are making history, as we particularly of the Atlantic community are, by our system of collective security-there is no guaranty that history will occur ultimately the way we want it.

But if you leave it to others to make history-particularly if you leave the initiative to the force of international communismyou can be quite sure that the contents of tomorrow's pages in history books will not be anything like what you and I would want them.

COMPLEX EVENTS INTERACT

Making history constructively is not easy. It cannot be done at any one place and in only one way.

The Pacific crisis is a striking illustration how events breaking in the four corners of the world interact on one another. cannot simply keep your eye on Matsu or Quemoy, you must keep pace with developments almost everywhere. The recent events have been breaking principally in 7 places: In the committees and on the floor of the United States Congress; in the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London; at United Nations headquarters in New York; in the Kremlin in Moscow; in Peking, headquarters of the so-called Chinese People's

Republic; in Taipeh, capital of Formosa and of our brave Nationalist Chinese ally; and in the embattled Straits of Formosa themselves.

Some people, however, refuse to open up

their eyes to these facts.

They refuse to acknowledge the nature of today's world is such that we cannot assume to contribute to it alone from the capital of our own country. We cannot wave a magic wand in Washington, D. C., or anywhere else in our land and have history as we would want it. We must work and consult with our friends and allies in many different places, and, yes, we must talk with our foes as well—a point to which I shall refer again later on.

Only a child believes that daddy can remake the world exactly the way the child wants it. A mature adult knows that we can and should do our part for a better world, but we must not assume that we are omnipotent or omniscient.

THE LESSON OF THE FOLLY OF APPEASEMENT

We should have learned this from the past. But now what about those overall lessons to which I referred earlier?

The very first lesson which I shall elaborate on is the lesson of the folly of appease-

I need not spell out to you in detail that the world has learned to its sorrow that you can never succeed in satisfying the appetite of a criminal by offering him new victims.

In the 1930's, we witnessed the criminal aggression, step by step, nation by nation, of

the Axis Powers.

In the latter part of World War II, and in the postwar years, we witnessed step by step the aggression of international communism

and its enslavement of peoples.

We should know now that communism cannot be appeased. We should know that it respects only strength. We should know that surrender of one free nation to it only paves the way for the Politburo's demanding the surrender of additional free peoples. We should know that appeasement whets the Communist appetite, increases the Commu-nists' disrespect for the free world, tempts it to further aggression.

THE DANGER OF TERMING ALL NEGOTIATION AS

At the same time, I want to state very clearly that there is a danger of "going overboard" and characterizing every effort to negotiate-through strength-with the Communists, as so-called appeasement.

I say that there are some quarters in the United States that seem to think that any and every reasonable effort which we makeeven with utmost caution and care-in trying to sit down with the Communists and work out our problems at the United Nations or at other international conferences constitutes "appeasement."

"Appeasement" has become such an evil

label that it is being used irresponsibly by some to smear reasonable diplomatic efforts.

I say that it is not appeasement to explore every possible basis for a stable, workable system of peace.

It is definitely not appeasement to talk face to face with the Red Chinese, as the United Nations Secretary General did at Peiping, or as the United Nations has sought to do in connection with the proposed ceasefire in the Formosa Strait.

It is not the act of talking with the Communists which is appeasement. It is what might conceivably be said to the Communists at the talk which theoretically could

constitute appeasement.

But I say we need have little fear that Secretary of State John Foster Dulles or U. N. Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge-two great courageous public servants-will talk appeasement. So, I say, give them a chance, give our other allied and neutralist diplomats a chance to talk, to explore, to evaluate, rather than mistakenly label every dis-cussion as "appeasement."

There are some people, however (and I do not question their patriotic motive) who seem to want to slam the door to all eastwest talk. These are the people who talk irresponsibly of "our getting out of the United Nations." These are the people who want us to proceed unllaterally, independent of our allies, independent of the U. N., in attempting now—all by ourselves—an arbi-trary naval blockade of the more than 2,000 miles of Chinese coast.

Some likeminded people—the extremists in this group—even seem to want to throw ultimatums at Red China. They, of course, ignore what could happen if the ultimatum

deadline were to pass. Yes, some few of these extremists talk loosely of a "showdown now with Red China," as if we were doomed unless we were to force issues to a head within the next few days or

"PREVENTIVE WAR TALK" IS NONSENSE

Fortunately, these people are in the minority—a very tiny minority. Fortunately, the responsible leadership of the United States Government, executive and legislative, totally rejects this type of an "all-or-nothing" concept, of a "showdown now"

You and I know that the concept of a socalled preventive war which is implied by a very few extremists-all of whom are out of office—is sheer madness. A preventive war actually means world war III—in all its gotten This absurd concept has horror. exactly nowhere, and will get exactly nowhere with our countrymen. Moscow, kindly note. Your propaganda to the contrary is a lie and you know it. Peace is and

always has been our mission.

We are grateful that the man who occupies the White House today is a man of peace. He has seen war in all its fury and bitterness and devastation. He has seen young men under his command make the supreme sacrifice. He has seen the tragic aftermath of war in the wrecked minds and bodies in the Nation's veterans hospitals. So, Dwight D. Eisenhower is determined to maintain peace and the American people are determined to give him every possible support in his patient efforts for peace.

It will not be—it could not be—a peace

appeasement. But neither can it sibly be a peace which refuses all diplomatic face-to-face exchanges, a peace which spurns efforts at reasonable negotiation—

from strength.

Now, before I leave this matter of the problem in the Pacific, let me point out that the next move is squarely up to Red China. If the Peking government and the Moscowgovernment desire war (which I for one doubt) then the world will recognize that the sole blame for whatever ensues is at the doorstep of Peking and Moscow.

For ourselves we desire peace, security and freedom in the Pacific and elsewhere.

We are not looking for trouble. We do not want trouble. But neither are we running away from trouble.

Now, no man here can foretell what Red China will choose to do in the Western

My own feeling is that the strong demonstration of American unity and American toughness will deter Peking from starting a chain reaction which could lead to world

The long-run danger I feel is really elsewhere, as in southeast Asia. The Formosa Straits issue should not blind us to ominous events there and in other areas.

DANGER IN OTHER THEATERS

I refer, for example to the disturbing intensification of Red activity in the Republic of Indonesia. There, a Communist party, reputedly 500,000 strong is wielding increasing power.

But, that is not the only danger sign. Inflation, guerrilla war and other difficulties are also occuring in this land which, by all rights, should be a garden of Eden. But due to a combination of circumstances. Indonesia is unfortunately experiencing serious internal difficulties-which provide ideal setting for the Reds to exploit.

As for ourselves, we have nothing but good will for Indonesia. We wish naught but peace and prosperity and freedom for this vast nation which emerged less than a halfdecade ago from colonial rule. It is our earnest hope that the forces of freedom in Indonesia will find it possible adequately to protect that land from Communist Imperialism.

DANGER OF STRAIGHTJACKETING PRESIDENT

But now, let us turn to a second lesson of our recent past.

It is the lesson that the Chief Executive of our country must remain in a strong position to fulfill his Constitutional authority.

Our experience with respect to the Formosan crisis is a complete vindication of the position which many of us had taken last year on the controversy over treaties and executive agreements.

You will remember that in the 83d Congress, the Senate soundly rejected efforts which would have attempted seriously to limit the treatymaking powers of the President of the United States and the powers of making executive agreements.

It was our position that there are more than ample safeguards under the Constitution against any Executive abuse of power.

We contended that the nature of the atomic age is such that the President of the United States must at all times be in a position to take emergency action with our allies-action necessary for the protection of our country. Such action would always, of course, be within the framework of the Chief Executive's constitutional authority.

On the other hand, our opponents (who were then fortunately in the minority and who are today in a still smaller minority) contended the reverse. They preferred in effect to straitlacket the hands of the Presi-They were so fearful of abuse of power that they wanted very little power to be ex-ercised without the most detailed congressional supervision.

I, for one, throughout the debate, had pointed out that no one could possibly foresee the many types of emergencies which might arise which might require almost split-second decision by the executive

EVENTS HAVE DEBUNKED OPPOSITION ARGUMENTS

I contended that it would gravely weaken American foreign policy if the strongest Nation in the world, to whom all freemen look, were to paralyze the one man who, under the Constitution, is supposed to spearhead our foreign policy-the Chief Executive.

Now, my contentions and those of many individuals who supported this position, have been completely sustained. The opposition has been flattened—not by words, but by events-whether they realize it or not.

Many of those who wanted to tie the hands of the Chief Executive practically did a complete flip-flop once they were confronted with the Formosa crisis. Most of them said nothing about the considerable power which was being confirmed as residing in the Chief Executive's hands.

Some who did speak, emphasized that, in their judgment, there was really no alternative but to pass the joint resolution.

I want to commend these men with whom I have disagreed for recognizing the hard facts of the international situation.

I hope, however, tht they will realize that the Formosa crisis was not a rare exception. It is the sort of crisis which may recur on many occasions in many places in the future-when international communism prepares a thrust and when the Chief Executive must be in a position to parry that thrust.

THE LESSON OF "DOING THE IMPOSSIBLE"

The third and last lesson to describe within the available time-another lesson that we should have learned—is that the word "impossible" should rarely be used in foreign affairs. "Impossible" is usually used by gloomy pessimists to justify a status quo position.

Some people dismally assumed it was impossible to set up an effective United Nations Organization or to make the Marshall plan work, or the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, or now the Southeast Asia Alllance.

They assumed that it was impossible to make the Organization of American States a dynamic entity.

As a matter of fact, every time we have tried to progress in international relations the gloom mongers have said that it "couldn't be done." But usually it has been done. We have made substantial prog-We have done the so-called impossible in all the instrumentalities which I have just mentioned.

Further, I cite to you the situation in the troubled Middle East. Certainly here is an area in which there are difficulties which would faze even the most optimistic nego-

Yet what do we see? We see a skilled Presidential envoy, Eric Johnston, patiently making splendid progress toward an historic Arab-Israel agreement on Jordanian and other water, long considered a so-called impossible objective.

Now, too, we see Iraq prepared to enter into an agreement with our stanch friend, Turkey, thus complementing the Turkish-Pakistani Alliance already existing in a necessary northern tier of security.

see, too, that the so-called impossible dispute over the Suez Canal has been settled; the so-called impossible Iranian oil impasse resolved.

Now, I do not mean to imply that we can expect miracles. I do not mean to imply that all disputes are capable of quick solution, because obviously they are not. But what I do mean is that there are very few, if any, problems which do not yield to progressive change if we are willing to dedicate our abilities and our hearts to the cause.

We have seen our great Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, travel tirelessly around the world in the cause of peace. We have seen him time and again snatch diplomatic victory from the jaws of apparent defeat. We have seen his great spiritual faith vindicated by the resolving of apparent deadlocks and defeats, as when EDC was transformed into a Western European Union.

Let us, therefore, share the President's and Mr. Dulles' faith.

Let us give no heed to the gloom-mongers, who assume that what exists today will exist tomorrow, or that evil will grow stronger and good weaker, that tension will give way only to increased tension.

Let us have faith that we can make progress, and I say, we will indeed make progress.

CONCLUSION

It is on this sound note of faith that I should like to conclude. It is on this note of realistic optimism that I should like to turn this subject over to your own consideration.

I began by stating that it is appropriate that here in Dayton, a great center of aeronautical research, that you and I ponder America's future in world affairs.

The essence of research is faith-faith that we can unlock the mysteries of nature, the mysteries of the atom, the mysteries of time and space.

The essence of research is courage-the courage to look forward and not backward. You of the Dayton Council on World Affairs are similarly dedicated to blazing new trails for America.

trails for America.

As the scientist in his laboratory pierces the veil of the future, so you in this council seek to have us pierce the past mists of international prejudice, of blindness, of fear, and emerge into the clear light of peace and progress and faith.

Few missions could be more important for

a citizen or for a public official.

Thanks for your kind attention, and good luck to you all.

Progress in Reverse

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ESTES KEFAUVER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. KEFAUVER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Recorn an address which I had prepared for delivery before the antitrust law section of the New York State Bar Association, New York, on January 26, 1955.

Unfortunately, because of the meeting of the Senate on that day, I was unable to deliver the address personally. Instead, it was delivered by the very competent and able counsel for the Antimonopoly Subcommittee of the Committee on the Judiciary, Mr. Sidney Davis, to whose work on the subcommittee I wish to pay high tribute. I have been informed by Mr. Davis that the subject matter of the address gave rise to some interesting discussions at the meeting.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PROGRESS IN REVERSE

(Address of Hon. Estes Kefauver, of Tennessee)

The general theme of today's session is given as Antitrust Law Progress. For reasons which I shall endeavor to make clear the title of my address is Progress in Reverse.

As the antimonopoly subcommittee pointed out in a report printed Monday, January 23:
"The attention of the country has been focused more and more on the gathering momentum of the corporate merger movement. Our economy was subjected to its first great merger movement in the two decades, 1885-1905. A second significant wave of corporate mergers took place in the latter part of the 1920's * * *, Against this background, it is understandable that the third great corporate merger movement in our history, now in progress, should be the subject of widespread public, governmental, and congressional concern."

As I look at what has become of our antitrust laws in very recent years, and note the continuing increase in economic concentration and the wave of industrial mergers now taking place, I am reminded of the story of a recent atomic bomb explosion which took place down in my part of the country. After everyone had been moved to a safe distance, the bomb was set off, creating an enormous hole in the ground. The experts went to the edge of the chasm, peered over the side, and much to their astonishment saw at the bottom a human figure who slowly picked himself up off the ground and then began to climb to the top. When he reached the top, they found themselves confronted to their further amazement with a gaunt old man dressed in an old Confederate uniform and carrying an old Confederate musket. The man shook the dust from his clothes, looked into the chasm, sighed, and said, "I don't care what General Lee says, I'm giving up."

Back in 1946, as chairman of a Subcommittee of the House Small Business Committee, I issued a 432-page report on the then current status of the antitrust laws. entitled "United States versus Economic Concentration and Monopoly." In our report we stated that: "Concentration of economic power is a constantly moving, powerful force which can only be fought by an aggressive and consistent Federal legislative program, followed up by a steadily continuing active enforcement of antitrust laws by the executive agencies." After making an industryby-industry analysis of the concentration problem and a detailed investigation of the operations and effectiveness of the antitrust agencies, we concluded that "the imprint of failure is everywhere." In retrospect, all I can say is that if "failure" was the right word for 1946, the right word for today is "calamity." The temptation is strong indeed to echo the sentiments of the old Confederate veteran.

Let us consider some of the differences between then and now. There is first the subject of appropriations, a matter of prime interest to the antitrust agencies. In the, late forties and early fifties appropriations for the antitrust agencies were on the increase; between 1946 and 1953 appropriations for the Federal Trade Commission rose by 92 percent, while those for the Antitrust Division increased by 106 percent. Despite these increases the resources available to the antitrust agencies were pathetically inade-quate. Yet, since 1953 the trend has been In the opposite direction; between 1953 and 1955 appropriations have fallen 3 percent for the Federal Trade Commission and 11 percent for the Antitrust Division.

Then what has become of the Government's efforts to break up existing monopolies? In 1946 we had grounds to be reasonably hopeful on this score. In its decision in the Aluminum case handed down in 1945 the special court headed by Justice Learned Hand held that 90 percent control of an industry by one company was sufficient and that 64 percent control might be sufficient to constitute a violation of the Sherman Act. In the Tobacco case decided a year later the Supreme Court stated that it welcomed the opportunity to endorse cer-tain statements in the Aluminum case opinion, which were to the effect that a monopoly cannot be disassociated from its power, that its power cannot be dissasoclated from its exercise, and that if 90 percent of the ingot producers had combined it would have constituted an unlawful monopoly. On May 31, 1946 the then At-torney General, Mr. Tom Clark, announced a new program designed to break up existmonopolies, stating that the times required that competition be restored "by the seldom used processes of divestiture, divorcement and dissolution." The cases instituted in the next few years against the United Shoe Machinery Co., the major meatpacking companies, the Western Electric Co. and A. T. & T., the Du Pont Co., and General Motors were all part of this program. But where is any dissolution program today?

Perhaps the bitterest pill is what has happened in the field of mergers and acquisitions. In 1946 we were striving to plug up the long-standing loophole in section 7 of the Clayton Act, and we had every reason to believe that once this had been done, the Government would at long last be able to put a halt to competition-destroying mergers. Finally, after a truly incredible amount of work the Celler-Kefauver Antimerger Act was passed in 1950. As anyone who reads its legislative history and the accompanying

committee reports must agree, this is a strong and potentially far-reaching measure. Yet what use has been made of it? According to the Federal Trade Commission 2,300 mergers and acquisitions were reported to have taken place between 1951 and 1953. If the merger movement continued at the same rate through 1954, this would mean a total of around 3,000 mergers and acquisitions since the act was passed. I am not contending for a moment that all mergers are necessarily harmful in and of themselves. Yet it is almost inconceivable that out of this total there are not at least scores which might have adverse effects upon competition. Against this wave of merger activity what have the antitrust agencies done? We find that the Federal Trade Commission has issued 3 complaints and the Department of Justice has announced in the case of 1 proposed merger that it will object, should the merger take place. No final orders of any kind have yet been issued. So the box score reads, out of probably scores of times at bat, 4 hits and no runs.

There are still other issues where the promise of yesterday is the despair of today. Take, for example, the matter of basing point pricing. In 1946 we were most hopeful that the Supreme Court would uphold the Federal Trade Commission in the Cement case and that we would at last be rid of the evil, restrictive effects of this monopolistic pricefixing device. Insofar as the Court's decision is concerned, our hopes proved to be not unfounded. But what use has been made of that magnificent legal victory? During the last 2 years accounts have appeared in the press suggesting that industries which, following the Cement decision, abandoned the basing point system, have been quietly returning to it, or to something which closely resembles it.

Or, as another example, we did not dream back in 1946 that in an antitrust case the Supreme Court would turn back the clock and make the question of subjective intent paramount above all other considerations, even the effect on competition. But that is exactly what did happend when the court handed down its decision in the Standard Oil of Indiana case. As a result "good faith" now a complete defense to a charge of price discrimination. As Senators Macnuson, Langer, and I said in a report dealing with this decision: "We do not think that good faith should be paramount and controlling above all else. * * We know of no other satute, past or present, in which good faith licenses a person to violate the prohibitions of the law with impunity and without inter-ference. The controlling consideration must be the actual effect on competition, not the question of good faith."

The crippling effects of that decision can be seen in the fact that since it was handed down, the Federal Trade Commission under its new administration has not issued a cease and desist order in a single contested Robinson-Patman Act case in which the good faith defense was offered.

I could go on to cite other illustrations of deterioration in the antitrust laws and in antitrust enforcement, but these examples should make it clear why I have entitled my address. "Progress in Reverse".

As serious as these setbacks have been, they may well be overshadowed by a new development which casts a threatening shadow over the entire structure of the anti-trust laws. I am referring to the current agitation not only to revive but to extend the so-called Rule of Reason.

There is something plausible about the phrase "Rule of Reason," which, unfortunately has a peculiar semantic appeal. The semantics are also beguiling for other terms, such as "workable competition" and "taking all relevant economic factors into consideration," terms which appear with such frequency in current antitrust literature, and

which seem to be the modern-day synonyms of the "Rule of Reason."

Apart from its plausible sound, the term "Rule of Reason," as every member of this audience knows, is a term of art, with a special, and to my way of thinking, de-plorable meaning of its own. Since first handed down in the Standard Oil case in 1911, it has probably done more damage to the effective enforcement of the antitrust laws than all other rulings combined. Let recall the prophetic words of Justice Harlan in his vigorous dissent in that case. Pointing out that the Supreme Court had on two previous occasions refused to accept this doctrine, Justice Harlan stated:

"But my brethren, in their wisdom, have deemed it best to pursue a different course. They have now said to those who condemn our former decision and who object to all legislative prohibitions of contracts, combinations and trusts in restraint of interstate commerce, 'You may now restrain such commerce, provided you are reasonable about it; only take care that the restraint is not un-due.* * * When Congress prohibited every contract, combination, or monopoly, in re-straint of commerce, it prescribed a simple, definite rule that all could understand and which could be easily applied by everyone wishing to obey the law, and not to conduct their business in violation of the law. But now, it is to be feared, we are to have, in cases without number, the constantly recurring inquiry—difficult to solve by proof whether the particular contract, combination, or trust involved is or is not an 'un-reasonable' or 'undue' restraint of trade." (221 U. S. 102, 103 emphasis in original.) Before this audience I need not dwell upon

of this doctrine into the enforcement of the Sherman Act, particularly with respect to dissolution cases. Against the known record of the carnage which it has wrought, it is hard to realize that this doctrine is not only being strongly urged as the standard of lawfulness, but is apparently receiving in-

the catastrophic effects of the introduction

creasing acceptance.

It may have been forgotten in some quarters, but one of the principal reasons behind the enactment of the Federal Trade Commission Act and the Clayton Act in 1914 was the desire of Congress to pass legislation to which reason" the "rule of would not be applicable. The legislative history leaves no room for doubt on this issue. Thus the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee in its report of February 25, 1913 on what became the Federal Trade Commission Act recognized that the Sherman Act had become subject to the "rule of reason," and stated that because of that very fact new legisla-tion was needed to which this doctrine would not apply. Referring to the majority decision in the Standard Oil case, the commit-

"The fair conclusion is that it is now the settled doctrine of the Supreme Court that only undue or unreasonable restraints of trade are made unlawful by the Sherman Antitrust Act, and that in each instance it is for the Court to determine whether the established restraint of trade is a due restraint or an undue restraint."

Then after making it clear that it had "full confidence" in the "integrity, intelligence and patriotism" of the Supreme Court, the committee went on to state that—

"It is unwilling to repose in that court or any other court, the vast and undefined power which it must exercise in the administration of the statute under the rule which it has promulgated. It substitutes the court in the place of Congress, for whenever the rule is invoked the court does not administer the law, but makes the law. If it continues in force, the Federal courts will, so far as restraint of trade is concerned, make a common law for the United States just as the Figlish courts have made a common law for England.

"The people of this country will not permit the courts to declare a policy for them with respect to this subject. . . . It is inconceivable that in a country governed by a written Constitution and statute law the courts can be permitted to test each restraint of trade by the economic standard which the individual members of the court may happen to approve." (62d Cong., 3d sess., S. Rept. No. 1326, p. 10.)

It is gratifying for me to note that Judge Medina, speaking for the Second Circuit Court of Appeals, made the same interpretation of Congressional intent in his recent decision in the Dictograph case. This case involves exclusive dealing contracts which, the court held, were in violation of section 3 of the Clayton Act. In discussing the legislative history of this section Judge Medina

"With respect to exclusive-dealing contracts, the evident impulsion toward including a specific proscriptive provision was the desire on the part of the Congress to overrule by legislation an earlier decision of the Cir-cuit Court of Appeals * * * upholding, as not violative of the Sherman Act, what was tantamount to the refusal, by a leading producer of chewing tobacco, to sell to a dealer because the dealer would not agree to deal exclusively in the seller's products * * * was to make sure that the Sherman Act 'rule of reason' would not be employed to validate further transactions of such a patently undesirable nature that the proscriptive provision under discussion was thought neces-

sary. It is hardly likely that the insertion of the qualifying phrase, 'where the effect " " may be to substantially lessen competition or tend to create a monopoly,' was intended to reinstate the same Sherman Act tests which had, at that very time, been determined to be inadequate." (Dictograph Products Inc. v. Federal Trade Commission,

October term, 1954.)

Frankly I have become increasingly distressed by signs that the Federal Trade Commission, is reading the "Rule of Reason" into parts of the law where it is no longer applied by the Supreme Court, or what is worse, reading it into other parts of the law where Congress never intended it to apply. The essential question is whether the requirements now being imposed as to the amount and type of evidence constitutes in effect the adoption of the "Rule of Reason." I am concerned particularly with recent actions by the Federal Trade Commission in requiring extensive and perhaps unnecessary bodies of

The best description of what I am worried about appears in the November 1954 issue of Fortune magazine, entitled "The Urge to Merge." Referring to the Department of Justice's case against the Du Pont Co. for monopolizing the cellophane industry, the article states that, "Unless the the article states that, try, the article states that, "Unless the decision is reversed by the Supreme Court, the case appears to have shifted antitrust enforcement policy back to the 'rule of reason' of the 1920's." The article then

goes on to say:
"Essentially, this means that menagement, using its own data, can itself decide how much of a market it can exploit safely through a merger without inviting an antitrust action. Economists and statisticians, in other words, take the place of lawyers in helping management reach decisions of this kind. How good this is for the economy and how much it will lessen competition only the future will tell. Rule-of-reason enforcement has undoubtedly slowed down enforcement of antitrust; neither the Department of Justice nor the Federal Trade Commission has the budget or trained personnel to watch the markets constantly and move against a company or a group of them trying to rig one. The threat of antitrust action probably will stop flagrant attempts to minimize competition, but it need not stop a merger if management's conception

of the market position after merger is sound in antitrust terms. If Eugene Grace, for example, believes that the proposed merger of Bethlehem and Youngstown will strengthen competition in the steel industry (and many outsiders believe it will), chances are the merger will go through."

I realize, of course, that no journal speaks officially for the administration. At the same time, however, Fortune is a most reputable organ which, before publishing such an article, could certainly be expected to have familiarized itself with the administration's views. Moreover, the emphasis upon the rule of reason as the test of what is sound in antitrust terms is, of course, wholly in keeping with the general philosophy of Professor Oppenheim who, after all, is the cochairman of the Attorney General's committee on antitrust law revision. If this passage represents anything approaching an accurate reflection of the administration's views, the area of difference between the administration's interpretation of congressional intent and the interpretation made by those of us in Congress who sponsored and supported the measure is rather wide,

There is a possible historical parallel here which is worth noting. Several years before the Supreme Court established the "rule of in its decision in the Standard Oil reason" case, a bill was introduced to accomplish this same result through legislation. On behalf of the Senate Judiciary Committee Senator Nelson in 1909 reported adversely on the bill and it subsequently died. In his report Senator Nelson stated:

The injection of the rule of reasonableness or unreasonableness would lead to the greatest variableness and uncertainty in the enforcement of the law. The defense of reasonable restraint would be made in every case and there would be as many rules of reasonableness as cases, courts and juries. A court or jury in Ohio might find a given agreement or combination reasonable, while a court and jury in Wisconsin might find the same agreement and combination un-reasonable * * * To amend the Antitrust Act, as suggested by this bill, would be to entirely emasculate it, and for all practical purposes render it nugatory as a remedial statute." (Cited and quoted in 221 U.S. 96, 97.)

What Congress refused to enact in 1909, the Supreme Court read into the law in 1911. The Federal Trade Commission may be sorely tempted to emulate the Supreme Court of 45 years ago. It may be sorely tempted, but I trust it will not do so.

The daily press tells us that American business is today combining, uniting grouping and regrouping, merging, remerging and merging again. Competition as a way of life is under constant attack and small, independent business is on the decline. I, therefore, think it is of the utmost importance that Congress develop facts concerning the scope of the merger movement, the extent and strength of the thrust toward monopoly, and the decline of competition

in our economic life.

Congress needs to make an examination into the rise of new financial and industrial oligarchies, and highly integrated forms of business and management. Congress needs to examine business practices aimed at limitor eliminating competition. The ining or eliminating competition. The in-vestigation which our subcommittee con-ducted of monopoly in the power industry should be continued and broadened and deepened, so that the Congress may be fully informed as to the extent of monopolistic abuses which threaten a repetition of the Insuil-Hopson scandal. We need a full-scale inquiry into the growth of monopoly, is withering effects upon the small business of this country, and its effect upon our free competitive economy.

Perhaps new and better tools and policies of enforcement are called for. Meanwhile it is important that the executive branch make the best use possible of the tools now at its disposal. Congress meanwhile must concern itself not only with its important policymaking function in the field of monopoly but also with enforcement of these policies by the executive branch of the Government.

I can emphasize the necessity for this no better than by reading to you the concluding paragraph of the report published Mon-

day by our subcommittee:

"The danger to the country from monopoly run wild is written in large letters across the recent economic and political history of this Nation. The committee therefore feels that it cannot overstate the imperative necessity for the Congress to deal with this issue immediately."

Thank you.

Address Delivered by Former Secretary of the Air Force Thomas K. Finletter

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have published in the Appendix of the RECORD a very penetrating and keen analysis of American Asiatic problems and policies, set forth in a speech delivered last Saturday by the former Secretary of the Air Force Mr. Thomas K. Finletter.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

REMARKS OF THOMAS K. FINLETTER AT ROOSE-VELT DAY DINNER, WASHINGTON, D. C., FEB-RUARY 5, 1955, UNDER AUSPICES OF AMERICANS FOR DEMOCRATIC ACTION

It is now nearly 10 years since the death of the great President whose memory and

achievements we honor tonight.

It is often said that one of these great achievements—the New Deal—has had its day; and that the Democratic Party had better stop thinking of the old policies of the 1930's and 1940's and of the coalition of groups of voters which brought it the victories of those days.

This attitude misunderstands what Franklin D. Roosevelt did for the Democratic Party and for the country from 1933 on. For, while it is true that the Roosevelt revolution is now a part of our accepted social fabric and that a party cannot live on the remembrance of things past, there is one part of the New Deal that still lives on with continued, dynamic vitality. That is its deeply felt concern for the just and right, and its spirit of adventure in seeking the good.

I am not speaking, of course, of the aggregation of policies of the 1933-40 period. Nor do I mean the result of those New Deal policies—the coalition of groupings of voters which kept the Democratic Party in power

for 20 years.

I mean the spirit which motivated these policies, a spirit whose great quality is a willingness to make a change, to try the untried, if doing so will help satisfy a deeply-felt urge to defeat injustice, illiteracy, ill health and poverty, and to see to it that the people of America have full access to the privileges of free men.

It is important that this spirit be kept alive and vigorous. Important to the Democratic Party. Important to all the people

of the country.

I do not believe that the Democratic Party can win the votes of the American people unless it keeps this sense of adventure for the good. The one thing the Democratic Party has which the Republican Party has not, is this spirit.

The reason the country went normally Democratic in 1933 and has stayed that way is because after their experience with Presidents Franklin Roosevelt and Harry Truman the people came to believe in the Democratic Party. The reason they believed in it was that they were right in believing it. The party was not fooling them; it was not trying to win votes with favors and promises of favors. This was not circuses and bread, It was the real thing.

It was the real thing.

I do not mean that the Democratic Party was not trying to win the votes of the people during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. Of course it was. But it was the way it sought the votes that was important. It sought them by offering the best merchandise for the money. It did not offer shoddy goods. It did not offer goods that looked well on the surface but were intended to wear out so that replacements would have to be bought. It did not rely on advertising packaging, or merchandising. It offered the best it could make, the goods which would serve the customer best.

Of course there were failures, of course there were exceptions to this high-minded New Deal standard. The Democratic Party being part of the human race is not perfect. But I do think that this description I have just given rightly describes the spirit which dominated the Roosevelt and Truman administrations.

At the moment temptation is in the air. For there is another way of appealing for the votes of the people and it seems to be mighty effective with so many of the voters. This other way is the opposite of what I have described as the New Deal way. It is the way of salesmanship, of the bad kind of salesmanship, the kind that does not concern itself with the quality of what it sells. It is a political salesmanship which seeks to keep the people's mind off the issues that are important, the issues on which we Democrats know the people would support us if it were possible to have a debate on the merits. This political salesmanship is a short-term operation. It uses gadgets and tricks whose impact is immediate, violent and effective. It focuses on getting those votes in that next election. It relies heavily on the techniques of advertising. It sometimes—too often, alas—relies on falsehoods. Worst of all, on issues of great importance it often puts the interests of the party above those of the country. This political salesmanship is in a deep sense unconstitutional. For unless we use restraint in our struggles between the two great parties, unless we mark a boundary beyond which it is not permissible to go, no matter how close the election and how much either party wants to win it, our constitutional system will not stand the strain upon it. All Americans know or should know where this boundary is, in any given circumstance. It is where the politicking begins to harm the interests of the country. And all Americans know or should know that this boundary has been badly violated in the recent past.

There is a real problem for the Democratic Party how to meet this kind of political campaigning. It is all very well to say, let us believe in and practice the right, and right will triumph. But it is understandable that men in the Democratic Party should think; let us fight fire with fire, we can have our ideals (to be put into practice when we get into power) but there is this important preliminary business of getting elected. Let us fight this battle with the weapons, however illegitimate they may be, which now seems to be the customary ones.

Then, having beaten our opponents at their own game, we can go back to being what we really are.

Fortunately, for its own sake and for the country's, the Democratic Party has no intention of meeting fire with fire in this

The Democratic Party can defend itself against the techniques of salesmanship only by having confidence in the American people and by doing what it can to unmask the slogans and the advertising, and the falsehoods, so that the voters will be able to judge the two parties on their merits of their intentions and their acts.

But at the same time, the Democratic Party must continue to be better than the Republican Party on the merits. This it will not do unless it keeps up that readiness to explore and that concern with the well-being and the individual rights of human beings which are the substance and the soul of the New Deal.

It is not only of the political fortunes of the Democratic Party of which I am speaking. For as goes this struggle between political salesmanship on the one hand and the spirit of responsibility and concern for the right on the other, so will go the future of the American ideal of individual liberty under law. Unless the spirit of adventure in method and of idealism in substance wins out, liberalism in the United States will not come safely through the crisis in which we now are.

May I digress to defend that word "liberalism"? I might have used the word "freedom," and that would have been unexceptionable. But it is high time that we reject the slurs that have been put on the words "liberal" and "liberalism" and restore them to the high estate to which they are entitled. Liberalism is the method of freedom. If we let slander take that word away from us we shall have lost something of priceless worth. And slander is the way our opponents often take to try to make us give up the principles in which we believe.

May I add, too, that Americans for Democratic Action, now, and particularly now, has an important role in this struggle. The fundamental rights of freemen for which this country fought the Revolutionary War, and for which it has battled ever since, are under attack. Liberalism and idealism, and the organizations that stand for liberalism and idealism, as does the ADA, are the targets. Liberalism and those who support it are the bulwarks of the rights of freedom. They must not yield; they must be brought through the crisis in which they are now, to their old high place of prestige and honor in our great country.

in our great country.

It is for these things, for the substance of freedom and the method of liberalism, that we are now fighting. It is not alone, or even I think primarily, our physical safety which is threatened by Russia and its evil creed of communism. Of equal importance with our hides are our souls. And so far it is the latter which have received the worst wounds and are the most threatened, not, tragically enough, by our enemies but by ourselves.

This integrity of the creeds and of methods of freedom is an end, indeed, the greatest of political ends, in itself. So I could stop this argument at this point, and say that the end of freedom and the means of liberalism must be defended for their own sake against these improper and unconstitutional attacks that are being made upon them.

But there is one more point that is important and should be said. It is that unless we show considerably more respect for the proper limits of political debate on matters affecting our foreign policy, if we continue this idea that anything goes in politics so long as it wins votes, regardless of what harm it may do to our efforts to defend ourselves in the world and to seek peace, then

we cannot possibly have a proper foreign policy and cannot possibly defend ourselves adequately in the dangerous world in which we live

Already our failure to respect the proper limits of political debate, our injection of domestic political considerations into our national policies, have harmed us grievously in many ways.

It has harmed us in the image which we project of ourselves abroad. Our failure to stand by our principles of freedom and of liberalism at home have worried our friends in Europe and have discredited us in Asia.

Our use of slogans and catch-words has impaired our military strength. Slogans have actually cut into our military striking power, slogans such as the curious notion that cutting the military budget will give us more military strength than we had when we spent more money under the Democratic administrations; that a new magic efficiency will give us, in the words of that inelegant slogan, "more bank for a buck"; the talk of "paper wings" in the Air Force under the Democrats; and by those who put budget balancing above the Nation's safety, the line that the Russians are plotting to trick us into spending ourselves into bankruptcy.

Slogans such as these have cut our military budget below the safe level, and similar slogans have weakened our foreign policy or led it into dangerous paths in Europe and

As a result our prestige and our influence are at new lows in Europe and in the world outside of Europe.

We used to say, somewhat immodestly, that we, the United States, were the leaders of the free world. We do not hear so much of this talk now, not since the British and French took over the reeponsibilities of the free world at the Geneva Conference last November, after the Chinese had defied all our threats of massive violence and, disregarding the large chip on our shoulder, conquered Dienbienphu and all of northern Vietnam. Nor was our talk of our world leadership stimulated by the French rejection of the European Defense Community in the face of the most awesome warnings from us that we would massively withdraw from Europe unless she signed the EDC treaty promptly.

At the moment it is in Asia where we are in special trouble, with the dangerous crisis of Formosa, the second such we have had within a year. First it was in Indochina where threats by the United States clashed with Chinese aggression, and we came close to war. Now it is in the Formosa Straits.

This is not the time, unfortunately, to talk about how we got into our present position of defending Formosa and the Pescadores, alone, without allies, and not as part of an agreed United Nations position. Nor is this the time to discuss the merits, or lack of merits, of the foreign policies, and of the domestic political partisanship which brought this about. The critical nature of our position in the Formosa area, and the truculence of the Red Chinese, put upon all of us the obligation to support the President unitedly if the Red Chinese try to take Formosa and the Pescadores by war.

At some later date, when the situation, let us hope, will have become less dangerous, we must discuss this far-eastern policy of the administration, and particularly how it is that we got curselves into the position of being alone the defenders of Formosa, and why we have failed to try to internationalize our position of trusteeship in the area. For the present we must be restrained in our debate so that the Chinese and the Russians will have no grounds at all for doubting of our unity and our determination.

But this is not to say that there shall be no debate at all upon our Formesan policy. As long as we make clear to the Chinese and the Russians that we are united to resist any attempt by them to take Formosa and the Pescadores by war we may properly question various aspects of our policies in that area. The Chinese and the Russians will understand that debate in a free democracy is a proof and a source of strength, not of weakness.

The debate of this issue has already clarified and improved our agreed national policy. We have been assured by the President that he alone and not his military or his other advisers, especially the less temperate ones, will make the decisions where and how we are to fight if we are to. And we have been assured too that the President will allow our Armed Forces to be used for defensive purposes only.

I say our Armed Forces, for no one can be sure that once the fightling starts it can be limited to air and sea forces alone, or that it can be surely confined to the area of Formosa and the adjacent mainland, or even to the Continent of China itself. Let us not delude ourselves with the notion which has been so prevalent in much of our Far Eastern policy, that if we do have to fight we can do so cheaply, as the West used to do during the weak period of China under the Manchus and the Republic of 1912. There is no sure foreseeable limit to the fighting once it may start in the Formosa Straits.

So, in our constructive debate on the Formosa policy we may ask some questions. We may question whether it is a good practice to give warnings to our enemies, in advance, of just what we will and will not do with respect to this and that area of the world, and whether these warnings should be made by the executive branch alone or in the form of a joint resolution submitted to the Congress for its action. My own view is that as a general matter this policy of specific warnings should be applied only in exceptional cases; but that in the present instance it was necessary to use it. This, for the reason that our failure to follow through in Indochina on our warnings to the Chinese Reds about massive retaliation if they advanced further into Vietnam might have given the Red Chinese the idea, unless we had fortified our warnings about Formosa by the debate in Congress on the joint resolution, that we would also fail to react if they attacked Formosa and the Pescadores

We may also ask whether the Administration still wishes to press for a ratification of the United States-Nationalist Chinese Defense Treaty, or whether events have not so changed that this treaty would now run counter to the prospects of internationalizing Formosa and the Pescadores.

And, in this connection, we may ask for a clarification of the reasons for our position in Formosa. During the course of the tough line we have been following, alone, in the Far East recently we took on some serious moral commitments, including this commitment to Formosa and the Pescadores to defend them if they were attacked by the Red Chinese. But it is not clear whether this moral commitment is the basis for the action we have taken in the recent joint resolution or whether the basis for it is the military importance to the United States of Formosa and the Pescadores. The joint resolution itself seems to indicate that the reason is that "the secure possession by a friendly government of the western Pacific island chain, of which Formosa is a part, is essential to the vital interests of the United States." If this is true, the situation is very serious indeed. The word vital means necessary to life, the life that is, of the United States. This premise, it seems to me, nceds some examination.

Particularly, too, may we ask about this question of the internationalization of the islands, of our giving up our go-it-alone policy there. Why is it that the policy of internationalization of Formosa, which had been begun at the time of the Korean war, has been neglected.

You will remember that shortly after the Korean war President Truman announced that the future of Formosa and the Pescadores would be decided in the Japanese Peace Treaty or by the United Nations. Later in the same year 1950, in a note to Russia, the United States proposed a peace treaty with Japan which would have the four major powers concerned, Russia, China, Britain, and the United States, decide the future of these islands; or if they falled to agree within 1 year, would have the matter settled by the General Assembly of the United Nations where, it will be noted, there is no veto.

The Japanese Peace Treaty was finally signed, not just by the United States alone, but by 48 other nations. Certain areas not including Formosa and the Pescadores, were trusteed with the United Nations, with the United States as the sole administering authority; but the future of Formosa and the Pescadores was left open. Japan relinquished her claims to them, but where the title went to was not clear. If it went anywhere it would seem to have gone to the 48 nations which signed the peace treaty with Japan, as trustees, and with the duty to turn over their trust responsibilities to the United Nations just as soon as that body would accept them.

Clearly this Formosa-Pescadores problem is no longer a matter for the United States alone. It is for the United States to insist not only that the United Nations resist any aggression by the Red Chinese and do its best to arrange a cease-fire, but also that it relieve the United States from the go-it-alone responsibility which the United States has assumed for the protection of these islands, and further, that the United Nations take over the juridical duty of adjudicating the future of the inshore islands and of Formosa and the Pescadores as well.

The United States, I believe, should give up entirely this go-it-alone policy in Formosa and the rest of the Far East and should substitute for it a policy founded on juridical commitments and juridical principles. If we stop showing how tough we are and start showing how lawful we are we may have success and peace in our policy in the Far East.

Admittedly, we are dealing with a truculent and difficult enemy in that part of the world, who is not concerned with law, an enemy who has little interest in juridical principles. But if we, the United States, show that our concern is to do what is right and lawful, we may be sure of two things. First, that our national security will not be thereby impaired; on the contrary, it will be strengthened. And, second, that world opinion will support us and not the Red Chinese.

If we follow the opposite course, if we purport to act as the go-it-alone arbiter of much of the world, we shall imperil our politico-military security and we shall not have the support of world opinion.

Thus, because of the dangerous importance to the American people of the Formosan question, one is justified I believe, in suggesting that our policy there follow certain lines. For example:

1. The country will support the administration in the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores if the Red Chinese make war to conquer them.

2. We should quickly liquidate the position we find ourselves in of being alone, without allies, and not as a part of the United Nations, in defending Formosa and the Pescadores. We should quickly, wholeheartedly, and forcefully submit to the United Nations that the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores be internationalized; that those who, under international principles and international commitments are responsible with us for this defense, join fully in it; and that the responsibility for deciding the juridical status of Formosa and the Pes-

cadores, and of the inshore islands as well, be internationalized. These tasks should, most preferably, be undertaken by the United Nations. The solitary, go-it-alone position of the United States should be liquidated as

rapidly as it can be.

3. The Armed Forces of the United States must be used only and strictly only for defensive purposes. The Commander in Chief will decide what that requires. But it is of the highest importance that our United States forces be so deployed and employed as to avoid any legitimate charge that they have been provocative. It must be very plain, for world opinion and more importantly for United States opinion, that if shooting starts in this area it will be unmistakably the result of Red Chinese initiative.

The United States, which Franklin Delano Roosevelt did so much to build, is in a dangerous crisis. We must pray, devoutly and more solemnly than we may have for a long time, that we shall come safely through it, with honor, and with peace.

James F. Byrnes, Educator

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "James F. Byrnes, Edu-cator," which was published on January 23, 1955, in the State, of Columbia, S. C. This newspaper is one of the Nation's outstanding publications.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

JAMES F. BYRNES, EDUCATOR

In his long public career Mr. Byrnes excelled in many fields of public endeavor. As a member of each branch of the Congress of the United States he displayed unusual and effective legislative abilities. He was able to reconcile conflicting views and to fashion from these reconciliations well-drafted legislation. Though without any senatorial seniority, it was Mr. Byrnes, more than any other Senator, who was the effective force in pushing through the sweeping changes made in the first two terms of Franklyn D. Roosevelt's administration. As war mobilizer and assistant President he made a magnificent contribution to our World War Il efforts. As Secretary of State under President Truman he was the discoverer of the realities of Russian political ambitions and the architect of our present foreign policies.

Conceding the important services rendered in these and in other fields, it is Mr. Byrnes' contribution to public education, of which we wish to speak today. He had little formal education himself. He attended no high school, no college, no law school. He holds only honorary degrees from colleges and unionly honorary degrees from colleges and universities. Yet, because he made an unexcelled contribution to public education, no one more richly deserves the title of "Edu-

cator."

During his administration as governor, 1,200 small and uneconomical public school districts have been consolidated into 102 effective and only of school buildeffective units. The value of school buildings has increased from about \$90 million to \$190 million. Within these four years school facilities have been equalized as between white and Negro. This has been accomplished by allocating some 60 per cent of the capital funds for school construction to Negro schools. An average of \$147 has been allocated for each white pupil and \$314 for each Negro pupil.

Equally important has been the equalization between rural and urban children. In our concern over the inequalities as between races, we lost sight of the fact that the small country school district could not adequately provide for its children. For many years the Negro child in Columbia or Charleston has received a better education than many white children in our rural areas.

A statewide school bus transportation system has been effected so that all school children have modern transportation to consolidated and efficient schools. Teacher pay has been increased. Colleges have been given funds to help keep pace with the public schools and to provide teachers for them.

Much remains to be done. Much of the credit for this educational revolution belongs to legislators, to reports of educators, to school administrators, to experts in education and in finance. We are glad to say that our newspaper was an early advocate of a bond issue for school improvements. There

is credit enough for all.

But without Mr. Byrnes the revolution would not have occurred. He sensed the need for immediate action. It was his standing in the State that encouraged the legislature to enact the needed legislation. It was his influence that speeded the consolidation of school districts and the equalization of facilities.

Truly he has proved himself one of South Carolina's leading educators of all time.

Some Interesting Facts on Big Business, Big Government, and Big Labor

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CARL T. CURTIS

OF NEBRASKA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. CURTIS. Mr. President, I wish to submit for the RECORD an article by Mr. Gardner Cowles which appeared in Look magazine on February 8, 1955. It pertains to a survey which I believe will be of interest to those who read the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

An overwhelming majority of American adults today accept—and endorse—the viewpoint that big business is a good thing for the country. Those who approve those who disapprove by a proportion of 10 to 1. This approval is strengthened to 1. This approval is strengthened to 1. because the majority can, and do, cite specific reasons for their attitude.

These are major findings in a nationwide survey recently conducted for Look by the Opinion Research Corporation of Princeton, N. J. The survey reached into 83 communities in all parts of the country and sampled the opinions of all political and economic groups. Those who answered constitute a statistically accurate profile of the United States voting population.

For a new Congress, it may be politically significant that the survey shows general satistaction with present laws regulating big business. The findings also establish that three times as many people worry about the power of big labor unions as worry about the power of big business.

Bigness in government itself causes concern to just as many people as does bigness in

business, the survey indicates.

Despite disclosing a generally favorable attitude toward big business, and an impressively large acceptance of the idea that it is good for the country, the survey provides no sweeping mandate for big business to extend its political or economic influence. As tables and figures which follow indicate, sizable groups have criticisms of some business methods—although not of the concept of bigness in business itself.

The Opinion Research Corporation report closely follows a period in which considerable attention has been paid by the press and some agencies of government to several mergers of sizable industrial enterprises. It was likewise a period in which some elements in the Congress were announcing plans for active investigations into mergers and alleged tendencies toward monopoly. Yet, only one in a hundred of all those surveyed raised any question voluntarily about mergers, and less than a fourth expressed any fear of a tendency toward monopoly.

The ORC report, however, speaks for itself, and readers may draw their own conclusions from the factual material here presented. It has been abstracted from a series of detailed

statistical tables.

This was the first question asked in the survey: "In general, do you think that big business has been a good thing, or not, for the country?" It produced these responses:

Perc	ent
Good for the Nation	80
Not good	8
Both good and bad	7
No opinion	5

This basic idea that big business is good. rather than bad, cuts across the boundaries of the Nation's accepted political and economic groupings.

Percent saying big business good

Perc	cent
Upper income	84
Middle income	82
Lower income	75
Men	84
Women	76
Republicans	84
Democrats	79
Independents	79
Union members	73
Nonmembers	81
	1.38

Conductors of the survey went beyond this general question to find reasons for the atti-They asked for volunteer tudes expressed. comments on what was good or bad about big business. They then presented a series of statements on each side of the question and recorded agreement with statements. Then they asked which 2 or 3 of the comments seemed most important in each case. Here are some of those findings:

1. Big business provides many jobs—37 percent volunteered this as the greatest contribution of big business; 63 percent ranked this among the most important factors; 90 percent agreed when the statement was read to them. It was the most important pro-business factor in all three measurements.

2. It lowers prices through mass production—25 percent volunteered; 41 percent ranked it of highest importance; 83 percent agreed.

3. It promotes research-12 percent volunteered the observation; 40 percent-the third largest group—called it a most important

factor; 87 percent agreed.

4. It is the backbone of defense production-only 3 percent volunteered this point about national role of big business, 27 per-cent ranked this in the most important factors; but 79 percent—the fourth largest group—agreed with it. 5. It helps the Nation's growth and prosperity—13 percent volunteered; 26 percent ranked it in the most important list; 79 per-

cent agreed with it.

6. It improves our standard of living—12 percent volunteered this comment; another 14 percent cited better wages and benefits, and 20 percent mentioned that it provided more and better products. Two out of three agreed that big business provided better wages and benefits, and 57 percent agreed on the benefits of mass production.

Against this background, the survey then sought out attitudes on the regulation of business. Two out of every three persons feit that present laws regulating business were sufficiently broad and strong, and more than half feit that these laws were being adequately enforced. Nearly two-thirds thought a good job has been done in regulating big business, and 3 out of 4 thought that regulation in the present form was necessary and proper.

In this connection, the comment of a beauty-parlor operator in Missouri was one of many which seemed to sum up the attitude found in the survey: "I see no reason why they should be broken up by the Government if they are not infringing the laws. Let the Government stay out. If the business is law-abiding, why should the Government interfere?" On the question whether big business should be broken up, 84 percent favored keeping a close watch on them, only 10 percent favored breaking them up.

Against the feeling that a good job had been done in regulating big business, only 35 percent felt a good job had been done in keeping labor unions under control, while 56 percent thought that big labor unions were getting out of hand and this attitude cut across economic and political lines:

	Unions under control	Out of hand
Upper income Middle income Lower income Republicans Democrats Independents	Percent 31 34 41 26 43 34	Percent 64 57 48 68 47 54

Principal fears about big business are: It may harm small business or it may abuse its great economic power. Volunteered comments showed that 28 percent felt that the pressure on small business was the greatest problem, 24 percent that big business tended to become monopolistic and 15 percent that it represented too much power. When similar statements were read to people, a majority agreed that these are the major problems arising from big-business operations.

But the chart above indicates a marked rise in the number of business enterprises in the country. In May 1954, The Survey of Current Business reported: "Some 55 percent of the 1945-51 over-all increase in employment was in firms with less than 20 employees. * * This group accounts roughly for 95 percent of all firms and about one-fourth of all paid employment."

As the table at right indicates, the public still holds many erroneous notions about big business. What seems most significant is that, despite these notions, there is that broad underlying acceptance of and endorsement of bigness in business. On balance, it would indeed appear that these public attitudes should have a thought-provoking effect on any groups which seek to make bigness in business a political issue.

Statements read by interviewer	People think state- ment is—		
Seatements read by interviewer	True	False	No opinion
Practically all big companies make at least 6 percent net profit on sales. Fact: In 1963, 52 of the 100 largest manufacturers carned under 6 percent net profit on sales; 16 of those carned under 3 percent.	Percent 67	Percent 20	Percent 13
2. Since World War II, auto prices have gone up more than auto-industry wages. Fact: Average bourly earnings are running 62 percent and average weekly earnings 71 percent over 1946 levels, auto prices 49 percent higher.	45	32	23
 Practically all big companies have more employees than stockholders. Fact: Of the 100 largest manufacturers, 55 have more stockholders than employees—General Electric, for example, has 248,000 shareholders versus 222,000 employees. 	65	23	12
 Growing big companies have cut down the number of small companies in last 10 years. Fact: U. S. Tressury statistics show number of small firms, in last 10 years, increasing at about same rate as large companies. 	60	25	15
5. Big companies usually make more profit on defense orders than on regular business. Fact: Precise statistics are unavailable, but financial statements of large firms certify that defense work is low-profit business.	66	21	13
 In industry, big firms do a larger share of the business than they did 15 years ago————————————————————————————————————	88	5	7
 Most oil relining in United States is done by 3 or 4 big companies. Fact: Latest census gives first 4 firms 37.3 percent of oil-refluing business, a ratio that has actually declined since the 1930's 	75	14	11
 The 100 largest corporations make more profit than all the others put together. Fact: They account for much less than half of total corporate income. In 1953, their share of total corporate income (net) was 33 percent. 	48	23	29
9. After paying all expenses and taxes, what percent net profit on sales would you say the typical corporation makes? 3 out of 10 persons replying could not guess. The median estimate of those who did was 14:1 percent net profit. Fact: In 1953, the average net profit on sales for all corporations was 3.3 percent. The 1929-53 average was 3 percent.			

The Situation in Asia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, on Sunday evening, January 30, Mr. Justice

William O. Douglas, of the Supreme Court, delivered a speech at New York University on a subject he knows well, and at first-hand—the situation in Asia.

In the course of that speech Justice Douglas made what I consider some very arresting suggestions. I ask unanimous consent that this important speech by one of the outstanding public figures of our time be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Asia these days is turbulent; and the turbulence can be expected to increase in the years ahead. There was a time when a gunboat could go up the Yangtze or enter some troubled Asian port and perhaps without firing a shot, quiet the troubled waters. Those days are gone—forever. For those days, which meant quiet and peace to the western world, meant oppression and exploitation to the East.

Asia is on the march. She is partly democratic, partly Communist. Both forces are strong—one symbolized by Nehru of India, the other by Mao Tse-tung of Red China. Which of those forces will in the end be dominant in Asia, no one knows. But it is fairly clear that any victory of the democratic forces in Asia will turn primarily on the Asians themselves. If Asia is saved from communism, the Asians must save it. If the tide of communism is to be turned back in Asia or checked, the Asians themselves must manage it. No western power can determine Asia's fate.

India, protaganist of the democratic faith, is in a dramatic race with Red China, champion of communism. Each nation is bent on raising the standard of living of its people through an industialization program. Red China is doing it the Communist way: India, the democratic way. What the western nations do at this critical point in history is, of course, extremely important. If, for example, India requests increased financial aid for her program, the West would aid mightily in the fight against communism by pouring the aid to India.

But the west is in no position to dictate,

But the west is in no position to dictate. The nations of Asia, though young, are intensely proud. They are bent on retaining their independence. They are extremely sensitive to any intimation or suggestion that they should do the bidding of any foreign power. They seek recognition among nations as equals. They are determined to be beholden to none.

One reason why the Asian nations are acutely sensitive is the inferior status they were accorded by the foreigner through the centuries. The Asians are the colored people of the world, long looked down upon by the whites, long under the domination of colonial powers.

That history has made them sensitive to criticism from the West; stubborn when ordered around; militant when their independence is even remotely threatened.

These emotions run deep in Asia. That is why great disaster rides on the tides now sweeping Red China and Formosa.

Chiang Kai-shek's army is a good one. I was with it on maneuvers in 1952. But it is old; it is small; it is limited. It would not be able to land on Red China's coast unless the United States Navy put it there; and it would not be able to stay on the Chinese mainland, unless the United States Army and Air Force kept it there. In other words, if Red China is to be invaded, the United States must do it.

Invasion of Red China would be the most disastrous adventure possible for America. The sacrifice of our men and the waste of our fortunes would be part of the disaster. China is so vast and so deep and so heavily populated that armies can be easily swallowed up. Every invader learned the impossibility of conquest.

But there would be more than military tragedy in a war with Red China. The presence of a foreign army on China's shores would have two instant results. First, China would become united behind Mao Tse-tung just as we would become instantly united, if an Asian army ever landed on the west coast. Second, we would squander at once most of our prestige in Asia, We would demonstrate by deeds that we

were bent on a program of military, not political action in Asia.

While an invasion of Red China would be sheer tragedy, a surrender of Formosa to the Communists would be equally tragic. I have said before and I say again that the leadership in Formosa represents the past that failed, not the future with its hopes. The leadership in Formosa has no major following in Asia. Asia marches under reform banners, not under the flag of the old Kuomintang. But Formosa nevertheless represents important values. It has important military values to us, in the sense that our position would be weakened if it were in hostile hands. But I do not speak of that. I speak of the great humanitarian values at stake in Formosa.

That island has about 7 million people. They are mostly refugees—some Christian, some not, but most of them good citizens of the world community. Though Formosa is more or less a police state, social and economic programs of reconstruction have gone ahead at a good pace. Those programs would in time have saved the mainland from the scourge of communism. And on Formosa they offer a fair measure of social justice to the common man so far as his livelihood and his health are concerned.

It would lie very heavy on our conscience if we surrendered those seven million people to the communist executioners either by agreement or by the act of forsaking them. The President's decision to stand by them is, therefore, the only course which we in good conscience could tolerate.

That course, however, is only the beginning of the problem. Unless we look beyond it to the possibility of an ultimate peaceful solution, we may have no alternative but all-out war with Red China. And as I have said, that would be the most disastrous event that could befall us.

Political solutions of the China question are, I think, not only possible but within reach if we start from the premise that there are today two Chinas-the China of Pormosa and the China of the mainland. The problem is to draw a line between them and get a guaranty of nonaggression from each with some sort of United Nations trusteeship over the intervening islands involved in the controversy, until the dispute can be amicably resolved. That at least is the starting point. From there on the problem involves settlement of the differ-ences between Red China and the West and the admission of Red China into the United Nations, not to take the place of the other China but to take another seat. That is to say, the ultimate political settlement of the China problem involves recognition of two Chinas and the grant of seats in the United Nations to both of them. That is, I think, substantially the British viewpoint. The fact that it's British does not, of course, mean that it is necessarily sound. But at this point of time in history the British attitudes and policies toward Asia have a realism we sometimes lack. For the Brit-ish Commonwealth not only has roots in Asia as well as in Europe and North Amer-ica It is multiracial as well. Today ica. It is multiracial as well. Today Churchill therefore speaks with more authority the world around than we can often command.

The Charter of the United Nations presently includes the Republic of China in the Security Council and that seat is held by Chiang's China. Some change in that arrangement would be necessary. India, Pakistan, or some other democratic Asian nation could be substituted for China or added as a counterpolse to China on the Security Council. Or the present China seat on the Security Council might rotate among the larger Asian nations.

The continued nonrecognition of Red China will mean constant turmoll and trouble in Asia. There may be continuation of the turmoil and trouble, even after Red China gains admission to the United Nations. But the situation will be more manageable with Red China in, than when she is an outlaw. As an outlaw on the outside she will gain stature as a martyr in millions of Asian eyes. Inside she will be forced to a more responsible role. With Red China inside the United Nations we all will have a better chance to observe how tightly tied to Soviet Russia she really is.

The bald truth is that Mao is in control

The bald truth is that Mao is in control of the mainland with no prospect for an overthrow of his regime. It is the historic policy of the United States to recognize regimes who are firmly in control of a nation whether we like them or not. Recognition does not mean, and never has meant, approval. Recognition merely means (1) an acknowledgment that a regime is in control of a nation; and (2) that we should undertake to treat diplomatically with that power.

The subject of Red China has long been a bugaboo in American public discussion. Discussion of the subject has been banned from some schools. Those who expressed themselves in favor of recognizing Red China were disqualified for certain posts. One's attitude on the subject almost seemed to be a litmus paper test of his loyalty. It is time to put an end to the rule of the black silence of fear. It is time we got rid of the bugaboo. It is time we faced the issue of Red China squarely. This is the hour to bring into plain focus all the fears and suspicions and problems concerning Red China and to resolve them by debate.

If we do not face them now, we may be swept into the cataclysm. The risk of the cataclysm is needless. For our political ingenuity working through the offices of the United Nations are equal even to the staggering problems of Asia.

Water Conservation Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EARLE C. CLEMENTS

OF KENTUCKY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. CLEMENTS. Mr. President, a very excellent essay contest is being conducted in Kentucky by the Louisville Courier-Journal, the Louisville Times, and radio station WHAS, in conjunction with the soil conservation districts in the Commonwealth. This is the annual soil conservation essay contest participated in by the high-school students.

The fact that these essays are the work of our younger citizens is a good sign for the future. These young men and women show remarkable understanding of the vital part conservation plays in protecting the natural resources of our Nation.

The Rowan County News, of Morehead, Ky., in its issue of February 3, discusses this contest and reprints the winning entry in the Rowan County Soil Conservation District. The winner in this district was James Caudill, 16, of Elliottville, Ky. I believe James has written a very excellent essay, and to me it is a fine example of the many entries by students throughout Kentucky. I recommend a reading of it by my colleagues,

I ask unanimous consent to have the article from the Morehead newspaper regarding the prize-winning essay inserted in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FARMER WISE TO FOLLOW GOOD WATER CON-SERVATION PLAN, DECLARES ESSAY CONTEST WINNER

(By John D. Alexander)

James Caudill, 16, son of Mr. and Mrs. John Henry Caudill, Elliottville, a student at Morehead High School, has been selected by the local soil-conservation district as the Rowan County winner in the annual soil-conservation essay contest sponsored by the Courier-Journal, Louisville Times, radio station WHAS, and the Rowan County soil-conservation district. James will receive a \$25 savings bond for submitting the best essay in the contest.

The Rowan County soil-conservation district also sponsored a second place award of \$10 and a third place award of \$5. The second place award was won by Carl Caudill, 15, son of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Caudill, Sharkey, and the third place award was won by Freeman Hamilton, 16, son of Mr. and Mrs. Frank Lewis, Smile.

The subject of the essay was, How Water Conservation Benefits My Community. A total of 66 essays were entered in the contest, The three winners were students of Morehead High School and are members of the local Future Farmers of America chapter under the direction of Herbert Webb, vocational agriculture teacher.

tional agriculture teacher.

The first and second place essays were submitted to the Courier-Journal, Louisville Times, and radio station WHAS for competition in the State contest.

The following essay, written by James Caudill, won first place in the Rowan County Soil Conservation District contest:

"HOW WATER CONSERVATION BENEFITS MY COMMUNITY

"Everyone should have a vital interest in water conservation. Water is so important that without it we would be unable to live. Without water our fertilizers would be worthless. We all are affected by the conditions of the water in the community. This should be for everyone. They should be willing to make whatever contribution they can to water conservation. Cheap food today at the cost of water will mean not only high-cost goods tomorrow, but malnutrition and inefficiency.

"The farmer who follows good water-conservation practices has a better standard of living. He participates in many community activities, has a better income, pays his taxes, and is able to make a greater contribution to his community. The farmer who falls to follow good water-conservation practices differs somewhat in his judgment of values. He gets in few community activities, pays a minimum of taxes, and seems to get little joy out of life.

"The people of our community are bound together by common interests and ties. The community uses water for fire protection, sanitation, irrigation purposes, recreation, drinking purposes, animal growth, and other uses. In order to have good tobacco, corn, hay, pastures, or anything else, it is necessary to have a good water-conservation program.

"To do a complete job of soil and water conservation, a farmer must control erosion. He must drain excess water from wet land that is to be used for crops. He must farm his land in such a way that the soil will not run together. He must keep a good supply of plant food and organic matter in the soil. He must handle irrigation water, where irrigation is used, in such a way that he will not waste water or damage soil.

"Pastures cannot be used to good advantage without a dependable supply of water for livestock. On some farms this can be provided by developing springs, and making use of streams flowing through the farms. Ponds are also very useful for recreational purposes.

"Irrigation is being used more and more as a tool in conservation farming. Irrigation guarantees early germination and continued rapid growth of fall seedings of winter cover crops on rotation cropland. It makes possible good production of forage crops in periods of dry weather. Irrigation is most profitable on fertile soils.

"The area of our county is small. Morehead is the county seat and community center. People buy necessities, pay taxes, work, and live here. Morehead serves all of Rowan County, and sometimes neighboring counties. There is some industry here, but the people of the community depend largely upon farming for a living. This makes water conservation very important to them.

"Our water comes from rain and snow. A part of this water soaks into the soil. This supplies springs and wells. The movement of water from the clouds to the land, from the land to the oceans, and from the oceans back to the clouds is known as the hydrologic cycle.

"The community has a medium water supply. The average rainfall for Rowan County is 46 inches per year. We have some underground water, which supplies wells. The community gets water from ponds, lakes, and water that is impounded. We also get some water from streams.

"The importance of watersheds and reservoirs has been brought to our attention with the coming of the Soil Conservation Service and other agricultural agencies. The watersheds of our community are relatively small. The main stream is the Licking River. Some of its tributaries are Christy Creek, North Fork of Licking, Triplett Creek, and North Fork of Triplett. A watershed is all the area from which water flows to a central point, It may be a few hundred acres draining into a small creek, or it may be a million acres. All the water from the Licking River and Ohio River drains into the Mississippi River, and it, in turn, drains into the Atlantic Ocean. Everyone in the community benefits from a watershed-protection program. The farmers profit from higher incomes per acre and improved yields. City people benefit from the higher purchasing power. A watershed-protection program also keeps silt out of lakes and reservoirs and helps maintain water supplies for industry and the homes.

"Frequent floods are caused by lack of a watershed-protection program. A watershed-protection program includes using each piece of land for what it is best suited. These practices include: Soil treatment, contour cultivation, sod waterways, cover crops, terraces, diversion channels, ponds, woodland conservation, and many other related practices.

"We should pay more attention to terracing and contouring. They reduce erosion. A contour is a line around a slope at the same elevation at all points. Terraces are constructed across a slope so that water will soak into the soil, as it flows slowly off the land. Water properly managed does not wash away our topsoil. We should sow our fields in cover crops to reduce erosion, take up available nitrogen, and add more organic matter to the soil.

"Our community is affected by mismanagement of water. One mismanagement of water is the pollution of streams. This makes water unsafe for use. Some people clear the hills and cultivate them, thus causing siltation of the streams. We should not

burn the forest or let livestock graze the woodlands. Protecting the forests will not only improve the woodland stand, but will also leave more leaves on the ground to hold water.

"Last summer people had a shortage of water. Many ponds were constructed because of a shortage of water. This shortage of water causes farmers to receive lower yields of crops and less production of livestock. This brings about a lower standard of living.

"Our lives, the growth and health of our communities, the growth of industry, our prosperity, all depend upon a regular supply of good, clean, and usable water. To live a healthy, happy life, to go boating, swimming, and fishing, we need good water."

Irrigation Brightens Dixie's Future

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. STROM THURMOND

OF SOUTH CAROLINA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. THURMOND. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Irrigation Brightens Dixie's Future," which appeared in Nation's Business magazine for February 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

IRRIGATION BRIGHTENS DIXIE'S FUTURE (By Stanley Frank)

Irrigation that transformed western deserts into productive land is moving back to the South and Southeast to help fight prolonged dry spells in a normally heavy rainfall area.

Less than 3 percent of the tilled land in the United States today is irrigated. Yet it yields a fourth of the Nation's agricultural products. Southern farmers never thought they needed irrigation. They're now finding out that having water when it's needed can mean increased production and elimination of damage to crops by drought.

The drought that ravaged the South last year, the worst ever recorded, was a disaster forecast by Jim Eleazer with the fervor and conviction of a Biblical prophet.

Mr. Eleazer, a homespun South Carolinian, has been the most ardent missionary for irrigated farming in his section for a decade. Like other crusaders with long-range objectives, his warnings have been shrugged off as false alarms. Few men can restrain the impulse to crow "I told you so" when their vision is vindicated, but the fulfillment of his prediction gave Mr. Eleazer no satisfaction. It was a victory achieved at frightful cost. In his home State alone, \$120 million worth of crops withered on the vine in 1954.

"The tragic part of the whole thing is that irrigation could have brought profits 3 times greater than the losses," says Mr. Eleazer, agricultural information specialist at Clemson College.

"That figure is not guesswork," he says. Controlled experiments in Southeastern States have proved conclusively that irrigation triples, at the very least, the productivity of the soil.

All the money that went down the drain last year could have irrigated the 11 million acres under cultivation in South Carolina

if farmers had prepared for it a few years ago when times were good.

Cost of installing and operating irrigation systems in that region is negligible compared to costs in the West. "We don't have to bring water a thousand

"We don't have to bring water a thousand miles from distant snowfields," Mr. Eleazer says. "The Good Lord sends us ample rain. The trouble is it doesn't always come when we need it. Our problem is to conserve rain and draw upon it when dry spells threaten crops during critical growing periods."

Mr. Eleazer believes that something as

Mr. Eleazer believes that something as simple as digging a pond, or a big, open pit on every farm will do the trick. The water lost by seepage and evaporation will be balanced by the average rainfall, he says. "If that supply is not sufficient," he con-

"If that supply is not sufficient," he continues, "another cheap source of water can be tapped from wells. Although the water table is at an all-time low due to last year's drought, surveys show there is much better than an even chance of hitting an underground spring practically anywhere in the southeast. It's a sad commentary that our farmers had to pay through the nose before they were convinced that irrigation is crop insurance, but it's a lesson they won't forget in a hurry."

Irrigation, the new byword, is a strange word in the South. Every schoolboy knows the vital role irrigation has played in the development of the West and in the expansion of the national economy, but the South ignored the tremendous implications of the new water frontier opened beyond the Mississippi.

The fertility of vast western tracts which were barren 2 generations ago has been achieved at no expense to the Government. A common misconception is that western farmers owe their prosperity to lavish handouts from Federal agencies in the form of dams and watersheds built with public funds. Such is not the case.

Fully two-thirds of the 22 million acres now under irrigation are serviced by privately and cooperatively owned enterprises. The remaining 7 million acres are supplied with water from 69 major projects built by the Department of the Interior's Bureau of Reclamation and operated on a self-liquidating basis. Assessments vary with distance and terrain, but farmers pay an average of \$3.50 for every acre-foot of water used and they are charged about \$3 per acre a year to amortize construction costs.

Further, the tax revenue from land irrigated by Federal facilities has amounted to more than \$3 billion since 1916—a sum that exceeds by 25 percent the total cost of building and equipping the projects. The evidence is clear that irrigation is good business for all concerned.

In the past 50 years there have been two great revolutions in America's largest industry—mechanization and irrigation. The traditionally conservative South adopted mechanization, the more expensive proposition, but irrigation was considered unnecessary in an area singularly favored by indulgent nature.

Meteorologists call the region between the Mississippi and the Atlantic the rainfall belt. Compared to the rest of the country, it is. The average annual precipitation in the United States is 30 inches. Southern States average 50 inches of rain a year, apparently adequate for the inch of water a week which crops need for good harvests. The Appalachian Mountain Range, running like a spinal column from Alabama to the Canadian border, feeds an extensive network of rivers and streams. The South is in fine shape for water—but it's all a snare and a delusion.

"Official records of the past half century show that South Carolina averages siz

droughts a year, each lasting at least 2 weeks," Mr. Eleazer points out. "The figures for neighboring States are about the same as ours. It's a mortal cinch that one important crop a year will be ruined by a dry spell. But from time immemorial farmers have accepted crop failures as unavoidable hazards.

"That's utter nonsense. It's high time they took measures to protect their investments in crops. I shudder to think of the consequences if they don't. Long-range weather forecasters say we are heading for a period of prolonged drought. We had one of those cycles in the early 1900's and I still have a vivid recollection of the suffering it caused. I don't want to see a catastrophe like that again."

Southern farmers are not the only people who have been guilty of apathy and lack of foresight in failing to embrace the advantages of irrigation. Experts were guilty of the identical charge. They pulled a mon-umental boner when the Tennessee Valley Authority was created in 1933. Congress approved the construction of 27 dams for power, flood control and navigation in an area of 41,000 square miles-but not a single men-

tion was made of irrigation.

"It's incomprehensible that irrigation was not included in the TVA Act." comments D. S. Mitchell, chief of the Bureau of Reclamation's land and water division. added cost would have been a drop in the bucket, but everyone subscribed to the belief that supplementary irrigation was not needed in the South." Mr. Mitchell adds that another stumbling block was an old law restricting the Bureau to operating irrigation projects in 17 States west of the 100th meridian.

"That law is still in effect," he says, "but there is no question that it must be Every section of the country can amended. use irrigation sometime during the year. Farmers in the rainfall belt think they can do without it, but once every 4 or 5 years they're hit by drought-and they clamor for help. Right now, truck gardeners are put-ting on a big drive for irrigation on the Maryland peninsula, where it seems to rain

all the time."

The South's currently intense interest in irrigation stems directly from the efforts of two men. One, of course, is Mr. Eleazer. The other is W. B. Camp who, by Mr. Eleazer's own testimony, "is my mentor, sponsor, and chief inspiration."

A South Carolinian, Mr. Camp went to work for the United States Department of Agriculture after graduating from Clemson College in 1916. He was sent to Bakersfield, Calif., to make trial plantings of long-fiber cotton and promptly ran into violent opposition. Californians called cotton a "poverty crop" and

Wanted no part of it.

Today, the revenue from cotton exceeds California's combined income from fruit, the State's better-known product. The Kern County Land Company gave him a small plot of undeveloped land for the Shafter Experimental Station, however, and he began to raise cotton by irrigation.

In 1928, Mr. Camp left Government service to go into irrigation farming on his own. He now is one of the biggest farmers in the country with his bumper crops of cotton, potatoes, alfalfa, and sugar beets. ure of his success is that it costs him about \$6 million just to plant his potatoes.

In 1946, he returned to Clemson College in South Carolina for his 30th class reunion, an event that was to have a significant impact on southern agriculture. Disturbed by conditions in his home State, Mr. Camp decided to do what he could to raise the level of farm income among his old friends and neighbors, and he knew no better agency than irrigation, which had conferred such bountiful benefits upon him. He chose Mr. Eleazer, his classmate, to be his disciple and to spread the gospel of irrigation.

Jim Eleazer, the son of a poor country doctor, wanted a farm "so bad I could taste after graduation, but he had to settle for a job as county agent, keeping farmers informed of new developments. By 1941 he was known so well in the field that approximately 100 newspapers printed his weekly columns and a network of rural stations carried his weekly radio programs. During the war, Mr. Eleazer also ran the Clemson College agricultural information service in his spare time. He admits he had nothing more than an academic interest in irrigation until he was exposed to Mr. Camp's contagious enthusiasm, and then he went whole hog for it.

The crusade was launched with a \$15,000 donation from Mr. Camp for portable irrigation equipment to give demonstrations in South Carolina and adjoining States. Mr. Eleazer applied his knowledge to experiments on private farms and State agricultural stations. You don't have to hold a degree in agronomy or even know which end of a cow eats to understand the spectacular results achieved. The figures tell an eloquent story.

Two adjacent acres were planted with cotton at Clemson last spring. One, not irrigated, produced four-tenths of a bale worth The other was irrigated and produced 1.6 bales worth \$320. It cost \$100 to prepare the acre for irrigation, leaving a difference of \$140 in additional income. The differential will be closer to \$230 an acre, however, because irrigation costs are only \$10 a year after equipment is installed. In another experiment, at the Watkinsville Experimental Station in Georgia, an average of 742 pounds of seed cotton was gathered from an acre of irrigated land in 1952 against 253 pounds from fields watered only by rain.

W. N. Henderson, of Ninety Six, S. C., watered 1 cornfield 4 times in 1953, and got 110.6 bushels an acre. Another field, irrigated twice, produced 73 bushels an acre. A third field that was not irrigated at all gave 8.3 bushels of nubbins. Veteran farmers were flabbergasted when the national corn-growing champion of 1952 turned out to be 13-year-old Lamar Ratliff, of Baldwin, In a year of severe drought, Lamar grew 214 bushels of corn on 1 acre. He used irrigation.

Other experiments have proved equally astounding. W. D. Workman, of Timmons-ville, S. C., increased his tobacco yield by 498.7 pounds an acre with irrigation. In Kentucky, the tobacco yield was increased by an average of 561 pounds per acre on 42 farms in 19 counties.

Unmistakable evidence of an awareness of Mr. Eleazer's drive for irrigation can be seen and heard at every turn in South Carolina. At the Clemson House, where I checked in recently, I asked the bellman, who was obviously a student at the college across the road how things were going.

"Everything would be fine if it would only rain," the boy answered. "We won't have to worry about that in a few years, though. We won't have to depend on the weather when we have irrigation."

The following day the paper featured the prize-winning exhibit at the Anderson Fair, a model of a farm bearing the inscription: "Irrigation-The Missing Link." The Commercial Bank & Trust Co. of South Carolina ran, a page advertisement in the Columbia State urging the legislature to enact laws making water available for irriga-tion. "This bank and the other banks in the State of South Carolina have plenty of money to loan good, substantial farmers to buy irrigation equipment, if water can be provided," the ad read.

"Such measures must be taken to protect the farmer and the economy of the country," Mr. Eleazer maintains. "Irrigation insures the good harvests a farmer requires today to meet high costs of production. In the old days, all a farmer needed was a good, strong arm and a compost heap for fertilizer. If a drought wiped out his crops, he tightened his belt, his family wore patched clothes, he put off painting his house and maybe his children didn't go to school. He managed to tide himself over until the next year by selling timber or a few head of livestock.

"But those days are gone forever. farmer now has a heavy capital investment in machinery and improvements on his land. He no longer can afford losses. Farming is big business today. To realize his potential, a farmer must be assured of water when he needs it and irrigation is the only solution to his age-old uncertainty. Without it he faces the specter of ruin constantly."

Mr. Eleazer's argument is irrefutable. The farmer is a businessman, with an average investment of more than \$14,000 in land and property. That is somewhat more than the corresponding figure for many small retail

Research Foundation at Lowell Technological Institute, Lowell, Mass., Is Known as the Textile Bureau of Standards

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDITH NOURSE ROGERS

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mrs. ROGERS of Massachusetts. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following material by Mr. James Nevin Miller concerning the work being done at the Lowell Technological Institute at Lowell, Mass., in testing textiles for the Department of the Air Force:

PULLING STRINGS FOR THE AIR FORCE-RE-SEARCH FOUNDATION AT LOWELL TECHNO-LOGICAL INSTITUTE TESTS PARACHUTE FABRICS BY ELECTRONICS TO LEARN BREAKING POINT

(By James Nevin Miller)

All over America Lowell Technological Institute is known as the Textile Bureau of Standards. The nickname is well earned. The institute occupies the No. 1 position in education in the fields of textile chemistry, manufacturing and engineering.

Tech also maintains one of the Nation's leading research foundations. Under the guidance of John H. Skinkle, a graduate of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the foundation is investigating industrial and military problems relating to physics, biology, engineering and industrial economics in the fields of textiles, paper, leather, plastics, electronics and related areas of interest,

Take note of some recent achievements of the foundation while conducting safety research for the United States Air Force. standing is the development of a device that can measure shock forces built up when a truckload of supplies worth up to \$25,000 and weighing 100,000 pounds is dropped from Then there's a new test proan airplane. Then there's a new test pro-cedure that tells in a matter of minutes exactly how and why a piece of nylon fabric breaks and causes a parachute to open im-

For months the Air Force has been using various cushioning materials that are placed around aircraft "drop kits." The latter are boxes containing supplies and equipment, which are dropped from airplanes into remote areas. Sometimes complete truckloads weighing up to 60 tons are dropped and often the cost to Uncle Sam for a single load may exceed \$25,000.

Obviously, the cushloning material must be foolproof. For evaluating its worth, the Lowell researchers devised the shock-measuring machine. The only one of its kind, it analyzes samples up to 2 feet in diameter and 1 foot high at temperature extremes down to -60° F. and up to 160°. Impact loads in excess of 100,000 pounds have been recorded at simulated speeds up to 35 miles per hour. On the basis of the data now being obtained, the Lowell scientists hope they can help select the safest and best cushioning materials.

Used in connection with the shock machine is the standard testing device called an analog computer. This calculates and records the results of tests made in the shock machine. The device will do in 1 minute the complicated work that normally requires 3 scientists a full day to complete.

scientists a full day to complete.

The new test procedure developed for measuring wear and tear on nylon parachute fabrics uses an electronic-mechanical machine that simulates the effects of speeds and other factors that create friction on the parachutes and reduce their wear. James Sweeney is the top technician on this program. Under the method, he explains, a small piece of fabric from the main "um-brella" of a parachute is wrapped around a wheel. A piece of parachute shroud is wrapped over that, with a dead weight hanging from it. The wheel, with the two pieces of attached fabric, is then made to rotate at a speed of 50 miles per hour for 30 seconds. From the damage recorded on the fabric the researcher not only evaluates exactly how and why the fabric wears and tears but also the value of lubricants used in the fabric to give it special qualities.

The importance of such research scarcely can be exaggerated. For years the Air Force has been studying the improper functioning of parachutes caused by tears on the canopy and shroud lines. The big safety problem is to find methods of preventing such tears. Another aim is to develop new and more efficient lubricants. As soon as the Lowell research has been completed and analyzed, the immediate objective is to place parachute fabrics in wind tunnels and see how they stand up under the battering of strong winds that develop at simulated supersonic

speeds. Another new machine developed at Tech is one that measures the amount of static electricity in a piece of parachute fabric. The machine is so sensitive that it can record the breathing of a man 10 feet away. Static electricity may not sound important to the average person, but it always has been a headache to manufacturers of women's nylon slips. Sometimes during the manufacturing process the static gets so bad the materials cling to the machinery and damage the fab-Fibres and yarns also tend to stick together. The problem is even more serious to the air force because if a section of parachute is even slightly worn due to static electricity, the 'chute may rip apart and fail carry an airman to the ground.

Today the static electricity machine is being used mainly to evaluate a number of new antistatic agents used in parachute fabrics. It is airtight and can be set up for any desired temperature and humidity, as low as -30° F., and as high as 125°. Operator of the machine places a sample piece of fabric between two electrodes and in less than a minute is able to measure the electrical resistance of the sample, either in its original, manufactured state, or when impregnated with an antistatic agent.

Such are a few of the recent achievements of Lowell Tech's research foundation. It is performing valiant service for the Air Force, the Bay State, and the Nation. Kaiser Aluminum Grows

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HARLEY M. KILGORE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. KILGORE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial from the American Metal Market, entitled "Kaiser Aluminum Grows," which reviews the growth of the company since 1946, including the proposed plant at Ravenswood, W. Va.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

KAISER ALUMINUM GROWS

The recent acquisition of an aluminum forging plant at Erie, Pa., by Kaiser Aluminum & Chemical Corp., and that firm's earlier announcement of its plans to build a sheet and foil rolling mill at Ravenswood, W. Va., attract attention to an industrial organization whose rapidity and solidity of growth are remarkable even in the aluminum industry—itself a phenomenon of growth among industries.

Growth is probably the salient characteristic of Kaiser Aluminum's corporate An instinct for dynamic and aggressive growth, tempered by an innate businesslike conservatism which causes the firm to consolidate its position in each area before moving on to new fields of endeavor, has enabled the company, in the brief span of 8 years, to establish itself as one of the major pillars of the Nation's aluminum industry. In the past 3 years the corporation has more than doubled its production. It now produces close to 30 percent of the Nation's total aluminum output and is constantly extending its fabricating activities into new fields. Or the record, there would seem to be a sound basis of fact for Kaiser's claim to be the fastest growing of the major aluminum producers.

An interesting feature of this company's growth pattern is that it reverses the historical direction of industrial expansion in the United States—Kaiser Aluminum has expanded from the West to the East.

From the firm's point of origin on the west coast, where it has corporate headquarters at Oakland, Calif., the center of gravity in Kaiser Aluminum's activities has shifted steadily eastward toward the Nation's biggest markets. The company's sales headquarters are in Chicago, a central position from which the firm can closely direct its competitive effort in the Midwest and East. With the advent of the Ravenswood and Erie projects, the bulk of Kaiser's operations now lie east of the Mississippi.

While Kaiser Aluminum's growth has been rapid, apparently each move has been carefully planned. The location of the firm's proposed Ravenswood sheet mill is a case in point. Centrally situated with respect to the great markets in the East and Midwest. the mill will be in the rapidly growing Ohio River Valley industrial area--an advantageous site for the many smaller aluminum fabricating firms that invariably spring up in the vicinity of a major producer's plant. Another advantage of this location on the Ohio River lies in the fact that Kaiser's huge Chalmette, La., reduction plant-the Nation's largest-is located on the Mississippi, providing a potentional transportation link,

The driving force behind Kaiser's growth has been a basic optimism with regard to aluminum's future. When the company, privately capitalized, entered the aluminum field in 1946 by leasing—and later buying—the Mead reduction plant, Trentwood rolling mill, and Baton Rouge alumina plant, many economists and industrial experts viewed aluminum's postwar potential with misgivings. "Aluminum will be coming out of our ears" was an expression frequently used to characterize the metal's market prospects. All these facilities had been closed at the end of World War II, and the Defense Plants Corporation almost despaired of finding a qualified firm willing to assume the responsibility of owning and operating them. Kaiser was willing to shoulder not only these responsibilities, but new ones. In 1947 the firm purchased a second aluminum reduction plant at Tacoma, Wash., and in 1949only 3 years after entering the aluminum field—it purchased, with private capital, the 3 originally leased plants.

Expansion and integration of these plants and diversification of their products began almost immediately, followed by planning for new facilities to keep pace with the rapidly expanding market for aluminum products. By 1949, also, the firm had established a rod, bar, and wire plant at Newark, Ohio, and was rolling foil in a mill at Permanente, Calif. In 1951 it began operating an extrusion plant at Halethorpe, Md.

Upon completion of these installations, a

Upon completion of these installations, a \$230 million facilities expansion program—again privately financed—was launched. It came to a climax with the completion of the Nation's largest reduction plant at Chalmette, La., and development of companyowned bauxite mines on Jamaica in the Caribbean.

Kaiser's primary aluminum capacity in 1946 was 216 million pounds. Today its annual capacity is more than 800 million pounds—nearly 30 percent of the Nation's total primary capacity. In addition, Kaiser is today capable of turning out 600 million pounds of aluminum mill products. Sales for the past fiscal year totaled \$226,641,000. The company employs approximately 13,500 persons who share a payroll totaling more than \$50 million. It pays \$10 million yearly in Federal, State, and local taxes. It spends \$88 million on purchases throughout the Nation. Altogether, Kaiser can view its past 8 years with justifiable pride.

Venezuela's Solidarity and the Campaign Against Petroleum Imports

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANTE B. FASCELL

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. FASCEIL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial which appeared in the Americas Daily, of Miami, Fla., on February 2, 1955:

VENEZUELA'S SOLIDARITY AND THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST PETROLEUM IMPORTS

For some years a movement has been detected in a certain sector of the United States, with tendencies toward the restriction of foreign petroleum imports, which, if it evolved into a Federal law, would be disadvantageous to the Venezuelan economy.

During the last few months the campaign has been gaining momentum, and although it has not as yet found acceptance in the spirit of the leaders of public opinion and in Congress, the problem has been evolving in a manner that takes chances, for want of a better word, with the good commercial relations existent between the United States and Venezuela.

It is tremendously important to the Government and the people of the United States to have petroleum in Venezuela and that those wells be in full production, in the case of a military emergency and, in addition, so that Venezuela can export it and acquire dollars to permit it, as it is doing, to import great quantities of materials from the United States.

As soon as the crisis in the Far East took on preportions of grave danger, the Venezuelan Government manifested its solidarity with the Government in Washington and, above all, has emphasized their offer of na-

tural and strategic resources.

If, unfortunately, a third world war were to break out, a terrible but not discarded possibility, the Venezuelan petroleum which a minority in the United States would now refuse, would become extraordinarily and de-

cisively important in the defense of this country and the Western World.

It would not be fair, to say the least, to think about closing the doors to this Venezuelan product in time of peace, to later take advantage of it, as a matter of urgency, when the circumstances of war demanded it.

There is an overt contrast between the solidarity offered by Venezuela to the United States and the attitude assumed by a certain sector of the economy of this country which is exerting political influence, or trying to exert it, for the purpose of disrupting the Venezuelan economy with measures, which in reality, will benefit but little the economy of the United States.

On the other hand, removing the problem from the field of political solidarity and from its military aspect, it is well to emphasize that the economic advantages that might accrue to this country as a result of limiting petroleum imports could result in very bad commercial consequences for the United States. And that is so because drastically reducing the buying power of Venezuela, would of necessity imply reduction in the volume of imports made by that country from the United States, imports which reach many hundreds of millions of dollars per year.

Fortunately the movement to which we have referred has not been favorably received by the majority of the official circles in the Capitol nor by the President. On the contrary, the attitude of the White House has been clear in discouraging any measure tending to harm the economy of Venezuela or of any other Latin American country.

Statement by Mr. Charles P. Taft, President, Committee for a National Trade Policy, Inc., Before the Ways and Means Committee of the House of Representatives in Support of the Trade Agreements Extension Act of 1955, February 7, 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JERE COOPER

OF TENNESSEE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. COOPER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the REC-ORD, I include the following:

There has been a simple pattern in the testimony on H. R. 1 over the past 10 days.

Those who have testified in support of H. R. 1 have included spokesmen for practically every large organization whose primary concern is with the national interest. The bill has also been supported by many individuals representing many industries or groups of industries. On the other hand, almost all of the testimony in opposition to the bill has come from groups which were worried about some particular product or some particular segment of their industry.

There have been allegations of specific injury calling for protection. There have also been broader-based attacks on the bill. Take the question of defense. The people in one fragment of the chemical industry, part of the watch industry, some segments of the petroleum industry, and some of the electrical industry have told you that more tariff reductions will hurt our defense production facilities. But Secretary Dulles and Secretary Wilson, who worry about our defenses on a full-time basis, have said that we need H. R. 1 to keep our defenses strong.

Consider the question of employment. The glass workers, pottery workers, fishermen, mine workers, and hat workers, have told you in effect that they are afraid some of them may loss their jobs if this bill is passed. But the national organizations of the CIO and the A. F. of L. and the Railway Clerks say that this bill will help American labor and will increase job opportunities. And the Secretary of Labor agrees with them.

Very much the same pattern has held in the testimony of business and other groups. Representatives from a score or so of different industries have testified that H. R. I is bad for their business. But broadly-based business groups, like the United States Chamber of Commerce, the CED, and the Committee for a National Trade Policy and the groups that represent just people, like the League of Women Voters, say that this bill is good for the national economy.

This distinction occasions no surprise to anybody. It is the same distinction that existed 10 years ago, in 1945, when the only previous debate on increased authority for the reciprocal trade-agreements program Then, as now, the pottery intook place. dustry, the glass industry, the organic chemical group, the glove industry, the hatters and others told you that the trade-agree-ments program would destroy them. Then, as now, the administration and the broad national groups representing labor, industry, and the consumer, denied it, and opposed the position of these industries. Then, as now, I stood here before this committee and urged the continuation and expansion of the reciprocal trade-agreements program. Many of you gentlemen behind the bench today were present then to hear both sides of the issue.

The plain fact is that few industries which have to face foreign competition like the idea. Except for the once rare but now more numerous business statesmen like John Coleman, Charles H. Percy, and Clarence Randall, not many are ready to agree that the foreign competition they face in this market may be good for them. Yet when they get off to one side, away from the worries and strains of their own particular businesses, and think of themselves as part of the whole American economy, most of them are driven to this only possible answer—that more foreign trade is good for this Nation, good for its foreign policy, good for its defense, good for its jobs, and good for its consumers.

This is one basic fact we should not lose sight of. Most Americans, including most businessmen, are for the continued gradual reduction of our tariffs. There have been Gallup polis, polls by the League of Women Voters, polls by Congressmen of their constituents, and other straw votes. The Gallup polls, like the others, show more Republicans for reducing the tariff than for raising it. I think it is fair to say that of those Americans who express an opinion there are twice as

many for the continuation of the program as are against it. In the Congressional Record for August 4, 1953, Senator, then Congressman, George Benner, of Ohlo, reported on a poll made of every elected Republican precinct committeeman and woman in Ohlo. In response to the question "Do you approve of the reciprocal trade-agreements program?", 3,330 said "Yes" and only 1,970 said "No." The most extraordinary poll, because it came last year in New England, which used to be the stronghold of protectionism, was the poll by the New England Council. The poll showed that 63.5 percent of the 800 businessmen polled were in favor of lower tariffs.

Though the leaders on both sides of this issue have not changed much since 1945, except perhaps for a little graying at the temples, the world in which we live has changed a great deal. Time has proved that we who spoke on our side of the debate in 1945 were better prophets than those who opposed us. Although our imports of goods, as greatly feared then as now, have increased from \$3.9 billion in 1944 to \$10.9 billion in 1953, our gross national product has in the same period increased from \$211 billion to \$364.8 billion and our employment to record figures. Our exports have risen again well above the wartime lend-lease levels to \$15.6 billion in 1953 and contributed substantially to our high employment and prosperity. If the reciprocal trade-agreements program has hurt us, it has been a hurt very well concealed.

THE OPPOSITION RECORD

I don't for a moment want to leave the impression that some of the industries that have spread their complaints before you over the past 10 days don't have problems. Of course they have problems. In some cases the problems may not be quite as serious as they would have you believe. For sick industries, some of them have displayed an enormous amount of vitality, tenacity, and financial resources in attempting to defeat H. R. 1.

To be sure, some of these industries, like the chemical, electrical, and cotton-textilegoods producers, may be confusing sickness with growing pains. The spectacle of these enormous, vital industries threatened by a trickle of foreign imports is a picture which defies belief.

They are still as much prophets of gloom today when they talk about tariff and the effects of its possible reduction as they were in 1945.

In 1945 Mr. Rose, of the American Tariff League, described the bill for new authority, a possible 50-percent cut from then existing tariff levels, as involving "the possible breakdown of the American market, American price structure, American wage level, and American living standards by opening the gates of this country to widespread competition with the products of other countries 'with the thing we grow or make in this country.'"

On November 5, 1953, in a statement to the Business Advisory Council, Edgar Queeny of Monsanto wrote just what he and his associates have told you here:

sociates have told you here:

"Should not the United States freeze present duties until their full effect in a surplus economy can be observed? For, even at their present level, our adverse balance during the first 6 months of 1953 indicates that before too long we may again see apple selling by the unemployed during this Republican administration, too."

This is the official position of the opponents of H. R. 1 in 1955 as it was in 1953 and 1945. On January 26, Mr. Anthony, of the American Tariff League, said here that the President's program includes the ingredients of general economic distress which could help set off a downward trend in the national level of prosperity.

tional level of prosperity.

These people, for all their extraordinary business record since 1945 and their optimism in their annual statements to stock-

holders, are professional pessimists when they talk to Congress about tariffs.

Mr. Calvin Campbell of Dow, about the same time as Mr. Queeny's statement of 1953, said in a speech to the American Tariff

We know that in isolated instances we excel in technology or other advantages to a degree sufficient to offset the wage differen-tial."

THE CHEMICALS INDUSTRY

Now really. Would you believe that with such a poor opinion of the strength of our economy and of their own industry the chemical industry would put into new plants in 1954 \$1.2 billion and project \$1.5 billion for 1955? But that they did, and it is better evidence of their real judgment than what they feel and say here about the tariff and its effects. They produce annually \$20 billion of goods and chemical exports for the first 9 months of 1954 were running at the annual rate of \$894 million excluding special military items, against only \$242 million of imports. They have grown 10 percent a year for 25 years, and developed more than 7,500 new products in that period.

Mr. Campbell and Mr. Queeny and Mr. Lehner are more concerned about synthetic organics. Very well. The total production in this category was about \$4 billion, of which \$300 million was exported in 1953 against only \$50 million imported. Mr. Lehner admitted to you that in the coaltar-chemical category of synthetic organics, where, incidentally, exports still exceed imports, no more than \$10 million in 1953 was competitive under Tariff Commission deter-A recent check of Tariff Commission data shows that the accurate figure for competitive coal-tar-chemical imports was only \$5.8 million in that year.

This is a price question, not one of taking away business. Here is what a purchasing agent of one of the smaller chemical companies told his own industry a few weeks

ago:
"The howls against chemical imports are even more ridiculous than those of the sick coal industry against imported crude oil. Imported oil is a tiny fraction of the problem, but it makes the best headlines. What the coal industry really wants is a return to steam locomotives, no gas pipelines, lower wages, and subsidized exports. It has done a notoriously poor job of uniting to find new uses for coal and it seems determined not to face the future problem of atomic energy. The healthy chemical industry should devote less energy to fighting a few imports and more toward new production techniques or superior competitive products where imports are a threat. And, to give due credit, ultimately American manufacturers do meet the threat by lowering their prices, revealing their excessive profit margins, and claiming that they were about to do so anyway. (Just between us purchasing agents, of us know why the prices come down.)

"Incidentally, some of those who rail against imports of chemicals have been remarkably avid in importing new chemical ideas from abroad, to the certain detriment of less alert competitors. Synthetic detergents came out of Germany two decades ago. Thorazine originated in France. polyurethane is a powerful newcomer from Germany which promises to make deep inroads into the foam-rubber business. My own company has felt the competition of reserpine, an importation from India. Instead of yelling to Congress about how our business has been hurt by this 'foreigner,' we are rushing development of new specialties of our own which we believe will be even more effective. Like the rest of our industry, we are constantly searching around the world for new ideas to relieve the ills of mankind. That's competition and that's progress, and the beneficiary is the American citizen's comfort and his pocketbook.

"It is to your own self-interest on three counts to keep international competition active. First, as purchasing agent for your own company, your job should be to lower your company's costs in any legitimate way you can while insisting on the triple standard of quality, service, and price. If you haven't the courage to combat the arguments of the 'one-standard-all-American-price' boys, you will do your management a favor by resigning and letting your secretary copy prices from vendors' catalogues and the Oil, Paint and Drug Reporter. Your self-interest also requires that you keep American competion alive as protection against foreign monopoly, and most experienced purchasing agents don't need to be told how to distribute your purchases to keep them all bidding."

THE ELECTRICAL INDUSTRY

I don't need to add much about the electrical industry. Its production reached \$17 billion in 1953 and it exported \$800 million in that year. Imports were a little over \$50 million, or one-third of 1 percent.

As to electrical equipment for power plants, the domestic industry still retains considerably over 98 percent of the American market. Phil Reed told this committee last week he was particularly concerned about sales of foreign equipment to the United States Government, and pointed out the very great difficulty the American industry had in competing with foreign producers.

It seems to me there is one extremely significant aspect of this situation which has not been emphasized. That is the matter of economy to the United States Government which merely having foreign bidders in the picture appears to afford. In the case of the eight large generators for the Dalles Dam. the General Electric bid was over \$1½ million below that of the nearest foreign bidder— English Electric. In the case of generators for Chief Joseph Dam, after the first bids were thrown out, Westinghouse secured the contract with a reduction of \$716,000 from its original bid price, or a reduction of about 14 percent.

One is forced to wonder whether it is not the pressure on profits which causes leaders of the heavy electrical equipment industry to testify against foreign competition rather than pressure on costs. These two cases make one believe that United States industry can in fact compete on this kind of equipment if it is forced to. In any case, as was admitted by Messrs. Reed and Price, this is not a tariff problem. Tariffs on heavy elec-trical equipment are only 15 percent ad valorem and H. R. 1 would, at the maximum, bring a reduction in duty of 2.25 percentage points in 3 years.

FREE ENTERPRISE AND COMPETITION

Do these men really understand what free enterprise means as an American institution? It means competition. It certainly does not mean a domestic monopoly of the American market. Of course we believe in policing our domestic competition here, but since when have we ceased to compete domestically in standards of pay? Wages are low elsewhere because they can't produce as efficiently or at as low costs. We stay ahead on know-how and ingenuity with high wages Do you remember your Kipling? Here the skipper of the Mary Gloster:

"They copied all they could follow, But they couldn't copy my mind, And I left 'em sweating and stealing A year and a half behind."

Americans worry about foreign cartels. Cartels are not progressive. The cartel mind tries to eliminate risk taking, which is an essential part of the free-enterprise system. Is there not perhaps a little of the cartel psychology involved in an unwillingness to

meet competitive pricing?

Free enterprise depends on free choices and flexibility and mobility, not on fixing the pattern forever. Robert Calkins, president of the Brookings Institution, put it right 2 weeks ago. "No settling down to established practice is in sight. Instead wave after wave of technological innovation is in prospect." The president of the Methods Engineering Council of Pittsburgh said the same thing 2 days later and applied it to the tariff. While conceding that tariff protection is sometimes necessary on a temporary basis, he main-tained that "a tariff which permits a company to do business without the necessity for improving its methods is a dangerous expedient.'

Free enterprise depends on integrity, too. That is not promoted by phony statistics to prove that Great Britain, for instance, is a high tariff country. The United Kingdom imposes its tobacco and gasoline taxes at the time of import of the raw materials or finished product. This is not a protective device or trade restriction at all, but a revenue producing measure, such as the United States taxes tobacco and gasoline for revenue. If you take these taxes out, the United Kingdom tariff average, even on the American Tariff League basis, is 4.6 percent, lower than ours at 5.6 percent.

HOW HIGH IS OUR TARIFF?

Calling our tariffs "low" depends upon ignoring what is kept out by the tariff. Below there is a table showing the rates on some important chemicals with their 1952 import figures in dollars, which indicate how prohibitive rates keep out imports.

	TABLE I		
Tariff para- graph	Tariff schedule and com- modity (commodity description abbrevi- ated)	Value of United States imports, 1952	Rate in effect on Jan. 1, 1953, or ad valorem equivalent thereof
100	SCH, 1. CHEMICALS, OILS, AND PAINTS:	UT THE	1 200
24	Chemical compounds, n. e. s.: 20 percent or less alcohol 20 to 50 percent	Thous. dols. 2	Percent 67.0
	alcoholEthers and esters, 20 to	(1)	103.7
	50 percent alcohol	(1)	100. 6
	etc., over 50 percent alcohol. Flavoring extracts, etc., except from Cuba:	5	83. 9
T C	20 percent or less alcohol	3	50. 3
	20 to 50 percent alcohol	12	50.4
26	alcohol Diethylbarbituric acid,	(1)	73.3
28 (a)	sults, etc Benzyl acetate, etc., and other synthetic odorif-	(1)	250, 0
	chemicals, n. e. s. ³ Synthetic tanning ma-	104	55. 8
	terials 2	6	68.9
	from Cuba	81	45, 1
	(coal tar) *	3 2	50.8 51.4
	go, natural; etc., color	15	49. 3
	All other finished coal- tar products, n. e. s.*	6	51.1
31 (n)	Cellulose acetate waste	(1)	163.6
49 75	Magnesium oxide	(1)	67. 3
	alcohol	1	50.4
81	Sodium nitrite	1	87.6

¹ Indicates imports of less than \$500. ² Values and equivalent ad valoren rates are in terms of American selling price or United States value.

Calling us low in relation to Canada is shown up in another chemical table where in all but one case entry to Canada is free while our tariff is the equivalent of 40 percent ad valorem.

TABLE II

	Manufactur- ing invest-	Duty		
Product	ment in Canada 1	Canada	United States .	
Ethylene glycol (antifreeze)	2 \$25, 000, 000	Free	(3 cents per pound plus 15 percent ad valorem);	
Polyethylene (resin)	13, 000, 000	do	about 40 percent ad valorem. (4 cents per pound plus 30 percent ad valorem);	
Magnesium metalPhthalie anhydride	10, 000, 000 6, 000, 000	20 percent Free	about 40 percent ad valorem. (20 cents per pound); about 73 percent ad valorem. (3)4 cents plus 20 percent ad valorem); about 40 percent ad valorem.	
			(334 cents plus 20 percent ad valorem); ab	

¹ Exclusive of converters. ² Estimated.

PROBLEM AREAS

Many industries do have problems. don't know that hand-blown glass should be put down so much as an industry. Is it not rather an art? As such it competes not on price but on prestige and taste. The tariff can't help it much; it would take an embargo. Are we going to embargo prestige and taste and art that belongs to foreigners?

Nobody could deny that the hat industry has been plagued by the insistence of American men and women on going bareheaded. Do we therefore put an excise tax on bare

The coal problem, like that of the wool textile business, is the problem of a sick industry. Let us by all means do all we can to help each cure itself. But let us have all the facts, not the selected ones which coal spokesmen and their auxiliaries bring to this committee.

Let me give you a few basic ones. 1947 was the all-time peak production year for bituminous coal. Since 1947, through 1953, bituminous coal demand has decreased by 155 million tons.

What was the composition of this decline in demand? Bituminous lost: (1) 82 million tons in railroads, largely to diesel oils; (2) 38 million tons in space heating to natural gas and light fuels; (3) 35 million tons in exports; (4) 29 million tons to other industries.

Coal consumption in public utilities increased 26 million tons. There have also been minor gains in other categories. Com-Pared to this coal loss of 155 million tons in 6 years, heavy residual fuel oil consumption increased by only 11 million tons equivalent over the same period. Six million tons of this was in public utilities where coal consumption increased by 26 million tons.

In the face of that record, how can the President of the Pennsylvania Railroad come in here and blame residual oil for anything? His answer to Mr. Mn.Ls on this implied that he would not mind the injury to the coal business if only residual oil were domestically produced; that domestic products in the last analysis were to be preferred to foreign, irrespective of price and convenience. Are these his instructions to his own purchasing agents? Doesn't he support foreign trade at all? Has he ever added up the exports and imports which his railroad carries in and out of New York, New Jersey, Philadelphia, and Baltimore?

Residual oil is not "dumped." Over a period of 7 or 8 years, except for 20 months total, the barge-delivered price of heavy fuel oil in New York Harbor area was higher on an equivalent basis than barge-delivered coal. The prices fluctuated independently. The coal people have never made any request to the Government under the Antidumping Act.

There is no evidence that shutting out residual oil helps coal. In the first 10 months of 1954, use of residual oil by public utilities reporting to the Federal Power Commission dropped 21.4 percent from the prior year, coal increased 1 percent (more than accounted for by new facilities), and natural gas increased 13.6 percent.

Shutting out residual oil definitely hurts American manufacturers in 30 States employing 30,000 people in manufacturing for export to Venezuela. They send \$170 million of goods paid for by the 80 percent of Venezuela residual oil imports that would be excluded by the proposed 5-percent quota.

So far as national defense is concerned, existing mines by going to a full week without overtime could add 150 to 200 million tons of coal a year. With all the shifts that have taken place to oil and gas, even with our present industrial capacity, 400 million tons of bituminous in 1954 plus 70 million tons is ample for war needs. According to the latest Bureau of Mines data. current capacity in the bituminous industry actually is 670 million tons.

The real employment problem in coal mining is the turn to strip mining, which accounts for fully 25 percent of total bituminous production. This is a technological change opposed as vigorously by the United Mine Workers as is the importation of residual oil, but with less publicity. This is because strip mining employs many fewer people, and has no place for most of the skills of deep miners. In fact, of the 142,000 out of work since 1947, the loss of 85,000 can be attributed to improvements in technology and productivity. How much of this is better machinery in deep mines and how much strip mining, is a question the coal people had better answer to this committee. At least it is not imports of residual oil.

In addition I found out last week that the mines in southern Kentucky and Tennessee, on the Southern Railroad at least, had no competition from residual oil since the last reduction in freight rates down

The other industry that is often called sick is textiles. This is another case where we need to look at the facts. There is not one textile industry but many, and only a few are sick. Woolens and worsteds and carpets have been sick. Cottons and synthetics have not. We export 6 percent of our production of cotton textiles and import the equivalent of only one-half of 1 percent. In cottons, the great middle area has no important competition. Only in very high grade specialties and in the very cheap lines has there been any particular effects from imports.

For support of this last statement I quote Matthew J. Cuffe, president of the Textile Export Association in a speech to the American Cotton Manufacturers Institute at New Orleans on April 23, 1954. In the so-called middle ground, he said, United States cotton textiles cannot be surpassed in price or

"There are no mills in the world which can produce denim, percales, chambrays, vatdyed twills and drills, corduroys, sheets, towels, and other items at prices equal to ours when quality factors are taken into

consideration."

The best labor union economist in the business told me the same thing a year ago. Our cotton textile industry is the most efficient and most innovating in the world. Any temporary advantage in wages abroad will not upset the industry.

The synthetic textiles are even better off. As to most countries trying to send staple textiles here, their textile industries have been built up as part of a colonial system and they are not efficient. The number of European textile workers has shrunk greatly and is still shrinking. A United Nations report published in Geneva on Monday a week ago confirmed this. The director of the study also confirmed my main point to this committee that the capacity of economic systems to change is one of the main determinants of their capacity to grow. Protecting the status quo by using tariffs is stagnation and death, not American growth

and success.

Wool textiles are in a different status. They have been badly organized. There were many old inefficient mills which had to be reorganized. Synthetics hit them hard. From 1947 to 1953 there was a decline in sales of men's woolen suits of 7 million units. High protected wool prices, fluctuating widely, aggravated a bad situation. The rash of mergers in the last year has helped; the last and one of the most important of these was announced last Friday. The conclusion from all this is that the manufacture of woolen textiles must be done in integrated companies which can adjust flexibly to consumer tastes and de-They are now moving fast in that direction and the prospects are good.

would agree that reductions tariffs should be aproached cautiously, but the approach should favor efficient operations. This is exactly what H. R. 1 would do.

HIGH PRODUCTIVITY VERSUS LOW WAGES

Since they cannot demonstrate actual injury, the opponents of the bill shift to arguments about the threat of injury in the future. At the center of their position is the age-old slave-wage argument. You all know that one too well for me to add anything. But let me say a word, anyhow. There are a few cases in which foreign in-

dustry, operating with cheaper labor costs, has managed to overcome all of its other obstacles and has undersold its American competitors in this country. In the few cases in which this has happened it has represented a real triumph of man over his environment. For the European competitor of the American manufacturer starts with close to three strikes against him. In many European industries cheap labor is not cheap at all, once the manufacturer calculates his costs on a unit basis; it costs very little by the hour but often costs a great deal by the piece. In every industry, the European pays 2 or 3 times more for his capital than his American competitor. In every indus-try, his power costs are higher; in most industries, his raw material costs are higher, too. Almost universally, he does business on a scale so small that he cannot begin to equal the economies of his American competitor. And, finally, he often operates in an environment saddled with the restrictions of cartels, where the incentive to cut costs is weak and diffused. His wage costs are multiplied by fringe benefits, too. With these handlcaps, the European who can match our prices in our market is a man to be admired.

In any case, for every case in which a European industry can match our price here, there are a dozen which run the other way. Scores of American industries, big and little, have been able to outsell Europeans in their own home territory and in third-country markets. Our export figures already referred to are a conclusive demonstration of the position of American industry abroad. The fact that foreign countries have had to ration the dollars which their citizens use to buy our goods only emphasizes how much our goods are demanded and bought.

THE CONCEPT OF RECIPROCITY

Ten years ago and again in 1948, when I appeared before this same committee, there was a great deal of discussion as to whether

this reciprocal-trade program was really "reciprocal." There is even more discussion

of that point today.

As far as I am concerned, I think that the record of the last 10 years bears out the most optimistic expectations as to the response of other countries to a reciprocaltrade program. Look at the facts. Ever since 1945, there has been what

Ever since 1945, there has been what amounts to a universal tariff truce throughout the world; there have been none of the outbursts of tariff wars that sporadically used to rock the world's trade between the two great wars. More than that, well over 50,000 items in the tariff laws in more than 40 countries have been reduced or prevented from increasing under this program.

It has become fashionable to say that other countries' tariffs don't really matter; that quantitative restrictions and exchange controls have taken their place. This is a substantial overstatement of the case, of course, since some of our biggest customers, such as Canada and Cuba, do not use quantitative restrictions and others, such as Swit-

zerland, use them sparingly.

But let us have a close look at the picture on quantitative restrictions. In 1946 practically every nation on the globe except the United States was maintaining extremely tight quantitative restrictions on its imports. Most of them had no choice; they had to use their scarce dollars to buy American cotton, wheat, oil, and machinery, even if it meant denying their citizens other American products they also wanted.

Since 1946 there has been an extraordinary change in this picture; the change has come about by little unspectacular steps, by slow and cautious measures, but its total impact has been little less than revolutionary. Whereas close to 100 percent of our exports in 1946 were subject to quotas and import licensing restrictions, I would judge that half our exports—perhaps even more—are now free of such restrictions.

The trend began with Canada, In 1948 the Canadians dropped the quantitative restrictions they had been using to ration their scarce dollars and invited United States

goods to come in without license.

The next major steps took place in 1951 and 1952, when Belgium first began to relax its import restrictions against dollar goods on a broad scale; today the Belgians have just about wiped out the extensive system of restrictions they had 4 years ago.

In 1952, the dismantling process moved a

In 1952, the dismantling process moved a great deal faster. The U. K. paced the process when in the fall of 1953 it authorized unlimited imports of wool, wheat, and grains, then followed up by freeing copper, lead, zinc, and many chemicals from import restrictions. In 1954, the U. K. went so much further in the process that by the end of the year 50 percent of its trade with the United States was free of restrictions.

In Germany, Holland, Italy, Greece, and other western European countries, very much the same process has been taking place.

Now, I am not sure how one goes about measuring "reciprocity" precisely in the trade agreements program. But this much is clear: other countries have made substantial reductions in their tariffs in return for the tariff reductions we have made. More recently, they have taken major steps in scrapping the system of quota restrictions which existed at the time we entered into our agreements with them. On our side, to the contrary, the trend has been the other way; we have more quota restrictions on imports in effect today than at any time since the end of World War II. If these trends continue, the case of unreciprocated concessions may more frequently be made by other nations than by us.

DEFENSE ARGUMENT FOR PROTECTION

Although our committee fully supports the necessity for such protection of defense industries as may be really required, I have not said much so far about the relation of this problem to the trade-agreements pro-A few additional words do need to be said. First, the Symington Amendment to the present act remains in force, stipulating that no duty should be reduced if the President finds that such reduction would threaten domestic production needed for projected national defense requirements. That places the responsibility for taking into account national security considerations exactly where it belongs-with the President, his National Security Council, and his Department of Defense, which are primarily and directly concerned with these matters.

But beyond that, nobody is really sure what the right defense-mobilization base may be for an era of thermonuclear warfare. It is not clear to me, and I do not apologize for my ignorance, whether we are better off relying on plants concentrated in the industrial areas of the United States, or on plants scattered throughout the free world to supply the needs of ourselves and our allies if we are to meet this strange new type of warfare. I am not even sure whether a mobilization base will be a meaningful concept any more in such a war, or whether we shall simply have to make do with the material at hand after one great initial strike.

However, if we can afford to think of a mobilization base in conventional terms, then the question is whether the tradeagreements program helps or hinders the development of such a base. On that score, this committee has heard a succession of claims from sections of one industry or another that its particular plant and its particular set of skills are crucial to the conduct of warfare and that foreign competition is squeezing out its plant and its skill.

The one major mistake this Nation could make in mobilizing itself for modern warfare—convention or otherwise—is to compartmentalize its skills. If another war should ever occur, even the most optimistic of us will have to assume that our plants and industries will be cruelly bombed. Crucial plants may be razed; transportation facilities disrupted.

The experience of Germany in World War II, as disclosed by the Strategic Bombing Survey, taught us one major lesson in the conduct of that kind of warfare. Nations can get on with next to nothing in resources, provided they have versatility and flexibility in their industry; they can substitute and made do so long as the general level of their industrial skills and engineering and executive abilities is high.

This is the antithesis of the pattern into which we would be pushed if we were to succumb to the pressure of protecting every little pocket of specialized industry, every little branch of specialized skills. The one thing we cannot afford to do is to allow the extraordinary talent in our chemical industry, our electrical industry and our machine-tool industry to grow soft under easy competition. On the contrary, every American skill should be constantly exposed to the best competition the world can bring to bear against it. Every stimulus should be encouraged to find new ways in American industry of making better products at lower costs. I am confident that American industry, by and large, will meet most of the challenges thrown in its way by foreign competition. Whether it meets the challenge or not in each individual test, America's knowledge and strength will be enhanced in the process of trying. If we insulate ourselves from the impact of foreign competition, the smugness and dry rot of protected industry will sap our strength without our even being aware of the process.

While I am on the subject of America's defense, let me say a word about Japan. I cannot for the life of me understand the callousness with which some of us approach the problems of trading with Japan. A few

days ago, the American Congress gave the President the power to go to war if necessary in order to protect our outposts in Formosa. We look on the maintenance of this island—rightly, I think—as so important to our future that we are willing to risk our national life to retain it.

But there are more ways than one of losing an island. If Japan goes over to the other side—or if Japan decides that she has to play economic ball with both sides of the Iron Curtain in order to live—we will have lost an outpost more important than Formosa. Yet there are those who urge that this risk ought to be taken in order to preserve America's knit-glove industry and the handkerchief lines in our textile mills. I do not think that our knit-glove industry or our handkerchief lines will disappear in the face of Japanese competition, but, even if they did disappear, the plain fact is that it would be far better to lose them than to lose Japan.

Civil Defense Faces New Peril

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, in connection with House Concurrent Resolution 66, which provides for a joint committee to study the feasibility of industrial and urban dispersal as a means of defense against H-bomb attack, there follows an article by Ralph E. Lapp, which appeared in the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists for November 1954. In language understandable to the layman, Dr. Lapp discusses radioactive fall-out, that new and little understood threat to the human race:

CIVIL DEFENSE FACES NEW PERIL (By Ralph E. Lapp)

On March 1, 1954, chalk-white dust fell on 23 Japanese fishermen 72 miles from Bikini. It took 3 hours for the pulverized coral to start falling-out from the air and coat the Lucky Dragon tuna ship with a mantle of radioactive debris. However, it was not until late this summer that the Federal Civil Defense Administration felt the impact of "fall-

Q-cleared officials in FCDA were briefed on the nature of the fall-out. They were shown colored charts with neat elliptical contours describing the range of lethality of the residual radioactivity from superweapon explosions. Up to this point FCDA had worked and thought mostly in terms of circles—the symmetric patterns of primary damage from superbombs which the Bulletin published last month. Now superimposed upon the great circles of H-bomb blast and heat, there were zeppelin-shaped ellipses which stretched far beyond the circles of primary damage.

These ellipses stunned civil defense planners. By a major shift of policy they had replaced previous "duck-and-cover" or "stay put" planning by a policy of preattack evacuation which dispersed metropolitan populations beyond the inner circles of near-total and heavy blast damage. Gov. Val Peterson, as head of FCDA, made the policy switch once he took a good hard look at the blast and heat effects of our MIKE explosion of November 1, 1952. What Governor Peterson realized very clearly was that

Footnotes at end of speech.

MIKE was not the last word in superweapon development. Indeed, a weapon twice its power was tested in the March-April CASTLE series of tests in the Pacific in 1954. Moreover, this weapon was a bomb, not a "device"—meaning that the United States now possesses a droppable bomb in the range of 20 megatons.

Faced with the prospect of corresponding weapons in the Soviet arsenal, Governor Peterson recognized that too much of America's metropolitan population resided inside the 14-mile radius of the superbomb's punch. It was sheer suicide, he reasoned, to put 35 million Americans in the sitting-duck category. This is the simple background for the policy of evacuation which is now being implemented.

It was at this point in the evolution of civil defense policy that "fall-out" descended upon civil defense planners.

Now radioactivity was not a new wrinkle to the planners. The Baker shot of a 20 kilotron bomb in the Bikini lakoon in July of 1946 saturated the mushroom cloud with awesome quantities of radioactivity. lions of tons of salt water were erupted into the air and a misty radioactive steam surged across the lagoon surface. An egg-shaped ellipse about 3 miles in length constituted the lethal area of this radioactivity. area was not comparable to that of a metropolis, so as time went by radioactivity as a menace shrunk to less formidable propor-tions in civil-defense planning.

The dimensions of the superbomb "fall-

out" greatly exceed those for a 1946 A-bomb explosion. Unfortunately, the exact or even rough forecasting of these dimensions is subject to a number of uncertainties. These can be appreciated by describing the fall-out from a superbomb detonation. When the bomb explodes there is a flash of penetrating radiation consisting of neutrons and gamma rays. Fortunately, the area subjected to lethal bombardment by this primary flash is small compared with that affected by the heat and blast of the explosion. Although altitude-dependent, the area is much less than that of total destruction from the blast

Once the bomb explodes and the heatblast waves have run their course, we have to consider the fate of the bomb cloud. If the bomb is burst high in the air so that there is no significant cratering effect, the bomb cloud will contain only such surface debris as is sucked up into the ascending column. In this case, the cloud radioactivity consists predominantly of split uranium or plutonium atoms (technically called fission products) which are intensely radioactive. Two factors take their tool in reducing the menace of this activity. One—the high velocity upper air winds disperse the fine (usually invisible) particles in the bomb cloud so that they are dispersed over a very large area before they finally settle out and to earth. Two-radioactive decay sharply reduces the activity on the following

time schedule:	
	Radioactivity
Time (after burst):	(arbitrary units)
1 minute	1,000,000
1 hour	7, 300
1 day	162
1 week	
1 month	3

Assuming that there were no mass deposits of radioactive debris in the early history of the bomb cloud, then we would have to relegate the problem of cloud activity to the controversial area of global atmospheric contamination and human genetics.

Superbombs which burst close to the surface present quite another problem. In this case, the 31/4-mile-wide fireball of a 10-mega-

ton bomb introduces a radically new factor into the fallout equation. Much of the sub-stratum below the exploding bomb is dislodged and volatilized into particles impregnated with radioactivity. In addition, some of the elements in the substratum may become radioactive by the primary penetrating radiation from the bomb. Sodium in sea water, for example, is easily activated (made radioactive) and can become a hazard. The pulverized substratum is funneled unward much in the manner of a cyclone. In this way, the coral and sand of a low-lying Bikini atoll island were sucked up into the bomb

As is well known the cauliflower cloud mushrooms upward to a height of over 10 miles in about 12 minutes. The characteristic 40- to 60-knot winds of the stratosphere then distort the mushroom in a downward direction. At this point the difference between a high air burst and a low one becomes significant. The subsurface particles tend to fall out from the bomb cloud early in its history because of their massiveness. Fall-out of up to 50 percent of the radioactive debris occurs in the first 24 hours with the maximum activity being deposited

in the 1- to 3-hour period.

Estimation of the area of serious-to-lethal fallout involves many unknowns. First, there is the power of the bomb. Second, the architecture of the weapon, involving principally the contribution of fission to the energy release in the bomb. Third, there is the height of the bomb burst. Fourth, one is confronted with the nature of the substratum-both as a carrier of the radioactivity and also as a producer of radioactivity. (In general, it would seem that induced activities cannot compete with the radioactivity produced in the bomb itself. However, a bomb burst close to sea water would produce vast quantities of radiosodium and radiochlorine. For example, a bomb burst in the Pacific Ocean off the coast of Los Angeles would probably cloak the city in a lethal fog even though no blast shook the city.) Finally, the meteorology at the time of the burst would determine the location and extent of the fallout.

It is like seeking the Holy Grail to quest for hard data on the fallout as applied to an American city. The unknowns enumerated above make prediction of the fallout a highly tentative business. About all one can hope to do is to define what might happen. Assuming a 15 megaton superbomb burst close to the ground the author has made the following estimates I for the fallout ellipses:

Time (after burst) (hours)	Area (square miles)	A verage intensity (gamma radiation) (Roentgen- hours)
1	250 1, 200 4, 000	2, 500 200 30

It must be remembered that this fallout will occur downwind. Upwind for 15 miles and sideways for 20 miles the fallout should not be lethal. Integration of the dosage rate for the 4,000-square-mile area leads to the conclusion that people will receive a serious to lethal dose in the first day. The area and hazard represents a conservative calculation. The radioactive hazard is truly immense. The explosion of 50 superbombs could blanket the entire northeast United States in a serious to lethal radioactive fog.

A schedule for the effects of external radiation upon a man in the open is as follows:

Footnotes at end of speech.

Dose ! (Roentgen units)	Effect on man	Acc
50 to 100	Few percent casualties, 50 percent casualties,	
200 to 300	100 percent casualties plu mortality.	s some
400 to 500	50 percent mortality. Close to 100 percent mortal	ity.

¹ Delivered in a period of less than 1 hour. If delivered over several days the required effect dosage is doubled.

Applying the 500 roentgen criterion to the fall-out pattern at 1 hour after the bomb burst it is clear that an individual within the 2,500 r/hour area would accumulate this dose in 12 minutes. At 3 hours a person much farther downwind might be exposed to a very serious dose. Here we must consider the relation between the intensity of the radioactivity and the time of exposure. Fortunately, the process of radioactive decay reduces the intensity quite sharply as time goes by. However, one must seek shelter as a protection against the radiation if caught in a near-lethal area. That is, unless some means is provided to direct downwind populations out of the path of the fall-out.

Just what kind of shelter protection is

required? The answer depends upon how close to ground zero one locates the shelter since blast then becomes the criterion. Assuming, however, that the shelter is located beyond the range of primary blast, the radiation shielding requirements are as follows:

Reduction factorInches of concrete	10	50 11	100 13	1,000
Inches of packed soil	11	18	21	30

The relatively small thicknesses of concrete or earth shielding needed to reduce the incident radiation to one-hundredth of its topside value may surprise the layman. Exponential absorption of gamma radiation accounts for the fact that a foot and a half of hard packed soil can reduce an intensity of 2,500 r/hour to 50 r/hour. Thirty inches of soil cuts this intensity down to 2.5 r/hour which can be regarded as acceptable for survival in a shelter.

In addition to the external radiation hazard there is the enigma of ingested or inhaled radioactive debris. Judging from the brief reports issued by the Atomic Energy Commission on the medical histories of the Marshall Islanders exposed to fall-out, the internal radiation hazard may be less seri-ous than generally believed. However, data on the Japanese survivors (see J. Arnold's article, pp. 347-348) does not make for complacency on the significance of radioactive material taken into the body.

From the foregoing description it can be readily appreciated that fall-out presents civil defense with potentially greater perils than those of heat and blast. Blast can be readily felt as can heat and they both come in a flash. Radioactivity, on the other hand, cannot be felt and possesses all the terror of the unknown. It is something which evokes revulsion and helplessness--like a bubonic plague.

Having been already weighted down by the incubus of the immense primary effects of the superbomb, civil defense planners may well feel that they are condemned to a labor of a Sisyphus. Unless the challenge of the fall-out is met head-on, the very burden may kill civil defense in this country. Those who oppose the FCDA policy of evacuation may use fall-out as the excuse for rejecting the recommendation. They can (and with partial justification) point out that the mass removal of metropolitan populations to the suburbs or open country may be like jumping from the frying pan into the fire.

Civil defense must recokon with the hazards of fall-out, but it would be utterly disastrous if it abandoned its policy of evacua-tion at this time. No one is going to come up with a perfect civil defense plan. As long as we have such huge agglomerations of people on a few bits of territory there can be no perfect civil defense. There will always have to be the element of the calculated risk to civil defense just as there is for the soldier at the front line. What civil defense must do is to acknowledge certain risks in its planning.

First things must come first in any good civil defense plan. This means that one must deal with the certain primary effects of superweapons. The great circles of heat and blast effects for weapons in the 10 to 40 megaton range are simply too large to neglect. They are predictable whereas fall-out is not. Furthermore, it makes no sense whatsoever to plan for a secondary hazard if you fail to survive the primary effects of

the bomb.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration has assessed the true significance of the circles of damage from H-bombs and has boldly put forth an evacuation policy to deploy urbanites to the suburbs beyond the 12 to 14 mile radius of the city. This policy has yet to be implemented but cities are going ahead with their plans. Milwaukee, Washington, Seattle, and Detroit are a few that have reached an advanced state of planning.

Consideration of the fall-out ellipses must be made and the CD plan of each city modified accordingly. One thing is perfect-ly clear—evacuation even on present plans does provide a large measure of protection for people since distance is still the best defense against the bomb. Those who are deployed upwind or laterally will escape the lethal fall-out. In general, viewed as a problem in geometry, it is the area of the evacuation circles which is intersected by the fallout ellipse which requires special planning. It will be argued that since we have so many unkowns it is futile to plan. For example, the wind may be in a contrary direction. However, local data on upper air winds often show a pattern of prevailing winds which may indicate preferential evacuation in upwind directions. Moreover, when an alert comes civil defense directors can make an immediate prognostication of the probable fall-out area based on current weather data.

The alert is the great and vexing problem in evacuation. It is often pointed out that there may be no warning whatsoever. This is possible but it certainly does not apply to all cities. Moreover, it files in the face of probability. There may, in fact, be a long period of alert—a strategical alert of

days, weeks, or even months.
Dr. Vannevar Bush, in his testimony before the Riehlman subcommittee, pointed out that conventional warfare might precede nuclear warfare due to the initial respect which each nation might have for the other's nuclear capability. Such a period of tension would make possible gradual decentralization of urban populations in anticipation of a nuclear attack. Time would also be given, plus the incentive of imminent attack, to prepare peripheral shelters to accommodate evacuees.

Besides the strategical alert period accompanying Dr. Bush's concept, there is a shorter term alert which would be concommitant with Soviet aggression into zones to which we guaranteed military support. Should the Soviets strike in such an area they might well limit themselves to conventional weapons, and it would then be up to the President to issue the fateful ultimatum for "re-taliation in advance." Any such ultimatum would be, if sanity prevailed, accompanied by a nationwide evacuation order.

The announcement that a distant early warning line of radar posts is to be established in the far North provides hope that before long a 4-hour tactical alert will be assured for continental cities. Four hours is sufficient for most cities to deploy their populations to relatively safe sites provided evacuation plans are perfected and test drills are inaugurated.

Progress is being made in civil defense despite the vertiginous, almost exponential, rise in the hazards faced. The year 1954 may well mark the turning point in our civil defense activities. One very favorable index is that more and more top advisers in the Government are becoming serious about civil defense. More and more, it is becoming clear that the security of the home base is of paramount importance. In this security. civil defense must assume a high priority.

The Federal Civil Defense Administration must be permitted access to classified data about fall-out. Furthermore, the agency must be able to translate these data or sanitize" 4 them so that a realistic picture of the radioactive hazard can be given to the American people. Local communities should not be left to plan in the dark nor should they be put in the position of planning on the basis of newspaper reports.

In the final analysis the solution to civildefense problems will not come from Wash-It is in the local communities that they will find solution. The Federal Government can help with solid planning data, with technical assistance, and with financial support. But the real burden of the work must be shouldered by the people who reside in the cities. However, the new peril from radioactive fall-out is more than just a threat to civil defense—it is a peril to humanity.

1 See article by Dr. Harold A. Knapp, Jr., South Woodley Looks at the H-Bomb, Bulletin, 10 (Oct. 1954), 306-11.

² Originally estimated to be 5 megatons in power, this bomb has since been reestimated

as being 10 megatons.

*The shape of the elliptical areas will depend upon the nature of the winds aloft, The ellipses at 1, 3, and 6 hours may show some overlap.

New language used in the Pentagon to describe the process of removing sensitive data from a classified report.

Yalta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOHN M. VORYS

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, Yalta is a word that will live in infamy in his-On this 10th anniversary of the ill-fated meeting between Stalin, Franklin D. Roosevelt, and Winston S. Churchill, which started February 7 in 1945, we should remind ourselves of the tragic events that have occurred in the decade since that meeting during which the whole series of World War II agreements have been misinterpreted, ignored, or violated by the Soviets to enslave millions of free peoples.

Two years ago, in accordance with one of the first foreign-policy requests of President Eisenhower, I introduced House Joint Resolution 206, declaring that the United States reject any interpretations or applications of any international agreements or understandings made during the course of World War II, which have been perverted to bring about the subjection of free peoples; and proclaiming the hope that the peoples who have been subjected to the captivity of Soviet despotism shall again enjoy the right of self-determination within a framework which will sustain the peace: that they shall again have the right to choose the form of government under which they will live, and that sovereign rights of self-government shall be restored to them.

This resolution was unanimously reported by our committee, without amendment, but this denunciation of Soviet misinterpretation and violations of the Yalta agreement became involved in a partisan debate as to whether the Yalta agreements and other ill-considered wartime agreements could safely be repudiated in toto, and the House took no further action on the resolu-

In August 1953, however, the House had another opportunity to act in this regard. On August 1, I secured unanimous consent for consideration of House Concurrent Resolution 178, "expressing the hopes of the American people for the early reunification of Germany by free elections and for the achievement by the peoples of East Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, and other Communist-dominated countries of their basic human rights and free-

This was a combination of a number of resolutions by various Members of Congress. My own contribution was one sentence, "that the Congress commends and encourages the valiant struggle of these captive peoples for freedom."

This combination resolution passed the House without a single objection and was substituted by Senate Concurrent Resolution 36 by Mr. WATKINS, of Utah. The Senate concurred in the House amendment and thus this resolution represents a formal concurrent expression of the House and Senate on the results of Yalta.

This action, which took place during the closing days of the 1st session of the 82d Congress, has not received the attention it deserves. Many Members of Congress have introduced resolutions on this subject. Each such resolution causes encouragement to the captive peoples when it is introduced, and a measure of discouragement that it fails of final approval. I learned, from my experience with my own resolution, and from my efforts to resolve and adjust the differences in the series of resolutions which were combined in House Concurrent Resolution 178, how difficult it is to secure language which is satisfactory to many Members who may have a single purpose in view. Under the circumstances, I am proud to have had a part in putting through House Concurrent Resolution 178. I am proud that this resolution was unanimously approved by both the House and Senate and that it contains the sentence I inserted,

"that the Congress commends and encourages the valiant struggle of these

captive peoples for freedom."

On this somber 10th anniversary, the Polish nation, the prime victim of the Yalta deal, and the other nations victimized by Soviet imperalism, can take heart in knowing that this recent and unanimous condemnation and encouragement of their struggle for freedom stands unchanged as an official expression of Congress.

Tribute to the United States Forest Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD a fine and informative article from the Oregonian of February 1, 1955, about the 50th anniversary of the United States Forest Service. The article is by Merlin Blais, the business and forestry editor of that publication.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EARLY CRITICISM BY PUBLIC OF FOREST SERV-ICE DIES DOWN AS CITIZENS BECOME MORE AWARE OF ITS ACHIEVEMENTS

(By MERLIN BLAIS)

When that fire-eating conservationist team, Teddy Roosevelt and Gifford Pinchot, started the United States Forest Service just 50 years ago, the Pacific Northwest was cool and suspicious toward the idea of bureaucrats 3,000 miles away running huge chunks of its wooded landscape.

A new Government agency to control more than 100 million acres of the Nations lands in forest preserves was a blow to the pioneering tradition, which encouraged citizens to take up public land at little cost. Foundations for many of the regions fortunes were being laid by the more daring speculators.

Conservation was widely understood to mean locking up of resources. And when Pinchot decided to meet the bureaucracy charge by decentralizing and shipping most of his staff permanently out to six regional offices, it didn't greatly help matter at first.

EDITORIAL WRITER CRITICAL

Portland's contingent arrived December 1, 1908, led by eager young graduates of then new eastern forestry schools, which knew virtually nothing of the Far West's magnificent tree stands and towering mountains.

An Oregonian editorial at the time described the newcomers as "callow youths rushing around throughout the Northwest carrying shiny briefcases and talking glibly about 'the field,' not even knowing what the term meant." It excorriated them as "minions of the Forest Service • • reeking of musk and insolence."

But the Nation's intentions were firm. The Northwest's citizenry was not so aware as easterners of the havoc left in the wake of the loggers who leap-frogged from Maine to Michigan and on west. And the West had its army of land locators who ranked Government foresters in the same class as moonshiners put revenue agents.

GOSPEL CONVERTS COUNTRY

The conservation gospel preached by Roosevelt and the first chief forester, Pinchot converted the country. Vast forests were in truth locked up-from private homesteading or purchase for \$2.50 or so an acre. Enemies of the preserves charged the Government with impoverishing the economy by barring their use.

But through the decades the Forest Service has been steadily bolstering proof that such was not the case. And by the same effort it has grown in regional stature and esteem. In recent years the agency's key place in management of timber, water resources, grasslands, and recreational areas has been accorded confidence of the general public.

Its golden anniversary Tuesday finds the Forest Service fully utilizing long experience in its administering 23,351,000 acres of Oregon and Washington countryside, more than one-fifth of the 2 States. Benefits to the region are in uncounted millions of dollars.

GREATEST GOOD GOAL

But the unfolding cornucopia has not resulted from any change in policy, the Forest Service insists. On February 1, 1905, Secretary of Agriculture "Tama Jim"

adjured the infant agency:
"All land is to be devoted to its most productive use for the permanent good of the whole people and not for the temporary individuals or companies benefit of local questions will be decided upon local grounds . . . where conflicting interests must be reconciled, the question will always greatest good of the greatest number in the long run." be decided from the standpoint of the

Fruits of this policy are abundantly evident today. In 1954 the 18 national forests of the 2 States comprising region 6 poured a record-breaking flow of 2,585,000,000 board feet of logs into sawmills, plywood and pulp plants and pole yards-nearly \$35 million

WILD GAME INCREASES

Their meadows and grasslands feed 85,000 cattle and horses and 175,000 sheep allowed by permits. Wild game has increased so greatly under the foresters' custodianship they now include an estimated 306,000 deer, 51,000 elk and 900 antelope. Mountain goats, once nearly exterminated, now number 5,000.

Game animals are an important localized resource. Forest Service and the States allow an annual "cropping" to balance game with available forage. Hunters in Oregon, as a major result, take out more than 100,000 deer a year.

Recreation, though unmeasured in dollars has become a big resource. Northwest forests annually lure more than 3 million people. These include an estimated 888,000 anglers on their streams and lakes, 300,000 hunters in their woods and fields. Improved camp and picnic areas number about 1,000.

Winter sports are growing phenomenally. Twenty-six locations developed for skiing and related sports lured an estimated 601,000 visitors in the 1953-54 season. Those on Mount Hood are the most widely enjoyed of all United States forests.

GRAZING DEVELOPS BITTERNESS

Five decades and more ago the picture was far different. The timber was virtually inaccessible; in 1909, earliest year recorded here, the cut amounted to only 10,391,000 feet in Oregon and 22,037,000 in Washington.

Stumpage prices were only a fraction of last year's average of \$19.73 per thousand of ponderosa pine and \$17.29 for Douglas fir.

Forty-five years ago the average price was only \$1.70, and it was still shy of \$3 in 1942.

But livestock grazing was heavier than grasslands could stand. Unrestricted by reg-

ulation, it grew until in 1918 there were 200,-000 cattle and horses and 1 million sheep on the national forests of the Northwest.

Some bitterness developed as the rangers endeavored to reduce grazing. Sheep have declined the most, due in part to a shortage of herders since the 1930's and fluctuations in meat and wool prices. Many abandoned sheep ranges have grown up to brush.

Cattle have been more stable. About 10 million acres are in the grazing classification.

WATER RESOURCES VITAL

Mining has never been strong in this region's forests, though accessibility has improved. Low grade of most ores and the general tough going for much of that industry are chiefly to blame. But the importance of the water resource has expanded steadily as population multiplied in the farm valleys and factory towns below.

The region's first Federal forest reserve, in fact, was the 142,080-acre Bull Run district set aside to protect Portland's domestic water President Benjamin Harrison signed the withdrawal order June 17, 1892, and Congress barred livestock from the area in 1904.

First general forest reserves were set up in 1893, a dozen years before the Government's embryonic policies evolved into a positive management system with transfer of the reserves from the Interior Department to Agriculture.

Harrison established a Cascade Range reserve taking in a huge area from Mount Hood south, and a Pacific reserve with Mount Rainier in Washington the pivot. Four years later Mount Rainer was singled out for a national park, and in 1902 Orater Lake.

Just 2 years after the Forest Service began its land boundaries became established at about what they are today, so far as Oregon and Washington are concerned.

Western opponents of the agency put through a law prohibiting new additions by Presidential proclamation. A few days be-fore signing the bill President Roosevelt issued 33 proclamations adding 15,645,000 acres to the forest reserves of the Nation. Two major programs since voted by Congress helped to build up the system to the present 152 national forests in 36 of the States, Alaska, and Puerto Rico-a grand total of 180 million acres-but little of the later growth was in the Northwest.

TIMBER BIG MONEYMAKER

Timber is the big moneymaker on the national forests, and is the reason they took in \$12 million more in 1953 than the \$64,-540,000 spent from appropriations. This region contributed more than two-fifths of the \$70,616,000 collected from timber.

Still these forests are furnishing a relatively small proportion of the total Oregon-Washington cut. In 1952 the 2 States har-vested about 14 billion feet of logs, and the national forests contributed less than 14

Pressure has been steadily increasing from industry to force heavier cutting, for these reserves contain about 210 billion feet of available merchantable timber by Forest Service's present reckoning. The agency expects it will be figured higher as new surveys are completed. This includes more than 40 percent of all remaining virgin Douglas-fir stands.

LOGGING GAINS HEAVILY

Logging has vastly increased since World War II, however. In 1925 the national forests contributed only 3 percent of the Northwest's log volume, and their cutting de-creased during the depression when it was agreed that Federal timber would be kept off the market as an aid to hard-hit private owners. By 1942 logging on the forests had more than doubled.

Just how much greater the cut will become will be subject to much pushing and pulling. The Forest Service, as do many private timber owners, calculates its allowable annual cut on a basis aimed at assuring a permanent or sustained yield. Its 1954 cut was only 5 percent short of the present annual allowable harvest.

FASTER CUTTING URGED

Industry critics urge a scrapping of this limitation, arguing that most of the forest timber is overripe and actually losing good wood to disease and insects at a serious rate. The sooner the old stands are used, the sooner new growth will start in their place, adding more supplies for future logging.

Some industry leaders have advocated sale of large chunks of the Federal forests to private operators to assure the best use of their resources. Presumably, this would leave still in Government hands the less productive areas and mountain tops.

United States foresters are willing to boost allowable cuts at least on the basis of new acreage yield figures, which reflect mostly a higher degree of utilization. But the major threat to a continuing rise in the harvest is the lagging roads program.

At present the 18 forests have 14,000 miles of main-line roads in condition for timber hauling. But if full cutting is to be reached and maintained, an additional 7,500 miles of access roads must be built by 1960, the agency estimates.

Here again another conflict has persisted over how much construction should be by the Government and how much by operators in connection with timber purchases. In 1953 operators built 673 miles of permanent roads and 664 miles of temporary roads, as against only 64 miles by Uncle Sam.

Smaller operators want more Government road building, because the size of timber tracts put out for competitive bidding is too great for them if they are designed to cover access-road work. They argue, too, the Treasury will benefit from higher subsequent timber prices if roads are already in.

Reforesting has made gains. The 18 forests contain some 500,000 acres of old burns and cutover lands, but appropriations are providing for planting of only 1,500 acres a year. Current logging takes care of its own replanting where it proves needed. Loggers pay from 15 cents to more than \$1 per 100 board-feet of logs into a stand improvement reserve.

Another critical need in the National Forests is recreational development. Foresters admit they are unable even to maintain facilities created by CCC crews in the depression thirties. Some camps have been closed and others are threatened by deterioration. But appropriations are lacking for the work.

Campgrounds should be increased from the present 1,000 to 2,100, and the mileage of roads serving them from 60 to about 130 miles, if the mounting tide of recreationists is to be served, the foresters estimate. Winter sports areas need more and better ski tows and shelters. The 900-mile Pacific Crest trail is one of America's best, and others are desirable. Eleven wildnerness and primitive areas have been set aside.

SMOKE JUMPER VITAL

Housekeeping is a vast chore on region 6 forests, which cover an area larger than Indiana. Fire, insects, and disease are the worst enemies, but progress has been made against some of these.

Most spectacular weapon against fire, which has been held to dwindling losses in recent years, is the smoke jumper. Weird in canvas suit and mask to ward off branches and brush, he carries a rope and knife to let himself down if he hangs up in a tree, and basic tools to clear fire breaks.

By leaping from a plane he can reach the most remote blaze within an hour or two after lookouts spot it. The Forest Service maintains one squad in the Illinois Valley in southern Oregon and another in the Chelan area of north central Washington. Each has 28 jumpers.

SIX PLANES IN REGION

Region 6 owns 6 planes, 4 capable of carrying and dropping men and supplies by chute.

Scattered along high points of the 18 forests are 376 lookouts, and in fire season the agency about doubles its regular 1,150 personnel.

Fire systems have greatly improved through the years. Short-wave radio, more roads, bulldozers, and pump and tank trucks on the fire lines have helped to beat back the menace. Important, too, is the steadily improving coordination among Federal, State, and private organizations in pooling efforts against fire.

TIMBER SALVAGE PUSHED

This cooperation has extended to the war on forest insects. To check a spruce budworm epidemic all joined in an aerial spraying campaign which has checked this tree killed on 3,250,000 acres. The job must continue on another 1 million acres.

The Forest Service has joined other owners in attempting to salvage 3,500,000,000 board feet of timber killed since 1951 by the Douglas fir bark beetle, but is lagging because of the road dearth. East of the Cascades sanitation logging has reduced losses from the western pine beetle.

Many of today's methods in the woods are results of research carried on by the Pacific Northwest forest and range experiment station. Its work began in 1912 on Wind River at Carson, Wash., but head-quarters moved to Portland in 1924.

Clear cutting of Douglas fir in patches is largely the result of the station's research. Low-humidity closings for loggers in fire season followed its development of a fire index system. Selection of trees for cutting in the pine forests on a basis of susceptibility to the pine beetle as well as diameter developed from its findings. A switch to hardier range grasses has resulted from its tests.

Its 50 technicians working on 6 field units, 11 experimental forests and 1 range plot are studying growth and yield of species, nursery practices, and logging methods as they affect range and wildlife conditions, streamflow and erosion.

New research, they are hoping, will improve tree crops as much as past research has helped with hybrid corn, grain, and vegetables.

Representative Pelly Supports Aircraft Carrier Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOR C. TOLLEFSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. TOLLEFSON. Mr. Speaker, I desire to place in the Record an editorial from the Seattle Post-Intelligencer of February 4, 1955, which is highly complimentary of my distinguished colleague, the Honorable Thomas Pelly, who so ably represents the First Congressional District of the State of Washington. His congressional activities in behalf of his district and the Nation have merited the respect of his constituents and the high regard of his colleagues. The editorial is timely and well learned. It follows:

LET'S GIVE A HAND

All unnoticed—and rather alone—Representative Thomas M. Pelly, of Washington State's First District, played an important role in the recent debate on the President's "Formosa Resolution."

Representative Pelly, in the name of seaport cammunities, stood up for the importance of the modern aircraft-carrier program of the Navy.

There has been a good deal of misunderstanding about the aircraft-carrier program. But the concept is simple enough.

And it is just this: all of us have been for strong air power. There is a type of air power which springs from land, and the kind of air power which springs from the sea.

The Reds are right now at the very serious business of nibbling away our land bases in the great Pacific. They are doing a very good job of it. You can bet that they will do better yet.

So that is where aircraft carriers come in.

Don't ever let the Navy-haters, and,
strangely, there are many such—transfer the
old argument against "battleship admirals"
to "carrier admirals." Have you any real
idea how big the Pacific is, in comparison
with the Atlantic?

If not, have a look at some maps, or a world globe.

It will give you a New Look about aircraft carriers. And while you are taking that look, think of this: if Red China gets Formosa she will use it as a springboard to the Philippines, just as the Japanese did.

During Congressman PELLT'S stanch argument for the carrier program a gentleman of the House—from Missouri, by the way—said he had heard that in the next world war an aircraft carrier "would not be afloat for more than 10 hours after war was declared."

That is a silly statement, but typical. The answer to it is that in the kind of a war the next "all-out war" is to be, those 10 hours could be important, indeed.

But Representative PELY had something to say, and could quote his authority. He quoted Gen. Omar Bradley: "The primary mission of the big carriers is shifting toward strategic air attack."

That's from an Army man. And it's all the Navy ever claimed about the big carriers. But Tom PELLY had other authorities behind him. American GI's.

hind him. American GI's.

He said: "I'm sure that none of these did anything but thank God for the overhead protection of carrier-based naval planes in the recent unhappy Korean police action."

The GI—the foot soldier—Tom Pelly said in Congress—was the real authority on the aircraft-carrier program.

We go with that. What's more we think people in cities like Bremerton and Seattle should give Tom Pelly—and the GI's of the next "police action"—a big assist.

Let's wind up and get the whole thing straight while we are at it. The Navy understands the Pacific as some politicians do not and never have.

As coastal and seafaring peoples—most of whose sons are in the Army rather than the

Navy—why don't we say so?
Why don't we help Tom Pelly out?

The Post-Intelligencer doesn't want war, any more than you do.

But it wants aircraft carriers, and enough of them.

Some of them would be built in Bremerton, yes. Probably more would be built in Boston, in Philadelphia, in Brooklyn, in Newport News.

Where they are built is of little moment now.

But they should be built. And if the gentlemen from Missouri—where Truman came from—if the man from Missouri does not understand that 10 hours has been the history of many a gallant ship after war is

declared—if he doesn't grasp that fact, where has he been?

There was talk a while back about unified military thinking. What happened to that? Sure, there must be air power. And that power includes the planes of our Air Force, the Army, the Navy, and the Marines.

A plane has to take off from something.

A plane has to take off from something. You may be sure that if it takes off from a carrier it will be a piece of the Pacific sea frontier which the Reds won't occupy tomorrow or next week.

Marie Theresa Connery Favors Family Allowances

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, Marie Theresa Connery proudly bears a surname that is well known to many older Members of the House of Representatives.

One that is indelibly associated with the constructive and humanitarian legislation that was passed by the Congress during the peaceful revolution of the 1930's

Her father was William P. Connery, Jr., who served for many years the District which I now have the humble honor to represent. Billy Connery, tireless and true, was a valiant champion of progressive legislation. As the key member of the Committee on Education and Labor, he was the administration spokesman for the great reforms that were achieved during that era—that raised American labor to a standard of living and a dignity unparalleled in the history of this country or that of the world.

. Billy Connery died before his time, worn out by his uncompromising and successful struggle to bring a great measure of security to all Americans.

His brother, Lawrence J. Connery, succeeded him as Congressman from the Seventh Massachusetts District, and carried on with the same generous heart and unyielding devotion to the common welfare that is the outstanding trait of the Connery family. He, too, died in his prime, a martyr to public service.

Mrs. William P. Connery, Jr., with the mutuality of interest that blessed the happy years of her marriage, spent her widowhood in bringing help and cheer to the unfortunate, until she was forced to retire by a disabling illness.

And now her daughter, Marie Theresa Connery, who majored in social science at college, and is now employed in that capacity with the Welfare Department of Lynn, Mass., continues the benevolent spirit and accomplishments that distinguished her father, her mother, and her uncle.

Miss Connery points to the future and to the need for family allowances as a further step in progressive social legislation. She calls our attention to the following thought-provoking article by the Reverend John S. Cronin, S. S., that was published in the December 19, 1954,

issue of the Boston Pilot, which serves the very large Catholic population of the archdiocese of Boston.

The article follows:

FAMILY ECONOMIC PROBLEMS (Rev. John F. Cronin, S. S.)

(Eprroa's Note.—Monsignor Higgins has as guest columnist this week, Father Cronin, also an assistant director of the social action department, NCWC.)

Last week's column used several family social problems as illustrations of social action. This week we might well center our attention upon economic problems of the family as further illustrations of this basic point. The main economic problems for the family center around family income and expenses. Is the income of the main wage-earner adequate? Are there ways of cutting down costs, particularly family medical costs?

The facts involved are fairly clear. First we note average worker income. With fringe benefits included, average income before taxes is less than \$4,000 a year. Next we note that over half the working force of women are married, and a majority of these have minor children. Roughly speaking, about one-quarter of our families have working wives.

Inquiries as to why married women work, bring a variety of responses. But the majority cite inadequacy of total family income. That means that the husband is not bringing in enough to support the family according to accepted American living standards. In some cases, at least, children suffer various degrees of neglect because of lack of adequate parental care. The marriage itself is strained when a wife must carry the double burden of holding an outside job and managing things at home.

When a young wife continues to work, there is the temptation to postpone the children and thus frustrate natural desires for a large family. This temptation is sometimes strengthened by high costs of medical care, particularly maternity and pediatric treatment. Prohibitive costs for adequate housing may also enter into this picture.

CONSTRAINTS STILL FELT

Faced with these problems, our response has been partly in terms of individual action, partly a program of social action. The individual response has not been satisfactory. It consists of such doubtful measures as having the wife work outside the home, postponing the arrival of children, and living in overcrowded quarters. Generally speaking, these solutions bring many evils in their wake

The main social response involves union efforts to raise wages. These efforts have been successful, since wages have risen more rapidly than prices in the last 25 years. While the lion's share of the gains have gone to union workers, other wages have tended to follow the pattern. In addition to these steps, other measures such as public housing, limited-dividend private housing, prepayment health plans, union health plans, and the like have eased family pressures considerably.

But the fact that families still feel economic constraints shows that all these measures have not been enough. More work must be done to raise incomes, cut costs, or do both at the same time. What is more, methods previously used can be pushed only a few steps further in a short period of time. Longrun wage increases (without price rises to cancel them out) depend largely upon increased efficiency of production. Such increases have averaged about 2 percent a year. Average real wage gains beyond that level will be hard to secure.

THE FAMILY APPROACH

Accordingly, we should give thought to a different method of distribution of the increased national product. Instead of passing out these gains indiscriminately to workers and shareholders in accordance with existing patterns, we should give serious thought to a new, family-centered pattern of distribution. Under the present system, a rise in wages goes equally to married and unmarried workers, to families with many children and to childless homes. As a result, those who contribute least to society are best off financially.

The framework of an alternate pattern of distribution has been worked out in a score of countries that have one or another variety of family-allowance systems. By some method a pool of income is formed. From this pool, extra sums are given to workers in accord with the size of their families. It is obvious that such an approach offers quick relief for the economic problems of the family. If national income were to gain \$6 bit loin in a year, much of the gain today would go to 75 million workers and shareholders.

If, instead, this sum were distributed among 20 million families with children under 18, the average gain for these families would be roughly 3 times as great. This could make a considerable difference in family living standards in a short period of time. Thus far, Americans have been indifferent toward the family-allowance system. But now that large families are again fashionable, we might find it easier to get a response for such a movement.

This would make a good social-action project for Catholic family groups, women's organizations, and Catholics working with labor unions. But it will not be effective if we work exclusively within our own circles. We must find allies in other groups, equally concerned with the welfare of the family, and jointly strive to make the family a major center of American life and thought.

Federal Aid for Library Services

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CARL ELLIOTT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, the people of the Seventh Congressional District of Alabama are vitally interested in expanded library services. Just this past week, the Cullman Tribune, a newspaper published in Cullman County, Ala., in the Seventh District, commented on Fedor Alabama are vitally interested in exeral aid for library services. I ask unanimous consent to have it published in the Appendix of the RECORD:

FEDERAL AID FOR LIBRARY SERVICES

Federal help, without Federal control, is being proposed in the library services bill that is being sponsored jointly by Democrats and Republicans in both Houses of Congress.

The proposed Federal legislation for library services provide \$7½ million each year for a 5-year period. The State would have to match the Federal money when appropriated for this specified purpose. Full jurisdiction over the Federal aid would be granted the State library agencies if this legislation is approved by Congress.

Among national organizations favorable to the proposed Federal aid for library services are: National Congress of Parents and Teachers, American Home Economics Association, and the National Education Association. The granting of this Federal aid for library

The granting of this Federal aid for library services would provide more books for the traveling library now serving residents of Cullman and Winston Counties.

The Selective Service Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, HUGH J. ADDONIZIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following resolution on the Selective Service Act, adopted by the executive committee of the veterans' ticket committee of Essex County, N. J. With this important subject now being reexamined by the Congress, I know the Members will be interested in the viewpoint of this committee composed of veterans of military service:

REOLUTIONS TO CHANGE THE SELECTIVE SERVICE LAWS AND REGULATIONS

Whereas there have been volumes of printed matter and millions of words spoken on the question of juvenile delinquency, but for the most part, youth, their parents, teachers, the church, and the community are often blamed in one way or another and nowhere have we read or heard the indirect manner in which our National Government is included; and

Whereas it appears that few have given thought to the relationship between the selective service and the cause for juvenile delinquency, here are some of the facts:

All boys on reaching their 18th birthday must register with their respective draft boards. At age 18 the boy, for the most part, has graduated from high school and may ponder whether he should get a job, enter college, or wait until he is called into the Armed Forces.

Often he hesitates about going to college, feeling that he would prefer to wait until after he has completed his military obligation to his country rather than having his education interrupted.

Soon thereafter registration he receives a 1A classification card from his local draft board. Those boys who cannot, for one reason or another, go to college and want to get a job find it difficult to secure one because upon being informed that the boy is in 1A the employer refuses to employ him on the basis that he is not going to train the boy into a job only to have him enter military service soon thereafter. One can readily see what develops thereafter and how delinquency soon occurs in these youngsters, since he must wait between the age of 18 to 21 or 22 before he is called by his draft board to enter military service.

What can be done, one would ask? The answer is a simple one. Amend the selective service laws to provide that at age 18 and just as soon thereafter as can be arranged by the military, the boy would be inducted and sent to a military camp within his State or nearby. There is no need to pay transportation to send him across the continent. He must go through training at camp for a period of 90 days. There would be no exception, unless the boy is not physically capable of undergoing military training for 90 days, whether or not he plans to go to

college or get a job. After 90 days the boy would return home, to college if he so plans where he must enter the ROTC at his college; if there is no ROTC he must enter the National Guard in that location for the full 4 years, drilling 1 night each week and going to camp for 2 weeks in the summer with the National Guard. The boy who does not plan to go to college must enter the National Guard, drilling 1 night each week and going to camp for 2 weeks with the National Guard in the summer. After 4 years in the ROTC or National Guard, the boy would be placed in the inactive Reserve for 4 years, and unless an emergency occurs, he would be considered to have completed his military obligations.

Should any boy fail to live up to the obligation of the ROTC or National Guard he would be called by his draft board and inducted into the regular service for 2 years.

This plan would prevent the heartaches, the breaking up of homes, loss of business and other matters that exists now under the present law. For example, at present there are men who were discharged from the service and sent home. After years at home they married, entered business, had children, and so on, only to be called back into service be-cause the Armed Forces discharged them before they had completed the full 2 years. Upon being called back, they must complete, not the remainder of the time to make up 2 years but must start from scratch and serve full years. This is not exactly justice. The same is true of men whom the Army rejected at induction stations because of health reasons. These men return, start life in the normal manner again only, in many instances, after many years, to be reexamined and because the physical standards have been lowered are admitted and must serve

The question of filling the ranks of the Regular Services would be accomplished by making the armed services a career for men who wish to remain there by giving the pay and opportunities nearly comparable to industry, since industry has no difficulty in finding men for the most dangerous assignment anywhere at any time. There is no difficulty in finding policemen for the State or any given municipality, and since our soldiers are really policemen of the Nation there should be no difficulty in finding men if given the pay and treatment necessary.

The plan outlined as an amendment to

The plan outlined as an amendment to the draft laws would save the Government billions of dollars, would place the boy in a more home-like environment at the National Guard Armory. He would be with his classmates and should war come, which God forbid, the National Guard which has always been the first group to hold the lines until recruits can be organized, would be ready. The cost for additional armories would be a small sum compared with the saving that would come as the result of the adoption of this plan which would not interrupt any man's life while at the same time every ablebodied man, without exception, would have served his time without any special exemption to any special group of men because of their studies or occupations: Therefore, be it

Resolved, That upon the adoption of these resolutions that they be signed by the Chairman of the Committee on Resolutions, the general chairman and the executive secretary, that they be spread upon the minutes of the Essex County Veterans' Ticket Committee, that copies be sent to the Congressmen from New Jersey, the Governor, and the press.

EDWARD BARRY,
Chairman, Committee on Resolutions.
EDWARD SIMANDL,
General Chairman.
CARLOS V. GIROD,
Executive Secretary.

Negation of the Yalta Agreement

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, February 7, 1955, marked the 10th anniversary of the Yalta Conference which culminated in the controversial and widely criticized Yalta agreement.

On a number of separate occasions since my first election to Congress, I stated on this floor that I favor the negation of that agreement. I wish to reiterate and reaffirm that position today.

I believe that I have made it very plain that I have no sympathy for the extremist critics of the Yalta agreement, whose vociferous condemnations were founded in political expediency rather than in any sincere desire to repair the damage done by the pact. Nevertheless, it has been my steadfast contention that the agreement was shortsighted and, in the provision dealing with the eastern boundary of Poland, inconsistent with the traditional policies and principles of the American people. For these reasons, I had repeatedly urged that the negation of the entire Yalta agreement, which can be accomplished on valid grounds, be given favorable consideration.

There are several basic reasons for the negation of the Yalta agreement. In the first place, it is uncertain that the late President Roosevelt intended to enter into an agreement at Yalta which would be legally binding on the United States.

Secondly, there is no body of established precedents with respect to Executive agreements to show that any one of them is to be regarded as valid beyond the term in office of the Chief Executive who entered into it. In conjunction with this point, we should note that there is nothing in the Yalta agreement

as to its intended duration.

Thirdly, the Yalta agreement has been in effect nullified by the repeated violations of its terms on the part of the Soviet Union. This is perhaps the chief reason why we should negate the agreement.

The negation of the Yalta pact will not free Poland, any more than the absence of this agreement would have prevented Soviet occupation of that country. We must remember that at the time of the Yalta Conference the Soviet armies had already moved through Poland and were within 32 miles of Berlin. Even if the Yalta agreement had never materialized, it would probably have been necessary to start a new war in 1945 in order to free Poland of Soviet occupation. I need not add that the allies, led by the United States, were not in favor of such a course at the time. It was believed during that period that the restoration of independence to the Eastern European nations could be achieved gradually through peaceful

means. This belief, of course, had proved to be completely unjustified with

the passage of time.

The negation of the Yalta agreement would, however, give us a starting point for demanding the restoration of Poland's proper boundaries and Poland's return to the family of free nations.

If the persons who had clamored for the repudiation of the Yalta pact are sincere, I urge them to lend their efforts to the task of bringing about the negation of the agreement.

Postal Salary Increases

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL A. FINO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. FINO. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following statement of Andrew T. Walker, president, branch I, New York City, United National Association of Post Office Clerks, on postal salary hearings before the House Post Office and Civil Service Committee, on Monday, February 7, 1955:

Chairman Murray and members of the committee, for the purpose of the record, my name is Andrew T. Walker and I am the president of Branch 1, of the United National Association of Post Office Clerks. The branch I head is in New York City, the largest in the Nation and composed of over 8,500 postal clerks.

I have spent almost 50 years in the postal service and I have witnessed many trying times in the economic life of postal employees when the need arose for a deserving salary increase. The need was never greater than it is at this time for a fair and equitable salary increase. The record of the 83d Congress during which time untold pages of cestimony was taken down by this very same committee from postal representatives attesting to the need of an increase of salary. I respectfully refer you, gentlemen, that record for the situation has not grown brighter but definitely worsened.

Almost every concern in New York City having night work has enrolled among its employees postal clerks and many of other classifications. In many cases postal wives are compelled to go out into the labor market to find a job in order to supplement their husband's income. It is a crying shame when we find not just the junior postal clerks but senior clerks with over 20 years or more seeking such supplemental income from a part-time job after his postal tour of duty. Children of postal employees as a result are particularly the victims of the lack of parental care, and all because of an inadequate salary. New York City's garbage collectors get a higher rate of pay than the postal clerk.

I urge you gentlemen to give full consideration to a pay raise of not lower than 10 percent. If postal employees are to maintain their present feeling that "Civil Service is Public Service" then Congress should provide the means for loyal servants to have the wherewithal to bring up their families in the true American standards. A standard which calls for a fair measure of the necessities of life, an education of mind and heart that brings with it an appreciation of a religion and a faith in God. Such a training leads to good and healthy citizenry.

I also wish to convey to you, gentlemen, the mounting resentment among the em-ployees of the New York post office against pending reclassification of the postal service bill, H. R. 2987. From a pulse beat count of my own large group I say that this bill with its wide latitude of duty-assigning features represents the basis of true fear by all well-intended postal men and women. Postal employees want you Members of Congress to retain all such privileges such as grade fixing, duty definition and assignment, present job protection, protecting civil service by not permitting an executive depart-ment head from bringing in individuals from private life into any levels beneath those of a policy fixing nature. Down through the years postal men and women have been assured of job and grade protection because no such authority has ever assigned to the executive branch of the Government and that is as it should be and I hope you Members of Congress see fit to keep it so. It is a common belief among postal and Federal employees that when President Dwight D. Eisenhower vetoed the small Federal pay hike in 1954 he was misinformed. He said at that time, that he did so, because the pay measure was not accompanied by a postal rate increase bill. This reason is not now binding upon the Congress because the administration has already conceded to the fairness of enacting a pay increase bill on its own merit and not contingent upon a postage rate increase

A survey of postal employees in New York City highlights their reaction that President Elsenhower will not veto a 10 percent pay raise bill if passed by Congress without any tie-in legislation.

I thank you gentlemen for the courtesy of presenting this statement.

Universal Military Training and Service Act

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LESTER HOLTZMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. HOLTZMAN. Mr. Speaker, no one regrets more deeply than I the need to continue and extend the Universal Military Training and Service Act. I regret the need for any legislation which will serve to take our young men out of their homes and schools. I regret the need to interrupt their lives and plans from the peaceful pursuit of their education and professions. But most of all, Mr. Speaker, I deeply regret that in this highly advanced age, society has not yet found the avenue to a lasting peace.

Much as I regret the need for this legislation, I am constrained to support it now as I did in our committee. As a matter of fact, I expressed grave doubts in committee as to the wisdom of the cut in our ground forces at this time, with the Communist threat looming larger and more serious every day, we must not, even in the slightest degree, lessen our defense effort or weaken our national security.

With our goal as peace, we must be so strong that no aggressor will dare to challenge us. We must never close the door to the conference room. We must, as we strengthen and fortify ourselves, proceed on the theory that peace is attainable and that war is not inevitable.

In supporting this legislation, I voice the hope and prayer that events prove it to have been unnecessary and that the safety of our country will never again require it.

President Cites Need for Reserve Militia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HOMER THORNBERRY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. THORNBERRY. Mr. Speaker, a very important issue before the Congress as it considers strengthening our military manpower program is the need for Federal recognition of the State guard or the State militia.

I am happy that the President in his message placed emphasis upon the need for a State guard or a State militia to preserve order and prevent chaos in times of emergency when the National Guard has been called to active duty. I am happy, too, that a subcommittee headed by our colleague, Hon. Overton Brooks, of Louisiana, is now holding hearings on H. R. 2967 which includes Federal recognition of the State guard or the State militia.

On January 24, 1955, there appeared an editorial in the Austin-American of Austin, Tex., which was written by that newspaper's editorial writer, Mr. Raymond Brooks, which points out the important role the Texas State Guard Reserve Corps has had in the development of an active State guard in our State and emphasizes the need for the legislation now being considered by the subcommittee of the House Committee on Armed Services.

I call the attention of the membership of the House to this excellent editorial which is as follows:

PRESIDENT CITES NEED FOR RESERVE MILITIA
President Eisenhower, in his military manpower message to Congress, dealt with all
phases of recruitment, training. Active and
Reserve mobilization. He urged the building up of a powerful and Ready Reserve,
along with the more intensive training of a
smaller and more mobile active-duty Army.
He followed the traditional principle that
a trained and Ready Reserve, a nonprofessional citizen-soldier Reserve, is the backbone of American defense.

In the area of internal security and Reserve militia, President Eisenhower gave direct and emphatic approval to a policy in which Texas has taken the lead among the States, and which it now is urging for the critical tasks involved in potential disaster at home, or in war emergency conditions calling out combat troops.

That is the maintenance of State guards, Reserve militia cadres, made up of veterans, mostly with combat experience, organized and ready for instant call.

President Esenhower asked that Congress renew enabling legislation that lapsed after World War II, to permit States to maintain militia units which would replace the National Guard units when called to active duty

in an emergency.

The States are permitted, under the Constitution, to maintain militia forces. The enabling legislation would be provision for keeping such reserve forces organized, in training and making them eligible for uniforms, equipment, arms, and training facilities and programs.

Texas had an active State guard, created by State law, during and immediately after World War II. The National Guard was reconstituted after that war, as after World War I. Then, the legislature provided that the State guard should be retained permanent, as a reserve corps. That has been done.

More than 20,000 Texans, veterans of

More than 20,000 Texans, veterans of United States military service, have kept up their affiliation with it, and in many cases have continued volunteer training programs. The Texas State Guard Reserve Corps has built an outstanding communications network. It has served with the civil defense and disaster relief organization in many instances. It helps train ROTC units.

The State Guard Reserve Corps is com-

The State Guard Reserve Corps is composed of three brigades, plus detached units and a large number of security units throughout the State, and it has a provost marshal section, tied directly to the State, city, and county law authorities.

Texans took the lead last fall in organizing the National Association of State Guards, joined by 20 or more other States which also have kept intact their reserve militia cadres. Former Texas Congressman Lloyd M. Bent-

Former Texas Congressman Lloyd M. Bentsen, Sr., in the last Congress offered the bill to reinstate Federal authorization and recognition for the call of the reserve militia, or any of its units, into active service when the National Guard, or any parts of it, were recalled to Federal service. Like hundreds of other bills, it failed to get action.

Now the national association and a large number of States are supporting directly that phase of legislation within President Eisen-

hower's recommended program.

Brig. Gen. Allen D. Rooke, of Woodsboro,

Brig. Gen. Allen D. Rooke, of Woodsboro, brigade commander and deputy corps commander of the Texas State Guard Reserve Corps, is president of the national association, and Col. Donald W. Peacock, of San Antonio, its national adjutant.

Colonel Peacock, representing the adjutant general's department of Texas, and Col. Carl C. Hardin, Jr., legislative chairman of the national association, will join representatives of many other States in Washington early in February, to confer with the Department of Defense and with appropriate congressional committees, on the pending Federal legislation, and steps within the various States to activate the internal security and reserve militia programs outlined by the President.

A Great Christian

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, the death last week of Dr. John R. Mott marked the passing of one of the world's greatest leaders, the Christian religion has ever had. It was my privilege to know Dr. Mott personally and to have my mind stretched, horizons widened, and spirit uplifted by his world vision and his unconquerable faith.

Under leave to extend my remarks I include a tribute paid to Dr. Mott in the editorial columns of the Minneapolis Tribune:

A GREAT CHRISTIAN

Few men engaged in Christian work in modern times have had as great an impact over as long a period as John R. Mott, who died Monday at the age of 89.

More than any other individual, Dr. Mott gave direction and momentum to the Young Men's Christian Association movement in the United States and throughout the world.

During World War I he directed the raising of funds for the YWCA, the National Catholic Welfare Council, the Jewish Welfare Board, the Salvation Army, the War Camp Community Service, and the American Library Association as well as the worldwide activities of the YMCA for members of the Allied Armed Forces and prisoners of war. The world was Dr. Mott's parish from the

The world was Dr. Mott's parish from the time he graduated from Cornell University in 1888, until he was well into the eighties. Dr. Mott devoted his exceptional gifts as a speaker and organizer to interesting college students in Christian living and missionary effort.

During the 30 years in which he was chairman of the Student Volunteer Movement, 12,000 students went out to serve as educational, medical, industrial, rural, and evangelistic workers in all parts of the non-Christian world.

Dr. Mott's goal of "the world for Christ in one generation" was not acheived but the movement to which he gave his life pioneered in important phases of work for underdeveloped nations now being undertaken by the United States and the U. N.

For his distinguished services, Dr. Mott was honored with a Nobel peace prize in 1946 and the Prince Carl Medal. He was decorated by seven governments in addition to the Distinguished Service Medal given him by the United States. He had honorary degrees from many universities. His was a full life and countless people in many lands, living and dead, have had reason to be grateful that he lived it as he did.

The Rights of Parents in Education

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR L. ANFUSO

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ANFUSO. Mr. Speaker, Cardinal James Francis McIntyre, of Los Angeles, is lovingly remembered in New York for his fruitful labors as coadjutor archbishop. He was appointed to the Los Angeles See in 1948 and was created cardinal in 1952 by Pope Pius XII.

His eminence was present at a Holy Name Union breakfast in Los Angeles on January 23, 1955, and there delivered a a brief address on parents' rights in education. Highlights of his address were published in the Los Angeles Tidings. I am certain his views on the subject will be of great interest to many parents and, therefore, I am inserting this brief article into the Record.

Another speaker at the breakfast was Superior Court Judge John J. Ford, of Los Angeles, who is a past president of the Holy Name Society and a member of the board of trustees of the Catholic Welfare Bureau of that city. His address also touches on the subject of the rights of parents to educate their children. I am inserting his address in the Record, too, following the remarks of Cardinal McIntyre.

PARENTS' RIGHTS IN EDUCATION

Any attempt to force all American children to attend State-sponsored schools is Hitlerian and un-American, His Eminence James Francis Cardinal McIntyre said here Sunday.

Speaking before 1,200 men at the 19th annual Holy Name Union breakfast, the Cardinal charged that the Educational Policies Commission of the National Education Association had begun an open attack on the rights of parents in education.

Specific target of the attack, His Eminence said, is the United States Supreme Court's 1925 decision in the Oregon school case which declared unanimously that the rights of parents must prevail in education. It outlawed a proposal that all children be forced to attend public schools.

REAL INTENT REVEALED

"In our United States today there is prevalent a tendency to bring about the complete education of all children in public schools."

This was evident, the Cardinal said, in a booklet recently issued by the NEA's Educational Policies Commission.

"Now their real intent is revealed to the country. They are attempting to establish a common universal state education which will place every child in every place in a public school.

"'This was the policy of Hitler'," the Cardinal said.

"This is entirely contrary to the policy of our country. There is no freedom in this."

The NEA agency's booklet is titled "Public Education and the Future of America."

"The booklet exaggerates greatly the merits of public education and casts grave reflection on private education," His Eminence said.

"The booklet is historically wrong; it gives a false impression of education. It is un-American and its proposal is not the mind of the Founding Fathers or of our Constitution."

PROPOSALS THREATEN FREEDOM

The Cardinal emphasized that the Founding Fathers of the country were educated in private schools and that a long period of years passed between their education and the establishment of public schools.

Proposals of the NEA agency are a threat to liberty, the Cardinal said, and constitute a real problem in our time.

JUDGE FORD'S ADDRESS

Your Eminence, Mr. President, reverend fathers, and gentlemen of the Holy Name Society, many of you, I am sure, will recall the letter which Comdr. John J. Shea, of the United States Navy, wrote to his young son a short time before the commander lost his life in the Battle of the Solomons. The beauty of its expression of sincere adherence to religious and patriotic principles caused it to be published in newspapers and magazines the country over. In that letter the father counselled his son, "Be a good Catholic, and you can't help being a good American."

By your actions this morning you, as Holy Name men, have given glowing proof of your loyalty to the tenets of your religious faith. Underlying that devotion are principles derived from the eternal law of God to which you adhere and which assure your loyalty to your country in that sphere of your life in

which the state can justly require your obedience.

Such loyalty is in essence a submission to authority, for authority is the right to direct and command and, in turn, to obtain obedience. Therefore, we are concerned with the origin and nature of the authority which the state is entitled to exercise.

The family is a natural society because it is essential to the propagation of the race to the proper upbringing of children. But it is also necessary that man live in civil That society in the form of the state can provide in suitable measure those necessities, such as protection from harm, which would otherwise not be available to the individual or to the family group. Thus the state promotes the common welfare. affords to man the opportunity to reach the highest goal in material, intellectual and moral development. Certainly it is clear to all of us that only by such organization can man's rights be recognized and made fully effective and his liberty preserved. state, therefore, being necessary for man, must be part of the plan of God. Moreover, the state, once constituted, is a perfect society because it depends on no higher power than God alone.

But a State cannot maintain order and achieve its proper end unless it possesses authority. Authority being essential to the function of the State, its basis must be found in the natural law by which all reasonable beings participate in the eternal reason. Such authority is, therefore, from God.

Our next inquiry must be: Where has God placed such authority, by whom is it to be exercised, and to what limitations is it subject? In the language of one of our greatest statesmen is found the key to the answer. When Abraham Lincoln at Gettysburg spoke of "government of the people, by the people, for the people," he embodied in a few simple words the whole Christian philosophy of the nature of authority in the State.

The authority necessary for the proper conduct of the functions of civil society is first vested by God immediately in the people. Hence what we have is a government of the people. But obviously such authority cannot be exercised directly by the people for chaos would result. Consequently, the people transfer such authority to their representatives in the organization of the State. In the hands of such representatives are placed the reins of government. To guard against abuse or misuse of that authority, the people retain a measure of control over their representatives, such as is found in the practice of periodic elections.

Furthermore, the government must be for the people because the very purpose for which authority is exercised by the State is the achievement of the common good of human persons. It cannot be an absolute authority but rather one that recognizes and protects the God-given rights of man, for, as the great philosopher of our day, Maritain, so well states it, "If the human person is without rights, then rights and, consequently, authority exist nowhere."

Let us dwell for a moment on just one of those rights since it is a right which is so often the target of sniping attacks. I refer to the natural right of parents to educate their children. Since the upbringing of the child is primarily and essentially the right and the duty of the parents, certainly the education of the child-being that part of his rearing which relates to the training of his mindis primarily and essentially their right. As must be clear from what has earlier been said, the function of the State is only to supply those services which private endeavor does not or cannot provide. Accordingly, the rights of the State are limited. It has no absolute power as those who would treat the State as the source of its own authority—in effect making a god out of the

State and denying the dignity of man—would have us believe. The State cannot supersede the basic social group, the family, but can only supplement it. All other agencies interested in education must recognize the rights and duties of parents and serve only in the capacity of those to whom parents have delegated authority. Therefore, while the State has the right and the duty to demand of all its citizens a certain minimum education, it has no right to monopolize the field of education. This was so clearly pointed out by the Supreme Court of the United States 30 years ago that the language then used is worthy of frequent repetition. The Supreme Court said:

"The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the state to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the state; those who nuture him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations."

The founders of our great Nation clearly understood that the State's authority has its roots in the natural law and must be exercised in harmony with its principles. Listen, for example, to the words of George Washington in his first inaugural address. He told his countrymen that "the propitious smiles of heaven can never be expected in a nation that disregards the eternal rules of order and right, which heaven itself has ordered."

We know, then, that the state is a society necessary for man if he is to lead a natural life as a creature. It safeguards and promotes man's temporal good. But man has a destiny beyond the temporal order. Let us, therefore, turn for the moment from the state and consider the church, a supernatural rather than a natural society. The mission of the church is to secure man's spiritual and eternal welfare. It is a perfect society because, like the state, it is sovereign in its own sphere and depends on no power other than God. In the exercise of its divine authority in the sphere set aside to it under the design of God, the church is entitled to the protection of the state and to be free from interference in matters relating to faith and morals. Since man's eternal welfare is more important than anything in the world, the authority of the state, which has as its ultimate aim the promotion of the common welfare, should be asserted in complete harmony with that of the church. Each-the church and the state-is necessary, for each adds something to man's development which the other does not have the power to give. As Christ himself commanded us, that which is Caesar's is to be rendered to Caesar, and that which belongs to God is to be rendered to God.

You may wonder why it is necessary to review principles which, I am sure, you all know and accept. The difficulty is that in the thought of so many persons throughout the world, and even in our own country, these principles have been twisted, denied or forgotten. Brute power without authority and, consequently, without the foundation of justice and law, has conquered much of the surface of the globe. Instead of a state cognizant of the dignity of the human being and striving for the protection of man's inalienable rights and for the promotion of the common welfare within the framework of the natural law, in some parts of the world governments have been estab-lished which have defied the state and gloried in contempt for the human person. spiritual issue is involved and we must be ever alert to insist upon the principles which underlie our Christian civilization for, as Christopher Dawson warned us many years ago, "Whenever the city of man sets itself up as an end in itself and becomes the center of a self-contained and self-regarding order, it becomes the natural enemy of the city of God."

Let us pray that we as Americans will ever keep in mind that the rational basis of our democracy is found in the truths of philosophy and religion. For our part, let us always keep before us those words of Lincoln—simple yet so full of meaning—"This Nation, under God."

United States "Dorchester Day"

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PETER W. RODINO, JR.

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. RODINO. Mr. Speaker, there is a heroic story of the sea which has earned its right to be forever memorialized in the history of our country. It is a story valuable to the American tradition because it is a lesson in the essential unity of our people and their separate faiths-Catholic, Protestant, Jewish. It is a story of sublime sacrifice by men of religion who thus gave concrete, physical expression to their religious ideals. It is altogether a story so rich in human drama, so gripping on the imagination. and so colored by crisis and excitement at sea in time of war, that I ask the event be set down in the official calendar of American holidays. To me it is essentially a story of basic American solidar-

It is for these reasons that I have introduced into the first session of this, the 84th Congress of the United States. House Joint Resolution 77. It designates the 3d day of February in each year as Dorchester Day. In doing this we shall commemorate the sinking of the Army transport Dorchester by enemy action off the coast of Greenland on the day thus set apart. You will remember that was the tragedy at sea when four Army chaplains of different religious faiths lost their lives because-according to the reports of survivors-they pressed upon soldiers caught helpless on the sinking craft, their own lifebelts. They then perished together, linked arm in arm, in the high seas.

What the record does not and cannot show-because of the dreadful circumstances of the tragedy-is something I take the liberty to assume. I assume that when these four noble Americans-Catholic, Protestants, and Jew-went down into the ice and the water of that awful night, they uttered a common prayer in a joint plea to the God and Father of all men. It seems to me, Mr. Speaker, an act of incredible neglect that an event written in terms of grand tragedy, so meaningful for all future generations of Americans, should thus go undistinguished on the calendar of the days we honor. Therefore, I ask that this year this omission be corrected and that this House act favorably on my measure.

School Aid

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES M. QUIGLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

. Mr. QUIGLEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to revise and extend my remarks, I include a letter and tabulation from the United States Office of Education relative to the plight of the public schools in Carlisle, Pa., and other places.

I invite the attention of my colleagues, and particularly those colleagues who are members of the Committee on Education and Labor and the Appropriations Subcommittee dealing with the Office of Education, to this problem.

I hope, Mr. Speaker, that the Congress will amend the so-called Federal impact program so that Carlisle and these other school districts may receive the aid to which they are entitled.

DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE,
OFFICE OF EDUCATION,
Washington, D. C., February 4, 1955.
Hon. James M. Quigley,

House of Representatives.

Dear Congressman Quigley: This is in reference to your letter of February 3, 1955, requesting a list of the school districts which did not receive the maximum payment computed for them under Public Law 815, as amended by Public Law 246, because the school districts let contracts to construct school facilities between November 24, 1953, the first cutoff date for receipt of applications, and the final cutoff date of June 30,

You will note that a total of 27 school districts in 14 States failed to receive \$5,945,-109, because the school districts let contracts for construction of school facilities with local funds between the two cutoff dates. Of the total of 27 school districts listed, 18 had received no allotment under Public Law 815, and the other 9 had received part of their maximum payment.

These situations occur because of the following circumstances: Public Law 815 provides that the Office of Education shall compute a maximum payment for a school district based on the number of eligible federally connected children in each category times the rate. The maximum amount a school district may receive is the cost of constructing minimum school facilities for the unhoused children, but not to exceed the amount of the maximum payment. The act also provides that when the Comimissioner of Education determines that the funds that will be available for any fiscal year will not be sufficient to meet all of the requests on file he shall set a cutoff date or dates for receipt of applications to participate in any funds that may be avalable for that fiscal year. The act further provides that any contracts entered into by the school district for construction of school facilities as of the cutoff date or dates shall be counted as capacity available in determining the number of unhoused school children in the district.

A total of \$70 million was appropriated for the 1954 fiscal year for this program, and the Commissioner of Education believing that this would not be enough to approve all eligible applications on file, set a cutoff date as of November 24, 1953, for receipt of applications to participate in that \$70 million. A second and final cutoff date was established as of June 30, 1954. A number of school districts that had not submitted applications by the first cutoff date did submit applica-

tions by the second date. The funds available during the 1954 fiscal year were sufficient to make allotments to those school districts that had a priority index of a little over 20. Those school districts that did not receive allotments from the first appropriation were considered together with the new applicants in determining the priority as of the second cutoff date of June 30, This June 30, 1954, date was used in counting contracts let for construction of school facilities to determine the number of unhoused children for this group of new applicants and for the applicants that submitted applications by the first cutoff date, but were not high enough on the priority list to receive funds.

The school districts listed on the en-

closure all had submitted applications by the first cutoff date and had a maximum Federal allowance as shown in column 2. None of these school districts received funds under the first appropriation and the contracts which they let to construct school facilities with State and local funds between the first cutoff date of November 24, 1953, and the second cut-off date of June 30, 1954, reduced the maximum Federal allowance by the amount shown in column 4.

If there is any further information you desire regarding this matter please feel free to call on us.

Sincerely yours,

B. Alden Lillywhite,
Associate Director for Federally Affected Areas,

List of applicants under Public Law 815, as amended by sec. 246, who lost Federal funds because contracts for the construction of school facilities were let after Nov. 24, 1953, and on or before June 30, 1954 (col. 2 shows maximum funds for which applicants qualified, col. 3 shows funds approved, and col. 4 shows funds lost because of the above contracts)

Applicant	Maximum Federal allowance	Federal funds reserved	Loss in Federal allowance
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
CALIFORNIA		NO STORY	
	\$885, 150	\$810,144	\$75 004
10—Monterey City School District 56—Mojave Unified School District 57—Chula Vista City School District	37, 170 411, 390	251,000	\$75,006 37,176 160,396
57—Chula Vista City School District 58—San Diego Unified School District 901—Areada Flavrantary School District	1 712 600	580, 230	1, 133, 370 271, 530
220—Torrance Unified School District	1, 277, 073	.503, 126	773.947
201—Areada Elementary School District. 220—Torrance Unified School District. 228—Alamitos Elementary School District. 227—Manhatan Beach City School District. 419—Escondido Union School District.	271, 530 1, 277, 073 48, 510 492, 723 63, 000	320, 260	48, 510 172, 463 63, 000
Total	5, 200, 146	2, 464, 760	2, 735, 386
COLORADO			
502-School District No. 50, Adams County	53, 900		53, 200
CONNECTICUT			
205—Town of Southington	127, 160		127, 100
FLORIDA			
7—Special Tax District No. 1, Okaloosa County	464, 085	297,000	167, 083
MARYLAND			
4—Montgomery County Board of Education	3, 195, 390	2, 022, 000	1, 173, 390
MICHIGAN			
419—Brownstown Graded School District No. 11F	2,700		2,700
MONTANA			
407—School District No. 52, Stillwater County	15, 370		15, 370
NEW YORK			
203—Union Free School District No. 3, town of Hempstead	1, 111, 120	685, 000	426, 120
Rabylon	339, 120 309, 600		339, 120 309, 600
Total	1,759,840	685,000	1, 074, 840
OHIO	SELET		
121-Strongsville Village School District	23, 400		23, 400
PENNSYLVANIA			
401—Carlisle School District	279, 110		279, 110
RHODE ISLAND			
402—Town of Jamestown	9, 000	·	9,000
TEXAS			
21—Kingsville Independent School District	164, 350 157, 250	148, 200	16, 150 157, 250
401—A. & M. Consolidated Independent School District	29, 500		29, 500
Total	351, 100	148, 200	202, 900
WASHINGTON			
101—Quiney School District No. 144	49, 068		49, 068
03—City of Baraboo	18,000		18,000
102—Joint School District No. 3, Village of Paynette, towns of Arlington, Lowville, Leeds, and Dekorra.	13, 800		13, 800
Total	31, 800		81, 800
		E 610 000	
Grand total	11, 502, 009	5, 616, 960	5, 945, 109

American Legion Support of American Merchant Marine

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, HERBERT C. BONNER

OF NORTH CAROLINA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. BONNER. Mr. Speaker, since World War II we have been letting our merchant marine, our vital maritime industries, deteriorate at an alarming rate. I am hopeful that in this Congress we will be able to arrest and reverse this dangerous trend.

Unquestionably, one of the reasons for this situation is a general lack of public understanding of the significance of the merchant marine and the intimate relationship it bears to the life and security of every American. Perhaps this is be-cause the physical presence of ships seems so remote to many of us as not to warrant more than a passing thought, for those who know from intimate experience the place of a strong merchant marine in our national security are its wholehearted supporters.

Mr. Speaker, under unanimous con-sent, I include in the Appendix of the RECORD a letter dated February 4, 1955, from Mr. Miles Kennedy, director, national legislative commission of the American Legion, and a copy of Resolution 499 adopted at the 1954 national convention setting forth the Legion's position with regard to a long-range merchant marine program.

The letter and resolutions follow:

THE AMERICAN LEGION. Washington, D. C., February 4, 1955. Hon. Herbert C. Bonner,

Chairman, House Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries, House Office Building,

Washington, D. C.
DEAR CONGRESSMAN BONNER: Referring to the hearings now being conducted by the House Committee on Merchant Marine and Pisheries relative to construction, conversion, and repair of ships, etc., I enclose copy of Resolution 499 adopted at the 1954 national convention of the American Legion, and setting forth our position on the long-range merchant marine program.

While we are not asking for an opportunity to be heard in person I would appreclate it if you would kindly have this letter and the attached resolution incorporated in the record of the hearings.

Thanking you for your courtesy, I am, Sincerely yours.

MILES D. KENNEDY, Director.

LONG-RANGE MERCHANT MARINE PROGRAM

Whereas modern seapower attack is making World War II merchant ships obsolete and the future requires a modern fleet of fast ships "in being" and ready at the instant of an overt nuclear explosion; and

Whereas the maintenance of an adequate merchant marine is sound national policy, absolutely essential to our national security and contributes substantially to our eco-

nomic welfare; and

Whereas past experience clearly demonstrates that reliance upon the merchant fleets of foreign nations not only is inadequate and costly but dangerous to our national security; and

Whereas the threat of intercontinental warfare to the security of the free world and widespread global commitments have indefinitely increased our need for added naval power and ocean transportation; and

Whereas the United States depends on foreign overseas sources for many strategic raw materials essential to our domestic industrial production and defense requirements;

Whereas maintaining of ship construction potential and providing the indispensable ready-for-action merchant minimum of ships as deemed necessary by the Department of Defense is dependent upon the continuous availability of shipyards, plant knowhow and a nucleus of skilled workers, dispersed along the coasts of the United States;

Whereas the Department of Commerce has recommended a stepped-up construction program of oceangoing vessels; and

Whereas the American Legion has long recognized that a strong American-flag merchant fleet is essential to the defensive strength of the Nation and to the prosperity of our country; Therefore be it

Resolved, That the American Legion reaffirms its 36-year support of a strong, privately owned and operated American merchant marine, and urges the adoption of such policies and procedures as will:

1. More fully implement the sound principles and procedures in the Merchant Marine Act of 1936.

2. Develop workable and consistent formulas for Government aid and liberal mortgage guaranties to encourage private investcapital to finance construction of

American ships.
3. Establish a long-range ship construction program to provide replacements and avoid block obsolescence of our aging merchant ships.

4. Restore our American coastwise fleet, the "hard core" of merchant shipping so that it will again be available for any emergency

5. Encourage intercoastal shipping by revising tolls on United States ships for passage through the Panama Canal to provide that such tolls should be adequate the costs actually attributable to the operation of the waterway but should not de-fray the overall cost of maintaining the Canal Zone.

6. Continue the statutory requirements that at least 50 percent of all cargoes financed directly or indirectly by the United States move on American flag vessels.
7. Reactivate the Merchant Marine Naval

Reserve as an effective component of the United States Naval Reserve.

8. Encourage construction repair and overhaul of ships by private industry.

9. Withdraw ships operated by Government agencies from services where private ships can provide adequate ocean transportation.

10. Seek to remove existing discriminatory practices of foreign nations against American shipping.

11. Maintain the United States Merchant Marine Academy at Kings Point, N. Y., as a permanent institution comparable to the service academies and to continue to encourage and support the maritime academies in Maine, Massachusetts, California, and New York.

Whereas the American Legion has adopted and intends to continue a program of direct action for a strong American merchant ma-

Whereas in order to implement the board and extensive information and educational campaign by the American Legion on behalf of a strong American merchant marine for national security: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the director of the National Security Commission and the chairman of

the Merchant Marine Committee of the American Legion are hereby directed to continue to seek and obtain from all possible sources such information and assistance as will insure the effectiveness of the mandates of this convention concerning the American merchant marine; and to encourage public relations officers of the various departments of the American Legion to arrange meeting and forum discussions on maritime affairs and recommend that the department com-manders invite informed speakers on such subjects to appear before their annual department conventions; and, further, that the director and the chairman of the Merchant Marine Committee be, and are hereby authorized to participate in all hearings affecting said program; and be it further Resolved, That the American Legion at its

36th annual national convention, assembled in Washington, D. C., August 30-September 2, 1954, instructs the national headquarters of the American Legion to prepare and to conduct an extensive informational and educational program about the American merchant marine as "our fourth arm" of na-

tional security.

Tributes to Ambassador Warren Austin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RALPH E. FLANDERS

OF VERMONT

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. FLANDERS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD the tributes given during, and newspaper reports on, the memorial dinner given Ambassador Warren Austin in Burlington, Vt., on January 30, 1955.

I was privileged to attend the dinner, in which so many persons from various parts of the country gave testimony in honor of the former Senator, who contributed so much in these Halls and in the United Nations.

The instance of this particular event was the announcement of a memorial forest in Israel, named in honor of the Ambassador, by virtue of which a plaque recording that tribute was presented to him by the Vermont Jewish community.

There being no objection, the tributes and articles were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Burlington (Vt.) Free Press of January 31, 1955]

FAITH ONLY ROAD TO PEACE, SAYS AUSTIN AT TESTIMONIAL

Warren R. Austin, visibly moved by one glowing testimonial after another, accepted the tributes of world, National, State, and local dignitaries here yesterday for his "outlocal dignitaries here yesterday for his standing contribution to the cause of free-dom and democracy" and for his "glorious part in the historic drama of the restoration of Israel.'

The former United States Senator and Ambassador to the United Nations received the plaudits at a testimonial staged by the Vermont Jewish community and attended by some 650 persons at the synagogue center. Highlight was the presentation of a plaque citing Austin's accomplishments and marking the establishment of a Warren R. Austin Forest in Israel.

Austin received personal commendations from Ambassador Abba Eban of Israel, Senator Ralph Flanders, Gov. Joseph Johnson, Mayor J. Edward Moran, Rabbi Max Wall, program chairman, and Dr. Arthur Gladstone, president of the Vermont Jewish Council,

who presented the plaque.

And he was commended through letters and telegrams by President Elsenhower; Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., present U. N. Am-bassador; Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary General of the U. N.; Cabinet members; leaders of House and Senate; former President Harry S. Truman; and many other former col-leagues in public life.

BARE PUBLIC APPEARANCE

Austin, making one of his rare public appearances, responded by speaking of the "tre-mendous, vital faith" which stimulated the Jews to establish a political state in the Holy Land.

"Such faith," Austin said, "was strong enough to carry them over when the time came to establish the promised land."

And, he said: "Faith is the only real way of arriving at the goal of world peace.
"I have that faith myself."

STANDING OVATION

The packed assembly gave him a standing ovation when he finished speaking.

The vigorous young Israeli diplomat said Austin was the father and pioneer of the American tradition in the work of the United

"He has served with strength and dignity admidst high issues of conflict and concilia-tion," Eban said. "But I venture to presume that as he looks back over that crowded record he will find no greater spiritual satisfaction than that of belonging to his historic role in assisting this small but immortal people to achieve its statehood, assume its sovereign rights and take its place after 2,000 anguished years in the family of free nations.

Governor Johnson said he brought the high pride of Vermont to the testimonial.

It is not that the State honors Austin," said the Governor, "but that it is Austin who honors the State."

Senator Flanders called Austin a man with an uncompromising refusal to compromise with evil and a desire to meet nations on a basis of living together.

HAS SERVED HIGH PURPOSES

Rabbi Wall said Austin, both in the U. N. and the Senate, has served the high purposes and best interests of our Nation and of the peoples of the world.

The rabbl said: "To this man, undeterred

by threats of reprisal and boycott, we owe a

debt of gratitude which can merely be ex-pressed but never paid."

And, referring to the Warren Austin Forest to be planted through the cooperation of the Jewish national fund, Wall said: "We have joined together and dedicated a living testimonial to this man * * * this forest will remind us of the many bonds and invaluable links between our country and Israel.'

The President said in a written message that he was happy to join the Jewish com-munities of the State in paying tribute to

Austin.

"For his dedicated service," wrote Eisenhower, "all who seek a just world peace are in his debt."

Most Rev. Edward F. Ryan, bishop of the Burlington diocese, pronounced the invocation. Bishop Vedder Van Dyck, of the Episcopal diocese of Vermont, gave the bene-

Others on the speakers' platform were Lt. Gov. Consuelo Northrop Bailey, Mrs. Austin, Rev. Barry Fontaine, diocesan chancellor; and Consul Reuven Dafni, of Israel.

TRIBUTE TO WARREN R. AUSTIN APPEARING ON PROGRAM OF TESTIMONIAL DINNER

THE WHITE HOUSE, Washington, January 10, 1955. I am happy to join with the Jewish com-munities of the State of Vermont in paying tribute to Warren R. Austin.

His outstanding ability and devotion to principle-evidenced in his career in the United States Senate—fitted him well for the difficult post of United States repre-sentative to the United Nations. For 7 years Ambassador Austin was a leader in the new organization's efforts to further international cooperation, and for this dedicated service all who seek a just world peace are in his debt. It is therefore gratifying to know of your expression of appreciation for his work and for his part in the United Nations action leading to the creation of the State of Israel.

To him I extend congratulations, and to all attending the meeting in his honor, I send warm good wishes.

Sincerely,

DWIGHT D. EISENHOWER.

I am certainly pleased and happy that you decided to honor my good friend, the Honorable Warren Austin. I know of no one who has made a greater contribution to his country than has Ambassador Austin. During his period of service in the United States Senate he was responsible for many acts of important legislation. Warren Austin's work as our chief delegate to the United Nations was an example of great skill and statesmanship.

Please express my congratulations to the Ambassador and tell him that I am very sorry I can't be present in person to shake

Sincerely yours,

HARRY S. TRUMAN.

TO WARREN R. AUSTIN

We the Jews of the State of Vermont, dedicate the Austin Forest in Israel to an American statesman who has consistently over many years embodied in his personal life and his political acts the authentic ideal and the loftiest aspirations of America.

We offer our profound respect and gratitude to one who has truly been our friend and neighbor and who, as such, has shown us what it means to live in the spirit humanity and of justice and to fight the good fight in all the causes of freedom and

The Austin Forest in the land and State of Israel will commemorate this noble spirit. Its everlasting greenness will bear permanent witness to the gratitude which the Jews of the Green Mountain State treasure forever in their hearts for one who in the councils of the United Nations raised his voice in crucial and formative days for the State of Israel. May he live long and see the verdure of the forest which bears his name. SAUL SPIRO,

Chairman, Warren R. Austin Testimonal.

UNITED STATES REPRESENTATIVE TO THE UNITED NATIONS.

The deep affection and regard with which the community holds Warren Austin is the finest tribute that any man can receive. Sincerely yours,

HENRY CAROT LODGE, Jr.

May God bless the guest of honor and all who honor him, and may His grace prosper the cause of human brotherhood.

ROBERT F. JOYCE, Auxiliary Bishop of Burlington.

It is gratifying to all the friends and admirers of Ambassador Austin that a forest will be planted in Israel in recognition of the outstanding public service of this great statesman and diplomat.

HERBERT H. LEHMAN, United States Schator.

It is a privilege for me to be given this opportunity to pay my personal respects to Warren R. Austin with whom I have served in the United States Senate and for whom I have always had the highest respect and admiration.

LEVERETT SALTONSTALL, United States Senator.

THE JEWISH AGENCY FOR PALESTINE, New York, N. Y.

It is with extreme pleasure that I convey my greetings to the testimonial being held in honor of Warren Austin. I recall most vividly the exciting days of consultation with this illustrious statesman in the United Nations and his unceasing efforts and unsparing devotion to the cause of Israel.

EMANUEL NEUMANN.

JEWISH NATIONAL FUND.

The project to plant a forest in Israel in honor of Ambassador Warren R. Austin is an act of poetic, albeit belated justice. men in America have evinced greater friendship for the Jewish people or have rendered greater service to the cause of Israel. .

MENDEL N. PISHER, Executive Director, Jewish National Fund. HARRIS J. LEVINE,
President, Jewish National Fund.

THE AMERICAN JEWISH COMMITTEE.

New York, N. Y. For you Vermonters, Senator Austin is, of course, the favorite son par excellence. But the fact is that in this choice of yours every good American throughout the land and regardless of political affiliation, enthusiastically concurs. Lawyer, legislator, diplomat, statesman, and guardian of America's unconquerable liberal tradition. Mr. Austin has long deserved the admiration of his countrymen and of America's friends throughout the world.

JACOB BLAUSTEIN, Honorary President.

SYNAGOGUE COUNCIL OF AMERICA, New York, N. Y.

Senator Austin possessed in abundance those qualities that have made New England famous, straightforwardness, love of democracy, justice, and fair play to all men. It is in the Biblical tradition that they have their root and it is in that tradition that America found its inspiration and Warren Austin his earliest instruction.

Rabbi Norman Salit, President.

> B'NAI B'RITH, Washington, D. C.

It gives me an enormous amount of pleasure to learn of the project that is being established in honor of a great American, Warren Austin. This testimonial on the part of the Jewish communities of Vermont is a flitting commemoration of the substantial assistance rendered by Mr. Austin to the people of Israel in the Halls of the United States Senate and the United Nations.

PHILIP M. KLUTZNICK, President.

ZIONIST ORGANIZATION OF AMERICA.

It gives me great pleasure to extend, on behalf of my fellow officers of the Zionist Organization of America and on my own behalf, warmest greetings to the testimonial which the Jewish community of Vermont is holding in honor of Warren R. Austin.

MORTIMER MAY,

President.

AMERICAN ZIONIST COUNCIL, New York, N. Y.

Warren Austin has earned a secure place in history and in the hearts of his countrymen. He is a living examplar of those great New England virtues which American Jews are happy to think derive their strength and vitality from the noble tradition which we share in common.

IRVING MILLER. Chairman. VERMONT JEWISH COUNCIL.

On behalf of the Vermont Jewish Council, I wish to tell you how pleased we are to participate in the expression of appreciation and honor of our esteemed friend, Warren R. Austin. Being so interested in the Jewish national fund, and having this past year seen at first hand their achievements in reforestation of the land of Israel, I know of no more appropriate way for Vermont Jewry to honor a man who did so much toward the realization of the Jewish State, than to create a Warren Austin Forest.

ARTHUR A. GLADSTON, M. D.,
President.

I greatly appreciate having the opportunity to join the many friends who will be meeting together on January 30, 1955, to honor one of America's most distinguished citizens, the Honorable Warren R. Austin. His outstanding record during the years he spent in the Senate, his pioneering work in the United Nations, as well as his lasting contributions toward the establishment of the State of Israel, are only a few of his many notable achievements.

This will be a memorable occasion, and I want to express my own personal gratitude to Warren Austin, whose life has been so full of service to others, and to wish for him the happiness and good health he so rightfully deserves in the years to come.

RICHARD NIXON.

WARREN R. AUSTIN TESTIMONIAL,
Burlington, Vt.

The Rabbinical Assembly of America considers it a great privilege to congratulate the Jewish communities of Vermont on the establishment of a forest in Israel in honor of Senator Warren R. Austin, noble representative of our beloved country in the councils of Government and in the United Nations. May it be an eternal reminder of the values which he espoused so eloquently and symbolized in his own person.

Rabbi Harry Halpern,
President.
Rabbi Wolfe Kelman,
Executive Secretary.

UNITED STATES SENATE.

The Jewish communities of Vermont are to be commended for paying this well-deserved honor to Ambassador Austin. His distinguished work in both the United States Senate and United Nations, and especially his work for the establishment of the State of Israel, command the respect of us all. I am happy to know that Vermonters of the Jewish faith are undertaking to accord him the honor he richly deserves.

GEORGE D. AIKEN.

JANUARY 4, 1955.

The magnificent contributions which Ambassador Austin has made to elevate the stature of the United Nations and advance the cause of world peace have ennobled our State and Nation. I hope that in the years ahead he will rejoice in seeing the seeds of international understanding which he has sown bring forth a world free from tyranny and armed strife.

WINSTON L. PROUTY, Member of Congress.

I am happy to join with you in saluting Ambassador Warren R. Austin on the occasion of the establishment by Vermont Jewry of the Austin Forest in Israel.

Ambassador Austin is among those American statesmen who have championed the State of Israel and who have seen in its establishment the setting up of an extension of the American democratic idea in the Middle East. Appreciating as he does the

Hebraic ideals that have helped fashion our American Republic, he has been motivated by the highest ideals in lending his valued support to the establishment and the promotion of the State of Israel. The Jewish communities of Vermont honor themselves in honoring this American whose New England Pilgrim and Puritan traditions are so close to those of our own coreligionists.

Sincerely yours,
Rabbi Barnett R. Brickner,
President, Central Conference
of American Rabbis.

Over a long span of years he has served his native State of Vermont, his country, and humanity at large. As a judge, as a United States Senator, and as his country's Ambassador to the United Nations, he has worked tirelessly. His wisdom, courage, and kindness have been invaluable assets in the quest for peace. I am grateful for this opportunity of paying tribute to a valued friend. Sincerely yours.

JOHN FOSTER DULLES.

New England Jewish National Fund. In behalf of the Jewish National Fund of New England, we wish to express our deep appreciation to you and your committee for honoring our distinguished friend, Ambassador Warren R. Austin, in this tribute by the Jewish community of Vermont. With his help and cooperation at the United Nations, the State of Israel was established.

FRED MONOSSON,
President.

THE BURLINGTON FREE PRESS,
Burlington, Vt.

A man of great talent, forceful in thought and expression, of deep convictions, with sincerity, warmth, and courage, Warren Austin has aroused our admiration especially for the whole-souled consecration that was embodied in his contribution to public service and to the cause of world peace. Mr. Austin made great sacrifices and never spared himself or thought of self in his urgent quest for sound and lasting international peace,

DAYD W. Hows.

The Significant Role of Farm and Rural Voters in the 1954 Oregon Election

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article from the Christian Science Monitor of December 10, 1954, by Malcolm Bauer, of Portland, who is the Oregon correspondent for that very informative and outstanding daily newspaper. The article indicates clearly the significant role played by farm and rural voters in the historic Oregon election of 1954.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OREGON ELECTION ANALYZED: RURAL VOTE
ELECTED NEUBERGER

(By Malcolm Bauer)

SALEM, OREG.—Now that the United States Senate victory of Democratic RICHARD L. Neusercer over the GOP incumbent, Guy Cordon, has been confirmed officially by a statewide vote canvass, the sources of Mr. Neusercer's strength can be analyzed with more accuracy.

Consensus has been that Oregon Demo-

Consensus has been that Oregon Democrats' first Senate seat conquest in 40 years was due to but 2 factors: The support and political activity of organized labor in metropolitan Portland and the dissatisfaction of Oregon voters with the Eisenhower administration's natural-resources policies.

The importance of these points is confirmed by the vote canvass, but the precinct-by-precinct tally also reveals another significan fact: Mr. Neuberger ran unusually strong in farming areas.

NEUBERGER STRONG UPSTATE

In explaining reasons for his defeat to the editors of U. S. News & World Report, Senator Cordon said: "The final event was determined by a heavy Democratic majority in the city of Portland. I got a terrific majority outstate and that meant, of course, in the farming areas. I piled up my majority, but it wasn't enough to overtake his (Neubergers) Democratic majority in the city of Portland."

But official precinct totals, which were disclosed 2 weeks after Senator Cordon's statement, present a different picture. Mr. Neuberger's official margin was 2,462 votes, less than 1 each for the State's 2,499 precincts. His 16,788 majority out of the 198,556 votes cast in Multnomah County was by no means an overpowering one. He ran a stronger race in upstate counties than has any major Democratic candidate in years, and in some instances captured a majority in rural counties.

"If I had been told I would have no more of a majority than I won in Multnomah County," the Senator-elect told this writer, "I would have been sure I was sunk."

RUBAL VOTE WENT FOR DICK

Actually, the Neuberger upset can be credited in part to rural Oregon.

Biggest wheat-growing county in the State is Umatilla and that county, in which labor's influence is negligible, gave Mr. Neuberger a 7,251 to 6,632 majority. Neighboring Union, Baker, and Wallowa Counties are predominantly rural, and Mr. Neuberger won in all three. In these latter counties the private power versus public power issue, as represented in the Hells Canyon Dam controversy, was an important one.

It is significant that the wheatgrowers of Umatilla County went Democratic in 1954 after they had given Senator Cordon an overwhelming 7,348 to 3,623 margin in the general election of 1948.

In Lane County, which has thousands of small, diversified farms, Mr. Neuberger ran unexpectedly strong in rural precincts; and the Cordon margin in the county was less than 2,000 in a total of more than 45,000 votes cast in the county. In 1948, Senator Cordon won by nearly 2 to 1 over his Democratic opponent—22,916 to 12,757.

GRANGE FAVORS PUBLIC POWER

It is possible to attribute the Neuberger rural strength to a number of reasons, not all of them directly concerned with farm policy. The Oregon Grange, unlike the national parent body, is a strong advocate of public power, and that fact doubtless accounted for many Neuberger votes in farming areas.

The labor vote is firmly tied to the rural vote also in some counties, where union members who work in the woods or as fishermen, are also part-time farmers. Two such counties are Clatsop and Coos on the Oregon coast. Both gave majorities to Mr. Neuberger.

But whatever the reasons, the evidence of the canvass is clear. Many Oregon farmers and farm workers had a hand in putting Mr. NEUBERGER in the Senate and thereby clinching for the Democratic Party the narrow control of the upper house.

ONE HUNDRED AND THIRTY-EIGHT THOUSAND DOLLARS VERSUS ONE HUNDRED AND THREE THOUSAND DOLLARS

Another tardy record upset an early conception of the Neuberger-Cordon race: That the Republican candidate was possessed of an overpowering campaign chest. cial reports have disclosed that the Cordon campaign organizations spent a total of **238.000 as compared to \$103,000 for Neuberger organizations, far from as great a differential as had been anticipated. No Democratic candidate has ever had such strong financial backing in Oregon.

Thus it has been demonstrated that the Democratic Party in Oregon may henceforth be able to hold its own in the fund-raising department; although the size of the total expenditure in the Senate race-16 times the annual salary of a Senator—has been deplored by many Oregonians.

Restoration of the Windjammers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GEORGE P. MILLER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. MILLER of California. Speaker, following are the second and third in the series of articles on the Alaska packers' fleet published by the Alameda Times-Star February 1 and 2, 1955.

These articles, written by Thad Spinola, tell the colorful history of the windjammers that plied the seas between San Francisco, Alameda, and Alaska during an illustrious era of the

[From the Alameda Times-Star of February 1, 1955]

SHIP, MAN PARALLEL LIVES—ALAMEDAN, QUEEN, BORN IN SAME CITY, RETIRE TO-GETHER

(By Thad Spinola)

There's nothing so strong as binds a man and ship together as a common love for the

And when John Rankine was born, his life's course was charter as sure as any merchantman's.

For, born in the same Scottish city as Rankine, was a handsome windjammer which he was to meet again on the other side of the world and on which he was to sail many a day until both man and ship should retire together in the same port.

The Star of Alaska was to come along 3 years after John was born. But both can claim the same birthplace. For the man was born in Glasgow on March 26, 1883, near the shipbuilding town on the Clyde; and the ship got her first taste of the tangy sea in January 1886, when she was launched from the ways of the C. Connell shipyard.

PATHS CROSS

As if drawn by the steady hand of a veteran navigator, the separate lives of the man and the ship were to meet again, but not until many years later.

Rankine, who now lives at 2115 Lincoln Avenue with his charming wife, is probably the last of the many men who sailed aboard the Star of Alaska, nee Balclutha, or better known as the Pacific Queen.

He was born to Mr. and Mrs. James Ran kine, he a proud and able shipwright. The family moved to San Francisco in 1888, where the elder Rankine became foreman of the Pacific Mail Docks.

Of a nature like his father, young Rankine soon tired of books and things prosaic and so signed aboard a windjammer as a cabin boy where he learned the rudiments of seamanship.

SAILS AS CARPENTER

It was not until 1905, when he was 22 years old, that he got his shipping papers and boarded, as carpenter, the Star of Alaska, his old friend from Glasgow.

The Star had made numerous voyages under the flag of other shipping firms. From Cardiff to San Francisco and back; from Swansea to San Francisco and return; to Antwerp, to London, and Calcutta, and Montevideo, the steel hull of the sleek windjammer slipped into many a foreign port carying coal and hides and many another item of water-borne commerce.
In 1899 she arrived in San Francisco for

the last time from England and was bought by three San Francisco firms for carrying grain from the rich San Joaquin Valley and lumber from the forests of Washington and Oregon.

In 1903, the San Francisco firm of Pope and Talbot chartered the Balclutha, as she was then known, for the season of salmon fishing in Alaska. In 1904 she was again chartered but 23 days after leaving, she was wrecked on the north end of Sitkinak Island.

It was then that the Alaska Packers Company purchased her for \$500 and rough repairs were made at Chip's Cove. She remained there throughout 1905, and in the spring of the following year a crew of repairmen with supplies and new gear was sent up from San Francisco.

Rankine was abroad the relief ship and lent his skilled hands in repairing the damage. Under the command of Capt. Nicholas Wagner she arrived in San Francisco August 7 and was laid up at the United Engineering Works for complete repairs.

[From the Alameda Times Star of February 2, 1955] SHIP IS RESTORED BY MUSEUM

(By Thad Spinola)

It is a hard fact for the oldtimers to admit, but the windjammers that worked the Alaska cannery run were not fitting ships for a family man to bend his life to, and when he was in his late twenty's, John Rankine left the sea for sounder sources of in-

For 24 years the Star of Alaska plied between San Francisco, Alameda, and Alaska, hauling for the salmon season. jammers were tied up 9 months out of the year and made the long, tedious voyages somewhat bedraggled and sea-torn.

Her best time from San Francisco to Chignik was in 1926, when she sailed from the Golden Gate on April 3 and arrived at the Alaskan port on the 17th, making the trip in 2 weeks. Her average day's run was 143 miles, and her average speed, 6 knots all the way.

The Star was the most consistent ship in the Star fleet, never taking over 32 days on the northward passage and the longest time she took coming home was 20 days in 1922 and 1923.

During all this time, Rankine had acquired wife, had served several hitches in the Navy and finally went to work at the Mare Island naval shipyard. He had also taken time out to fight in the Spanish-American War and had left the Navy with the rank of warrant officer.

END NEAR

But the end of the Star was near.

In 1929 only two of the original wind-jammers were left in the fleet. A year later, the Star of Holland was retired from the service, and the Star of Alaska made the last voyage alone to the far northern port.

Steamers, most efficient, faster and less costly, with their strange, bellowing blasts from their funnels, sounded the end of a great era. After being laid up for nearly 2 years, the Star of Alaska was sold to Frank Kissinger, a carnival promoter, for \$5000. On February 4, 1934, she set sail for Los

Angeles, arriving 10 days later. For a year she lay in Los Angeles harbor, during which time she appeared in several movies; includ-ing "Mutiny of the Bounty," "Souls at Sea" and others.

Kissinger saved the windjammer from the scrap heap many a time, and during World II union and other shipping officials prevented the Government from claiming her for scrap. She was the last full-rigged sailing ship to fly the American flag.

She ended her active years on the sloughs of Sausalito until she was bought by the San Prancisco Maritime Museum for \$25,000. The museum, in an unprecedented show of salesmanship, signed various shipping firms to donate repair work and material in restoring the old windjammer.

The Star of Alaska sometime this year will

again be that "right, tight and shipshape" vessel she was years ago. But will be forever moored in proposed Aquatic Park, as a reminder to future generations of a great, bygone age.

TO MUSEUM

But until then, she bears the name Pacific Queen, given her by her former owners. Tied up to the Moore Drydock Company yard at the foot of Paru Street in Alameda, the Queen doesn't have many visitors. But on Saturdays, droves of shippard men swarm over her decks and rigging, giving their time to the cause.

One of them is Rankine, employed by the museum as a carpenter and shipwright again, just as he was 50 years ago, and he can relate many a fact about the old ship.

"There are many times when I could have sued her for alienation of affections," his wife says with a smile, "and I remember many an evening alone at home."

The Los Angeles and Southern California Story of Record-Breaking Growth From 1945 to 1955-No. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the fabulous growth, expansion, and increase in population in Los Angeles and southern California between the years 1945 to 1955 as told in the midwinter issue of the Los Angeles Times is one of the most astounding examples of American enterprise and resourcefulness in the history of the Nation.

I am proud to have the privilege of representing in the Congress a section of the great empire known as southern California, and I include in my remarks the following article under the title "For the Past 10 Years We Have Opened the Door to 500 New Residents a Day":

FOR THE PAST 10 YEARS WE HAVE OPENED THE DOOR TO 500 NEW RESIDENTS A DAY

(By Charles Detoy, president, Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce)

If the entire population of Pittsburgh and Baltimore-1,755.000-were transported westward and settled within the Los Angeles metropolitan area, you would have a fair estimate of our population increase between January 1, 1945, and January 1, 1955.

The impact of this migration, averaging nearly 500 new residents a day for 10 years, makes even seasoned statisticians sit up and

take notice.

While the city's population climbed from 1,725,000 in 1945 to its present estimated 2,150,000, a 24.6 percent increase, Los Angeles County became the most populous county in the country, second in the world. The county jumped from 3,345,000 residents 10 years ago to 4,950,000 today, and hasn't stopped yet.

With a 50-percent rate of increase for the metropolitan area chalked up during the past decade, a population larger than that of Albany, capital of New York, has been added to this area each year. Certainly the problems inherent in this number of increased residents stagger the imagination and resources of any community. Only five United States cities—New York,

Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and Los Angeles exceed the present 1,041,140 population of the San Gabriel Valley, which now accounts for more than a fifth of the county's population, according to figures com-piled by the Los Angeles Chamber of Commerce.

San Fernando Valley, starting with about 200,000 residents in 1945, now has more than 600,000 inhabitants, more than the population of Minneapolis or Buffalo.

Los Angeles, city, county, and metropolitan area, has met the challenge of fantastic growth with a creativity and resourcefulness characteristic of the Southland.

Los Angeles manufacturing gathered momentum with more than \$1,600 million capital investment in new plants and equipment for the 10-year period. As a result, value added by manufacture was doubled in that short time from \$2,052 million to \$4,623 million.

To house the burgeoning county builders added \$7,900 million worth of construction, including 700,000 new dwelling units-enough to house the entire population of the city of Philadelphia.

Although the mushrooming clusters of neat, trim California-styled homes which appear almost overnight in erstwhile orange groves, bean fields, and cabbage patches have become an occurrence of regularity in the lives of Angelenos, a glance at the comparative population figures of the decades dramatically highlights the story.
West Covins, a community of 1,600 in 1945,

experienced a 1,346-percent increase during the 10 years it took to emerge as a city of 23,300 inhabitants.

The birth of one community contributed a tremendous population influx. Lakewood, with its present estimated 58,000 inhabitants. more than Lexington, Ky.; Jackson, Miss.; or Orlando, Fla., became Los Angeles County's 46th incorporated city in April 1954. In 1945 Lakewood was virtually uninhabited wasteland.

Encino skyrocketed from 2.250 residents in 1945 to its present 16,900—a 651-percent increase, almost duplicated by the 620-percent increase recorded for Reseda, where the population grew from 7,550 to more than 54,000 today

As night follows day, booming retail sales followed the terrific influx of people to the Southland. With employment in manufacturing rising from less than 400,000 in 1946

to 630,000 today, the expanded payroll made itself evident in annual retail sales dollar volume reports—\$2,550,500,000 in 1945, more than \$6 billion estimated for 1954.

If recent population predictions come true, and California has a population of 16,225,000 by 1965-a 3,500,000 increase over the current estimate—the Los Angeles metropolitan area will have nearly 8 million people within its environs.

Despite the tremendous growth of industry in the area and the loss of farmland to the new crops of homes, Los Angeles County maintained its position as the leading agricultural county of the Nation, producing from its fertile soils \$2,200,000,000 of agricultural products during the worth fruitful decade.

From under its prolific soil came 915 mil-lion barrels of crude oil, more "black gold" than the entire 1952 output of the oil-rich Middle East or Venezuela.

The Los Angeles and Southern California Story of Record-Breaking Growth From 1945 to 1955-No. 2

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following is a continuation of the Los Angeles and southern California story with special reference to building development under the title of "Eight Billion Dollar Decade":

EIGHT BILLION DOLLAR DECADE-THAT'S THE BUILDING RECORD LOS ANGELES METROPOLI-TAN AREA SET SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II

(By Charles C. Cohan)

The Los Angeles Metropolitan District (officially all Los Angeles and partly Orange Counties) has just rounded out its greatest 10 years, with a new and equally bright era dawning.

Here's a gauge of the progress. Building permits totaling \$8,259 million were issued in the district in that decade by the time the 1945-54 span was approaching its close. In that huge volume was a \$2,990,314,100 total of permits for constructions in the city of Los Angeles alone. In metropolitan area permits were some 690,000 for family dwelling units. New factories and plant expansions in Los Angeles County in that time totaled \$1,559,054,639 investment.

These figures are the statistical measure of a wonderful saga-one of the most remarkable chapters in the American story of development to top place in world history.

It is a saga of a continuing westward migration that long has astonished the world, of fulfilled desire of thousands of people for location, homeownership, and a part in aiding welfare and progress in this region of special charms. It is a mighty saga of the furtherance of free enterprise for the general benefit of region, State, and Nation.

It was 1945. World War II was drawing

to an end. Transition from wartime conditions to peacetime situation was beginning. The war years had seen a great upsurge of industrial expansion in this region, new factories and expanded facilities to meet wartime needs. Thousands of war workers had streamed into this area. Dwellings had to be built to meet the greatly increased housing demand-war-worker homes alone were authorized. Thousands of them were built in this metropolitan district. There had been tremendous activity-wartime activity. Then what of the postwar era dawning?

Rumors grew as they flew-fear-tinged guesses, predictions that there would be a sharp industrial slump, that thousands of workers would leave, that thousands of houses would stand empty making a lot of little ghost communities.

These things didn't happen, just as some of us said they wouldn't. There was no exodus. There was no industrial slump, There were no ghost towns. Very much the contrary was true.

Industry had wisely prepared to gear it-elf to peacetime needs. There were more self to peacetime needs. new factories built and plant expansions in Los Angeles County in the first 5 postwar years than in wartime. In those postwar years industry in this metropolitan region took wider strides toward becoming, as it now is, third in magnitude in the Nation. just back of the industrial position of New York and Chicago.

New residents came here from all directions. Population never ceased increasing in those years.

Postwar removal of the ban on any constructions but those essential to war and other important needs spurred great new building activity. There was a huge back-log of demand for dwellings. Many other kinds of building projects were needed to keep peacetime economy in balance and also to further cultural development.

There was a notable boost in realty market activity. Price levels for existent dwellings rose sharply-prices quickly were twofold, threefold what they were in the 1939-40 period. Wisely and effectively there was prevention of a wild, hysterical boom that might have brought a serious slump. However, there was no trend of return to anything like the 1939-40 levels and it doesn't look like there ever will be.

The vivid picture of great postwar development and progress has as a brilliant highlight the tremendous importance of subdivision formations throughout the region. There were created new communitiesthousands of homes on landscaped sites.

WHAT THE BOOM BROUGHT

Of houses built on subdivisions formed in 8 southern California counties since 1946 to late in 1954, about four-fifths (conservatively estimated) or about 371,200 were built in the Los Angeles metropolitan areaenough homes to supply housing for 371,000 families or around 1,300,000 men, women, and children. And, of course, in that same time thousands more dwellings were built on previously formed subdivisions and on scattered lots.

Strongly indicated is that the recently enacted National Housing Act signed by President Eisenhower will stimulate home building and home-improvement projects. That new widening of the way to homeowenrship is one of the phases of the strong building and realty activities and general progress here during the past 2 years that give impetus to continuance of very favorable trends in this new year and thereafter.

In the 556,380 building permits, totaling \$2,990,314,100, issued in Los Angeles (city) in the span from January 1, 1945, to the final third of 1954, there were 139,578, amounting to \$1,143,066,978, for single-family dwellings; 6,456 permits, \$73,990,583, for double dwellings, and 7,606 permits, \$333,-091,567, for apartment buildings.

Los Angeles has no slum or substandard housing conditions such as have been exposed in various other big cities of the Nabut a metropolis of the size of Los Angeles is certain to have some such problem and to be aware of the importance of prevention of that condition.

Anyhow, the Los Angeles housing rehabilitation program has brought excellent results. So has this city's housing conservation program. The first mentioned program, inaugurated in Los Angeles in July 1952 by the city's department of building and safety. had, as of last September 1, this record—8,274 units surveyed and 82,740 items corrected or in process of correction as result of 32,532 inspections. The other mentioned program is a preventive maintenance program to preclude spread of blight or slum conditions into new areas.

Los Angeles' position in the national building and realty activity picture is impressive.

The extent to which the Los Angeles building pace has, for years, outdistanced that of various other great American cities is not cited herein to decry the progress those other places have made, but to evidence the amazing advance of Los Angeles.

Here's what a report covering the first 8 months of 1954 discloses:

The \$277,147,363 worth of building permits issued in Los Angeles in that topped the combined totals of Chicago and Philadelphia by \$27,316,483 and went \$190,-778,587 ahead of the Detroit total.

The total for New York (comprising five boroughs or counties, including Brooklyn) was \$382,891.479. Also there's the pertinent fact that New York has to consider the building needs of a population of about 8 million while Los Angeles building is aimed at meeting the requirements of a population that now is about 2,100,000, making this city a strong claimant for position of third most populous city in the Nation. And, for the record, it may be remarked again that in the first quarter of 1953 the Los Angeles building permit valuation exceeded the New York amount by \$28,797,160.

A summary of the Los Angeles metropolitan region's progress in the last 10 years and its prospects for the next 10 would not be complete without mention of the everwidening flow of investment capital into this area from all directions. There was a tremendous volume of it in the past year.

All these facts and figures of this region's advance plus the increasing importance of its harbors as portals of commerce, its expanding greatness as a market center, and what the last 10 years-especially the later years of the decade-have seen accomplished and planned in facilities for cultural furtherance, tell why the Los Angeles metropolitan district has a story of amazing 10-year development for all the world to note.

The building record for the 1945-54 decade is indicated here.

Statistics were gathered as 1954 was approaching its close.

Metropolitan district:	
Valuation of all building permits	\$8, 259, 000, 000
Permits for family-dwell- ing units	some 690,000
In city of Los Angeles:	
Valuation for all building permits	2, 990, 314, 100
Permits for single-family dwelling units	139, 578
Valuation of single-fam- ily dwelling unit per- mits	1, 143, 066, 978
Permits for multiple dwell- ings	6, 456
Valuation of multiple dwelling permits	73, 990, 583
Permits for apartment buildings	7, 609
Valuation of apartment- building permits	333, 091, 567

Great Accomplishment When Labor and The Los Angeles and Southern California Management Cooperate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, most newsstories and editorials concerning labor and management deal with strife and conflict. Sometimes we almost forget that in the overwhelming majority of labor-management relationships there is a real spirit of cooperation. Collective bargaining is a recognized principle in most cases and the sense of right and fair play on the side of both management and labor most often results in discussing calmly those grievances which are bound to come up and making decisions which are mutually beneficial.

In Minneapolis we have had for the last 15 years a labor-management record of which we are proud. One of the outstanding examples of what can be accomplished without strife when there is a sense of maturity and reasonableness in labor negotiations is the record of 14 years of labor peace at the Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Co. where the workers are represented by Teamsters' Local, No. 1145.

The following editorial from the Minneapolis Star of February 2, 1955, points up the accomplishment:

FOURTEEN YEARS OF LABOR PEACE

A pair of Minnesota industrial giants— 1 management and 1 labor—have successfully completed their 14th year of collective bargaining negotiations without a strike.

Minneapolis-Honeywell Regulator Minnesota's largest single employer with more than 12,000 employees (about 8,000 of them production workers), and Teamster Local 1145, Minnesota's largest single union local, are understandably proud of their accomplishment.

Spokesmen for both frankly explain that the record isn't a matter of "365 days of nothing but smiles for 14 years." There have been years when they "did some growling" at each other. Both quickly point out that the record has been achieved because both sides have matured in their relations toward each other.

What the two sides agree on is that avoiding a strike is a two-way street. The company, a spokesman said, has a responsibility to its stockholders as well as to its workers. The union, a spokesman said, recognizes its responsibility to its members but also recognizes that without a profit due to decent production and other factors, there would be no money for a raise.

Their bargaining achievement rates some unusual nationwide attention later this month. The American Management Association conference in Chicago has invited H. Skidmore Olsen, Honeywell director of personnel and industrial relations, and Robert I. Wishart, business agent for 1145, to tell how they have traveled the two-way

Story of Record-Breaking Growth From 1945 to 1955-No. 3

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following is a continuation of the Los Angeles and southern California story with special reference to industrial development under the title of "Our Production Picture Unfolds":

OUR PRODUCTION PICTURE UNFOLDS-LOS AN-GELES IN THIRD PLACE NATIONALLY IN IN-DUSTRIAL GROWTH AND EXPANSION

(By F. Marion Banks)

The 10-year record of industrial growth, 1945-54, in Los Angeles County measured in capital dollars invested was \$1,661,090,000. Of the total \$552,900,000 or 33.2 percent was money invested in new business ventures or branch plant operations. The balance, \$1,108,190,000 or 66.8 percent, was invested in expansion and improvement of existing manufacturing facilities.

This investment in new and expanding facilities has brought to Los Angeles the distinction of being the third largest industrial and marketing center in the United States behind only New York and Chicago. Actually if Los Angeles continues to grow at its present rate and Chicago continues at its present rate then Los Angeles should surpass Chicago within the next decade and become the second largest industrial center in the United States.

Yes, the industrial growth of this area has been tremendous, but there has been a defi-nite reason behind it. Industry has developed and expanded here as population has grown to better serve the ever-increasing demands of a growing market. Plants have moved westward to this area and have grown with the market by trading on the differential between the cost of shipping in raw materials and cost of shipping in competitive finished products. In addition, the advantages of low-cost construction, fuel, and water, and power have made it comparatively easy to start a manufacturing operation

As a result, Los Angeles has developed a higher degree of diversification in industry and a greater number of small factories than is the case in other industrial areas in the Nation. This has meant an ever-increasing opportunity for eastern and midwestern firms to participate in the economic growth of the area by building branch plants here.

With the close of the war Los Angeles entered and is still in a period of growth that has seen an almost yearly change in the industrial picture in new and expanding manufacturing operations. In 1945 companies saw an opportunity to reach the growing market was established here to serve the war effort. The biggest leader to establish in this area was the automotive industries who after 4 years of war effort had a huge market for their products. Second in new industries were metal products, whose leaders saw an opportunity to place their products before the public.

For the year 1946 the motion-picture industry led in new plants with foodstuffs in second place. Plant expansion for 1946 was headed by the petroleum industry, which is

particularly significant inasmuch as this was the first postwar year when Los Angeles industry was presumed to be declining from peak war activity. Second in plant expan-

sion, again, was foodstuffs.

In 1947 the trend of new industry was to-ward metal products—induced, no doubt, by the advent of the great development of west coast steel production and the increased demand for west coast goods. The ever-grow-ing population in the Western States and the increasing national demand for California products brought foodstuffs up in second place again in the "new plant" investment category. Expansion of plants in 1947 had for its leader foodstuffs with metal products in second place.

The year of 1948 indicates a leveling influence in expansion and greater utilization of existing production facilities; that year metal products led the procession.

Building materials and supplies came into their own this year in second position to meet the unprecedented demand for housing, commercial and industrial growth.

The year 1949 brought a new entry into the field—chemicals, drugs, and paints—as the leader with metal products as second. Expansion capital again highlighted the petroleum products industry with metal products second.

Chemicals took the top spot for 1950 for new manufacturing establishments, a factor which is rapidly making Los Angeles County one of the Nation's most important chemical producing areas. The automotive industry was second in standing of new plants for that year, which keeps Los Angeles next to Detroit as producer of automobiles in the Nation. To meet the accelerated demand for new cars and trucks for the west coast markets the automotive industry also led in industrial expansion in 1950. In 1951, with the increased activity in

national defense, aviation led in new industries with chemicals and paints second. Petroleum and aviation were the leaders for

1951 for expanding operations.

Los Angeles in 1952 was chosen as the plant site for 2 large breweries, brought foodstuffs and beverages to the lead in new industries with chemicals and paints second. With the start of the Korean outbreak aviation and petroleum led in expan-sions to help supply our Armed Forces.

A new name in industrial leaders came to the forefront in 1953—electronics. This industry led in new units followed by foodstuffs and beverages, which also ranked first in expanding activities.

Last year, 1954, saw metal products as the leader in new industrial establishments with petroleum products in second place. electronics appeared with its application to guided missiles and atomic research to lead in expansions.

Thus we have seen industry in action during the past 10 years giving to Los Angeles a high place in the economy of the Nation. The next 10 years can be as big and even bigger as this area offers to those who are here and who have yet to come an opportunity for the future.

The Los Angeles and Southern California Story of Record-Breaking Growth From 1945 to 1955-No. 4

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following is a continuation of the Los Angeles and southern California story with special reference to our economic expansion under the title of "Thrift and Savings in Billions":

THRIFT AND SAVINGS IN BILLIONS

(By Neill Davis, executive vice president, California Savings and Loan League)

Growth of California's savings and loan business has been so spectacular that the State is destined to occupy the No. 1 spot in the Nation in 1955.

During 1954, assets of California's savings associations passed the \$3-billion mark, the

largest gain of any State.

Brightest spot in the picture is southern California, where assets of these thrift and home-financing institutions now stand at an estimated \$2,680,170,000, up \$504,569,690 over the December 31, 1953, assets total for a 23 percent gain in a year's time.

Contrary to recessionary opinions voiced for 1954 year-end totals with respect to savings and home lending, savings associations have continued to up their figures in both

phases of operation.

An important facet of the business is its role in the home-financing picture. Savings institutions in southern California are currently making 37 percent of all home loans in the area and are the largest institutional home lenders. They are playing a stellar role in providing home-financing funds for established residents and for the thousands who enter southern California each month.

During 1954 savings associations in southern California made nearly 93,000 home loans, totaling an estimated 893,000,000. Charted in terms of growth, this means that the amount is up 12 percent or \$96,170,000 over the 1953 record. Total loans now held by these institutions number 346,000 and amount to \$2,284,986,000, which means a gain of \$449,192,116, or 24 percent, during the past 12 months.

In addition to financing homes for southern California's population, savings associations engage in another function-that of providing a safe place for the investment of the public's savings and giving investors the highest return on their money consistent with safety. Attesting to the high esteem the public places in this savings medium is the fact that nearly 848,000 southern Californians have invested \$2,178,446,000 of their savings in these institutions. This amount is a 27-percent gain over December 31, 1953, or \$457,796,437, dollarwise, according to estimates.

Savings and loan associations in southern California are practically all members of the Federfal Home Loan Bank System, which acts in a reserve credit capacity for these insti-tutions. In addition, savings accounts are insured up to \$10,000, providing another safety factor for investors.

Southern California associations are among the most modern and aggressive in the country and the largest concentration of new and beautiful office quarters is located here. In addition to the most up-to-date equipment and operating methods, savings associations also offer the best customer service available—with the same friendly attention given to the large or small investor or borrower.

While savings associations enjoy excellent public relations, they also enjoy excellent employee relations. Thousands of persons are employed by the business in southern California and associations are noted for their good employer-employee relationship. They excel in providing facilities such as recreation rooms, lunchrooms, and a myriad of employee benefits, such as health and life insurance and generous pension plans. Employees also are encouraged to attend courses offered by the American Savings & Loan Institute, educational arm of the industry. In most instances the tuition is paid for by the association.

Representing California's thrift and homefinancing business is the California Savings & Loan League, statewide trade organiza-tion of these 200 institutions. From a humble beginning back in 1890, the league has grown to the point where it enjoys nearly 100 percent membership among California associations. It has waged a steady battle to bring about legislation and operating methods which will be in the best interests of the public and the business itself.

Culmination of the league's work came in November, when the importance of the business in California was recognized in a proclamation signed by Mayor Norris Poulson designating a savings and loan week in Los Angeles. During the week of November 14, over 3,000 delegates from throughout the Nation gathered in Los Angeles for the combined conventions of the California and the United States Savings & Loan Leagues. At that time the industry was publicly commended for the important role it has played in the thrift and home-financing branches of the economy.

The Los Angeles and Southern California Story of Record-Breaking Growth From 1945 to 1955-No. 5

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following is a continuation of the Los Angeles and southern California story with special reference to our world trade under the title of "World Commerce and Los Angeles-Long Beach Harbor Expansion":

World Commerce and Los Angeles-Long Beach Harbor Expansion—Los Angeles HARBOR'S GROWING POSTWAR DEVELOPMENT CLIMAXED BY RECORD YEAR IN 1954— 26,200,000 TONS OF CARGO

(By Charles Crawford)

Through the portals of Los Angeles Harbor and across the 120 improved docks of this \$150 million port there flowed during the past year more than 26,200,000 tons of cargo. It was the greatest shipping year in the harbor's nearly 100-year history and it climaxed a steady postwar growth destined to make the Pacific the future theater of world commerce

World trade through Los Angeles Harbor during the past decade has maintained a constantly increasing tempo to keep pace with industrial development of the Southland and to satisfy the demands of our growing population. During the postwar years more than \$25 million in improvements have been made on the 7,000 acres and 28-mile-long waterfront of Los Angeles Harbor.

Two of the world's finest passenger-cargo terminals, the \$8,500,000 Matson Line facility and a \$6,500,000 base for American President Lines, are among the many improvements. During the past year another \$3 million worth of expansion projects including widen-ing of terminal sheds and new facilities for world's greatest fishing fleet were started. More than 5,600 ships entered the Harbor area last year with 4,707 docking at Los Angeles Harbor piers and terminals. Cargo movement showed an increase of 1,437,413 tons over the previous year.

Scores of new ships and markets opened to trade activities during the year. Japanese shipping, showing a remarkable gain since end of World War II, jumped into first place among the more than 2,200 foreign-ship arrivals with 409 ships, supplanting Great Britain as the No. 1 foreign-flag operator. British ships slid to third place and Norwegian ships stayed in second place with 378. Liberian ships numbering 99 appeared in the

harbor for the first time.

numbering 209, Panamanian flagships Greek trade with 105 ships in port, reap-pearance for the first time in 13 years of German merchant vessels and appearance for first time in port of Yugoslav, Israel, Chinese, Swiss, and Irish ships gave emphasis to the booming world trade of the port. Another 65 Mexican ships calling at the port had an important part in the moving of \$43 million in exports and \$31 million in imports between southern California and northwest Mexico and Baja California.

Total export trade from the Los Angeles district during the first 6 months of 1954 jumped to \$215,045,698 compared to \$146,-824,082 in 1953, and imports totaled \$127,-059,185 against \$140,173,135, United States Department of Commerce figures revealed.

Oil imports of 47,141,393 barrels, exports of 76.917.367 barrels and bunker fuel supplied ships calling at the harbor totaling 24,282,850 barrels made up a postwar high movement of 148,341,610 barrels of petroleum through the harbor.

More than 600 commercial fishing vessels employing 3,000 fishermen brought 108,327 tons of fish to 11 port canneries and another 9 million pounds to fresh fish markets. Approximately 8,500 cannery workers, drawing an annual payroll of \$15 million, packed nearly 12 million cases of fish for distribution throughout the world.

A half dozen sport fishing landings and some 200 sport fishing boats took out 125,000 southland anglers who landed 461,472 deepsea fish, according to the California Department of Fish and Game.

Nineteen pleasure boat anchorages, 4 of them newly developed, accommodate approximately 3,800 pleasure craft representing a value of nearly \$20 million in Los Angeles Harbor and yachtsmen and their friends spend an estimated \$10 million per year on boating activities of which \$2 million is for boat maintenance alone.

Cotton and agricultural products top Los Angeles Harbor's export picture but manufactured articles are in second place, having thrust oil into third position as southern California's great industrial growth gains in Importance.

Oll-rich Long Beach Harbor, adjacent to the Los Angeles port, is rapidly coming into prominence. During the past 10 years Long Beach has spent \$33 million in port facilities to nearly double shipping facilities. Capital improvements now total \$51,978,208.

Long Beach Harbor Department has rung up \$171,553,915 in net oil revenues of which 20 percent goes into the port revenue fund. 30 percent into a reserve fund and 50 percent to the city of Long Beach.

New terminal facilities costing approximately \$2 million are under construction, contracts have been let for \$1,500,000 worth of new terminals and another \$3 million in improvements is planned.

Building of bridges across the Los Angeles River, maintenance and operation of the only floating bridge in southern California and of the huge lift span bridge across Cerritos Channel and the establishment of new freeways connecting Long Beach Harbor with the Greater Los Angeles area are all part of the Long Beach Department program.

Commerce in Long Beach Harbor totaled 5,600,000 tons in 1946 compared to 7,260,000 tons during the past year. Newsprint imports of 285,000 tons were listed as the top item for the port's incoming cargo with gypsum second with 273,000 tons and steel third with 265,000 tons.

The Los Angeles and Southern California Story of Record-Breaking Growth From 1945 to 1955-No. 6

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON, GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following is a continuation of the Los Angeles and southern California story with special reference to airplane manufacturing under the title of "Airpower Roars Back":

AIRPOWER ROARS BACK

(By Marvin Miles, Times aviation editor)

In Los Angeles-as in California and the Nation-aircraft is the largest, the dominant

manufacturing industry.

Plunging from the World War II high of 272,000 workers a little more than a decade ago, employee rolls dropped off to a scant 57,700 in 1948 during the postwar slump that saw destruction of the world's finest Air Force.

But then came Korea and the dawning realization that without adequate air power

this Nation cannot survive.

Today, with a solid 178,000 people and a plant area of nearly 30 million square feet, the aircraft and aircraft parts industry in the Los Angeles area is estimated to exceed by a substantial margin the value of the area's petroleum and natural gas production, the value of motion pictures produced or agricultural crops grown or tourist and conventioner moneys expended here.

From the standpoint of area employment. the aircraft industry has three times as many persons as the agriculture, forestry, fishing, mining, and petroleum industries combined. It has more workers than all contract construction, more than all organizations in transportation, communications, and public utilities, more than wholesale trade, more than the combined personnel totals in the fields of finance, insurance, and real estate in Los Angeles.

Today's aircraft employment represents about 28 percent of the total manufacturing employment and accounts for approximately percent of the manufacturing payrollwhich in 1954 was approximately \$880 million or nearly \$17 million a week.

Of vast economic importance to the area. these payrolls mean gainful employment for additional thousands of persons who sell the necessities of everyday personal life.

From \$17 million weekly, the United States Bureau of Census average buying habit formula indicates, purchases include \$3,-250,000 for groceries and meats, \$2,250,000 for automobiles, gasoline and motorcar servfor clothing, more than \$1,333,000 \$1,250,000 for personal services such as dry cleaning, laundry, beauty shops, etc., a similar amount for miscellaneous items and almost \$1 million for furniture and household

All of which, by chain reaction, contributes heavily to the area's economy and its ability to absorb and employ its rapidly growing population.

And behind these vital economic realities is the fact that the extreme complexity of today's aircraft and missiles requires that the predominant percentage of those employed in the industry must be well trained in particular skills-high-type workers who comprise an important community asset.

Productionwise the aviation picture has changed vastly from the World War II scene. The jet age is well underway. Missiles are coming into their own and atomic flight is deep into research stages.

Gone are most of the famed piston types that helped clear the skies over Europe and the Pacific, outmoded by advances in design and power, banished by the gargantuan, snarling thrust of the turbojet as the four" of the Los Angeles area-Douglas, Lockheed, North American, and Northrop-and Convair in San Diego probe deeper and deeper for better performance, greater speed, higher altitude, extended range, and heavier

Not only the five major plants, but factories like Hughes Aircraft and Aerojet and many smaller up-to-the-minute concerns such as AiResearch and the William R. Whittaker valve company contributed steadily to the screeching bellow of progress through

the sky.

Today's thriving industry was built from a low ebb that this Nation hopefully will never see again. It is perhaps best described by J. H. (Dutch) Kindelberger, board chairman of North American Aviation:

"Ten years ago the United States had the most powerful Air Force in the world. What happened? The answer is quite simple. took the peace seriously, virtually stopped our aircraft production, and all but scrapped The great air fleets our airpower. scourged the European skies and moved on to command the vast reaches of the Pacific were shot down overnight by our own overoptimism, our complacency, and our eagerness to put aside the sword in favor of the

The buildup sparked by the suddenness of Korea and the sharp realization that Russia, too, can build fighting jets has today leveled off into what will probably be a steady production program—unless America is again swept into a full-fledged war.

With a backlog of nearly \$4 billion, the major plants in this area are pursuing research and development along many lines and the secrets behind the locked doors of California aircraft laboratories southern would be startling to the layman if we could but know them now.

Foremost among these would be the missiles currently in design and production, deadly accurate supersonic weapons of all ranges, short, medium, intercontinental, and all types, ground-to-ground, such Northrop's Snark; ground-to-air, exemplified currently in the Douglas Nike; air-to-air types, such as the Hughes Falcon; air-to-ground—even subsurface (submarine) to air and air-to-subsurface. And one can read in military announcement of a missile the fact that it would not be announced unless something better and faster and harder hitting was in the offing.

Exemplifying the startling innovations of the year just past are the two VTO (vertical takeoff) fighters, vonCair's XFY-1 and Lockheed's XFV-1, both built for the Navy and announced in 1954. These unique aircraft, powered with turbine engines turning massive propellers, stand on their tails, climb straight up, and land-tail first-straight down. In the future, perhaps, they'll fly from the restricted decks of cargo ships or from postage-stamp mountain areas impossible for other aircraft.

Along with the continual striving for speed—with a top of 1,650 miles per hour achieved at nearby Edwards Air Force Base, and altitude, an estimated 90,000 feet, also at Edwards Air Force Base Flight Test Center—lightness has become a prerequisite for certain types exemplified in Chief Engineer Ed Heinemann's A4D hotrod Skyhawk bantam bomber, for Douglas El Segundo, and the Navy and Lockheed's forthcoming XF-104 United States Air Force fighter which, it is guessed, will have a top speed twice that of sound.

Developments and refinements of planes already developed were many during the year. North American's supersonic (level flight) F-100 Super Sabre was delivered to the first operational wing to have such aircraft at George Air Force Base near Victor-ville. Northrop's refined and superpowered F-89 Scorpion—most heavily armed United States interceptor—went on long-range guard duty in the Arctic. Convair's delta wing F-102 Air Force interceptor was testing at Edwards Air Force Base, with refinements under way. At the same time the San Diego company's delta wing bomber was taking shape and flight studies of its triangle wing Sea Dart water-ski jet fighter continued.

Douglas boosted the power of its recordholding (speed) F4D Skyray, Navy fighter, which should now be supersonic, and at the same time went into full-scale production on the swept-wing A3D Skywarrior attack plane, a twin jet that will be the Navy's heaviest carrier-based aircraft.

Lockheed flew its weight-lugging C-130 turbo-prop transport, demonstrated a new two-place jet trainer for military use, showed off a turbo-prop version of the Super Constellation (to be built for both the Navy and the Air Force) and also demonstrated the latest version of its radar-eyed early-warning adapation of the versatile transport.

Another Lockheed development was announced for the famed P2V Navy patrol bomber series, auxiliary jet engines for the ship's two conventional powerplants, along with an extended tail boom to carry additional submarine-detecting electronics gear.

And while these and other programs were being pushed in the bustling factories, engineers were delving deeper and deeper into the next major problem—the heat barrier. Unlike the sonic wall, which was a sharply defined single hurdle, the wall of heat has infinite depth—the faster planes and missiles fly the hotter they will become until plexiglass softens, metal warps, equipment fails and pilots scorch.

And what of air transportation? Dougias DC-7s, the fast turbo-compound engine transports, continued to pile up records for cross-country schedules in both speed and passenger loads. Lockheed Connies criss-crossed the Nation, Los Angeles Airways inaugurated the first of a series of passenger helicopter services between Los Angeles (International Airport) and Long Beach. Scandinavian Airlines System inaugurated transpolar service to Europe via the Copenhagen gateway, linking Los Angeles directly to continental capitals for the first time; Western Air Lines inaugurated "champagne flights" with "bubbly" and orchids for passengers.

But perhaps the best way to tell the transport story is to capsule the development of Los Angeles International Airport which now covers 3000 acres in the southwest corner of the city, with 1100 acres currently in use and the remaining acreage ready for final and ultimate expansion to three times the capacity of today's airport—even now one of the world's busiest transportation centers.

Since 1947, the first full year of airlane operation, the number of passengers has increased 123.30 percent to more than 2,754,728 for the year 1954. This figure is more than the entire population of Los Angeles. And by 1960 it is estimated 5 million passengers will clear the airport's runways.

Air freight and express show 193.32 percent gain in '54 over '47 and air mail volume has jumped 104.93 percent.

There are 12 air carriers: American Airlines, Bonanza Airlines, California Central Airlines, Compania Mexicana de Aviacion, Mercury Air Lines, Pan American World

Airways, Scandinavian Airlines System, Southwest Airways, Trans World Airlines, United Air Lines, Western Air Lines and Los Angeles Airways.

Operation of passenger, air mall and freight services is from buildings intended as temporary quarters until completion of the master airport with permanent passenger and air mail facilities west of Sepulveda Boulevard. Air freight will eventually occupy the present buildings and ramp area which has 26 plane loading positions. The permanent terminal will have a minimum of 40 loading positions plus helicopter loading areas.

As an industrial center, International Airport is unique. Located on it and within a half-mile radius are 110 industries employing more than 70,000 persons at a weekly payroll in excess of \$6 million. While aircraft manufacture and allied parts predominate, there is also a wide assortment of other industries, such as cosmetics, bathing suit, furniture, toy, food and other manufacturing centers.

Functionally, the airport is among the safest in the world. It conforms to a majority of the recommendations set forth by the President's Airport Commission, headed by Gen. Jimmy Doolittle. The main east-west runway system, 8,500 feet long, can be extended to 12,500 feet, when and if necessary. To the east, the city owns the half-mile approach zone. To the west, the approach zone extends to the Pacific Ocean.

Located here is every navigational aid—radar, instrument-landing system, high-intensity runway and slope-line approach lights. There are no obstructions, natural or manmade, over 500 feet high in an area of 300 square miles surrounding the airport. Cleared approaches combine with level terrain, favorable winds from the Pacific and navigational aids to earn the airport the highest rating as a safe and functional airport.

Financially speaking, the airport has also astounded the experts. It was the first and is still one of the very few airports which pay all operating expenses, set aside for depreciation, pay interest on outstanding bonds and show an annual profit.

Source of the airport's revenue dollar is as follows: Concessions, 49 cents; airlines, 24 cents; manufacturing companies, 22 cents; miscellaneous rentals, 9 cents; and miscellaneous, 2 cents.

Completion of the master airport by 1960 becomes an acute need in order to handle the vast volume of air commerce flowing into this area. The citizens of Los Angeles will be asked to advance the necessary money through a bond issue. Then the airport with its completed facilities and much greater earning capacity will repay the loan from revenues.

The Los Angeles and Southern California Story of Record-Breaking Growth From 1945 to 1955—No. 7

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. GORDON L. McDONOUGH

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. McDONOUGH. Mr. Speaker, the following is a continuation of the Los Angeles and southern California story with special reference to the development and expansion of electronics under the title of "Electronics, a Success Story":

ELECTRONICS: A SUCCESS STORY—IN A DECADE
SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA EMERGES NATION'S
MAJOR PRODUCER

(By E. P. Gertsch, president, West Coast Electric Manufacturers Association)

Probably no industry has ever seen the meteoric growth that has taken place in electronics—a growth so fast that the public's knowledge of the industry has not kept up with the development.

In 1940 the industry volume nationally

In 1940 the industry volume nationally was approximately \$700 million. In 1954 the volume was estimated at nearly 10 times that amount, or \$6.5 billion. Many think that the next 6 years should bring electronic industry volume to more than \$12 billion annually.

Southern California has become a major producer of electronic equipment, doing an estimated 17 to 20 percent of the industry's total dollar volume.

Development of the industry here was not by accident. There were pioneers in the electronic business early in the 1940s. They were small manufacturers who banded together to form the West Coast Electronic Manufacturers Association back in 1943. Collectively, they went to eastern points where purchasing was being done, and proved that southern California was the natural place for development of electronics in every phase. We had the climate to attract skilled engineers necessary for research and development. We had the educational institutions where further training could take place. We had the aircraft industry, one of the most important users of electronic apparatus. And most important, those pioneers of the forties had the will to do a Job for the national defense.

From that start has grown an industry which is one of southern California's greatest, with over 125 electronic-producing companies now participating in the expanded activities of the West Coast Electronic Manufacturers Association.

Few people really know what electronics is. Sure, it is radio and television and communications systems. But more than that, it is the key to national defense and becoming increasingly important. The guided missile could not be controlled without electronics. Our aircraft have reached such speeds that the human brain cannot work fast enough to fire the guns at the right time, so electronic gear sights the target and triggers the weapons.

Since possible enemies have the same kind of equipment we have, countermeasures are necessary to help us defend ourselvs by jamming enemy equipment. Radar in commercial as well as military aircraft protects everyone who rides a plane. Now we are operating business by means of electronic apparatus, solving difficult problems in minutes which would require hundreds of man-hours otherwise.

Automation is becoming an important phase of electronic development. Economists and industrial analysts conclude that in order to maintain the present rate of increase in living standards in this country, the output of goods and services per worker must increase approximately 33 percent between 1950 and 1960. Because the worker is already taxed to his limit in industry, this increase must come through the automation of production. Electronics plays the most important part in the automatic factory.

Electronically generated ultrasonic vibrations have been used to treat cancer in mice and mental disorders in humans in recent tests.

In southern California, members of the West Coast Electronic Manufacturers Association use 5,409,800 square feet of floor area and employ over 40,000 people. There probably is an additional 50 percent of area and personnel in electronics in this area, used by nonmembers of the association. Most of

these are divisions of our major aircraft

The electronics industry here has moved into adulthood in little more than a decade, and passed other sections of the country in volume by sizable margins. Now we have a major industry—free of smog-producing equipment—and tailored to the climate of the area as well as the dynamic industry growth which has taken place.

Kansas, the 34th Star

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ERRETT P. SCRIVNER

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. SCRIVNER. Mr. Speaker, on January 29, 1861, the 34th star was added to our flag, denoting the admission of the Territory of Kansas as a State in the Union.

In keeping with the birthday spirit, gave a radio talk over KCMO, Kansas City. Mo., the subject of which was Kansas.

That speech, substantially as given, follows:

Inasmuch as January 29 is the 94th birthday of the State of Kansas, a day that will celebrated all over the Nation, and especially at Topeka, it seems fitting and proper as a native Kansan, and as a Representative in Congress from Kansas, I should make Kansas the subject of my initial broad-

Did you ever notice what happens when you meet somebody from Texas? thing they do is start bragging about Texasit's Texas this—Texas that. Let's admit, right off of the bat, that Texas is a big State.

Now Texas does raise a lot of cattle, but that beef wouldn't be fit to eat if it wasn't fed on that fine blue stem grass of the Kansas Flint Hills, and if it wasn't finished off with Kansas-yes, Missouri-corn in Kansas and Missouri feed lots.

Take away the military installations in Texas—yes, and its oil wells—well, you guess

what would happen.

Kansas and Kansans have lots of things be proud of, and to rightfully boast about. We have even more right to brag than Texans, and we should do it every chance we get.

Kansas is roughly 200 miles wide and 400 long; a little better than 80,000 square That's about one-third the size of miles.

Texas.

In those 80,000 square miles, we have many natural resources, for which we claim no The Lord provided those. are there. There's lots of oil, although not as much as Texas. There's natural gas— and there's coal. Kansas is the greatest supplier of fuel and energy in the United States.

When you speak of gold, most of us think of Alaska, or perhaps, Crippie Creek, Colo., and gold means great wealth. We don't any gold in Kansas, but in mineral Kansas produces five times as much as Alaska with its gold, and our mineral production far exceeds the minerals produced in the reputedly mineral rich States of the Rocky Mountains.

Salt is a commonly accepted household item here, but in many countries I have visited it is a luxury selling for as much as \$10 a pound. Kansas has enough salt to last the entire world thousands of years.

In less spectacular quantities, Kansas produces lead, zinc, gypsum, clays, cement, chalk, helium, and an enviable amount of fine sand and gravel.

Far from being the drab, ugly, flat State many uninformed writers have pictured it, Kansas is full of scenic beauty, starting with the rolling hills and the valley of the I des Cygne on out to prehistoric grounds and the Rock Canyons of Ellsworth which vie, in beauty, with some of the highly advertised national parks.

The heart of America, the very center of the United States, Kansas is crossed and recrossed by 13 railroads, 4 of which are transcontinental lines. Several major airlines cross the State; and talking of flying, Kansas has more "flying farmers" than any State in the Union. Even though Texas is three times as big as Kansas, Kansas has far more miles of improved highways than Texas. In fact, Kansas is second, in the United States, in highway mileage.

Although visited by droughts at times, we are not as hard hit by them as many other States. Kansas is a commercial corn-growing State. Its output of soybeans is prodigious and everybody knows that Kansas grow one-fifth of all the wheat grown in this

country.

Kansas raises lots of high-grade beef, but what is not generally known is that turkey raising is a multi-million dollar business in Kansas, and that Kansas ranks among the top eight States in poultry and egg produc-

While 90 percent of our area is farms, Kansas is growing rapidly as an industrial More than 3,000 factories turn out thousands of various industrial items.

Much of the cement going into our new homes, highways, and buildings comes from Kansas plants like those at Bonner Springs, Iola, and Humboldt.

The automobile tire plant at Topeka and the huge oil refineries like the Phillips plant in Kansas City, Kans., keep the Nation's wheels of commerce turning.

Better crops are grown as the result of the chemical plants such as the Co-op plant at Lawrence, and Spencer, and Pittsburg.

Strange as it may seem and sound, during World War II, Kansas had 2 shipyards in operation, 1 at Leavenworth and 1, the Darby plant on Kaw Point in Kansas City, Kans. In these yards were built landing craft used in the beachhead operations at Omaha Beach. Anzio, and Iwo Jima.

In Kansas City, Kans., B-25 Mitchell bombers were turned out by the hundreds, while at Wichita, Boeing made the famous B-29. Today the Kansas City, Kans., plant is turning out F-84-F's and just recently Boeing, at Wichita, turned out its 1,000th B-47 jet bomber and is now producing the even bigger B-52.

At Sunflower, millions of pounds of explosives were produced, and at Parsons countless thousands of bombs were loaded and sent on

their way to bring victory.

Tell your Texas friends to come to Kansas and we'll show them the biggest grain elevator in the world-right in Kansas City, Kans.; the biggest natural cold storage cave at Bonner Springs; and down by Pleasanton they'll see the biggest electric shovel in the world which digs coal almost by the carload. Yes, we have big things in Kansas, too.

These are only a few of the industrial contributions Kansas makes in war or peace production so great that Kansas in dollar volume was 5th in the 48 in World War II.

With all of the vast production and the problems involved, Kansas had the best labor record of all, with little or no loss of time or war material from strikes.

Kansas has an amazingly interesting historical background. Even though we have no Alamo, our future was determined by hard-riding, hard-fighting men skilled in handling the six-guns and Sharp's rifles.

Our earliest recorded history goes back to Coronado's conquest in 1541-60 years before Pocahontas saved John Smith's neck.

Kansas is dotted with historical sites reminiscent of the gold rush, and the Santa Fe Trail, Indian wars, the Pony Express, border warfare, cow towns, along the Chisholm Trail, Dodge City, Abilene.

At the mouth of the Kaw, Lewis and Clark

started their famous expedition.

Close at home is the Shawnee Indian Mission. Osawatomie is the site of John Brown's cabin. Then, too, there is Trading Post, scene of ruffian border war, Lawrence, and Quantrill's raid, with the reciprocating raids into Missouri by Jayhawkers.

Council Grove was the site of Indian treaties. At Fort Scott we still have the old pre-Civil War barracks and blockhouse.

All of these are part of the great heritage of Kansas. However, the greatest asset of our State is its people.

Today the No. 1 Kansan is President Eisenhower-but we have had other great men. Charles Curtis, proud of his Indian blood, was Vice President. We have given the Nation outstanding men and women in all

fields of activity.

One of the long-time best sellers, "In His was written by Rev. Charles Sheldon.

The literary world recognizes such men as William Allen White and his son young Bill; yes, and John J. Ingalls, President pro tempore of the United States Senate and author of Ironquill. Albert T. Reid, Gene Howe, and Arthur Capper graced the news field, along with today's Ben Hibbs, of the Saturday Evening Post, and Ernest K. Lindley, and last but by no means least is the beloved Merle Thorpe.

In the broadcasting field a Kansan's voice is ranked best, John Cameron Swayze, and close behind him is a Kansas University

graduate, Richard Harkness.

Whenever one thinks of sports he thinks of Jess Willard, heavyweight champion, and the "Big Train" Walter Johnson in baseball, and the epitome of determination and grit, the great runner, Glenn Cunningham, and in more recent years the all-American football star, Ray Evans.

In the field of adventure two Kansas women are at the top of the list, Mrs. Osa Johnson, explorer, and Amelia Earhart, the lost aviatrix.

When it comes to beauty and grace Kansans can be proud of little Donna Attwood, star of Ice Capades.

Bradbury Thompson, of Topeka, art director of Madamoiselle and Living, was recently declared the art editor of the year.

Walter Beech in aviation history; George Washington Carver in science and racial progress; yes, ever so many others, including the top men in industry, science, and business throughout the Nation.

That Kansas should have produced such men is no accident. Their background, training, and surroundings were exceptional. Kansas is proud of its churches and schools. Despite the fact that Massachusetts has Harvard and Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Kansas, second in the United States, is far above the Bay State in literacy, and Kansas has the largest number of college students per thousand of any State in the

In all of our wars, Kansas has made big contributions. Missouri had her Pershing. Kansas had her Funston. Kansans have won all sorts of awards from the Congressional Medal on down. In World War I, Kansas had the smallest number of men rejected for military service—which demonstrates physical sturdiness of her sons. In World War II, with many Kansans having settled there, Oregon pushed us into second place. But with the coming of the Korean war, Kansas again had the fewest rejections. Texas has the audacity to brag of the hardiness of her menfolk

Kansas has the highest percentage of native-born residents of any of the States. And while we think of New York as a wealthy State, the per capita wealth of Kansas is greater than that of New York.

From what I have said you may well guess that I am proud of Kansas and proud to be a

Kansan, I am.

We have more than our share of good things—and fewer of the bad than many have claimed. We have had far fewer cyclones than many of the southern States, so stories about Kansas being a cyclone State are libelous. We have had our share of hard times, too. Our motto-Ad astra per aspira-"To the stars through difficulty" is particularly appropriate. Those courageous ancestors of ours, who left comforts behind, came to Kansas and carved out a great future for us, did face hardships and difficulties. Their courage, stamina, and faith brought them through. We, their children, can see the bright stars of the future.

With this great history, it is perfectly natural that on Kansas Day, Kansans should gather together and celebrate their State's

These Kansas Day celebrations were started nearly 75 years ago by about 100 men headed by a great threesome of newspaper fame, William Allen White, Ewing Herbert, and Charles Harger, the sole survivor of that famous trio.

For nearly fourscore years these meetings have taken place with the activities cen-

tered around Topeka.

Soon we will celebrate the 100th anniversary of Kansas statehood, just as we have celebrated the Territorial Centennial this past year.

That century has marked the development of God-given natural resources by resource-

ful courageous Kansans.

The story of that century is as gripping as fiction, as colorful as a modern-day western. The cast of characters is as varied as can be imagined: Indians and white men, saints and sinners, lawmakers and lawbreakers, laborers and financiers, teachers and preachers. Long-remembered names such as Billy the Kid, Bat Masterson, Kit Carson, Lincoln and Douglas and their great debates, Carrie Nation, Horace Greeley, Walt Mason, all left their mark as the story of Kansas unfolds.

The scenes were as varied as the characters; tepees and sodhouses, churches and saloons, courthouses and jails, factories and farms, battlefields, cradles, and graves.

The pages of that century of history are punctuated by spurting six guns, splattered With blood of border warfare, the Civil War, the Spanish-American War, two World Wars, and Korea.

That hundred years has served to try Kansas and Kansans. They have been tested; they've been found true, loyal, and courageous.

Here, indeed, and in fact, is the heart of America.

And in closing, may I read the product of the skilled pen of Charles Harger, what has been called the Kansan's Creed:

"We believe in Kansas, in the glory of her prairies, in the richness of her soil, in the beauty of her skies, and in the healthfulness

of her climate.

We believe in the Kansas people, in their aturdy faith, and abounding enthusiasm; in their patriotism and their fidelity to the good things of civilization; in their respect for law and their love of justice; in their courage and zeal; in their independence; and in their devotion to uplifting influences in education and religion.

"We believe in Kansas institutions; in the Kansas language and in Kansas ideals; in her uprightness in society; and in her demands that honor, sobriety, and respect be main-tained in public and private life; in her marvelous productiveness; and in her wonderful future."

Yes, I am a Kansan. I am proud of it. If you, too, are a Kansan, I trust that you join me in that pride. If you are not a Kansan, I hope you feel that this pride is justified.

The Church the Reds Silenced

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, I am happy to introduce in the RECORD an article by Brother Jerome J. Barnych, of the Order of St. Basil the Great. As will be seen, this deals with the suppression of the Ukrainian Catholic Church behind the Red curtain and is another indication of the fanaticism of the forces with which we must contend and that we cannot counter effectively, without a full knowledge of what is going on.

THE CHURCH THE REDS SILENCED-NINE YEARS OF MERCILESS PERSECUTION HAVE COM-PLETELY DESTROYED THE UKRAINIAN CATH-OLIC CHURCH

On December 15, 1952, Pope Pius XII, with his encyclical the Oriental Churches, broke once again the harsh silence that pervades the persecuted church behind the impenetrable Iron Curtain. This was the second time since 1945 that the Holy Father, guardian of truth and defender of the oppressed, turned his encyclical voice toward the suffering brethren of the eastern rites

The Pope requested that Catholics throughout the world unite in prayer for these afflicted souls who weep bitterly as they see their bishops put to death or dispersed * * * as they behold so many of their churches destined to profane uses or in squalid abandon; that the all-compassionate God grant them heroic fortitude in enduring their hardships and even martyrdom for the faith and that He put an end to this sad state of affairs.

These sympathetic and encouraging words of Christ's vicar met wide acclaim and humble gratitude from Ukrainian Catholics the

world over.

The Church of Silence, as the Holy Father appropriately calls, among others, the Ukrainian Catholic Church, has hardly known the word "peace." Ever since Ukraine reunited with the Holy See (1595), its land has become a battlefield of continual political and religious aggression of neighboring countries. The present Communist regime is merely pursuing the dreadful policy adopted by the Czars: complete annihilation

of Ukrainian Catholicism.

Why is the godless Kremlin so intent on wiping out the Catholic Church? Primarily, because communism is fundamentally atheistic; religious tolerance is absolutely foreign to Marxism. This many fail to realize. Communist ideology is the only admittedly set form of worship. Presently the Reds permit the Orthodox Church to function, but that is only after purging it with unprecedented inhumanity and infiltrating it with agents—the Secret Police, their own clerical products. Today the Orthodox Church is fully controlled by the Reds and is actually being used in promoting their grievous designs.

The Ukrainian Catholics fell the first victims of Communist persecution. Why? the 16th century, when Ukraine entered in

union with the Holy See, it retained its eastern liturgical rite, language, and customs. To this very day this fact is a living proof to the dissident Russian people that they too could achieve church unity with Rome without forfeiting any of the ancient ritual customs they cherish. Furthermore, the Czars forever sought to establish Moscow as the third Rome. And as long as the Ukrainians living under Czarist-rule remained faithful to Catholicism, Moscow's ambitious aspirations were utterly frustrate. Thus thousands of Catholic priests, monks, and laity were martyred for their blunt refusal to acknowledge the dissident Patriarch of Moscow. However 85 percent of the people were finally dragged into the schism "by force and fraud," as Pope Pius XII stated in his encyclical in 1945. The remaining millions of Catholics in Galicia held fast to their faith and thus constituted an insuperable barrier for realizing their covetous plan. Conseexistence, expansion, and inquently, the fluence of Ukrainian Catholicism was re-garded by the Holy See as the spark of hope that would bridge the gap between the Orthodox East and the true fold. Apropos of this fact Pope Urban VIII hopefully predicted: "Through you, my Ukrainians, I hope to convert the East."

However, what the white terror of imperialism futilely attempted for four centuries. the Red terror of communism has accomplished in a decade. Five million Ukrainian Catholics have fallen prey to the worst of Soviet persecutions; 10 bishops have been either ruthlessly martyred or condemned to forced labor in Siberia; 3,470 priests have been deported or imprisoned; 1,600 nuns were expelled from their convents; 195 monasteries, religious houses, were pillaged, confiscated, occupied by schismatics; 3,040 parishes, together with 4,440 churches and chapels, were closed or violently appropriated by the dissidents; about 10,000 Catholic schools have been converted into Red anti-

Catholic factories.

The Reds hurled their first overt attack at the Ukrainian Catholic Church in 1939. This lasted 22 months. The Commies classified religion as a lucrative business. Thus church property was heavily taxed. They grabbed control of the schools quickly. Priests were barred from visiting hospitals. But, much through the aid of nuns working incognito as nurses, the priests ministered the sacraments to the dying patients. Red authorities confiscated all presses, even private typewriters. Within this short period the Red secret police deported and murdered 250,000 Ukrainian Catholics from the Lviv diocese. Among these first victims of Red terror were 33 priests. The great metropolitan of Ukraine, Andrew Sheptytskyj, protested vehemently, but futilely. He wrote to the Vatican describing the persecution as a "direct application of the militant, atheistic principles adopted in Spain during the civil war.

The prospect of a dark and stormy future urged the aging prelate of Ukraine to warn his Catholic youth of the grave dangers to which it would be exposed. "Dear children," he wrote, "do me this favor: Copy this letter for yourselves and refer to it often. Remind others of its contents. * * * Beware of the * Beware of the sing against the holy faith. Remain loyal to the holy church. As betrayal of the native country, so betrayal of the church—our mother, who guides us from infancy till death lending her hand in all our needs, is a base crime. * * Most of all, dear children, I recommend you to receive the sacraments frequently." * *

"With this letter," the great metropolitan continues, "I bid you farewell, since I do not

know if God will permit me to labor and pray

for you much longer."

The Red armies returned to Ukraine in 1944. With the metropolitan dead, the Soviets were bent upon completely eliminating the church in Ukraine. At first they maintained a respectful attitude toward religion. Sermons were once more freely preached in churches; taxes on church property temporarily modified; Red officers and soldiers attended religious services. Purposely of course. But Catholic publications were strictly prohibited. Clerics were exempted from military service. They were considered unworthy to serve the Soviet Government. The real reason was the Reds didn't want priests sustaining religious beliefs and duties among the soldiers.

In the winter of 1944-45 the secret police began summoning the clergy for reeducational conferences. They would dishonor the church, the Holy Father, then cross-examine their pupils incessantly through the night. Brainwashing was in practice long before the Korean conflict.

April 11, 1945, brought the sudden arrest of five Ukrainian Catholic bishops. They were deported to Russia. Archbishop Joseph Slipyl, the new metropolitan, was one of the victims. He was condemned to 8 years of forced labor in Siberia. The Reds recently prolonged his imprisonment to 17 more years. German ex-prisoners returning from Siberia reported seeing His Excellency at work combing wool.

With the hierarchy arrested, the Soviets published an order prohibiting all religious ceremonies. Only state-registered priests were allowed to celebrate Mass. Then Red authorities began promoting a movement for the reunion of the Ukrainian Catholic Church with the dissident church. Refusal to collaborate spelled immediate arrest. Thus more than 500 priests were seized, in the street or at home, and deported. A rall-way worker relates that 1 night he saw 150 priests being transported from the district of Ternopil to Siberia. And an Armenian priest testified that 800 Ukrainian Catholic priests were with him in prison back in 1946. He escaped later on.

The Ukrainian Catholics in Red-occupied Poland met a similar fate. On September 21, 1945, Bishop Josaphat Kotsylovskyj was arrested by the NKVD. Later Bishop Lakota and the whole diocesan chapter were thrown into prison. The secret police tried to force them into renouncing their allegiance to Rome. They resorted to atrocious tortures and threats of death. But not one succumbed. Bishop Lakota is reportedly dead somewhere in Siberia. Bishop Katsylovskyj died in prison November 17, 1947. His last written words remarkably depict his loyal character: "In case of my arrest and deportation, I humbly beg to notify the Holy Father that I place before him my vow of fidelity and absolute devotion until my last breath, last beat of my heart, asking for his paternal blessing."

The subjugation of Ukrainian Catholics in Carpathian Ukraine was equally merciless. This stretch of land, as large as Massachusetts, boasted of over half a million Catholics of the eastern rite, 459 churches, and 354 priests. Today the diocese is in orthodox hands, and under Red subservience.

The Red Army entered the capital of Carpatho-Ukraine on October 27, 1944. Their purpose was to annihilate the Eastern-rite Church immediately. Soldiers pillaged the churches, burning the vestments and liturgical books. Later on, schismatic clergy, aided by the Soviet police, grabbed whole parishes from the Catholics. Many Catholic priests resisted this barbarity. They were arrested and shot. Hundreds of men and women were inhumanly massacred by the NKVD; others were deported. The people literally defended the churches with their bodies, falling in large numbers on the doorsteps while Red soldiers beat them with rifles and the dissidents stoned them.

Lintur, a stanch Communist and extreme atheist, traveled from town to town urging the Catholics to join the Orthodox Church. The people shouted back defiantly: "Give us bread." "Give us clothes," "Is this the freedom you offer."

The Soviets employed dire methods to force the newly consecrated bishop, Theodore Romza, into joining the Orthodox Church. But the young and energetic prelate replied firmly: "Suffering and death are preferable to betrayal of the church." So they began seeking among the influential clergy a possible renegade who would accept the episcopal ring of which they intended to deprive Bishop Romza. Interminably through the night the NKVD would importune, fatigue, and terrorize the priests. "Deport, torture, kill us," they cried, "but we won't betray our church." Many of the priests were cruelly martyred later on.

martyred later on.
On Assumption Day, 1947, 80,000 Catholics rallied in Mukachiy for their annual pilgrimage. Red soldiers blocked all the roads leading to the church. The pilgrims had to trudge through fields of mealy soil and wade through a river in order to reach the church. Many of the people had to journey on foot 2 and even 3 days. But they came in enormous processions. Banners of the Blessed Mother fluttered over their proud heads; and the whole countryside echoed with hymns in her honor. The Commies were utterly foiled.

Bishop Theodore knew the Reds were desperate about removing him. So the young prelate availed himself of every opportunity to inspire, strengthen and sustain the people. His unremitting zeal and devotion, trust in God captivated the orthodox. They began running to the church in large numbers.

On October 27, 1947, the bishop met his fate. The previous day he had consecrated a church and was now returning home. The horse-drawn carriage was riding along peacefully when suddenly an armored truck crashed into them. It was a premeditated attempt on his life. The horses were killed instantly; the occupants thrown from the shattered vehicle onto the road. Red soldiers alighted quickly from the truck; struck the helpless priests and bishop with their rifles; and sped on. The bishop lay in a ditch, unconscious. Blood trickled from his mangled teeth down his broken jaw. Late that evening he was taken to a hospital.

ning he was taken to a hospital.

Bishop Romza died 2 days later. cause of his death was diagnosed by specialists as a heart attack. Strangely though, prior to his sudden death, the Catholic nuns who attended the bishop were forcibly dis-charged. They declared his condition to charged. priests as improving. And an hour before this alleged heart attack some unknown person telephoned long-distance to the hos-pital, asking briefly: "Did the bishop die pital, asking briefly: "Did the lyet?" The building attendant, The surprised and terrified by the call, dropped the phone hospital immediately. left the doubt, Bishop Romza was poisoned by the substitute nurse. The sisters whom she replaced noticed her foreign dialect.

The following day Catholics and Orthodox alike thronged to the bishop's coffin in thousands. They touched his silent corpse with religious articles as if to have relics of the saintly martyr. His eyes glowed with a profound peace; his smile radiated heavenly sweetness—the glory of his martyrdom.

That evening the weeping, pastorless peo-

That evening the weeping, pastorless people lined the road for 20 miles. They wished to bid farewell to their pastor. However, the Reds had his coffin transported at midnight by train. Still thousands waited till he departed. "Now we are left as orphans," writes our witness, "but we are certain that in Heaven we have a (mighty) protector."

The Ukrainian Catholics living in Czechoslovakia enjoyed a measure of religious tolerance until January 1951. Then Bishop Paul Gojdich, OSBM, renown for his holiness, was condemned to life imprisonment. The charge: "Guilty of alleged espionage and treason to the People's Republic." The Commies trumped up these crimes to justify their act before world opinion. Actually the bishop bluntly refused to collaborate with the Red-infiltrated Orthodox Church. Later, Auxiliary Bishop Hopko was imprisoned without even a trial. Thus 321,000 Catholics of the eastern rite, with 311 priests, are now at the mercy of the Reds.

Though the Reds have wrought havoc upon Ukrainian Catholicism, desecrated countless churches and monasteries, deported and murdered bishops, thousands of priests, monks, and faithful, they cannot eradicate the faith from the hearts of the people. Escapees declared that the people travel long distances to visit Catholic priests who labor incognito as farmers, woodsmen, miners, and store clerks. They avoid all possible contact with the clergical renegades and puppet Orthodox clergy. As one wrote on a postcard to Rome recently: "We don't go to see George anymore, for George doesn't belong to us." "George" is an ancient Ukrainian cathedral in Lwiw. The dissidents seized it from the Catholic hierarchy.

The insatiable Kremlin, in its cruel and gory war against God and His church, has now turned its fury upon the Latin rite Catholics of Poland overtly. Communism, in its essence, is more than a mere political aggressor or warmonger. It preys ravenously on the whole Christian world and will strike at the proper moment.

Opposition to H. R. 1

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks, I wish to include the text of my statement registering my opposition with the House Ways and Means Committee against H. R. 1, to extend the authority of the President to enter into trade agreements.

My statement follows:

Mr. Chairman, the case for the extension of reciprocal trade has one fatal weakness; it cannot explain away the harm that would be done to the American textile industry (in company with some other industries) by forcing it to compete in our domestic market, with foreign goods produced at a fraction of our labor costs.

The wage gap cannot be rationalized into balance.

And protection is stripped away from those of our industries that need it.

With their eyes on export opportunities for some industries, the supporters of Reciprocal Trade would sacrifice textiles, watchmaking, fishing, and other industries.

They would sell out our textile industry to Japan, giving up our self-sufficiency, and making us dependent upon other nations for the cloth we once manufactured ourselves just to provide extra export-markets for favored industries under the guise of international cooperation.

And what of the tens of thousands of Americans who would be added to the labor surplus existing in so many of our textile manufacturing communities?

Studies prove that these middle-aged unemployed are not absorbed by growth industries. Those few who do find other work, have to back down into jobs that barely pay the so-called minimum wage, better known as the starvation wage.

Our duty is toward our own people first even unto the least of them.

Not to give away a vital but hard-pressed industry just to promote international good will.

Gentlemen, I ask you not to dodge this

Look at the labor-surplus areas in the United States.

Observe how many of them are depressed textile communities.

Consider the inevitable damage you would inflict upon these communities by opening the gates to competing imports produced at one-half to one-tenth of the wages necessary to maintain the average American worker's standard of living.

And ask yourselves if there is any possible justification for doing this to the people of

our textile communities.

The gross hourly earnings of the textile industry in the United States range from a high of \$1.59 in Connecticut to a low of \$1.22 in Alabama and Georgia.

This disparity has brought real hardship

to New England textiles.

But if we have to contend with unlimited competition from low-cost imports, our situation will become hopeless.

On this the battling factions of the American textile industry join ranks in united opposition to reciprocal trade.

Reciprocity would be impossible. The traffic would be all one way—an intiles that would put most of our mills out of business and would add to the critical un-

employment prevailing in this industry. For the mills in Georgia and Alabama could not compete with the mills in Great Britain that pay only 45.5 cents per hour, or those in Japan whose labor costs are at the impossibly low level of only 11.9 cents

per hour. And if these fatal figures are not enough to convince you that reciprocal trade would be a death sentence for our textile industry, I put to you this further challenge: Why should we encourage imports of those manufactured goods that we are overproducing ourselves?

It would be just as senseless and inhuman to import agricultural commodities at half price or less to add to our own surpluses.

We from the textile areas demand the same consideration in our domestic market as that enjoyed by agriculture which has the protection of Government supports

We submit that it is grossly unfair and dangerous to coddle one industry and aban-

don another.

Those who beat the drums for free trade slide over the fact that we cannot compete With slave-labor products that are admitted to the American markets without abandoning our own progress and retreating to the 19th century.

They also ignore the fact that there is no such thing as unlimited competition.

We have laws on our own books to guarantee a minimum wage that is already considered to be inadequate.

That minimum will soon be raised and rightly so.

The extension of reciprocal trade would result in the cancellation of that law by indirection. It is a thinly disguised move, among other purposes, to increase Japanese textile exports to the United States at the expense of our own textile industry. It would drive mills and workers out of business, bringing back all the abuses of unfair competition.

Healthy trade depends upon the import of those products or materials that we need and the export of such goods as others want from

We cannot risk the delegation of arbitrary authority over such matters through the medium of a blank check.

Where it is clear that some industries will be hurt they must be given some protection in the national interest

We oppose extension of reciprocal trade as

being too large a grant of power.

The American textile industry needs sympathetic understanding and assistance from the Federal Government in place of the proposed legislation which threatens its survival.

Can Freedom Live With Internal Security?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WALTER H. JUDD

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

JUDD. Mr. Speaker, every Mr. thoughtful citizen is deeply troubled about the serious problem posed in the above title. We must have security against disloyal or unreliable persons in the public service, in order to maintain our national independence and personal freedom. But we can lose that personal freedom in our very zeal to defend it, if our security measures are not most wisely devised and judiciously administered.

The most penetrating and sensible discussion of this problem that I have seen anywhere was given by former Senator Harry P. Cain, of Washington, now a member of the Federal Subversive Activities Control Board, at a Republican rally in Spokane, Wash., on January 15. Senator Cain has been a most courageous and valiant fighter against Communist subversion and smear tactics. No one can accuse him of softness, or naivete. That makes his analysis and proposals all the more worthy of the serious consideration I hope they will be given by our highest officials. Under leave to extend my remarks, I include Senator Cain's address:

CAN FREEDOM LIVE WITH INTERNAL SECURITY?

Mr. Chairman, through what I am aboutto say, I shall endeavor to adequately exthe keenness of my appreciation for your invitation and the joy I am receiving from being in your company. This is no small undertaking for it has been more than 2 years since last I was among you.

Robert Paine suggested that you might be interested in what I have been doing in these years and how I think the Nation

and the Republican Party are doing.

I can satisfy a portion of the suggestions in a single sentence. For the better part of 2 years I have been sitting, listening, and thinking.

In this period, I have been a member of a board of inquiry, referred to by the somber title, the Subversive Activities Control Board, which is a basic part of your Nation's developing internal security system. In this work, my four colleagues and myself endeavor to determine whether the Attorney General of the United States is absolutely correct in his allegations that listed organizations in our country are dominated, controlled, and directed by the Communist Party, U. S. A., or by foreign powers which seek the overthrow and ultimate destruction of the United States.

You read and hear very little about the labors of the Subversive Control Board for reasons which are clear and understandable. The Board itself makes every effort to be free of controversy and the Board looks to our high courts for statements of explanation when Board orders, requiring public registration by Communists and fellowtravelers, are made final.

It is encouraging that Communist leaders have repeatedly testified that the Communist Party, U. S. A., will be required to commit suicide should the Supreme Court finalize the Board's registration order against that organization.

A fuller discussion about the Board's procedures and substantial legislative authority can be provided in some future opportunity but not tonight. I ought, however, to make an observation. This segment of our internal security system does not suffer, aside from some complicated constitutional questions which are how before the courts, from public criticism or misunderstanding because the methods it employs are in support of the spirit of the Constitution and they provide equal fairness, objectivity, and due process to both parties in any case which is offered to us for adjudication. As a member of the Board, I speak for it in saying that we take nothing for granted nor do we assume that any individual or organization is guilty as charged until that result has been established to our own satisfaction on the public record.

I have a reasonable doubt that anyone evermore enjoyed his service in the United States Senate than I did. Its only con-ceivable drawback was an exaggerated emphasis on work of every possible kind rather than on an output of thought. I readily confess that I attempted to accomplish too much for too many people in too many direc-tions all at once. In attempting all of this, I lost sight of some fundamentals which have returned to focus during the past 2

Before reflecting on these fundamentals, I want to establish this attitude to be true. In my remarks there will not be, if I can help it, a single unreasonable, unsupportable, or destructive political reference. I am here as a proud Republican but I am speaking as one who feels that his basic allegiance is to his Nation rather than to the political party of his deliberate and considered choice. labor as a Republican from a hope to be of some small service to our Republic.

No one among us denies that the present is an age of peril. Were we in disagreement about this, we could reach agreement about

nothing.

Most of those in authority in each political party refer to the present and the years of our immediate future to be an intended period of peaceful coexistence with our en-It makes me much more alert and less gullible to think of these years as being coexistence with conflict. Call these years what you will, they will be demanding of us a national preparedness and readiness in the armed services, which will long continue the draft or some counterpart-on the farm and throughout industry—sufficient to call for hard sacrifices and participation by all of us.

This knowledge doesn't bother or perplex me. I accept it willingly. Like you, I am not living in the past or in the future. must contribute in some real measure to the age in which we live.

As between our material strength and that of the Soviet Union, I see no particular hazards or defeat in store for the United States. I can only believe as I do that our present leaders and those to come will pursue every intelligent avenue for reconciling our differences with the leaders of international communism short of war. I must remain convinced, as I am, that we shall prevail and survive through any war which may be forced on civilization. In this sense and as a citizen, I have no fear of the Soviet Union whatsoever.

My only major concern is with what we are to be when international communism's ambition for world domination has been defeated in one way or another. Will we or those who follow us be able to say after the conflict has run its course that through its years, even though they be a hundred, we Americans and our Government have maintained and left untarnished our self-respect?

Will we then be able to reassure the rest of the world that America remains a place in which the individual is free because his Government and those in authority in every

walk of life have been just?

As for myself, justice or equity and freedom or liberty are the two evidences of human progress and hope which distinguish representative governments and their peoples from those directed by tyrants, dictators, and despots. Other differences are only skin deep and hardly worth mentioning.

I want no victory over the godless forces of oppression which does not include the preservation of these assets without which a free people die and wither away.

Here we are confronted with the greatest challenge of our time. Now is when we must inquire about and make certain that in working to become victorious across the seas, we are permitting no domestic enemies or any acts of cowardice, short-sightedness, arrogance, or stupidity to assault or cripple our bastions of freedom here at home.

How often do you hear it said that because of our overwhelming fear of communism, we are blindly or blithely destroying the Constitution and the Bill of Rights? How often do you hear it said that muddle-headed if well-intentioned dreamers are so enamored of liberty in the abstract that we are doing too little or nothing meaningful in opposing the conspiracy which seeks to drive freedom from the earth?

I listen each day to those who frantically espouse each of these premises. In my judgment, neither contention is even remotely correct but there are far too many citizens who believe one or the other of these con-

tradictory courses to be true.

In our struggle to survive as free men and women, we must keep three elements in balance. They are justice, security, and freedom. It seems apparent to me that none of these elements can stand alone and that no two can operate successfully without the other.

In the years of our past, we have lived by the dictates of freedom and justice. We have known what they were and we have long taken their blessings for granted. We can't say as much about internal security. We have had only the most limited experience with it and that experience seldom touched the majority among our citizens as individuals.

In terms of time it is reasonable to say that our Nation didn't recognize the pressing need for an internal security system prior

to 1947, a mere 8 years ago.

Until the very recent past, there was an understandable reluctance to acknowledge or believe that some Americans, perhaps in considerable numbers, were seeking ways through which to overthrow our Government and destroy our free institutions. Many hard-headed patriots, as well as soft-headed ones, couldn't bring themselves to comprehend that some of our citizens were giving their allegiance to a foreign conspiracy which seeks to enslave us. This is America, they sald, and such things couldn't happen here. I don't know anyone who now refuses to admit that such evil things have happened The public record is replete with sad here. and damaging instances.

During the life of the 80th Congress, our Nation began to grapple with the realities of the postwar era. We were forced to agree that the Kremlin was our enemy because our extended hand of friendship had been cast aside times without number. We were required to admit that the masters of the Kremlin intended to carry out the preach-

ments of Nicolas Lenin exactly as Adolf Hitler attempted to satisfy every intention set forth in Mein Kampf. In both cases the visualized result was to be the same—a return to the Dark Ages.

I do not believe that this current and general understanding prevailed throughout the United States before you sent me to the Senate in late 1946. There were then as many or more who disbelieved it, or did not bother to think about it, as believed this evaluation to be true.

In any event, it was along about 1947 when citizens everywhere began to appreciate that a lasting freedom for the individual was somehow inseparably connected with our national security. From that time on, we have made haste, not always wisely, to perfect and operate a system of internal security which would enable us to remain free as individuals. There could be no other possible reason for such a system in a republic.

I think it a great pity that it took us so long to recognize the intentions and determinations of communism for what they are but I can serve no good purpose by blamadministrations of the past for their failures to specialize on contemporary history or to admit that evil-minded termites were boring from within or to agree that the Federal establishment included those who were traitors as well as the majority who were and are solidly patriotic. The legitimate purpose of this reference is to indicate the national status of our unawareness, unpreparedness, and inexperience when we began to fashion and tailor a system of internal security for the United States.

Before 1947, the Nation's No. 1 domestic security sentinel was the Federal Bureau of Investigation. But this extremely conscientious and splendid agency, which takes pride in being referred to as Uncle Sam's watchdog, expresses no opinions, grants no clearances, and makes no recommendations. The FBI gathers facts and information, that's all, and leaves an evaluation of these matters, a really difficult undertaking, and the action to be taken on them, if any, up to others.

What too often happened before 1947 was that many in authority perceived too little from the files of substance laid before them by the FBI. It goes without saying that if you can perceive too little, you can also perceive too much and I want to explore this side of the question before I am through.

To those of you who have thought that your Government has been soft on communism, I would urge a consideration of the following developments:

In March of 1947, our Nation departed from the more tranquil life and times of the past. A Government program was established to examine into the loyalty of those many individuals who serve the Federal establishment as employees.

This was followed by the Internal Security Act of 1950, which created the Subversive Activities Control Board and other domestic security activities. Then came the adoption of the Federal employees security program in April of 1953. As its predecessor loyalty program did, this program requires that every civilian employee or applicant for employment in the executive branch of the Government submit to an investigation for loyalty but it goes much further than loyalty and considers a number of other factors like excess drinking, sex perversion, and bad comwhich affect the Nation's security. In addition to these far-reaching measures, the last, or 83d Congress, stiffened up most of the statutes dealing with espionage, counterespionage, and sabotage. You may now, for example, be executed as a spy in peace-

When you add all of this to the Foreign Agents Registration Act, the Smith Act, various rulings by various Attorneys General, the continuing and vigilant activities of congressional investigative committees, and the investigative processes of the Civil Service Commission, you have in absolute fact today an internal-security system of practically all-inclusive dimensions. With the exception of wiretapping authority, would you establish much more were you an autocratic ruler in our land?

To those of you who have thought that your Government is so bewildered and frightened about communism as to annihilate the Bill of Rights and the Declaration of Independence at one fell swoop, I can offer these reassurances from our Nation's Chief Executive:

More than a year ago, when our present security system was but several months of age, the President said:

"In this country if someone accuses you, he must confront you; he cannot assassinate you or your character from behind without suffering the penalties an outraged citizenry will impose."

In his state of the Union message last week, Dwight Eisenhower said what I believe he means literally.

"We shall," said he, "ferret out Communist subversion while carefully preserving our traditions and the basic rights of our citizens."

To this point my effort has been to convince you that (a) the United States presently possesses an internal-security system which is as devastating and powerful in potential as any other such system to be found anywhere, and that (b) the authoritative declarations which constitute the foundation on which this system has been constructed are in support of our constitutional concepts and traditions. Please permit me to press each of these contentions just a little further.

On the pages of history we see at a glance that the manner in which a government handles the problem of internal security is a significant measuring rod for the freedom that its people hold.

Under the internal-security system imposed by the Soviet Union, freedom as we understand it is denied to the average Russian citizen. He lives in dread of the absolute surveillance and the unrelenting control of his conduct. That system is not for us, we say, but the system under which we operate shares a common purpose with the other. Both are designed to protect, to give stability to the form of government in each nation. I know that either system can be employed to serve the same ends—to keep citizens free or put them in chains.

What I must restate is that we have constructed, because of an imperative need which is recognized by all, a system which can, unless we make it operate in accordance with the assurances offered publicly by the President of our Republic, snuff out the lights of learning while making cowards and mental robots out of free men and women.

These assurances that justice will determine security decisions represent the only foundation strong enough to support a domestic security system for the United States. In no other fashion can we build a system we can trust or live with and any other system will shortly become identical with what we so rebel against in the Soviet Union and fought so hard against and vanquished so completely in Hitler's Germany.

Let us never forget that in an effort to keep our Nation secure at home, we have constructed an apparatus which can destroy us if we don't watch out.

When Dwight Eisenhower referred to an outraged citizenry, he was encouraging each one among you to cry out in indignation whenever you encounter or uncover an act of injustice to your fellowman.

The President has told all of us how the internal security machine is expected to work, but he must largely delegate to us, in and out of the Government, the energy,

vigilance, courage, and determination to make it work.

Since April of 1953, the Nation has been living with Executive Order 10450 which looks into the loyalty and security reliability of millions of our citizens who are employed by or seek now and in the future to be employed by the Federal Establishment. The cornerstone or guide within this order is that no individual shall be employed by or work for the Government unless his or her retention is clearly consistent with the national interest.

What have we learned out of this unique and new experience?

The most encouraging lession is an admission by many responsible persons in executive and legislative authority that we suffer most from a lack of experience with the security program we have created. I know but few who think the administration of the system has been adequate to the reasonable requirements of freedom. I know but few who believe the system is an adequate answer to the reasonable demands of internal security.

of internal security.

One takes heart from appreciating that changes are under study and improvements

in prospect.

We know that the system is under serious attack from many quarters. How much of this is generated by partisan politics or by the Communist inciters of trouble and confusion, I do not know. I was impressed on Wednesday of this week when the District of Columbia Bar Association publicly an-nounced that a special and continuing committee of its leading members has been established to provide legal representation for Government employees who become involved in security cases. This service will be provided without any cost whatsoever to those employees who are unable to obtain counsel of their own choosing or who are without funds to retain an attorney. not say that this bar association is strongly opposed to subversion and communism or that a majority of its hundreds of members probably are registered Republicans. It should be noted that the special committee was established with strong encouragement from the president of the American Bar Association and from many high officers within the administration of the Government.

To be impressed by this development is not sufficient. Never before in our history has it been thought necessary to provide protection from the outside, free of charge, for the individual against possible and unwarranted abuse and condemnation by his Government. If any steps will cause us to

stop and think-this is it.

The only thing of which I am certain is that thoughtful citizens throughout the country are sorely troubled by a lack of information concerning what is going on. I hope the day soon comes when their doubts can be resolved. I hope that Republican leaders will begin to acknowledge the criticisms more rapidly and move more swiftly in correcting mistakes in judgment or procedure when they occur.

My own considered view is that our security system has worked well and fairly on the average but that conspicuous and inexcusable examples to the contrary have occurred much too often. It isn't persuasive that we should be complimented, because we seldom err. Our Nation can't long tolerate a system which doesn't soon eliminate the possibility for errors which are disastrous to anyone like you or me when they arise. As I see it, some changes in both attitudes and procedures must be agreed to or the system will never work as the President intends that it shall operate.

Before listing some specific recommendations which I believe might add to the strength and resourcefulness of our beloved country. I want you to think about three instances in which our internal security apparatus has failed completely in one respect or another in its mission of balancing the requirements of freedom with the demands of security.

The first: The case of Wolf Ladejinsky has the more recently been in the public's eye. In reflecting on this sad matter, I speak as a part of that "outraged citizenry" to which Dwight Eisenhower made proper and pointed reference.

I am mindful that some impositions of governmental authority much higher than my own do not share my anxiety over the consequences I expect from the Ladejinsky question. My earnest hope is that they will consider a responsible citizen's point of view.

The Ladejinsky case points up practically every weakness which we can find or trace in our prevailing security system. It includes evidences of the shortsightedness, ruthlessness, smugness, and brutality of

bureaucracy at their worst.

Wolf Ladejinsky was naturalized a citizen in 1928. He became a public servant for the Government in 1935 and has been on the Federal payroll ever since. During these 20 years, his written record of service has been noted for its reliability and competence and for his intelligent contributions to our Nation's fight against international communism. Ladejinsky was a powerful fighter in the forces against oppression and slavery long before many among us were conscious of the problem. In his years of service, no supportable question against Ladejinsky's loyalty was ever raised.

Not many months ago, the Foreign Operations Administration sought to secure the services of Ladejinsky who was then under the Agricultural Department's control in Japan. This request was denied because the Agricultural Department stated that Ladejinsky was too invaluable to be replaced.

Subsequently, several new security officers were given assignments by the Agricultural Department. One assumed his duties in early December of last year. They discovered, what everybody knew, that Ladejinsky had worked for Amtorg, a Russian trading concern, through parts of 1929 and 1930 and that he had three sisters who assumedly remain alive today in Russia. Ladejinsky had so stated years ago when he first applied for Government service.

In years and months gone by these matters had been scrutinized carefully by the very strict security division of the State Department when Ladejinsky was on that payroll. This examination took into thoughtful consideration Ladejinsky's faithful years of employment.

The Agriculture Department was unimpressed by the State Department's voluminous file in the matter. Ladejinsky was declared by the Agriculture Department to be a security risk and its security officer announced that the three sisters whom he assumed were alive in Russia was cause sufficient to so stigmatize Mr. Ladejinsky. The brother of these Ladejinsky sisters doesn't know whether they are dead or alive. He has had no word from them or about them in over 8 years.

You have read that the FOA has announced its intention of sending Ladejinsky to the very same assignment for which his services were recently denied because he was said to be indispensable in Japan.

So far as I know, Wolf Ladejinsky has never been faced by any accuser nor has he been confronted with any charges. He became unwillingly a cause celebre because some eager beavers and Johnny-come-latelys in our necessary effort to keep America strong couldn't take the time to talk with him or to relate the points in question to 20 years of a man's private and public life. By such indifference and impetuousness can the good reputation of a good citizen be demolished.

Ladejinsky was saved, if that be the proper way to put it, but his Nation's reputation for the exercise of sound judgment and fair play suffered a real blow, not just here at home but all around the world in those quarters where we seek to merchandise our finest exportable product which is labeled justice.

Ladejinsky was saved because he had friends in high places who have known him intimately through the years, and because nameless outraged citizens cried aloud in

their indignation.

It isn't everyone who can call on a Douglas MacArthur, a Walter Judd, and members of both parties in both Houses of the Congress. Men and women of smaller reputations might only consider themselves caught in a trap without knowing where to turn for help or an opportunity to state their case.

I shed bitter tears for a political reason as well. The case of Wolf Ladejinsky hasn't been solved with finality. There has been no retraction or apology over his being labeled a security risk. Great agencies of our great Government proclaim the man's loyalty and need for his spiendid services. Another equally great department is silent and seemingly content to let a cloud on a citizen's

priceless reputation hang on.

You will hear more about Wolf Ladejinsky. Your political opponents will demand, with justification I cannot deny, that a full explanation of the circumstances and details be spread on the public record. This was our job to undertake. We were the ones who blundered. It was for us to explain the manner in which the injustice and contradiction occurred in order that you citizens would be reassured that no similar injustice would happen again. The measure of our collective and individual character is always determined by the way in which we admit our weaknesses and by the steps we take to correct them.

My own prayer is that the examination by the opposition will concern itself solely with facts and not with politics. In this case, we can be further and needlessly hurt regardless

of the approach employed.

The second: Victor Havris, of Detroit, was a master sergeant stationed in Europe in 1953. At the age of 32, he had 14 years of loyal service behind him. It was thought by someone that the young man's father had been a Communist. It was developed through a hearing conducted by an Air Force security board that Victor Havris at the age of 12 had been taken by his father, now dead, to some Communist Party meetings. There was no evidence or charge that young Havris was a Communist or a fellow traveler or that he had ever attended any Communist gathering since he was 12 years old.

Because of the disclosure that young Havris had been led by the hand of his father to a Communist meeting, he was declared to be a security risk and faced dismissal from

the Air Force.

This recommendation was overruled by a special board which was appointed to re-examine the case. A Democratic Congressman from Michigan was the one who prevailed upon the Air Force to delay and re-examine its dismissal decision.

This Congressman, whom I do not know, was an outraged citizen. He understood that the first intention of the Air Force was too much in keeping with the corruption of blood practice which the third article of our Constitution denies and which we so deplore in the Soviet Union. In this country, the crimes of the father are not to be visited on the children. A citizen must be judged on his own conduct and performance.

The third: Milo J. Radulovich was a first

licutenant in the Air Force who was not on active duty when questions about his being a security risk were raised in 1953. No doubt about his loyalty was intimated publicly. The case against Radulovich, who was a physics student at the University of Michigan under the GI bill of rights, was based on accusations that his father, John Radulovich, had

read pro-Communist publications and that his sister, Mrs. Margaret Fishman, marched as a picket in pro-Communist demonstrations.

For these reasons, ouster proceedings were initiated against Milo Radulovich. This in-tended action was concurred in by the board of three colonels who first heard the case and by every staff level until the question was laid before the Air Force Secretary.

Here the Air Force Secretary announced his faith in the American way by reversing the ouster decision, by removing the secu rity risk stigma, and by his declaration that we do not impose retribution on the family as is done so destructively in slave states everywhere. In the case of Radulovich there was a general assumption, short of the Air Force Secretary, that a person tempted be-cause of family ties must inevitably succumb to temptation; that any person subjected to pressure must inevitably weaken even if it requires him to betray his country.

Justice was slow in coming to Milo Radulovich and it remained for one man to grant My concern about Radulovich was the attitude of mind which gave birth to the

ouster proceedings.

When Milo Radulovich, age 26, heard that his reputation had been restored by the Air Force Secretary, he said, "It's just like having your future handed back to you. Just to say thanks isn't enough. I never expected it; I'm kind of bowled over.'

It's time that we begin to worry when a young American, age 26, expresses surprise that he was dealt with justly by his Govern-

I now offer to you some recommendations and suggestions which perhaps are durable and lasting in their value. In any event, they represent what I have been thinking about and puzzling over since last we met

(a) There is a pressing need for the adoption of some method which will guarantee that important or unreconcilable differences between heads of departments in the loyalty and/or internal-security fields will be ferred for decision to a higher authority.

No internal-security system can become effective, understandable, or reasonable unless its standards and the procedures for implementing them are national standards, not

departmental or bureau standards.
In the Ladejinsky affair, one standard was advanced by the State Department and the Foreign Operations Administration while a fundamentally contradictory standard was supported by the Agriculture Department. This incredible result bewildered employees throughout the Government and confused people within our country and all around the

Probably all of the harm to our Nation's pride, judgment, and reputation for fairness could have been avoided if the difference between the Departments had been resolved by a higher authority before any public announcement had been made.

If there isn't one national policy which is advocated and supported from the very top, there can't be any system or understanding or order at all.

The highest authority in question could be the Chief Executive or some high-ranking official to whom such a task is assigned or to a commission which certainly would include within it private citizens for whom the Nation has the fullest measure of respect and confidence in their characters and judgment. I dislike thinking that another den should be imposed on the President but thought should be given to the need.

(b) We must employ a more meticulous care in the selection of security officers. Because of the scope and newness of the prob-lem, some are assigned to judge others who are simply not qualified for these most difficult of all assignments.

Above all else, the Nation's need is for security personnel who can tell the difference between disloyalty and nonconformity; be-

tween treason and heresy.

Every Government worker must be loyal and reliable but there is no reason why they must be rigidly orthodox in their thinking. There is every reason to encourage the iconoclast as well as the conformist to serve the Republic on the public payroll you taxpayers support.

Whether in or out of Government, the orthodox mind, because of its strength and singleness of purpose, maintains and preserves progress, but the dreamer and non-conformist make progress. The oppor-tunity to be different, while being strictly loyal, is a climate we ought to take pains to develop.

I consider the security officer to be the cornerstone in our fight to remain strong and free. Any misfits or second-raters among them are more dangerous to our future than the subversives they endeavor to catch. These are the people who indict the innocent without reason and overlook the guilty for lack of knowledge, training, and experience.

Were I appointing a security officer, I would select no one whose background didn't include a sound and wide knowledge of the theoretical advance and practice of communism since the times of Karl Marx and this same individual would be required to have an equal knowledge and under-standing of our Constitution, its Bill of Rights, the movements which produced the Declaration of Independence, and the history of the United States.

Under Executive Order 10450, the function of a security hearing board is to conduct hearings on security cases and offer their decisions to the head of a given agency for him to accept or reject as he thinks best.

The members of these hearing boards are generally chosen from the top level of the administrative working force. The rather large number whom I know personally are conscientious, competent, and desirous of being fair.

Their liabilities are few but important. They have no tenure of office and they lack a feeling of independence because they are subordinates and subject to the directions of superiors. Another sizable fault is that a majority of them have had no previous experience with hearings and the kind of testimony with which these hearings deal.

These security hearing board members lay no claim to being professionals. started as rank amateurs and it will take time for some to learn their new business and longer for others. I can only recognize their inexperience to be a perplexing prob-I constantly wonder whether fessional hearing examiners could better keep the balance we seek between security and fustice?

(d) It might be advantageous to separate the personnel function from the function of internal security. It often happens that the job suitability interviewer or the processor of personnel forms is called upon to make at least a preliminary judgment on ques-

tions of loyalty and security.

As often as not these persons are trained only in the semiscience of relating an individual's qualifications to a given job which needs to be filled.

Why shouldn't the interviewer or processor pigeonhole an application which indicates that the applicant has been a member of organizations alleged to be subversive? These organizations may not be subversive or perhaps they weren't before they went of business years ago. No one is likely to encounter any future trouble by shelving a troublesome looking application. Many a personnel officer will react to security questions as he would to poison. He wants none of either.

Too much has been said about Government employment being a privilege and not a

Of course it's a privilege. labor the obvious? All an applicant is entitled to is a fair and impartial break. He or she does have that right to be judged competitively and fairly on their job quali-Their security status could be fications. judged subsequently by one who is an authority in that field.

We must be alert always to avoid procedures, forms, and attitudes which stimulate the advancement of mediocrity in any way within the Federal structure.

(e) We must increasingly learn to tailor security to the job. An individual may be unsuited for the strictness of security demanded by a particularly sensitive assign-This does not necessarily imply that the individual couldn't fill many other important assignments with credit to himself and the Government. Our operations and the living in the past never called for such an exercise of good judgment as does the present. If this were Russia, we wouldn't bother much about this exercise. Because we live in America, we must be bothered constantly.

(f) The basic criterion in Executive Order 10450 ought, I think, to be reexamined in the light of every development in the last 20 months

This criterion, that an accused applicant or employee must meet the test that his employment is "clearly consistent with the interest of the United States" would and does, where literally applied, constitute a burden which can hardly be borne by anyone. It almost makes the employee affirmatively prove that the national interest requires the retention or continuation of his serv-Who among us could do that?

I believe that the phrase "clearly consistent" has been the source of much of our trouble and that the cases previously referred to, and others like them, were insti-

gated by it.

"Clearly consistent" can easily be con-strued to mean without doubts, real or fancied, of any kind. It can be read to mean that pure hearsay or malicious gossip unsupported allegiations constitute doubts to be resolved in favor of the Gov-ernment. To my knowledge it has been so read.

Such an interpretation implies that a domestic system of absolute security is both desirable and possible. In point of logic and commonsense, it cannot be either possible or desirable.

Any system through which men and women are judged must provide the judges with room for judgment and discretion.

Instead of the rigidity of "clearly consistent" we might better work toward the latitudes included in language like this:

"No person should be dismissed or denied employment from the Federal Service as a security risk unless it is affirmatively found that his retention or employment is reasonably inconsistent with the national interest."

I am not suggesting that an established doubt should not be resolved in favor of the Government. It should be so resolved. What I am suggesting, and what our Nation ought to demand, is that the doubt about an individual be first established before it is resolved against him.

Let the Government judges assume their rightful responsibility for establishing their doubts about any individual to be valid and most of the fear and skepticism concerning our security system would disappear over

In expressing this conviction, I am thinking about you and what you are entitled to should you endeavor to join or remain within the Federal establishment.

(g) The general public has a tendency to consider loyalty and security as being one and the same thing. That doesn't follow. A loyal person can be a security risk and a

security risk can be truly loyal. Obviously, a disloval person is a risk.

We should, I believe, be more specific in our use of the term security risk.

Drunkards, perverts, drug users, gossipers and those who insist on keeping bad company may well be security risks while being loyal. We ought to make this distinction clear. When a person is fired as a risk, the reason for his being so considered ought to be stated.

A person who drinks too much can often recover from that indiscretion and build a new life if given a chance. The risk dismissed for being disloyal will remain disgraced for life.

again we should be trying to Here strengthen our Federal structure without unnecessarily destroying individuals in the

Espionage agents will be found among the disloyal. These are the ones we ought to try the hardest to discover. When we do, we ought to execute them. Risks who are otherwise loyal will not often be found in this category. We ought to treat them accordingly—without needless embarrassment or harassment.

You've been most indulgent to permit me to speak so long. There is yet more that could be constructively said but I thought tonight I could say no less. One further observation and I'm through.

The days of the present aren't easy or uncomplicated, yet several simple ideals and principles can't be misunderstood.

A whole clique of spies could hardly do as much damage to us as could our fallure as a government to have confidence in our people. Any government, to deserve to survive, must deserve the respect of its citizenry. A government is under no compulsion to be less than severe in punishing crimes against the state, but that government is under every compulsion to extend consideration and just treatment to every citizen. He or she must be treated as what they actually are—the fiber and substance from which a free nation derives its strength and purpose.

Some wise man in the early days of our beginning, perhaps it was Franklin, said: "I give you a Republic if you can keep it."
That's what I've tried to talk about, as a

citizen, tonight-how to keep it.

At Yalta, Poland Was Betrayed and Enslaved

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. THOMAS J. LANE

OF MASSACHUSETTS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. LANE. Mr. Speaker, the time is February 7, 1955.

The American people are restive, fearful that another secret arrangement may be in process that will sanction Communist aggression and dishonor the principles by which we live.

Even as the blunders at Yalta deprived Poland of its independence, led to the enslavement of other peoples who trusted us, and opened the way to the spread of communism which now threatens the world.

Secret diplomacy continues to be the curse of international relations.

It is dictatorial by nature, considering itself superior to the common sense and character of the people.

In its preoccupation with convenience and expediency, it loses sight of moral values

Even in the United States today, for narrow partisan reasons, the true facts of Yalta are withheld from the people, while subtle negotiations are going on that will lead to the admission of Red China to the United Nations by the back door.

Appeasement on the installment plan. This will not fool the people.

We never endorsed the Yalta deal with Red Russia, and we will never approve of a Red China deal.

Communism must purge itself of every aggression committed against every other nation.

This is the policy of the American people, based on moral principles that we will never compromise or surrender.

In justice to the Polish people, first victims of the new appeasement, we denounce the furtive Yalta agreements.

Until those freedoms which have been betrayed are restored the freedom of the United States is in danger.

God grant us leadership with the courage to be right and honorable.

New Possibilities for the Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF HON, CARL ELLIOTT

OF ALABAMA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ELLIOTT. Mr. Speaker, finding expanded markets for coal is one of the major problems faced by those of us who live in the major coal-producing areas of the United States. Certainly it is the major task facing Walker County, Ala., in the Seventh Congressional District of Alabama, which I represent here.

I was pleased to read on January 29 an editorial in the Birmingham (Ala.) News dealing with some of the possibilities scientists see in the future use of coal.

The editorial follows:

A SOUTHERN RESEARCH SCIENTIST POINTS OUT Possibilities in the Coal Industry

We in Birmingham, naturally, are specially interested in the condition of the coal industry and its future. The industry throughout the country has been experiencing difficulties, having lost many of its former markets and having been faced simultaneously with rising costs of production. In this district many mines in Jefferson and neighboring counties have been closed while others have been operating on reduced schedules.

While the industry, however, currently is in a somewhat depressed condition, many scientists and leaders in the field have predicted a bright future-in the next 10 to 25 years. Some of these possibilities have been pointed out in these columns. And in the current bulletin of the Southern Research Institute, Edward Lang, head of the chemical engineering section of the institute, usefully summarizes current developments in coal research programs.

Mr. Lang points out that whereas higher prices are anticipated in the near future for all other sources of energy, the price of coal is expected to remain fairly steady for the next 25 years.

"Therefore," he writes, "this period will see a shift back to coal as our basic fuel source. Coal will take over more of the generation of power except in locations where coal is unusually expensive and where atomic fuel can be used. Coal must start furnishing a portion of the liquid fuels before 1970, as petroleum prices rise. Coal will regain some of the market for domestic fuel and much of that for commercial and industrial fuels. The greatly increasing demand for chemicals will have to be supplied largely from coal."

There should be, the Southern Research scientist says, a slight increase in demand for coal this year and the demand should increase slowly until 1960-65. By then price increases in competitive fuels should make large increases in coal production necessary.

Mr. Lang lists some of the technological developments in the industry, including the interesting experiments being conducted at Gorgas in underground gasification.

He concludes that coal research programs indicate the tremendous effect that technology can have on the industry in the 10 or 15 critical years just ahead. If the industry weathers this period successfully, the longer-range picture looks very bright indeed. With sharply increasing demands for energy, paralleled by decreasing oil and gas reserves and higher prices for these fuels, coal should furnish an ever-increasing share of the requirements for electric power generation. Demand for coal will receive tremendous impetus also as coal becomes widely used as the raw material for synthetic liquid fuels and new chemicals. Thus this industry, which is on the sick list today, seems destined for a resounding recovery in the next quarter-century.

Last summer President Elsenhower appointed two committees to study coal troubles and make recommendations. committees were to have reported by December 1. We have not seen the reports but their contents should be interesting. And this month there is supposed to be a meeting in Washington of the governors of the major coal-producing States to discuss with their States' Members of Congress a legislative program to help the industry.

President Hoover Receives Silver Quill Award of National Business Publications, Inc.

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. CLARENCE J. BROWN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. BROWN of Ohio. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD. I include excerpts from the proceedings of the state of the Nation dinner of National Business Publications, Inc., at Hotel Statler in Washington, D. C., on January 29, at which the Vice President of the United States presented the 1954 silver quill award of NBPhighest tribute of the Business Pressto former President Herbert Hoover for most distinguished services to business and industry through the leadership he has provided the planning, programand progress of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of Government:

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY MASTER OF CERE-MONIES HARVEY CONOVER, PRESIDENT, CON-OVER-MAST PUBLICATIONS, INC., AND CHAIR-MAN OF THE BOARD, NATIONAL BUSINESS PUBLICATIONS, INC.

Permit me, please, just a few words about ourselves and our purposes.

ourselves and our purposes.

National Business Publications is an association of publishers of 171 technical, professional, industrial, scientific, merchandising, and marketing magazines.

Business publications perform a unique service to the economy. They facilitate the exchange of business education and industrial know-how. They stimulate our enterprise. They power the progress of our technology.

Business magazines are deliberately designed to serve the needs of the specialist who must keep abreast of the newest developments in his highly specialized field.

The history of business publishing paralleis the growth of business and industry in America. The result is that there are today fields of vital activity never dreamed of only a few years ago that are served by technical periodicals specializing in electronics, antibiotics, synthetics, atomics, and the like.

Millions of men and women in business and industry, after leaving college or trade school, must stay in touch with quick-changing know-how in such areas as virus vaccines, supersonic flight, automaton and nuclear propulsion. This they do almost exclusively through the business press.

The same is true of other millions in merchandising and distribution—the advertising agencies, buying syndicates, supermarkets, and chain stores—each teeming with new terms and techniques. As business and industry has specialized, so has the individual.

Among our principles of practice, which are found on the back cover of your program, there is one that pledges active allegiance to the American economic system. And therein lies our reason for being here tonight.

Sound business decisions are essential to the continued prosperity of our enlightened economy. Business magazines are dedicated to the enduring service of providing the knowledge that is necessary for those sound decisions

That is why we seek each year to present our silver-quill award to that person who has best epitomized those things for which we stand and in which we serve. The silver quill of NBP, like the organization that awards it, is synonymous with consecrated service to business and industry and to the Government that guarantees our freedom of enterprise.

We come now to a proud moment for the Business Press—the presentation of its silver-quill award by Vice President Nixon to Ex-President Hoover. There were, of course, numerous outstanding persons considered by the selection committee. But, when the name of Herbert Hoover was made known, all others faded away and there was, really, only one candidate for the 1954 award.

Not only because of his distinguished services to business and industry--through the leadership that he has provided the planning, programing and progress of the Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government-but because we remember and salute him tonight as the first President of the United States to recognize far-reaching values of business publications; as the first President to welcome Business Press correspondents to the White House; as the first President and Cabinet officer to personally encourage wider acceptance of business magazines for adult education and exchange of technological know-how; as the Secretary of Commerce who helped organize the first Washington conference of business magazine editors.

As has been underscored by many messages of commendation to this dinner, it is we who are honored, beyond measure, in having the privilege of honoring so great an American.

Since silver-quill tradition calls for last year's recipient serving as chairman of the selection committee, Vice President Nixon graciously and characteristically agreed to act as committee chairman and to be with us again tonight to present the silver quill to his fellow Californian, who is and remains the grandest Republican of them all. Mr. Vice President, the Business Press is and always will be honored by your presence, which denotes your friendship, and we are delighted to have you here, as our good friend, to make the presentation, at this time, to so great a lifelong friend of the Business Press.

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT NIXON IN PRE-SENTING THE NBP SILVER QUILL AWARD TO FORMER PRESIDENT HOOVER

Vice President Nixon. Mr. Chairman, President Hoover, distinguished guests, and ladies and gentlemen, it was a proud moment for me a year ago to be the recipient of the silver quill award, but tonight it is an even greater honor to present that award to one of those rare individuals who lives to hear the verdict of history on his career.

Ladies and gentlemen, I proudly present the 1954 silver quill award to a man recognized throughout the world as one of the truly great men of the century, President Herbert Hoover.

REMARKS OF HERBERT HOOVER AFTER RECEIVING THE SILVER QUILL AWARD

Your committee mentioned my association with the publishers and editors of the National Business Press of many years ago, I still reflect with great pleasure upon the monthly dinners which we held while I was Secretary of Commerce and the yeoman service which you did in furthering our legitimate efforts at that time. And again I met with you and received your warm support while I was in the White House.

WHAT HAPPENED TO OUR GOVERNMENT SINCE THEN?

In the 23 years since those days, as the result of our financial medicines for social and economic ills, plus hot and cold wars, our machinery of Government has expanded with a speed greater than any government since Cheops built his sunboat.

Certainly we have moved into a region of higher dimensional mathematics and the decimal point is being constantly pushed around by the ciphers.

Out of this sudden growth there have come a mass of problems in Government. As you know, 6 years ago, I was appointed to head up the job of finding some roads through this labyrinth which would lead to reduction in the cost of Government. We made substantial progress, but we lost ground again with the Korean war and rearmament. And now again the Congress and the President have drafted me for that job.

In this Commission we are dealing with problems in Government which require more comprehensive investigation than Members of the Congress with their many other responsibilities can undertake. And we are dealing with problems beyond the ability of any one executive official to solve because they stretch over many different agencies and require much legislative action.

It is my conviction, and it was borne out by the results of the first Commission, that exhaustive examination of the facts and national experience leads to irrefutable conclusions. My aspiration is that from these conclusions we can set up further courageous, commonsense standards, methods, and policies by which the service of the Government can be more efficient and savings made for the taxpayer.

Some people will dislike these deductions. At least I get comfort out of the fact that old reformers never die. They get thrown out.

Some of these problems are complicated puzzles. In case you are skeptical, I may give you a few samples.

I may tell you that today the Federal Government has 104 agencies engaged in the business of lending, guaranteeing, and insurance, involving the Government in these kind of financial operations to over \$250 billion, and this does not include either the national debt or social security. As you may not know what a billion is, I may explain that it is a thousand million.

I might also mention that we have accumulated surplus and obsolete real and personal property which cost about \$30 billion. They require a multitude of warehouses which cost millions for rent and operation.

The Congress specifically instructed us to look into the Federal Government's "business enterprises which compete with the citizen." So far as we know about some 1,500 of them, great and small. In this case the competing

citizen has the puzzle. We have recently completed the first part of a report on paperwork in the Govern-That does not sound like much. would understand it better if it were called the birth control of Federal documents. gist of this report is that aside from hundreds of tons of printed matter, the Federal Government circulates about 25 billion pieces of paper each year at a cost of about four thousand million dollars to prepare them, send them out, and file them. Some 18 billion of these are forms-mostly questionnaires by which the Federal Government discovers your inner life. That is where you get the puzzle. Our recommended methods of saving \$250 million is perhaps peanuts as Government expenditures go these days.

The second part of this report, which is not yet completed, will be of more interest to you because we are trying to find out about how much it costs you to reply to Government inquiries by way of clerical services, lawyers, accountants, and loss of sleep. We have reason to believe that with the cooperation of the departments, industry, and the Congress, we can save you some worry by some simplifications of the puzzles. But do not forget that the Government must know a lot about your business if it is to operate efficiently and also collect taxes.

I could go on for hours on these ills, but I will not disturb your dreams further. There are 26 more of them.

It is a certainty that if the present Commission is to secure its reforms, it will again need the help of the business publications and the press generally. We are preparing midnight hours of work for you.

But the American people need not dwell altogether on troubles. There are huge blessings in progress.

The last few years have seen advances in science and technology which amounts to a revolution of expanded productivity.

Few realize how great an increase in productivity has come to us in these very few years. Today we have about 12 million adults out of our working force of 65 million, who are doing wholly nonproductive work. They are the Government officials, the Armed Forces, and those at work making and transporting supplies for the Government. Yet despite all this load our increase in productivity has enabled us to carry this burden with all its taxes and at the same time maintain the standard of living that we had before we entered these forests of trouble.

And if we maintain free minds, free spirits, and direct our steps aright, still new horizons and new frontiers will open to us. New inventions and new applications of old knowledge will come to us daily, and our burdens be steadily less hard to bear.

Another War To Stay Out Of

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, STEWART L. UDALL

OF ARIZONA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. UDALL. Mr. Speaker, the Members of this body continue to be gravely concerned about the Formosa crisis. The situation in that troubled area is no less fraught with danger as a result of the passage of the resolution submitted to Congress by the President.

In order that we may have access to the best thinking available in our struggle with the problems arising from the Formosa situation, I am presenting today a sober, forceful editorial entitled "Another War To Stay Out Of," which appeared last Sunday in the highly respected St. Louis Post-Dispatch. Perhaps few of us will concur wholly with this editorial, but one can safely say it does reflect many of the fears, hopes, and judgment held by Members of this body:

ANOTHER WAR TO STAY OUT OF

Eight months ago, when some military leaders in the United States were all for getting this country involved in the Indochina war, the Post-Dispatch described that tragic, draining conflict as a war to stay out of. We think the time has now come to describe the Chinese civil war in the same plain terms. The Chinese war also is a war to stay out of.

The danger of becoming involved in the Chinese civil war is all the greater now that Chiang Kai-shek has decided that he wants to evacuate the Tachen Islands and needs the help of the United States in doing so. The President has ordered the 7th Fleet to fulfill Chiang's request and this means that our vessels are going into Chinese coastal waters in which te civil war is being waged.

If the Chinese Communists allow the evacuation to proceed peaceably there should be no harm to our ships or aircraft or the personnel on them. But if fighting breaks out in the redeployment, this country could easily be the victim of an inflammatory incident and thus drawn into the long struggle between the two Chinas.

This hazardous development follows in the train of the President's special message and overwhelming passage in Congress of the resolution of authority for which he asked. In his message Mr. Eisenhower said that while he did not suggest enlargement of our "defensive obligations beyond Formosa and the Pescadores," he believed "the danger of armed attack directed against that area compels us to take into account closely related localities."

This special message and the act of Congress in passing the Richards-George resolution implementing it have had two contradictory results.

One result is to further the cause of peace. Peace is furthered to the extent that the message served as a clear warning that the United States will defend Formosa as part of a far eastern protective chain, including Japan, Okinawa, and the Philippines, against communism's spread.

HOW FAR ARE WE TO GO?

But there is also the opposite result. The message and the resolution added to the uncertainties that already existed about the Far East. Thus they increased the risk of war. This increased risk arises from the fact that the message and the resolution went beyond the defense of Formosa and the Pescadores and, in a vague way, referred to

closely "related" areas. These last three words were widely interpreted to include not only the Nationalist-held Tachen Islands and the Quemoy and Matsu Islands groups, but also areas of concentration of Communist troops, war planes and ships on the mainland.

Some Members of Congress read this as an indication that the Eisenhower administration might be considering "preventive war" against the Chinese Communists. These Senators and Representatives wondered whether the request for the resolution was in part designed to obtain the approval of Congress in advance for a possible strike that the military might consider necessary against the Chinese mainland.

President Eisenhower was quick to recognize the gravity of these concerns. While the resolution was under debate in the Senate, he sought to reassure Congress and the country by saying that he alone would make any decision to use our forces beyond the defense of Formosa.

These pledges were reassuring insofar as the President's course was concerned, but they did not remove all the areas of doubt. In fact Mr. Elsenhower himself confirmed the existence of this uncertainty at his latest press conference, on Wednesday. He said in effect that the United States would use its forces to protect Formosa and the Pescadores. He then declined to answer as to Quemoy and Matsu.

UNCERTAIN POLICY AS TO QUEMOY

The President and his staff have access to military intelligence that properly is denied to the rest of us. It may be that he has good reason for keeping silent at this time on the United States intentions concerning these small coastal islands that are both geographically and historically part of mainland China.

The appearance at least is different. The appearance is that this silence with respect to Quemoy and Matsu is a continuation of what Secretary Dulles described some months ago as a policy of keeping the other side guessing.

If this is all the policy there is on Quemoy and Matsu, then it happens that the people of the United States and their friends in the free world are kept guessing no less than our possible enemies. From this confusion and doubt arises the continuing fear of an unnecessary involvement of the United States in the Far East.

Let us assume that the situation in the Chinese civil war is as it appears to be. Then Chiang's Nationalist soldiers on Formosa cannot by themselves ever hope to invade the Chinese mainland. Neither can Mao Tsetung's Communist forces, however much the Peiping propagandists bluster, now or in the immediate future, attack and capture Formosa. If this is the situation, and there are sound reasons to believe it is, then a United States policy of noninvolvement in the Chinese civil war takes form.

The first element in this policy of non-involvement is not to be maneuvered into losing one or more vessels of the 7th Fleet, or supporting aircraft, and their personnel, while Chiang's evacuation of the Tachens proceeds.

DANGER IN THE DEFENSE TREATY

Chiang Kai-shek was our ally in World War II and that is reason enough to sympathize with him in his concern for his men on islands that lie so close to the Communist mainland. We may hope that he will get his personnel and equipment off the Tachens, but not at the price of involving this country in war.

The second element in this policy of noninvolvement is to be careful not to become caught up in the still more dangerous zones of Quemoy and Matsu just off the mainland.

The speculation that the United States might help redeploy Chiang's troops from the Tachens in order to strengthen his forces on Quemoy and Matsu envisions a maneuver that is doubly dangerous. In such a ferrying operation, a United States naval vessel would run the risk of being destroyed at the Tachens, at Quemoy or Matsu or anywhere en route between them.

The third major element in a policy of noninvolvement, so the Post-Dispatch believes, is rejection by the Senate of the mutual-defense treaty between the United States and Chiang.

This proposed treaty, which Secretary of State Dulles signed last December 2, was ratified unanimously by Chiang's refugee assembly January 14. It is pending in the Senate committee, where it carries strong endorsement by the President.

We are fully aware of the arguments for ratifying this treaty. Approval by the Senate would bolster the morale of Chiang and his troops. Conversely disapproval would seriously embarrass them in the eyes of their Communist enemies.

These considerations of morale are important. However, they are not the only considerations. If the United States becomes a treaty partner with Chiang he is our colleague for better or worse. In view of his regime's record of corruption on the mainland and brutality on Formosa, he might deliberately provoke a military aggression that would involve our forces.

There is some protection for us in the provision that either party can, on a year's notice, abrogate the treaty. But long before abrogation could take effect, an act of war might occur.

A letter exchange, filed with the treaty, states that neither side is obligated to give military assistance if military action is taken without prior consultation between the parties. We might be reassured by this were the other signatory not Chiang. But we do not trust him and we do not think that the President or the American people should trust him. Chiang's opposition at this moment to a cease-fire is warning not to join with him in a mutual-defense treaty.

BETWEEN IMPERFECT ALTERNATIVES

The choice is between imperfect alternatives and we think it is the wiser, sounder course to take the alternative that is more likely to turn out better for the United States and the free world.

Therefore we propose:

First, that while the United States should not in any way weaken its warning to Communist China to keep hands off Formosa and the Pescadores, this country make it a strict policy not to run risks, in the waters of the coastal islands, likely to involve the United States in war.

Second, that the possibility of achieving a cease-fire be explored to the fullest notwithstanding the denunciations of a truce by Chiang and the rejection by Chou En-lai, Chinese Communist diplomat, of a U. N. cease-fire conference, except on extreme terms that Chiang could not accept. Inside the U. N. or on the outside, through some such grouping as the British Commonwealth States which met at Colombo, Ceylon, the search for a fair cease-fire formula must go on.

Third, that plans be undertaken for an eventual solution of the problem of Formosa as an international responsibility. This might take the form of a U. N. trusteeship. It might evolve as an international protectorate under the watchful eyes of the nations of southeast Asia which recently concluded a defense pact for their part of the world similar to NATO for the Atlantic area.

This might well mean that the United States would be forced to send troops to Formosa to participate in an international army. But by some means Formosa's integrity must be secured for the Formosan people either through the U. N. or other international agency. If the prospect does not look

too bright, we must not forget that the U. N. stopped military aggression in Korea.

PROBLEM OF CHIANG'S TROOPS

Fourth, that the difficult question of the disposition of Chiang's troops (in the event of a cease-fire and the securing of Formosa) be approached as a matter similar to the problem of the prisoner exchange following the Korean war. Some of Chiang's troops doubtless would be glad to return to the mainland and their homes and families if they had the opportunity. Others could not return without being killed.

Fifth, that a climate be developed which would enable the free world to place trust in pledges from the Communist side—something not now possible. This would require the observance by the Communists of the truce in Korea. It would require the freeing of American and other U. N. personnel now held in prison. It would require full respect by the Communists for the integrity of the remaining free areas of Indochina and observance of a cease-fire in the Chinese civil war if a truce should be worked out.

Conceivably these steps, if taken in fully demonstrated good faith, could lead to the eventual admission of the Peiping government to the U. N. as the government-in-fact of China. The very thought of Communist China at the U. N. is repugnant to Americans who have been outraged repeatedly by

Red Chinese inhumanity.

Yet admission of the Chinese Communist government to the U. N. would be no more than recognition of a geographical reality that can be seen from looking at the map. It would not mean approval of the inhumane acts of Red China any more than the presence of the Soviet Union at the U. N. means our indorsement of the Kremlin and its totalitarian rule.

UPSETTING TO SENATOR KNOWLAND

Admission of the Peiping Government to the U. N. would come, if it ever came, only after a demonstration that Red China had learned the meaning of peaceful coexistence. No less a person than John Foster Dulles himself made a statement last March of the terms under which Red China might conceivably enter the U. N.

Some of these proposals will be anathema to Chiang. Some of them will bring outcries from Senator Knowland, of California, who has been Chiang's chief apologist in the Senate for nearly 10 years. Admittedly they run the risk of sharpening the foreign policy division within the President's party in Congress. This is regrettable, but it is a congress that the Eisenhower administration must face sooner or later.

No American citizen who cares for the future of his country wants the Communist areas of the world to spread further. He does not want appeasement. He does not want a Munich in the Far East. And he is ready if necessary to fight to keep Communist aggressors from taking over vital areas that could be used as stepping stones.

Neither does the citizen want a hydrogen bomb in his backyard as the result of some wholly unnecessary incident. And the unguarded trigger that might put that bomb in his backyard is thousands of miles away in the Far East.

PRESSURES ON THE PRESIDENT

The pressures on President Eisenhower for deeper involvement are tremendous. They come from his highest military leader, Admiral Radford, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and other officers of high rank. To his great credit, the President has resisted these pressures up to now.

A year ago the President said the free nations should do what they can to "work out a practical way of getting along" in the world. In this new crisis that still must be our goal.

The President needs the benefit of public opinion to enable him to resist the continuing pressures for involvement. He needs more than ever the country's help in working out that practical way of "getting along."

What this country may be required to do in connection with an eventual defense of Formosa, no one can fortell. But the Chinese civil war, as it swirls about the small coastal islands—the Tachens, Quemoy, and Matsu—is another war to stay out of.

What America Can Learn From Asian Students

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ARTHUR G. KLEIN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. KLEIN. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Chester Bowles, former United States Ambassador to India, and an old friend for whom I have great respect and admiration, has written for the Institute for International Education about what America can learn from the Asian students. The increasing importance of our relations with Asia points up the significance of such thinking as Mr. Bowles expresses. What he says seems to me to deserve wide reading and reflection:

WHAT AMERICA CAN LEARN FROM THE ASIAN STUDENTS

(By Chester Bowles)

The 1,800 students from India who are now studying in America, and hundreds more from other Asian nations, have paid us the compliment of coming to our country to obtain their education, so that they may return to participate more effectively in the building of their new nations.

I would like to pay them a compliment by suggesting that they have a great deal to teach America. During their stay I earnestly hope they will share with us not only their knowledge of Asia, but also the faith in American democracy which brought them here.

Many Aslan students with whom I have talked have expressed their surprise at the ignorance of even well-educated Americans on the history and culture of Asia. I am afraid that they are only too right. Of the 50 or more universities and colleges which I have visited in the last year, only one—West Point—had a standard, well-attended undergraduate course in Asian history. For most Americans in primary and secondary schools as well as in college, world history has been the history of the Greco-Roman-European world, perhaps beginning with the Egyptians. These narrow dimensions no longer encompass our world, and we have a lot of homework to do.

Asian students can contribute enormously if they will help to introduce us to broader horizons with particular emphasis on the awakening new world of the East.

Not only do we need to know something about the old and significant history of such civilizations as India, and such religions as Hinduism, Mohammedanism, and Buddhism, but we need to know the exciting events of this century. If we are to talk persuasively with dynamic modern Asia, we must know the story of the independence struggle in new nations like Indonesia and Burma, and the stories of such men as Gandhi. We need to understand why a social revolution is

impelling Asia now to demand land reforms and economic development.

When we know some of the facts of Asian poverty, when we know about the half of Nehru's adult life that he spent in British prisons, then we will see why independence, reforms, and development are not just problems that take priority but passions that brook no delay.

There is another way, fundamental to today's complex world, in which these young visitors from abroad can help us. Many Asian students have told me that they are impressed with the fears that grip America today and with our rather negative and narrow reaction to the problems which confront free men everywhere.

America, they point out, was built, not out of fear, but out of faith. Our public school system, or community life, our labor organizations, our TVA's and our churches are living expressions of America's faith in the concept of expanding freedom and opportunity for all men.

Why then, they ask, do you seem to lose touch with this great positive American concept that has created so much for your own people and which has so much to offer the whole free world?

Most thoughtful Americans will agree that this question is pertinent. Nevertheless, Asians, anxious to know the real America, should seek to understand the incredible strain and pressures to which we have been subjected in the last few years.

When the war was over we anxiously sought the friendship and goodwill of all peoples including the Russians who had fought so valiantly in the struggle against the Nazis.

For generations we had felt close to the Chinese, thousands of whom were educated in American unievrsties. In the postwar years we wanted not a cold war or a bleak coexistence, but friendship, understanding, and an opportunity to work with all people towards a better world.

The harsh realities of the postwar world hit us with unexpected and brutal force. Instead of the constructive comradeship of friends, allies, and former enemies working constructively through the United Nations, we found ourselves faced with the bitter, unrelenting antagonism of the Communist movement, bent on overruning Europe and eventually Asia and the world.

In 1950 as we debated the question of Communist China's recognition, the United Nations was suddenly faced with aggression in Korea and eventually an all-out attack by the Chinese armies. In the following years 33,000 young Americans were killed, and there was scarcely a town in America that did not again feel the impact of war.

In the confusion and uncertainties of the last few years we have, as most Americans must agree, placed too much faith in military power alone, while neglecting the great basic strengths of our democratic tradition. We have often been forgetful of our own struggle against colonialism, and in the interest of military expediency we have seemed willing to prop up decrepit colonial regimes in Asia and Africa.

Ironically, Asian students who come to America are sometimes more conscious than we of the fundamental American democratic concepts which for generations have inspired the freedom movements throughout the world. If they will seek sympathetically to understand our own hopes and fears for the future, they can bring a fresh, clear perspective about America's great potential influence and strength which may help to restore our own sense of values and to regain for us greater confidence in ourselves and the freedoms on which our Nation has been built.

Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, Wilson, and Franklin Roosevelt are names which are known and revered by every thoughful, educated Asian. If these great men of the American past could sit around a table today with such Asian leaders as Soekarno, U Nu, Nehru, and Magsaysay, they would, I be-lieve, share much the same viewpoint and the same hopes for the future.

The language with which America is capable of speaking to the world is a universal language which can arouse the people in remote villages, in the crowded cities of Tokyo, Bangkok, and Calcutta, in the universities and government offices. It is a language with which Asian students, who in some ways have been forced to come to grips more closely than we with the realities of mankind's struggle for survival in a complex and tortured world, are fully familiar,

While we improve our Voice of Americaby putting it on the side of Asian freedom and reform as well as against Asian communism-we should listen also to the Asian voices to America. When Asian students come here or when Asian leaders speak to us in their own parliaments and in the United Nations, we should listen to them, disagree with them, if we must, but listen. They

have much to teach us.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any execu-tive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

DISTRIBUTION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commis-sioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), copies of the daily RECORD, of which I shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and 1 at the Capitol.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congres-SIONAL RECORD, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional RECORD semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44, SECTION 182b. SAME; ILLUS-TRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS.-No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is

respectfully invited:

1. Arrangement of the daily Record .- The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily Record as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. Type and style.—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the Congressional Record, in 71/2 -point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the RECORD shall be printed in 61/2-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. Return of manuscript.-When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the RECORD issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. Tabular matter.-The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. Proof furnished .- Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance speeches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. Notation of withheld remarks .- If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words "Mr. - addressed the Senate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the RECORD.

7. Thirty-day limit.-The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided. That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committ

8. Appendix to daily Record.—When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional Record Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been

previously printed.

10. Official reporters.—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place in the proceedings.

11. Estimate of cost.—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the Congressional Record by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. Illustrations.—Pursuant to section 182b, title 44, United States Code (as shown above). requests for authority to insert an illustration the Record should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. Corrections .- The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided further, That no Member of Congress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.



Appendix

American Foreign Policy

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ALEXANDER WILEY

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, last week it was my privilege to address an all-university convocation of students at the University of Cincinnati on the subject of American foreign policy.

I send to the desk now the text of my speech, and ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the Recogn

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows;

American Foreign Policy and the Problem of Communism

(Address by Senator Alexander Whey, Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, at all-university convocation of students, University of Cincinnati, February 4, 1955)

I am delighted to have the opportunity to address this distinguished and learned audience. I always regard it an honor to address an academic group of this kind. It is a special honor to appear before such an audience in this great State which has given our Nation one of its foremost families: I speak of the Tafts of Ohio.

THE RESOLUTION ON FORMOSA

I speak to you at a critical juncture in the affairs of this Nation. Last week the United States Congress with only 6 dissenting votes authorized the President of the United States to use our Armed Forces to Protect the islands of Formosa and the Pescadores from possible attack by Communist China. The facts are relatively simple, but the possible consequences are great.

Every competent military man I have talked with in recent years including General MacArthur, General Marshall, General Bradley, General Wedemeyer, Admiral Radford, Admiral Carney, and General Ridgwey, to name but a few, agree that if Formosa were to fall into unfriendly hands it would seriously jeopardize the security interests of this Nation. Our great base at Okinawa would be flanked. Attack on the Philippine Republic would be threatened. Japan would be exposed to Communist military threat. And the whole of southeast Asia might eventually be in danger of falling like a ripe plum into the maw of communism.

It was the purpose of President Elsenhower, supported by a nearly unanimous Congress, to draw a line, to make it clear to Communist China that this Nation felt that its self-preservation would be endangered by further Communist expansion in the western Pacific.

Wars have resulted in the past from misjudgments as to when a Nation believes its vital interests are endangered. The resolution passed last week will make it crystal clear to Communist China that we believe our vital interests would be endangered if Formosa and the Pescadores are threatened by military force

by military force.

In order to understand the need for this action, I propose to review with you tonight the threat to freemen which is posed by communism and then to examine what we are doing about it internally and externally. I then will consider some of the attitudes which we as Americans must cultivate and develop so that we may be true to the heritage of freedom to which we are heir.

POSSIBILITY OF A CEASE-FIRE

First, however, let me refer briefly to the possibility of a cease-fire in the Formosa area. The resolution which the Congress passed contains a very significant provision. It provides that the authority granted the President is to expire when the peace and security of the area are assured by, and I quote. "International conditions created by action of the United Nations or otherwise."

Last Monday the Security Council of the United Nations met to begin discussion of some method to bring hostilities in the Formosa area to an end. It will be necessary, if these negotiations are to be successful, for Communist China to participate. Indeed, the charter requires that parties to disputes considered by the United Nations are not to be excluded.

During the past few days, a good many people have indicated their fear that if Communist China participates in negotia-tions for a cease-fire, this will be the first step toward admitting Communist China to the United Nations. I cannot share these fears. Our negotiations through the United Nations are designed to stop the fighting, because as long as shooting is going on in this area there is a very real danger that hostilities may spread. I am confident that our negotiators at the United Nations, led by former Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, under the guidance of President Eisenhower, will not be parties to any cease-fire arrangement which would involve a surrender of the basic principles for which we stand. I am not nearly as fearful of what might happen as the result of negotiations in the United Nations to bring about a cease-fire, as I am fearful of possible consequences of failure to stop the shooting. It seems essential to me that if the American people, through their representatives in Congress, have been willing to give President Eisenhower broad authority to use our Armed Forces to protect Formosa, we must also be willing to rely on his good sense and ability to negotiate a cease-fire without imperiling our vital in-

EXPANSION OF COMMUNISM

For many of us communism is nothing new. We have been living with it for a long time—since 1918, to be exact. We have watched it grow in four decades from a small band of Petrograd revolutionaries led by Lenin to a force enveloping some 800 million people and extending over 14½ million square miles of the earth's surface. Little did we realize in 1918 that communism would today be so extensive and so menacing a threat to our free civilization.

Soviet territorial aggrandizement, which began with the conquest of Russia herself, has continued with unrelenting drive. Much of Eastern Europe is under Soviet control. And in the Far East, communism has enveloped China, North Korea, and North Viet-

nam, while in other areas of Asia and the Western Pacific communism has mounted strong forces of infiltration and envelopment.

NATURE OF COMMUNISM, THE PEOBLEM OF OUR TIME.

Fundamentally, communism is hostile to everything we stand for. It is hostile to democracy; to our economic system; and to our religious and cultural values. It seeks to destroy the humane ideals inherent in democratic doctrine. It thrives on the miseries of mankind. Its gospel is one of hatred, fear, and distrust. It is nourished by poverty, disharmony, and discord. A dangerous force inspired by false messianic hopes, communism teaches deceit, treachery, and terrorism and seeks totality of conquest in the realm of both the physical and the spirtual. Its methods are criminal; its philosophy is godless; its way of life is a way of death for mankind. Communism professes to give man a paradise on earth; but instead it gives man only the chains of slavery, an eternity of human bondage.

The threat of communism is the problem we Americans must face today. There is no easy solution. There is no panacea; no patent cure. There is no escape to isolationism.

ent cure. There is no escape to isolationism. I am reminded of a cartoon appearing in a New York magazine a few years ago. It depicted a rather rotund, middle-class gentleman of 50, reclining in a comfortable hammock suspended between two trees behind his comfortable suburban home. In his one hand he had a drink and in the other a newspaper. This man could have been a happy man relaxing there on a delightful summer's day. But obviously he was not, for he remarked, in a note of resigned exasperation: "What a great world this would be if it weren't for the Russians."

We cannot wish away our troubles. We have to face up to the great challenge of our day. I am happy to say that we have, and we shall continue to do so. We must, because our own lives, the life of our Nation, and even the life of western civilization depend on it.

AMERICAN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNISM: INTERNAL

The American approach to the problem of communism has been a dual approach. It has been internal and external; and necessarily so, because rarely if ever is foreign policy something separate and distinct from domestic affairs. In the realm of domestic affairs we have met the Communist menace in a variety of ways. We have taken steps to preserve the internal security of our Nation against Communist subversion. We have met the internal Communist problem by the continued maintenance of a free, vigorous, expanding, and prosperous economy.

I want to emphasize particularly the importance of this factor. Basic to the whole structure of our foreign policy is the economic strength of our Nation. It is upon the economic foundation of our Nation that there has been built a foreign policy the main features of which have required vast outlays of capital and goods in foreign aid and vast expenditures for national defense. Were it not for the strength, vitality and expansiveness of our economy it would not have been possible to sustain the global political commitments which we have assumed.

A final factor in the domestic aspects of our effort to meet the problem of communism is the dedication and resolution of our great President, Dwight D. Eisenhower, to maintain the high standard of progress achieved by America in the past decades. Communism is nourished by poverty and misery—the twin cancers which can destroy a vigorous and free society. But so long as we are motivated by the desire to insure freedom from want for all of our citizens we have little to fear from domestic communism.

AMERICAN APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNISM; EXTERNAL

In the external aspects of our approach to the Communist problem we must continue to be guided by basic principles which to my mind are vital to the ultimate success of our

foreign policy.

In the first place, it should always be our fixed policy to secure and maintain world peace. That is basic to our action last week regarding Formosa. To be sure, world peace is a difficult goal to achieve; but we must never diminish our zeal or falter in our resolve to accomplish that ojbective, whatever the obstacles. We are not a warlike people; we are a peace-loving people who have only engaged in wars of self defense and then only after grave provocation.

We have demonstrated our interest in world peace by our participation in the United Nations. There are many who would find flaws in the United Nations. It is my conviction that the United Nations is a vital instrumentality for world peace—if the members would only use it. The fault lies with the member states and not with the

United Nations.

Personally, I am proud of our role in helping to build the United Nations and in supporting it. It is the best instrument through which we may seek to fulfill our policy of

assuring world peace.

In the second place, our foreign policy must continue to be based upon a global concept. Our interests and our commitments are global. So are the interests and commitments of our Communist adversaries. This means we must keep ourselves constantly in a position to give the uncommitted people of this earth a chance to contrast the Communist way of life with the free way of life.

The third principle for the success of our foreign policy is the continued emphasis upon collective security. We cannot go it alone in any vigorous effort to checkmate Communist expansion. Basic to our foreign policy is the support of our allies, in NATO, ANZUS, SEATO, and the other pacts of collective security such as the Rio Pact. We must maintain the strength and vitality of this network of engagements, bearing in mind in all diplomatic conduct the need for solidarity among our friends.

Bipartisanship, or nonpartisanship as I call it, is another principle that must be maintained if we are to be successful in our foreign policy. I do not mean that there should be no criticism of foreign policy. On the contrary, when criticism is warranted and where it will be constructive, it should be made without hesitation. Our democracy thrives on the free interplay of Ideas so that out of the clash of conflicting views carried on in statesmanlike debate the most reasonable course of action will emerge.

It is the duty, indeed, the moral obligation, of every legislator, whatever his party, to voice dissent when in his conscience a given policy is open to criticism. If criticism is to be made, however, it ought to be constructive, state-manlike, and patriotically inspired. In the realm of foreign affairs there is no room for irresponsible charges, demagogic exhortations, and petty carping that exploits the fears of a people, sows discord, and creates doubt where there should be courage, unity and confidence.

UNITY IS NECESSARY

I have said time and again that partisan politics should stop at the water's edge. The eyes of the politician should not be fixed upon the next election but rather upon the next generation. I would like to say emphatically that I am confident that the American people have nothing to fear on this score. I feel sure President Eisenhower and Secretary Dulles will establish and maintain a system of real and meaningful consultation with both parties on major issues that arise in the conduct of our foreign policy.

The passage of the resolution on Formosa demonstrated once again this kind of solidarity. Many people, I know, argued that President Elsenhower already possessed ample authority under the Constitution to use our Armed Forces in defense of Formosa and the Pescadores without the consent of the Congress.

But that was not the real issue. The real issue was whether the President and the Congress would join hands and display the kind of unity that gives weight and substance to American policy. The Senate vote of 85 to 3—together with a similarly heavy House vote—let the Communists know in no uncertain terms exactly how America feels about the defense of Formosa.

A STRONG MILITARY ESTABLISHMENT

In addition to the guiding principles of foreign policy which I have mentioned it is necessary that we continue to maintain a strong military establishment if we are to succeed in our struggle against communism. Military and foreign policy are inextricably interrelated; they cannot be separated; they must be designed to work in concert with one another. More than ever before the success of American foreign policy without power is meaningless.

The world today is divided into armed camps, and however much we may wish to ignore the realities of tension and struggle, we cannot do so. Our diplomatic commitments are many; they are far reaching; they are global in scope. To support these commitments we must maintain a strong defense structure. Our commitments must square with the realities of our national interest; our military establishment must be maintained in proper proportion to the extension of our political commitments.

Thus, we must continue to maintain a strong Navy, Air Force, and Army, however great the personal sacrifice for each one of us. We must have a trained and ready Reserve upon which to draw in time of emergency. We must maintain a strong continental-defense system. In this day of Abombs, H-bombs, intercontinental ballistic missiles, and supersonic air speed we cannot quibble about cost of such a defense. The stake is great; it my well be our national existence.

We ought never to forget that the countries of the Communist bloc have a standing armed force of over 11 million men, with a great manpower potential held in reserve. We ought never to forget that Soviet Russia has a first-rate air force with intercontinental bombers. We ought never to forget that Soviet Russia has a navy second only to the United States Navy. We ought never to forget that Soviet Russia, too, has weapons of mass destruction. We must be on our guard; we must be vigilant.

I have often said—and I repeat now—that if our foreign policy is to be respected, our Armed Forces must be kept in balance with our security commitments throughout the world. I wonder, therefore, whether we are not making a serious mistake by reducing our Armed Forces at the very time we are taking on additional commitments in the Pacific.

A final factor in the determination of the external aspects of our approach to the Communist problem is the vital need to maintain limited amounts of foreign economic aid, especially in the Far East. Much can

be done, especially in underdeveloped areas, through programs of technical assistance to build the elements of resistance to Communist aggression. We must have military bases abroad—no one doubts that; but we must also seek bases in the hearts of men. That we can do at least in one way by carrying on—yes, even extending—our program of technical assistance.

SOME REQUIREMENTS FOR EFFECTIVE FOREIGN RELATIONS

Such is the problem facing us today, and such are the ways of facing up to this problem. This is indeed a time of trouble for all of us. The demands upon all of us are far greater than ever before in our national history. What, then, are some of the requirements for carrying on effective foreign relations?

In the first place, we must be mindful of the innate prejudices that we ourselves have and also the prejudices that foreign people have toward us. Knowing these prejudices we must counteract them with reason, and thus seck to establish a better bond of rela-It is well known that foreign folk, especially Europeans, think that we are a headstrong, impulsive, and sometimes irresponsible people. We are an energetic, optimistic, confident people—that we shall never deny. Unfortunately our critics abroad not differentiate between official frrespon-Unfortunately our critics abroad do sibility and individual irresponsibility. often are they led to believe that the irresponsible comment of one American represents the true attitude of the American people and even the Government and administration itself. The press, foreign and domestic, thrives on news especially of an irregular and sensational nature. And more often than not the minority-even individual-opinion is represented as being the prevailing thought, which is in fact far from the truth.

Our friends abroad must realize that despite some outward manifestations of excitability, we Americans are at bottom a conservative people. We are not precipitate in our actions. Rather we are cautious, generally slow to anger, and sometimes even slow to act. Certainly in our relations with the Soviet Union we have displayed a remarkable, if not heroic, amount of self-restraint.

AMERICAN EXPERIENCE AND RESPONSIBILITY

Some of our friends abroad also believe that in matters of foreign affairs we are inexperienced—a child with a new and dangerous toy. Perhaps, if centuries of diplomatic
history are to be the criterion, we are indeed
inexperienced. The older powers of the
world have lived with their problems for a
long time. For us, it has not been so long.
However, it seems to me that experience in
foreign affairs is measured not by time but
by action. With this as a criterion I believe
we can conclude that we are not without
experience in diplomacy.

Since 1898, America has been an active participant upon the state of world affairs. During that period we have matured and our diplomatic abilities have sharpened. We have played a role in the great diplomatic crises of the century; we have adjusted ourselves to the demands of our national interests and responsibility. We have produced outstanding diplomats, many of whom stand in the forefront of the world's greatest. But more important, it seems to me, the American people have been willing to accept the responsibility of world leadership which has been thrust upon them. Experience should be equated with knowledge and maturity. Certainly the realization of our new role in world affairs and the acceptance of it are truly marks of great maturity.

Undoubtedly, one of the gravest misconceptions colonial peoples have about us concerns colonialism. There is a misconception in Asia that we support colonialism. The

very existence of this misconception is a measure of the success of Communist propaganda. America does not sustain colonial-Our Secretary of State has made this abundantly clear by such statements as: ' do not seek to perpetuate western colonial-ism": and "The United States will never fight for colonialism." We ourselves are a former colonial people. We threw off the bonds of colonialism over 175 years ago. The underlying concept of our democracy is the right of self-determination of people. These are facts, I believe, that the Asians must be helped to understand because this is the true spirit of America. Moreover, we must help them see that the attitude of the Communists on the colonial question is a contradiction: On the one hand they denounce imperialism and colonialism; and yet communism is-the greatest force of imperialism and colonialism in modern times.

THE NEED FOR SELF-EXAMINATION

Americans, too, have innate prejudices that must be overcome in our relations with people in foreign lands. We must be tolerant of those unlike ourselves. Deep in the American consciousness is a trace of antiforeignism which has been nourished by the effects of our historic concept of "no entangling alliances." We must accept foreign folk on their own terms and not expect from them the same customs, likes and dislikes, beliefs and standards of behavior as ourselves. We are all brothers under the Fatherhood of God. Fortunately, as a Nation derived from numerous nationalities, we have demonstrated that we know the secret of how different peoples can get along together.

Clearly associated with the cultivation of a proper attitude toward other peoples is the need for self-examination—that is, to see ourselves as others see us. If we want peoples in foreign lands to respect our way of life and to be influenced by it, we must do all in our power to be an example before the world. Self-criticism is in many ways a noble practice; but it is still a nobler virtue to practice what one preaches.

Perhaps one of the great fears of our foreign friends is the fear that America will withdraw into herself, donning the cloak of isolation and rejecting the role of world leadership. Certainly among us there is sometimes a longing to return to the less turbulent days of the 19th and early 20th centuries. Life was peaceful, relatively easygoing and uncomplicated then. But the fears that there will rise a neoisolationism as manifested in the fortress-of-America concept are groundless. Americans have accepted their role of world leadership—perhaps the greatest diplomatic revolution of modern times. We have set our hand to the plow, and we shall never turn back

PATIENCE IS NECESSARY

A second requirement for the success of our foreign relations especially today is the need for patience and forbearance. We are an energetic people; we are a dynamic, vigorous people who are used to seeking quick results from our work. We have never known what it is to wait patiently in an atmosphere highly charged with emotion. In foreign affairs especially we must display a type of Galilean forbearance never before demanded of us. We must always bear in mind the larger problem rather than the purely localized one. We must take the large view; weigh the consequences; and above all else, we must be patient.

Diplomacy, it has been said, is the art of letting the other fellow have your way. It is the art of achieving in a realistic world what is possible and practicable. Seldom does the diplomat obtain solutions in an absolute sense. Solutions, such as they are, come only after painstaking negotiations, and with many disappointments, setbacks,

and frustrations. And then these negotiations may well result in something far less than the original objective. If this were a perfect world, solutions would be as we desired them. But the world is far from perfect. Patience is, therefore, highly important, especially in a democracy where public opinion determines so much the course of diplomacy. Patience and forbearance are not necessarily elements of weakness. There can be and there often is courage in patience; resolution in forbearance; and wisdom in self-restraint.

AN INFORMED PUBLIC

Then, my friends, to maintain an effective foreign policy there is the need for informed opinion. In the conduct of foreign relations and in the laying down of policy there is no substitute for clarity of thought, soundness of judgment, intelligence, and knowledge. Knowledge dispels fear, combats irresponsibility, sobers the excited and the impatient, and lights the path before us. In our Government, in the executive departments, and in Congress we must always have well-trained, intelligent people, informed in the complexities of world affairs and capable of coping with the many problems that arise from them.

And among our people there must be an informed public opinion. This is very important. It was William Henry Seward, a founder of the Republican Party and one of our greatest Secretaries of State, who said, "The policy of the United States is not a creature of the Government, but it is an inspiration of the people."

Our foreign policy is an inspiration of the people. It behooves us, therefore, to have an informed public opinion; for the quality of our foreign policy can rise no higher than the level of our people, their inteiligence, their interests, and their willingness to participate in world affairs. We must have a citizenry aware of the pitfalls in foreign affairs; conscious of our own limitations; and fully cognizant of the depth and breadth of our problems in the world.

Here I want to emphasize the importance of our instruments of communications in relation to foreign affairs. The responsibility of our newspapers, magazines, learned periodicals, and especially the radio and television media is considerable in the formation of an informed opinion. In a democracy a responsible press and a public-minded radio-television network play a role of inestimable value in contributing to the success of foreign policy.

The greatest source of an informed public is, however, our educational system. Destroy our schools, close our universities, exile our teachers and professors, interdict communication of knowledge, and our great Nation would disintegrate and perish. Conversely, if we are to fulfill our destiny as a great nation, if we are to have an informed public and able leadership; and if we are to have a sound structure of government, we must have a vigorous and expanding educational system. Our Nation depends on it; our Government depends on it; the free world depends on it.

It is axiomatic to say that our schools, colleges, and universities give us our future leaders. But the obligations and duties of our educational institutions go beyond that because they are beacons of enlightenment for our Nation as a whole. They are the real foundations of an intelligent public opinion upon which the direction of our foreign policy depends so much.

THE DANGERS OF COEXISTENCE

Let me illustrate one point. Today we hear Moscow sounding the soft and gentle chords of peaceful coexistence. That message has attracted much attention throughout the world and well it should because it

comes from the world's principal aggressor and because it might appear to some to promise what the world desires most: Peace. However, if we analyze this theme carefully in the light of past experience and present world conditions; if we analyze this theme in terms of communistic philosophy, we can only come to the conclusion that peaceful coexistence is purely a ruse, a clever propaganda device intended to disarm the vigilant, to undermine the vitality and destroy the cohesion of the anti-Communist world. It is not peaceful coexistence the Soviets want; it is peaceful infiltration.

Let it never be forgotten that the present rulers of Moscow are not only the heirs but they are the students, the coworkers of Stalin. It was they who labored with Stalin to make the Soviet Union what it is today, and with some minor exceptions the course of their policy and their ultimate objective are no different from Stalin's.

This theme of peaceful coexistence cannot be combated with guns, warships, alrelanes, A-bombs, or H-bombs. It can only be combated with knowledge; knowledge of the Soviet Union; knowledge of the strategy and tactics of communism; knowledge of world affairs today within the context of the East-West power struggle.

THE NEED FOR FAITH AND CONFIDENCE

The final factor in determining the requirements for effective foreign relations is the need for faith and confidence. I believe that one of the greatest cohesive forces in a democracy is faith and confidence. To the working of a democratic system of government faith and confidence are fundamental; for they establish a bond of affection without which there can be no unity of purpose, nor can there be efficient government, marked national progress or success in foreign relations. In a democracy we must put into practice the simple doctrine of Master to love thy neighbor. Upon this simple but monumental doctrine rests the requirements for success in a democracy. If ever our Republic shall come upon unhappy times, it will be because we have lost our faith and lost our confidence. Fear of our neighbor, distrust of our own abilities, suspicion of those who govern us, disbellef in a Supreme Being—they are the heresies that lead to destruction. If they consumed us, they could destroy the foundation of our Nation.

We must have faith in our President. We must rely upon his good judgment as Chief Executive and as representative of all the people. We must have faith and confidence in our elected representatives in Congress. We must likewise have faith and confidence in our Government as a whole, our leaders in defense and diplomacy, our men and women in the Foreign Service, and our leaders in State and local government.

Most of all we must have faith and con-

Most of all we must have faith and confidence in our neighbors, and faith and confidence in ourselves. We are by nature an optimistic people and in our zeal we must guard against the excesses of exaggerated self-confidence. Our limitations we must know; and in all our actions we must be guided by a sense of high moral purpose and also by a reverence for reason.

America is a nation whose roots are embedded in the 18th century age of reason. Its roots are likewise embedded in the rich religious traditions of the Old World. Our forefathers were men born into these traditions, and we are their children. Let us find inspiration and guidance in their moral outlook; let us find inspiration and guidance in their reverance for reason; for with reason as our guide and their moral virtue as our inspiration, we shall never fear for the future. And with faith and confidence in ourselves and in our national destiny, we shall meet successfully all challenges, however great and from whatever quarter.

Address by Hon. John W. Bricker, of Ohio, Before Edison Pioneers

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JOHN J. WILLIAMS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address delivered by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. PRICKER] before the Edison Pioneers, in New York City on February 5, 1955, in observance of the 108th anniversary of Thomas A. Edison's birth.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

EDISON, SON OF OHIO

(Address by Senator John W. Bricker before the Edison Pioneers, New York, N. Y., February 5, 1955)

It is a real pleasure for me to join with the Edison Pioneers in observing the 103th anniversary of Thomas A. Edison's birth. With Mr. Edison's birthday being February 11 and Abraham Lincoln's the day following, we are naturally led to compare the influences shaping the lives of these two great Americans.

Thomas A. Edison was born at Milan, Ohlo, on February 11, 1847. Although Edison, like Lincoln, belongs to the ages, Ohloans take special pride in the fact that his formative years were spent in the Buckeye State. Having had Edison, we in Ohlo understand the sentiment which leads the people of Illinois to describe their State as the "Land of Lincoln."

No generation is an island unto itself. Edmund Burke developed the best definition on the nature of civilized society when he said:

"As the ends of such a partnership cannot be obtained in many generations, it becomes a partnership not only between those who are living, but between those who are dead, and those who are to be born."

And so, we cannot know all about Lincoln or Edison or anyone else if we merely begin our study at the date of birth. All men are molded to some degree by local civil, political, and cultural traditions. One of the most important factors in the development of those traditions in the Northwest Territory was the ordinance of 1787.

The Northwest Ordinance was passed by the Conferederate Congress on July 13, 1787, almost 2 years before ratification of the Constitution. Provision was made for representative government whenever a prospective State should have 5,000 male inhabitants. This farsighted legislation provided for the admission of States into the Union on an equal footing with the Original States whenever any State should reach a population of 60,000. Article II of the Northwest Ordinance recognized many fundamental rights which were not in the original Constitution but added later as the Bill of Rights. Slavery in the Northwest Territory was prohibited. Article III of the Northwest Ordinance provided: "Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged."

A frontier territory divorced from tradition or run as a dependent colony from Washington could not have produced so soon after statehood such men as Lincoln and Edison. Today the Articles of Confedera-

tion and the Confederate Congress are commonly presented as horrible examples of political impotence. Yet I venture to suggest that no Congress under the Constitution has enacted into law a more beneficent piece of legislation than the Northwest Ordinance.

Neither Lincoln nor Edison had much formal schooling. This is a fact which the taxpayers of today must view with ever-increasing amazement. No responsible person, of course, advocates going back to the little red schoolhouse. We all recognize the need for more and better schools. There is no point in laboring the obvious. But regardless of the excellence of our educational plant and even if illiteracy is completely abolished, modern education will have falled unless it produces a few men of the stature of Lincoln and Edison. Who can set a price on the value of their services to the Nation?

Though formal education did not appeal to Edison, he was not anti-intellectual. At the age of 11, for example, he had read such books as Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. I suspect that not many of the current crop of 11-year-olds have tasted such intellectual fare.

Mr. Edison's recognition of the value of education was evidenced in ways too numerous to mention. He was unyielding in his insistence on concentrated thought. Framed on his laboratory wall was this quotation from Sir Joshua Reynolds: "There is no expedient to which man will not resort to avoid the real labor of thinking."

Commenting on this quotation, Edison said: "Thinking is the hardest thing in the world for those to do who have not formed the habit."

In the scientific world the mind has many mansions. Thomas Edison was primarily an inventor rather than a discoverer. Curiously enough, it was Abraham Lincoln who best explained the difference between discovery and invention. In a lyceum lecture delivered in 1860, Mr. Lincoln said: "All creation is a mine, and every man a miner. In the beginning the mine was unopened and the miner stood naked and knowledgeless upon it. * * Man is not the only animal that labors, but he is the only one that improves his workmanship."

And then Lincoln remarked how strange it was that the discovery of steam power preceded by 2,000 years its useful application.

Eleven hundred patents resulted from Mr. Edison's research in applied science. It has been said that he kept the path to the Patent Office hot with his footsteps. For me to enumerate for the Edison Pioneers his more important inventions would indeed be carrying coals to Newcastle.

We can recall with profit, however, the principal ingredients of Mr. Edison's astounding success. We might start with the three qualities which Mr. Edison on his 67th birthday cited as the secret of his success. These qualities, said Edison, were a will to work, imagination, and ambition.

A will to work marked Edison's life from boyhood. Unquestionably the industry and ingenuity of his father set the example. Samuel Edison had developed a successful business making shingles in Milan, Ohio. But when the railroad linking Toledo and Buffalo through Norwalk and Sandusky doomed Milan as a world port, Samuel Edison moved on to Port Huron. Similarly, Thomas Edison never hesitated to move to greener economic pastures.

Certainly no teen-age boy ever had more entrepreneurial experience than young Edison. After his remarkable boyhood experience he could never have had any illusions about the ability of government to produce wealth. A socialistic government, as Edison knew, could redistribute wealth but not create it. And, it may be added a socialistic economy will never produce an Edison.

Thomas Edison's imagination is to me the most fascinating aspect of his personality.

Mr. Edison himself gave us a good insight on the quality of his imagination with this story:

"Have you seen that big electric engine on the New York Central Railroad—how the power is coupled to the wheels? No? I'll tell you a story about it to show what happens to any of us when we get in a rut from knowing too much about the difficulties. Those engineers had finished the engine, all but one detail. They couldn't think of a proper way to get the power down to the wheels. That silly problem has bothered engineers all over the world. You will see if you look in how many different ways they have solved it. Well, those engineers were stuck, all in a rut. They had looked at the thing so long and knew so much about it that they couldn't see it. So they posted a notice. Five hundred dollars to anyone who could make a working suggestion. Weeks passed. Still nobody could think of a way to couple the power to the wheels.

weeks passed. Sim hobody todal think of a way to couple the power to the wheels. "One day a boy from the drafting room stopped at the chief engineer's desk and made a little scrawl of a pencil sketch. 'I don't know anything about it,' he said, 'but would this work?' The engineer looked at it and said he believed it might—and it did. You will see it working the next time you leave the Grand Central Terminal. That boy wasn't in a rut. He didn't know what the difficulties were. He just looked at the thing."

And so, Edison approached all problems with an open mind, taking nothing for granted. This does not mean, however, that Edison's inventions sprung from some spontaneous mental combustion. Edison, as you know, defined genius as 2 percent inspiration and 98 percent perspiration.

About 12 years ago the Supreme Court of the United States held that an invention within the meaning of the patent laws must be the result of a "flash of genius." This "flash of genius" test for inventions was a judicial aberration which the Congress later corrected. The most telling argument against the "flash of genius" test was that few, if any, of Thomas Edison's inventions would have been patentable. Almost as important as Edison's inventions was his method of inventing. Instead of waiting for genius to flash, he experimented endlessly, at first alone and later with a staff of competent men with whom he worked in a well-equipped laboratory.

equipped laboratory.

The intensity of Edison's ambition accounts for his almost superhuman energy.

He was not interested in money except as a means to an end. That end he described as follows:

"My desire to do everything within my power to further free the people from drudgery, and create the largest possible measure of happiness and prosperity."

It is most fitting and proper that we acknowledge each year about this time the priceless gifts resulting from Mr. Edison's fertile imagination and his indefatigable labors. America is prone, however, to accept Mr. Edison's contributions without recognizing any corresponding obligation. Unless we recognize those obligations, Mr. Edison's marvelous inventions will contribute not to happiness but to despair.

Consider, for example, the highways to knowledge and understanding opened by invention of the incandescent lamp. However, the value of Edison's greatest invention depends finally on the way we use it. Today, we can hardly imagine how difficult it was to reach before Edison gave his light to the world. Nevertheless, many of the contemporaries of Lincoln and Edison read the Bible and other great literature by candlelight. It was not uncommon to read aloud in the intimacy of the family circle. When parents today read Mickey Spillane and their children read horror comics, they depreciate Edison's great gift.

Mr. Edison was well aware of the degrading uses to which his inventions could be put. He was one of the first to protest sex and "white slave" motion pictures. He said on one occasion: "Those we make here can be witnessed by any child. If white slave pictures are to be made, I will let the other fellow make them."

We can handle the problem of obscenity without undue difficulty. However, the vul-garity and the mediocrity present in so many forms of communication is producing a mass culture which increasing numbers of thoughtful Americans view with alarm and

dismay.

More than any man in history, Edison succeeded in freeing the people from drudgery. At the same time, however, he created a problem of leisure which Americans have not yet solved. Edison's inventions did not give They merely created the opportunity for leisure. And we cannot solve the problem of leisure without a clear understanding of what the word means.

Leisure is not mere idleness. It is not the insatiable pursuit of new sensations nor a state of voluptuous sloth. No Communist understands true leisure. It is either regarded as the luxurious idleness of privileged classes, or as Karl Marx described the leisure of Communist society wherein all men would "hunt in the morning, fish in the afternoon, and make love in the eve-As Mr. Russell Kirk explains in his book, A Program for Conservatives:

"If true leisure, as distinguished from the boredom of idleness, is to be restored to the mass of men, we must relate our opportunities for leisure to the ends of life that men have pursued since time out of mind. We must remember that the Christian idea of leisure is expressed in the holy day. We must remind ourselves that a chief practical object of leisure is self-improvement, or emulation of the highest types of humanity. We must relate our leisure hours to the concerns of family, the welfare of our children, and the improvement of our homes. We ought to recall that one form of leisure is to turn from our accustomed work to another sort of work, equally productive, but less monotonous and employing individual skills."

Without the inventions of Mr. Edison most men would still be chained to their work for so long as to make true leisure impossible. But if mankind does not employ the time made available by Edison and others in meaningful leisure, it will sink into a boredom more oppressive than tyranny.

Mr. Edison had political convictions. He did not, however, trade on his reputation as a great scientist to influence public opinion on foreign or defense policy or on other political matters outside his field of special competence. In that, of course, he was not like some present-day scientists. I do not recall, for example, that he broadcast to the Nation advice on how to rewrite the immigration laws. He had none of the egotism which leads some scientists to equate scientific wisdom and wisdom in all the other affairs of life. Perhaps he knew the story about the French butcher who became involved in litigation, and not knowing any lawyer in Paris, called on each one, finally selecting the fattest to represent him.

Also unlike many scientists, Thomas Edison set up no opposition between science and religion. Edison said, for example: "Too many people have a microscopic idea of the Creator. If they would study His wonderful works as I have spent my life in doing, in the natural laws of the universe; if they would but look, they would have a much broader idea of the Great Engineer and His divine power."

We all know in a general way what happens when we snap the light switch at home. We do not know as much about the force

of electromagnetism as Mr. Edison. But in the last analysis neither Mr. Edison nor anyone else has known precisely what that force is.

All of you know the Negro spiritual:

"Ezekiel saw the wheel Way up in the middle of the air. Little wheel run by faith, Big wheel run by the grace of God, Way up in the middle of the air."

The late Garet Garrett in his book, The American Omen, observed with reference to this Negro spiritual:

"Here, besides the rare aesthetic perception to make poetical use of a mechanical image, is a profound truth. Every wheel we have is a wheel within a wheel.

wheel that runs does run by faith, though you take it to be only the faith implicit among us that the big cosmic wheel will run true and not fail. And what makes the big wheel run at all nobody knows.

So long as we retain our faith in that big cosmic wheel directed by a divine providence, the contributions of Edison and other great men of science will facilitate man's progress toward enlightenment. Without such faith the contributions of science will accelerate the speed of progress toward barbarism. In deciding between religious faith and secular knowledge as the ultimate value in life, we will fulfill or repudiate our obligation to Thomas A. Edison.

The Right-To-Work Law a Threat to America

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, in recent months Americans have read many statements, often contradictory, by the President, the Secretary of Labor, and others directly involved in labor-management relations, concerning the socalled right-to-work laws which effectively prohibit various forms of union security agreements.

I have recently received a very interesting message which was issued last month by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. I commend this message to every Member of Congress who is interested in stable labor-management relations, and I ask unanimous consent to have this 1954 message of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the statement was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE RIGHT-TO-WORK LAW: THREAT TO AMERICA

(Statement by the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists, New York, N. Y., January

The following is the 1954 message of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists for the New Year:

Sound legislative policy will ever take into account the realities of that area of activity it seeks to direct through law. It is, therefore, unfortunate that there is today so much evidence of flagrant disregard for the facts of labor-management relations in America whenever certain misnamed right-to-work

laws are passed in several of the States. The existence of these laws is a serious setback in the pattern of progress toward peaceful labor relations in the United States.

I. THE RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS AND NATIONAL LABOR POLICY

One of the cornerstones of peaceful industrial relations is a uniform national labor policy. In accord with this, America had progressed slowly and painfully toward accepting the idea of a national labor relations policy until it finally came to some realiza-tion in the Wagner Act of 1935.

The next decade saw the broad growth of American labor, but the unnatural shifts in the national economy from peacetime to wartime conditions, and then again to reconversion, were not without their effect upon labor. Among other factors, the strains upon labor-management relations, which in peacetime might have been eased by sensible action on both sides, were heightened by the necessity of certain restrictions on both labor and capital management. With the end of the war, the reaction against labor's strong place on the national scene was able to create a powerful movement for radically modifying the national labor relations policy by the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in

One of the chief provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act is that it relinquishes jurisdiction over the regulation of union security in those States and territories which have enacted more restrictive union-security legislation. As a result, the various States are free to outlaw the union shop, which many have done on the pretense of defending a man's right to work. The first effect of this provision of the Taft-Hartley Act is that it shatters the uniform pattern of collective bargaining by allowing unions to be treated differently within every State and territory of America. This is not without producing an effect upon the whole national economy, since it leaves the way open for an immediate radical variation in the wage scale of workers of different areas in the Nation.

While the right-to-work laws are passed within the various States on the principle that it is the individual State's right to determine the restrictions to be put upon unions, we are overwhelmed by the broad picture which is fast coming into focus. Whereas the supporters of the right-to-work laws oppose a national labor relations policy under Federal law, the right-to-work law movement has already assumed such national proportions that the Secretary of Labor found it necessary on December 7, 1954, to voice his opposition to a recently formed National Committee for Right-to-Work Laws.

Complex and geographically extended though it may be, there can be no denying the fact that our national economy has its own uniform identity, upon the character of which any one of innumerable and variable factors can have a profound effect. Capitalmanagement long ago accepted the idea of one national economy, and contributed towards its stabilization by developing, under governmental authority, the concepts of corporate and other forms of ownership association dependent upon widespread markets for the national investment basis of corporate business. It is reasonable, therefore, to expect that American labor so important a factor in the national economy, should also be regarded as properly the object of a single and uniform national public policy which recognizes as the foundation of the trade union the right of free association for the common good and the collorary right to those measures necessary for the securtly of that association.

Employers who are sincere in their desire to respect the rights of the workingman have learned that the enormous complexity of modern business and industry makes personal dealings impossible. The collective nature of corporate enterprise and its inherent interests, together with the equally collective nature of the society and interests into which a man enters when he exercises his right to work by taking a job—all combine to produce the necessity, on the practical level alone, for labor as well as business to organize. It is equally necessary that Government take these facts into consideration when passing upon public labor relations policy.

At present there are 17 States which have this so-called right-to-work legislation on their books, 5 other States having since repealed their so-called right-to-work laws, and similar right-to-work laws are pending in at least 6 more of the United States. The laws themselves vary to some extent in content and presentation, though many of them are carbon copies of each other. all directed, however, toward one pointelimination of the union shop. Now, the actual experience of the American labor movement has been that where some form of the union shop is not guaranteed in the contract, there is little or no chance for the union to attain that stable unity and security which is altogether necessary on the practical level if an association of workingmen is to be enabled to operate for the common good.

The bitter experience of the American workingman is that where he cannot stand in organized solidarity with his fellow workers, his further right to a just living family wage is rarely recognized, if at all. The labor movement in America has been the greatest factor in raising the standard of living of the wage-earner, in helping the individual worker to attain that level of decent living which befits his human dignity-and which, therefore, by wholesome sharing in the material goods of this world, enables him to freely exercise his mind and will in the true purpose of his life here on earth, namely the worship and love of Almighty God.

It is not the American worker who has been bleating so loudly about the need to protect a man's right to work. The new expounders of the right-to-work are those who would have the worker stand alone before them in his request to exercise that right—where they can dictate the conditions of that work—conditions which in the past have brought untold misery and hardship to the workingman.

II. THE RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS AND THE MORAL LAW

Because we are speaking here of human rights, we must ask ourselves how the right-to-work laws are to be viewed in the light of the moral law. Endowed with truly glorious human freedom by his Creator, a man has many rights and is free to exercise them. But the very number and quality of those rights demand that his freedom to exercise them be directed towards constructing a harmony in his life among all his human rights both personal and social.

Concerned as they are with this matter, we invite the supporters of those laws to scrutinize all the implications of the right to work. The right to work, as every human right, is not absolute but restricted. The right to work is restricted by the duty of the worker to respect all the rights of his fellow workers. One of these other rights is the right to organize into free associations with each other for the common good. This is a basic right of every man which has been emphasized by the Holy Fathers, especially since the time of Pope Lco XIII, whenever they have spoken of the workingman.

This right to organize includes the right to those means necessary for the security of the organizations operating for the common good. Practical experience has shown us in this country that the union shop is one of the most effective means of attaining security in the trade-union movement. Without

it, the labor union cannot devote its full time to working for the benefit of the members but must dissipate its energies in an unending struggle for its very existence.

Furthermore, there are many Catholic moralists who find in the teachings of the Popes and the precepts of the natural law a general obligation arising from man's nature to organize with his fellow man for the common good. This can, in fact, require a man in certain circumstances to join or organize a labor union.

(Although we speak of a right to work, we must recognize that a man can as often have the duty to work, both in the interests of his family's welfare, and in the interests of the common good of society. Equally important when discussing the right to work is the no less real duty on the part of those in a position to do so to provide a man with work!

Nor in speaking of the right to work and its commitment rights and duties can we pass over the fact that the union shop in the hands of racketeering or Communist labor leaders is harmful to both the workers and the employer. However, this does not destroy the labor movement's right to a union shop for the right of a worker to organize a union carries with it the grave obligation to see to it that his union operates for the common good and this common good demands respect for both the workers' and employers' rights.

It is the duty of employers and of the State to recognize the important significance of labor unions and the necessity of recognizing the rights and duties of workers in reference to the common good by positive and intelligent attitudes on their own part,

Nor are all these rights and duties of workers to be indiscriminately considered. The papal encyclicals have never tired of prompting both management and labor toward that organized cooperation which is the natural and desirable development of organization within their own respective ranks. The collective bargaining process is the keystone on which this cooperation must build itself in our present society. To deny to labor the opportunity to organize and bargain collectively is, therefore, disruptive of any possible harmony in industrial relations.

The right-to-work laws, by their elimination of the union shop—which is labor's basic element of secure organization—open the way for that spirit of class warfare which is inevitably fomented when men think of themselves as disassociated from the common good and interests of their fellow men.

Only respect and support for the rights and duties of labor and capital-management can give rise to peaceful cooperation in society. Those who strive to separate and classify the members of society, i. e., those who support either communism or extreme individualism, must necessarily, therefore, both strive for conditions under which class warfare is inevitable—for they both err in believing that that society is best in which moral responsibility does not exist.

The hidden attack on the social responsibilities of the worker which is embodied in the current right-to-work laws must be recognized as one more instance of that secularism in human affairs which the Catholic Church has always condemned and continues to vociferously condemn.

III. RIGHT-TO-WORK LAWS AND THE FAMILY

Unfortunately, these laws are a result of our inheritance of that destruction of community life which makes the individual free worker a microcosmic society—"a man unto himself"—and which thereby threatens even the sanctity of the focal point of all society—the family.

For, by undermining the security of his association with his fellow men, these laws prevent the worker from carrying out his obligations to the common good and thus

blur his conscience in those matters pertaining even to his own and his family's spiritual and temporal welfare. The subterfuge of defending the right to work cannot stand up in the face of practical experience and in the light of the real implications of a man's right to work.

IV. CONCLUSION

We ask, therefore that the right-to-work laws be reconsidered in the light of their effect upon the real meaning of the right to work and its relation to a man's other rights. We submit, furthermore, that any effort to oppose these right-to-work laws will be completely ineffective if it is not directed to-ward establishing a sound national industrial relations policy.

A Toast to Kansas

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ANDREW F. SCHOEPPEL

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. SCHOEPPEL. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an address entitled "A Toast to Kansas," delivered by Hall Smith, Jr., at the annual Kansas Day dinner on January 29, 1955.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A TOAST TO KANSAS DELIVERED BY HALL SMITH, JR., AT THE ANNUAL KANSAS DAY DINNER, JANUARY 29, 1955

Thank you, Mr. Josserand, Governor Hall, distinguished guests, my fellow Kansans, from its birth, Kansas has enjoyed a distinctiveness of character accorded no other State in the Union. The passage of the organic act that brought her into existence rekindled the smoldering fires of national To preserve the political equilibdiscord. rium of the Union it had been the policy of the Congress, from the first, to admit States in pairs, one free State for one slave State. The South had exhausted territory for expansion. The only territory available for annexation at the time was the Midwest Plains territory. The North and South made a compromise and the Kansas-Nebraska bill was passed. Kansas was to become the migratory goal for the South and Nebraska for the North. Proslave forces were fast to capitalize on the bill, and obtained control of Kansas rapidly. However, the people of Kansas were against any form of inequality and a conflict arose as the inhabitants of Kansas territory asserted their endowed rights. Irritation grew as the events of the time evidenced. Proslavery forces fired 50 cannon shots into, and then burned the Eldridge Hotel in Lawrence, which was then free State headquarters. A midnight massacre of five proslavery men on the Pottawatomle, and other such incidents earned this territory its name of "Bleeding Kansas." As the determined inhabitants became organized and began their quest for self-government, or rule by the majority, the slave element withdrew to a more healthy locale. While not being one of the Original Thirteen States, Kansas has had the privilege to first fight for her convictions and recognition for what she was, and in the victorious outcome be awarded admission to the Union in 1861, 94 years ago today. This was, indeed, a tribute to the character of the people of Kansas then as now.

It is my privilege, here tonight, to deliver the traditional toast to Kansas, which I propose to do in words not my own, but rather those of Gordon Martin, who so eloquently expressed what I am sure is the sentiment of all of us, when he said:
"You ask me, What is Kansas?

"And I reply, Kansas is all things to her sons and daughters.

"Kansas is the lilting call of the meadowlark wafted across a meadow where a rockcradled creek beckons sheep to water; the shrill whistle of the Bobwhite, a bird dog frozen on point, and the silence-shattering explosion of a shotgun.

'Kansas is the smell of moist earth in springtime, the puffing labor of a farmer's tractor, and the cheery call of a driver to his

willing horses.

"Kansas is the redbud of the Elk River Valley, the rocky glens of Atchison, and the sandhills of Kearny County. "Kansas is the mass of wheat that rolls

for miles like a golden ocean under the driving, growing rays of a summer sun, the sweat-soaked shirt of a harvest hand who pauses for a cooling drink from the waterbarrel.

"Kansas is the frosty morning when frisky animals welcome the bite of the late Oc-tober air, the swirl of snow which beats against windows while a family gathers around the hearth.

"Kansas is the oil derrick silhouetted against the blue of a boundless sky, the ruddy sunset on glowing rails sweeping ever westward, and the mesh of gears in the machines of industry.

"Kansas is appreciation for the public schoolhouse as the first great hope of a liv-ing democracy, the swelling roar of 'Rock Chalk, Jayhawk, K. U.' booming down from Mount Oread.

"Kansas is the stubborn belief in moderation and the reluctance to depart from innate conservatism, but having chosen new ways, seizes upon them with a zest to know the truth.

"Kansas is the guts to fight drought and pestilence and all adversity with a will to win.

"Kansas is the political fight that asks no quarter and gives none, the reason why the mayor of the town declares that on his main street are the most solid citizens of the Nation, the reason why the weatherman says his elements demand and breed a vigorous people.

"Kansas is the return of the native who has wandered far and comes home with full heart to the earthy strength of his forebears.

You ask me, What is Kansas?

"Why, Kansas is all things, and more, as she goes onward, sometimes inching, sometimes marching, sometimes rushing, but moving, always moving, toward a greater dawn tomorrow."

The Senate Must Be Alert To Prevent Unemployment

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAT McNAMARA

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. McNAMARA. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD certain data taken from the January 1955 Economic Report of the President, various quotations from the Employment Act of 1946, and some conclusions drawn from those data and quotations.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

The data given in the Economic Report by the President are as follows:

Year	Total employ- ment 1	Gross national produc- tion 3	Produc- tion per employed worker 1
1929 1948 1953	Millions 49. 4 62. 9 67. 3	Billions \$104.4 257.3 364.9	\$2, 110 4, 090 5, 415

¹ Table D-16, p. 153, ² Table D-1, p. 137, ³ The figure in this column is derived from the preceding columns.

Source: Economic Report of the President, January

The years shown above were prosperous years. Even 1953 was a good year before the Republican administration decided to slam on the brakes and almost threw us through the windshield.

The figures for these 3 prosperous years draw attention to the fact that, while the number of workers grew, their production grew even faster. The amount of money that had to be spent in order to keep each of these workers on the job grew with amazing speed. In 5 years, from 1948 to 1953, it jumped by \$1,325 per worker.

This growth in production per worker continues. If we were to achieve full employment in 1955, the average worker's production would probably run approximately \$5,860, nearly \$450 greater than his produc-

tion 2 years ago.

However, this increase in production would take place only if the buying power in the pockets of our people and investments by our business firms and spending by Government kept up with this astonishing growth in production.

This is not likely to happen unless this Congress decides to make it happen. My understanding is that while spending by consumers is expected to increase a little, no one expects the increase to be enough to push total spending to the necessary level in view of the drop in investment by business and in Government spending. ever, I can only guess at this, because the Economic Report sent us by the President tells us nothing about this, perhaps the most crucial single fact in the economic picture.

The result may well be that there will not be full-time jobs for all those who are able, willing, and seeking work. Millions of American homes may again feel the blight of having the breadwinner laid off. Additional hundreds of small-business men may close their doors. Small farmers may continue to feel the pinch as their incomes fall. And the goods and services that ought to be forthcoming to raise living standards for American people are likely to be choked off at the source.

In Michigan, the memory of 1954 is kept alive by the fear of what lies ahead in 1955.

Even before the auto shutdowns in late 1954, approximately 215,000 people were out of work in Michigan, with 135,000 of them in Detroit alone. The fact that the automobile industry is today borrowing jobs from the future, and that the debt will probably be paid this fall, may be the basis for something approaching disaster in Michigan be-

fore the year is over.

We cannot blame this economic failure on nature or on any other force beyond our control. The blame lies with those people in high places who refuse to plan for full production, who may even prefer that we have something less than full employment and full production.

The laws of this country place the responsibility for this situation on the President of the United States. Public Law 304, the Employment Act of 1946, declares that "it is the continuing policy and responsi-bility of the Federal Government to use all practicable means * * * to coordinate and use all its plans, functions, and resources for the purpose of creating and maintaining * * conditions under which there will be afforded useful employment opportunities, including self-employment for those able, willing, and seeking work, and to promote maximum employment, production, and purchasing power."

The act declares further, "The President shall transmit to the Congress . . gram for carrying out [this policy] together with such recommendations for legislation as he may deem necessary or desirable."

If the Senate has yet received from the President the kind of program and recom-mendations which I believe were contemplated by this act, and which would give this body the material we need, to reach the goal of full employment, I have not been able to discover it.

As a matter of fact, his economic report is silent on some of the points where it ought to be most useful. It leaves out some of the most important information that this Congress ought to have to work with.

I am sure that the Joint Committee on the Economic Report, under the chairmanship of the able and distinguished Senator from Illinois, Senator Paul Douglas, will do whatever is possible to remedy the failure of the administration to do what the act requires and the country needs. I hope that when the committee makes its recommendations, this body will be alert to do what must be done, and do it quickly, if 1955 is not to be another year of inexcusable unemployment, underproduction, and hardship for many people.

A Model for United States Propaganda

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, H. ALEXANDER SMITH

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, in my travels through various parts of the world I have frequently gone into the libraries which are maintained by the United States Information Service. and I have been impressed by the large numbers of persons in those areas who use the libraries.

In the New York Times magazine section for last Sunday, February 6, 1955, there was published an article entitled "A Model for United States Propaganda." written by Peggy Durdin, who is the wife of Tillman Durdin, chief correspondent of the New York Times in southeast Asia. Under the title of the article appeared the following sentence:

A striking instance of how democracy can win friends and influence people is the American Library in Burma.

Mr. President, the article is a very stimulating one and makes an important contribution, it seems to me, to our thinking about an important aspect of our foreign and. I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in full in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A MODEL FOR UNITED STATES PROPAGANDA—
A STRIKING INSTANCE OF HOW DEMOCRACY
CAN WIN FRIENDS AND INFLUENCE PEOPLE
IS THE AMERICAN LIBRARY IN BURMA—"IT
EXEMPLIFIES THE KIND OF AID ASIA REALLY
WELCOMES"

(By Peggy Durdin)

RANGOON.—Aside from her gold-domed pagodas and Buddhist temples, the most popular place in all Burma is a simple American library which might have been whisked overnight on a magic carpet to Asia from any town or city between Maine and California. A huge, light-filled, book-lined room on the ground floor of a British bank in Rangoon, it radiates friendliness, informality, and cheerful service in the best American tradition. Without fuss or fanfare, it has made thousands of friends for the United States in a part of the world where people sutomatically suspect and distrust the motives of the West and where the Communists' chief propaganda line is anti-Americanism.

Regarded by Washington as the most successful library the United States Information Agency has established anywhere abroad, it exemplifies the kind of aid which Asian countries really welcome. It benefits the community and is a part of it—and so is not an obvious device to sell a "bill of goods."

Every American who pays taxes for foreign aid can be proud of the way this United States institution has helped the young government of Burma-independent only since 1948-cope with Communist Insurrection and build a stable country, probably the most hopeful one in southeast Asia today. Since Burma's own Communists are in armed rebellion, since it shares a long border with resurgent China, which has historically been aggressive westward, and since a Pieping-directed embassy in Rangoon actively conspires among the local Chinese community, Burmese leaders have not needed forced feeding of propaganda from Americans understand and fight communism. What they have desperately needed—and what the American library has consistently supplied— is information and help in setting up an administration and service so effective the people would not become discontented and readily swallow the lies and promises of the Communists.

The library reaches not only officials but private citizens of all ages in every part of Burma. More than 1,300 Burmese come every day to this busy establishment. Men and women in gay sarongs pore over the racks of magazines, take notes from technical volumes, browse through the biography and fiction or, if they cannot read English, look at the brightly illustrated books in the children's annex. Pretty Burmese attendants decked with bits of glittering jewelry break with Asian custom by giving rich and poor, ragged and elegant, the same courteous attention. The patrons range from dirty little barefoot urchine, who sleep on the sidewalk at night, to dignified Buddhist monks and the highest officials of the Burmese Government.

The library's books travel by river boat, by plane, and on the backs of human porters through and into Communist-held territory, across thousands of miles of jungle and mountains. Burmese read them eagerly in an umbrella cooperative in Bassein, a school in Mandalay, a prisoner's reading room in Myitkyina, an army officers' club in Akyab, and a youth league in Moulmein. A doctor who has to perform a complicated new operation, a merchant who wants to make "sparklers," and a landowner who plans to set up a model village on his property, turn for help to the American library.

The father of a Communist university student borrowed a standard economics text-book, studied it and passed it on to his son. They discussed it together. When he returned the book the man said, "This book

gave my son the true facts. He is no longer a Communist."

A teacher in a remote Burmese village wrote the librarian, "We owe you thousands of thanks. Long live America and democracy." Another reader offered to teach Burmese to the library's American staff members free of charge in token of his gratitude.

The Burmese, official and civilian, appreciate the library because they so desperately needed it. Before the war, when Burma was a British colony, libraries were regarded as special preserves for scholars—small, gloomy places where books were hidden in a back closet or, at best, locked behind glass panes where no one could finger them.

During the 4-year period of Japanese occupation and the Pacific war, fighting and Allied bombing destroyed most of the libraries and very few books were printed or imported. At the war's end, bookstores were virtually empty and many schools had not a single textbook. Cut off from contact with the rest of the world for so long, lacking the magazines, newspapers, radio, television and newsreels that Americans take for granted, Burmese of every age in thousands of little villages were book hungry.

Then, before the country was rehabilitated, Burma got her independence. Almost immediately the country's future was jeopardized by large-scale armed rebellion, both Communist and non-Communist (and not yet wiped out completely though no longer strong enough to wreck the state). At the same time, the Burmese were faced with the tremendous tasks of rebuilding their badly damaged cities, roads and railways and setting up the entire machinery of governcentral and local administrations, tax and education systems, public health, public works ,police and defense forces. In the capital city of Rangoon and all over the rest Burma, patriotic young people, full of

ministrative experience to guide them. It was at this critical stage of Burma's development, when many of its friends wondered whether it would disintegrate into chaos, that the United States Information Agency appointed Zelma Graham to transform the little American reading room in Rangoon into a real library. A friendly, level-headed Pennsylvanian in her early forties, unmistakably and even typically American, the widow of a Baptist missionary in Burma, she had joined Dr. Scagrave's famous medical unit after Pearl Harbor and was evacuated to India just ahead of the Japanese.

enthusiasm and hope, started new jobs without much technical know-how or ad-

Then she worked for the American Army and Government in India, North Burma, West China, and Thailand. When she got the Rangoon job, she took a quick librarian's course at Columbia University and arrived in Burma when the country, like all newly independent ex-colonial Asian nations, was full of suspicions and resentments of the West.

Mrs. Graham immediately inaugurated a lending service and began to harass Washington for books. She got them; she always gets them. She set up a few simple lines of policy, as American as pumpkin pie. First of all, she produced the first physically attractive library in all Burmese history; it has gay curtains, spacious tables, comfortable chairs, and lots of space and light. The next great innovation was that books were placed on open shelves and everyone was encouraged to enjoy the hitherto unlieard-of luxury of browsing through them.

Then she trained her staff of Americans, Burmese, Indians, Chinese, and Pakistanis to disregard the demands of "face" and treat a shy, threadbare little cierk and the Chief Justice of Burma with exactly the same smiling courtesy. She made a rule, quickly recognized all over Burma, that the library would never refuse a single reasonable request for help. Her own little office is open

to everyone; if the book or information wanted is not available, she gets it from Washington, by cable if the need is urgent.

Perhaps most important of all, the library was and is designed, in solid American tradition, to be of service to the community and country, not as a propaganda device. When the sensitive and suspicious Burmese realized that propaganda was not going to be rammed down their throats, they began to throng to the American library.

Over and over again, Burmese officials, faced with new and knotty problems, have come to the library for guidance. Frequently they ask for everything the United States is doing in this field.

They want help on public water supply, low-cost housing, the architectural design of schools and gymnasiums for hot climates, census taking, improved farming techniques, character education for children, 4-H Clubs, traffic control in civil aviation, tax systems, and the training of naval cadets. The police use American books on prison reform, the FBI, juvenile delinquency, police training and methods. (One officer asked for "the American way to cutch a spy.")

When a young Government official from Burma's Far Northeast wrote in, "I am a public-relations officer for this State, but I don't know what it is. Can you tell me?" Mrs. Graham sent him the appropriate book.

The importance of adequate transportation and communications in good administration—and in fighting rebellion—is obvious. Officials of the Government-owned Burma rallways say they could not have operated without the library. Their own technical collection destroyed during the war, rebuilt and destroyed a second time by insurgents, they draft their training material from American texts. The chief engineer circulates a history of American rallroads among his staff, "to give my men a vision of what we can accomplish."

Material from the American library helped the Burmese Parliament decide to support the U.N. action on Korea in 1950. The Government constantly asks for information on the United Nations, American foreign policy, and democracy. The commission entrusted with the vital task of writing school texts for Burma has been using American schoolbooks for reference.

Thousands of individuals write or come in for specific information unavailable anywhere else in the country. "What is the Pentagon?" "Where can I locate world freight rates?" "Where can one get artificial limbs for children?"

Special loan collections of books go all over Burma to schools, to reading rooms of the Armed Forces and Government, to youth hostels and all kinds of student organizations, to a Buddhist training school for monks and to the influential Buddhist monasteries.

The books are read in little family clubs of 20 or 30 members and in community reading centers. Sometimes all the members of one of these village reading rooms pile into buses to visit the Rangoon library; several hundred Burmese—including babies slung across their mothers' hips and white-haired old grandfathers—will then spend a fascinated hour touring the library much as Americans tour the Louvre in Paris.

A member of Parliament from the far

A member of Parliament from the far Chin Hills in western Burma always takes books back with him by air when he returns to his constituency. Porters meet his plane and carry the boxes of reading material on their backs for 5 days to the various little schools in his area.

One day four stately, saffron-robed Buddhist monks walked into the library to "look at this place we have been hearing about." They explained that some of the pupils in their monastery school had told the unlikely story that everyone, even children, could come in and sit and read or take out books,

and they wanted to know whether this could actually be true. After looking around the main library and the children's annex, one of the monks said to a Burmese attendant. "America must feel really friendly to the Burmese, to give them such a good library anyone can use without paying anything."

Zelma Graham opened the children's sec-

tion-the first public library for young people in Burma's history-in early 1949, when the only equipment in many Rongoon schools was broken slate and chalk, and the few children's books available in Burma were printed on cheap, flimsy paper without any illustrations or pictures.

After the first few days, not one of the everal hundred volumes ever touched the library shelves; at least six children waited

for every book returned by a borrower. In those first few months, some books were re-covered half a dozen times. Today there are thousands of books for the 14,000 mem-

bers of the children's annex.

An important virtue of the library is that it helps to break down the barriers of nationality, religion and economic standing that separate Burmese children in their school and play. Rich or poor, Hindu, Christian, or Buddhist, they all come together in the American library. Gathered around the li-brarian will be a 12-year-old boy in a faded, threadbare sarong carrying a fat Burma cheroot; a dainty little Indian belle with black painted eyes and diamonds in her nose; a 10-year-old child with a baby slung over one slender hip; a rich little Burmese with gold earrings and buttons and flowers in her hair, and escorted by an "ayah"; a little Chinese Boy Scout in khaki; a Sikh youngster with a magnificent turban.

At the low tables, together with the youngsters, are a scattering of young men in their late teens or early 20's who are just learning English. Frequently one or two big Bud-dhist monks who can't read English at all sit among the children, their shaven heads bent intently over colored illustrations of great cities, strange animals, foreign countries,

farms, trains, and airplanes.

There is always an orderly queue of chil-dren waiting to take out books. Burmese boys and girls are not used to standing in line for things, particularly if they have money and social standing. The librarians explained to them that this was the custom in the United States. Now the children themselves tell new members, "You must stand in line. This is the way we do it in the American library."

"My son tells me he has to wait in line to get books in your library," a government official said with a frown one day to Mrs.

Graham.

Yes, he does. Everyone does," she said. "He tells me he has to stand in the same line with the servants' children."

"Yes," she answered. "It's the same line for everyone."

"Well," he said finally, with a grin, "my son seems to like it. So I guess it must be

all right." The children greatly enjoy other activities

of the library which are seldom included in their school curriculum: a weekly newspaper (the only one for young people in all Burma); exhibits of things they make themselves, like model boats and houses; singing, story telling, and play with blocks, clay, and cravons.

When Mrs. Graham tried to cut the music period from twice to once a week, a committee of Burmese about 2 feet high presented themselves before her desk and said politely but firmly in their best English: demand music, please. We demand not stop music class."

Though most of them are Buddhists, the children love to sing carols and start asking for them months before Christmas. Only once did a slight hitch arise in the music hour-the singing of "Scotland's burning;

fire! fire! fire!" had to be discontinued because of the old Burmese superstition that the prophecies of children and fools come

One important way in which the whole library contributes to Burmese-American friendship and indirectly counters Communist propaganda is that it gives the ordinary Burmese a chance to get acquainted, on his own initiative, with the real United States. Burmese ideas of America come chiefly from Communist literature and the poorer Hollywood movies.

As a result, they tend to think of the United States as a nation of selfish, wealthy moneygrubbers who cannot possibly underor sympathize with the simple people and the problems of an underdeveloped Asian country. From the library's special exhibits, books, and weekly educational films the Burmese build for themselves a much more accurate picture, one they accept because it has not been forced on them.

After watching movies on American life, people ask such questions as, "Why don't Americans lose face when they do their own housework, carry their own packages and drive their own car?" "How do communities finance all these things that Americans seem to get free?" and "What causes the high standard of living in your country?"

In addition to helping interpret America, the library itself has become a model for similar Burmese institutions; it gives short training courses to Burmese librarians and has aided the University of Rangoon and other key organizations in building up and organizing their own book collections.

No one will ever be able to measure finally the help this library has given government and individuals in Burma, the understand ing of America it has spread, or the goodwill it has created by giving good and friendly service in a simple, unassuming fashion, Selling democracy over the world is perhaps, after all, not so different from selling a car to an American. Doubtless the salesman's patter is important. But what matters in the long run—and what this American library gives-is performance.

Why the Delay on Judgeships?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Why the Delay on Judgeships?" which was published in the Bismarck Tribune of December 18, 1954.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

WHY THE DELAY ON JUDGESHIPS?

For reasons unbeknown to the public, two Federal district judgeships in North Dakota are continuing unfilled.

Senator Langer, of North Dakota, charged this week that the American Bar Association was the source of opposition to the nomination of the 2 men apparently slated for ap-pointment to the 2 judgeships. They are Clifford Jansonius, of Bismarck,

and Ronald N. Davies, of Grand Forks.

Meanwhile, the backlog of Federal court work continues to pile up in North Dakota. Meanwhile, also, the former Federal district judge in North Dakota, Charles J. Vogel, of Fargo, continues on a temporary basis to handle court work in this district despite his elevation to the eighth circuit court of appeals.

Insofar as is publicly known. Dakota opposition, political or otherwise, to the appointment of at least Jansonius has been expressed. If there is opposition to the Bismarck lawyer in this State, no one has stated it publicly.

On the contrary, Senator Langer, leader of one Republican faction in the State, has indicated he is pressing for nomination of both Jansonius and Davies. Senator Young, affiliated with the other faction, has indicated that both nominations suit him. GOP National Committeeman Milton Rue, of Bismarck has endorsed both. This is almost as unanimous as political backing for appointments like this could be. It is unlikely that more unanimity could be attained with other nominees.

It should not be necessary to prolong this impasse. If Jansonius and Davies are nominated, they will almost certainly be confirmed by the Senate. If they are to be nominated, why not get on with it and have the two posts filled? If they are not to be nominated, why not bring the reasons for it—and the source of it—out from behind the bushes and let the public have a look at it?

Federal judgeships, like all public offices, elective and appointive, are the people's business and not the private property of the American Bar Association or of politicians. The continuing delay in this matter, with no precise public explanation of the reason for it, is becoming embarrassing. What's behind it? An explanation, and action, are

Our Kansas Birthday

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an article entitled "Mother Kansas, 94, Hale and Hearty," by Rolla A. Clymer, editor of the El Dorado Times, El Dorado, Kans.

Last year Kansas celebrated its territorial centennial, and we are looking forward to 1961, when we will celebrate our State centennial

We, as Kansans, have a great heritage and are indebted to those who have gone before and given us these great opportunities that we have, not only in Kansas, but in the Nation.

This article on her 94th birthday describes this youngster—which has grown to maturity-and gives us encouragement for great hopes in the future.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

MOTHER KANSAS, 94. HALE AND HEARTY (Rolla A. Clymer, El Dorado Times)

Mother Kansas now attains the age of 94. At this age, she is hale and hearty-and probably never felt better. Last year, she celebrated her first centennial—that of Territorial status-and within a few more years will have attained the first full century of statehood.

During the centennial period, Mother Kansas and all her numerous brood re called her early years when pioneers first broke the sod and laid firm foundations for what was to come. There were tales of anguish and suffering, and also talk of the joyous and lusty spirit that sparked these ancient wonder workers. Kansas looked backward for a time-which was valuable experience-and paid proper meed of gratitude to the comparative few who wrought so well when this State was young.

Now that centennial mood has passedand Kansas, according to her wont, is looking ahead. Having accomplished so much in less than a hundred years, she confidently feels that she can achieve greatly and on perhaps a magnificent scale in the days to come. Essentially a creature of action, Kansas ponders well her stock of resources before she moves.

Today, she views her vast agricultural domain and finds its various components in sound and substantial condition-barring temporary moods-for enormous gains in coming food production. She considers her rich stores of petroleum and gas, the ceaseless output of her mines, and the coming of a flood of industry-many of these employing materials from an agricultural base. Her manufactures are increasing every year in wide variety, and she is expanding rapidly in the fields of aviation and transportation. Her surface is netted with highway linksand none of her towns and villages today is remote from any other.

Mother Kansas' people are ingenious and,

in the main, prosperous and happy. Few of them are excessively rich and few are painfully poor. Schools and churches and worthy institutions of many sorts stud her plains. Kansas is moving to bring all her children a greater degree of happiness of comfort and care for whatever they lack. Her leaders plan that she may have a full hand in the civilization being reared all around and that in its consummation she may bring to bear the force of her spirit and conscience.

Mother Kansas at 94 is a charming character-wise bustlingly busy and of happy and neighborly mien. Her sons and daughters, at this natal time, should accord her the solemn and appreciative salute she so richly deserves.

Employment Problem of the Aging and Aged

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES E. POTTER

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. POTTER. Mr. President, the problem of employment faced by the aging and the aged is a national one; yet it varies somewhat from place to place. The situation with regard to these unfortunate men and women in my own State, and particularly those in Detroit, my State's largest city, has been excellently reported in the Detroit Times in a series of articles by Jack Crellin, that newspaper's labor editor. The series brought into clear focus the need for action on this vital problem. Mr. Crellin's searching survey cited specific cases.

I should like to call these articles to the attention of the Senate, especially in connection with my recent introduction of S. 693, in which I was joined by 55 Members of this body, providing for the establishment of a United States Commission on the Aging and Aged.

I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD this newspaper series, which graphically demonstrates the necessity for prompt consideration of the proposal.

I have been advised by the Government Printing Office that the newspaper articles slightly exceed the two printed pages allowed under the rule, and that the cost of printing them in the RECORD will be \$294. Notwithstanding the cost, I ask unanimous consent that the articles be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the articles were ordered to be printed in the REC-ORD, as follows:

[From the Detroit Times of January 23, 1955] "Too OLD AT 45." IT'S HEARD DAILY BY JOB SEEKERS

(By Jack Crellin)

(EDITOR'S NOTE.-This is the first of a series of seven articles by Jack Crellin, Detroit Times labor editor, on the problems facing a man of 45 or older who finds himself out work. Crellin has consulted numerous sources in an effort to weigh-from all angles-the problem which is a very real one in Detroit.)

The stocky, gray-haired man in the windbreaker shuffled slowly away from the employment office.

Passing the long line of job seekers, he twisted the bill of his cap far down over his eyes to hide tears of frustration.

It was the fourth time that day he had been turned down in his quest for a job.

Above the chatter and stomping of restless feet of those about him, he could hear but one refrain:
"Too old. Too old."

He had never regarded himself as old until recent weeks.

THE INS AND OUTS AT 50

Sure, he was 50. So were a lot of other guys, guys working inside that very plant.

He was strong, wasn't he? Still in good

physical shape after 25 years on the assemline.

His fingers toyed with the few coins in his pockets. If he spent them for coffee and doughnuts he wouldn't have enough for carfare. Shucks, he'd show them. and walk the 5 miles home without even being short of breath.

Far out on the edge of town in a smart suburban community another man paced nervously back and forth in the living room of his luxurious home. His back was erect, his waist trim. Only a few flecks of gray peeped through his shock of black hair.

He, too, was looking for a job.

Let out as an executive because of reorganization of the firm he helped to build, he had been idle for almost a year.

WAITS IN VAIN FOR HIS CALL

After writing scores of letters to prospective employers and listing his name with innumerable employment agencies, he had nothing to do but wait for the postman to come or the telephone to ring.

True, he had received many replies to inquiries. Couched in diplomatic but firm language, the letters stated his application would be given every consideration; but the cold, hard facts were that he was too old.

Too old at 48.

Unlike his counterpart at the plant gates, this man's problems were not financial. They were mental. He had to have something to do, despite the fact he might be able to live comfortably for several years on the balance in his bank account.

Exaggeration of conditions?

Not at all. It's happening every day in Detroit.

These are the men whom Labor Secretary James P. Mitchell was talking about when he warned the Nation the other day that half its adult population may be jobless 20 years unless prejudices against older from now workers are overcome.

Mitchell said the number of persons 45 and older is steadily increasing and that by 1975 they will constitute half the adult population.

Declared Mitchell:
"If our economy is to continue its high rate of production and not suffer the pangs of mass unemployment, our older workers must be given equal status in the competitive job market.

"If we are to maintain a skilled work force for the defense of the Nation, our older workers must be allowed to keep their skills up to date and not grow rusty from inactivity.

Mitchell charged that employers and labor unions too often set up barriers against hiring older workers, without due regard to

their skills and maturity.

He said he planned to call a conference of employers shortly to find out what to do about the problem.

Meantime, the Detroit Times set out to find the facts, particularly in the Detroit

Does the problem exist here? If so, what are its proportions? What do the men affected have to say? What about the employers' attitude? Labor unions?

Government agencies? What are the possible solutions?

In the accompanying series of articles, all available facts will be presented.

To get them, the Detroit Times interviewed

men at employment offices, business executives, labor leaders, and spokesmen for various Government agencies.

[From the Detroit Times of January 24, 1955] THIRTY-FOUR THOUSAND OLDSTERS HUNT FOR WORK

(By Jack Crellin)

(This is article two of a series)

The problem of the older man-or womanfinding employment is a very real one in the Detroit area, as in every other industrial community.

According to O. K. Fjetland, director of employment services for the Michigan Employment Security Commission, as of December 15, the commission knew of at least 20.838 persons 45 years of age or older registered with the agency who were seeking employment.

These were the ones who needed a source of income to keep them going.

But since not all the unemployed register with the commission, Fjetland estimated the actual number of older persons unemployed at closer to 34,000.

His records show that 13,613 men between the ages of 45 and 64 were out of work and seeking jobs and in addition there were 3,086 in the 65 or over group in the same predicament.

OLDSTERS 25 PERCENT OF UNEMPLOYED

Surprisingly, there were 3,856 women between 45 and 64 seeking work and 284 above the age of 65.

Thus, the total unemployed in the age group of 45 and over represented almost 25 percent of the 85,000 unemployed in the Detroit area as of December 15.

Fjetland recognizes the problem. As he explains:

I'm 62. If I went out of here tomorrow I don't know where I would look for a job. Sure I could go to my friends-men I have known for years. I know they would be sympathetic, but they wouldn't hire me."

In recent years he has seen the percentage of older workers unemployed mount steadily.

One of the chief factors contributing to this rise, particularly in industry, he points out, has been the merger of firms here. This has resulted in older employees, ordinarily protected by seniority, being dismissed with no place to go.

PREFER YOUTH

What happens when such mergers occur? Fjetland is realistic:

The employees start looking elsewhere for

"What would you do if you were a prospective employer approached by two men, one 55 and the other 30, with similar qualifications? You would undoubtedly hire the younger man.

"The preference in hiring is for people who are younger, who have more years of

service to offer a company."

Fjetland pointed out the large bulk of those between 45 and 65 unemployed here at present are either semiskilled or unskilled workers. However, among the 13,612 there were 3,417 skilled employees.

UNDER 45

Competing against this group, according to the latest unemployment figures, were 32,922 in the desirable age group of between 21 and 44 of whom 5,485 were in the skilled classification.

Fjetland said a majority of the orders for employers received by the commission are for workers under 45. He added:

We do have some open orders but when we refer two men of different ages with like qualifications we find the younger one invariably gets the job."

Fjetland is somewhat puzzled by this atti-tude of employers, although he realizes they are operating on a businesslike basis. He

"Insofar as I know the employer does not pay a penalty either because of pensions or insurance when he hires the older man. The insurance premium is based on the accident

GOOD WORKERS

"Statistics show-and several studies have been made-the older worker is no more prone to accidents than the younger man, if he is in good physical condition.

"Records will prove the absentee rate among older men is no greater than that

among younger employees.

"Every analysis indicates the older worker will contribute a good day's work, again pro-

win contribute a good day's work, again providing he is in good physical shape."

Some employers do hire older workers,
Fjetland says. He explained:

"They'll hire an older man if he's got
what they want, but they prefer the younger
worker."

INDIVIDUAL TASK

Fjetland said he knows of two major concerns in the Detroit area who, recognizing the unemployment problem, have restricted hiring to their own geographical area.
"They won't even take a man who lives

across town, and they are hiring older per-

The commission has not been idle in seeking placement of older persons. It has a section which deals exclusively with the problem.

Fjetland explained, however, the placement of such workers requires an approach on the individual rather than the group basis. He said:

"If you asked an employer to hire older employees on a group basis he would just shake his head.

"When an order comes in and we find the man best suited is between 45 and 64 we call the employer and try to sell the individual to him solely on his capabilities."

NO ANSWER

Fietland said that while inmigration of workers continues here it is not so great as it has been.

What about complaints that men who have lived and worked here most of their lives are being shoved aside and younger outsiders being hired?

Said Fjetland:
"That brings up a question I wish some one would answer:

"What would you do if you were an em-ployer approached by three men looking for

"One man was 21, looking for a start in life, the other was 35, married, the father of 2 children and buying a home, and the third was 48, his children grown but his house not paid for and in desperate need of a job, which would you hire?"

Fjetland refused to answer his own ques-

His solution to the entire problem: "Provide enough job opportunities so that everyone who wants to can work."

[From the Detroit Times of January 25, 1955] EMPLOYERS DENY ANTIAGE POLICY

(By Jack Crellin)

(This is the third article in a series)

Do employers discriminate against the older man seeking work?

Virtually all deny it.

They say they pick their employees solely on the basis of qualifications for the particular job.

In Detroit, spokesmen for the automotive Big Three-Chrysler, Ford, and General Motors—insist they have set no arbitrary age limits on prospective employees.

Says Mel B. Lindquist, general industrial relations manager of the Ford Motor Co.:

"The Ford Motor Co. has no policy of any kind against hiring of older employees. Every applicant for employment is considered solely on the basis of his qualifications and of our need for persons with those qualifications."

STRICTLY ON QUALIFICATIONS

A spokesman for General Motors Corp. flatly denied the existence of any established policy opposing the hiring of older persons. Chrysler likewise said it makes its selections of employees strictly on the basis of their qualifications, irrespective of age.

One Chrysler spokesman said:
"As a matter of fact, we have found in most instances the older, more experienced men make better workers because they have come up through the school of hard knocks.

'We find, too, because of their responsibilities, they are steadier than the younger employees.'

GUIDED BY JOB SPECIFICATIONS

Wayne Stettbacher, general manager of the Employees Association of Detroit, which represents a cross-section of Detroit industries, said that insofar as he knew none of the companies in this area had a fixed policy on age limitations.

He pointed out, however, that personnel the men who do the hiring-are guided by specifications outlined by the foreman of a particular department where manpower is needed.

Said Stettbacher:
"The foreman tells the employment manager what he expects. He isn't interested in the sociological problems.

"The foreman is held to a certain measure of efficiency. He has to keep unit costs down in terms of output. If he were not held accountable for unit costs, he could afford to take all comers.

"Many foremen take the view the older man is not as adaptable to changing conditions. They know they have to have a flexible work force, and the younger man gives them that flexibility."

Stettbacher recognizes the problem of the

older man. He knows it exists in Detroit

One of the reasons, he says, is the condition of the labor market. He explained:

"The employer wants the best the labor market can offer him. He's buying time, He doesn't want to take an inferior product.

If labor supply is tight, he'll tolerate the less efficient worker out of necessity.

One thing it evident. The attitude of the corporations certainly is not one of callous indifference. They would like to see everybody in Detroit, who is able and willing, on the job.

AWARE OF PLIGHT

Edward L. Cushman, director of industrial relations of American Motors, is acutely aware of the plight many Hudson workers found themselves in when Hudson and Nash merged.

He says:

"We are doing everything possible to try and get work in the Hudson plant and recall the men. We notified the union almost 6 months in advance of the merger and made arrangements with the Michigan Employment Security Commission to help the men get other jobs. The MESC gave us some genuine assistance."

SEEK DEFENSE WORK

Cushman said American Motors is pushing hard to get more defense work into the Hudson plant, where work is already in progress on two different aircraft contracts as well as the manufacture of engines for Hudson Hornets.

Assuming that employers want the best employee they can get at prevailing rates, it would appear utter foolishness on their part arbitrarily to turn down a man because of his age.

Almost every responsible survey shows that older workers are as good as, or better than, younger employees.

One such survey conducted by the University of Illinois dealt with employees 60 and over.

AS GOOD OR BETTER

Supervisors in 20 companies were asked what they thought of 1,025 workers in their 60's and 70's with reference to overall performance, absenteeism, dependability, work quality, amount of output, and ability to get along with others.

The results were startling.

In overall performance, 16 percent of the older workers were rated as excellent, 32 percent very good, 36 percent good, 15 percent

fair, and only 1 percent poor.

As for absenteeism, 70 percent were said to be absent less often that younger workers, 23 percent about the same, and 7 percent more often.

MORE DEPENDABLE

On dependability, 50 percent were judged more dependable than younger employees and 6 percent were said to be less depend-

More than 75 percent had production records equal to or higher than those of younger workers.

Evaluators of the survey cautioned against taking the results to mean that age in itself brings greater efficiency.

The survey was selective to the extent that workers rated were persons with motivation to keep working, with good capabilities, and with fitness enough to survive dismissal at an advanced age.

NEED YOUNGER MEN

There was no inference in the findings that older persons should be hired in preference to young ones.

The evaluators noted that employers still need younger persons to give long years of service and to get ready to replace senior workers when they do retire.

[From the Detroit Times of January 26, 1955]

PLANT TRANSFERS RUIN OLDSTERS

(By Jack Crellin)

(This is the fourth article in a series)

Ever wonder what happens to an older employee—one between 45 and 64 years oldwhen a company goes out of business or moves elsewhere?

Such things have happened in Detroit. Remember Kaiser-Fraser, Bohn Aluminum, Murray Body, Hudson Motorcar Co.?

Joss Chatwin, president of Hudson Local 154, UAW-CIO, where approximately 13,000 were laid off last fall when Hudson merged with Nash to become American Motors Corp., said he thought he could supply some of the answers.

FIVE THOUSAND VICTIMS AT ONCE

Chatwin had no difficulting rounding up some of the older men. He estimated that close to 5,000 of the 13,000 idled are 45 years or older.

Many of them haven't been able to find other employment.

Their unemployment benefits are running

They have found they are too old to work and too young to die or retire.

But let a few of them tell their stories: Walter Checque, 57, worked in the same

factory 21 years He prides himself that he can do just about anything around an automobile plant. His particular line is in the paint and polishing departments.

TELLS OF HUNT FOR JOB

It was last October 28 Walter was handed a pink slip notifying him of:

Permanent layoff due to transfer of auto-

mobile production." Those few typewritten words shattered any

hopes he had been nurturing that the layoff might only be temporary. He applied for unemployment compensa-

tion, is still drawing \$32 a week.

Says Checque, who owns his home at 17162 Omira:

"I started looking for another job. First went to a couple of warehouses. They I went to a couple of warehouses. They told me they didn't need anybody. I hung around and watched them hiring younger

Then I went to a manufacturing plant.

Same story.

"Believe me, it's the age that gets you. They just won't give a guy my age a job. I want to work. I could tackle any job they gave me."

EIGHT YEARS TO PENSION

Checque must wait almost 8 years before

he is eligible for a pension.

"Right now the unemployment check is just paying the grocery bills. I have to cash a bond every now and then to pay other bills. When there's no more coming in, I suppose I'll have to sell my house."
Wilson Sipe is 62. He lives at 16409

Owen, East Detroit, and worked for Hudson He has 3 years to wait before being eligible for a pension.

SEES IT WORK

But Sipe isn't thinking about a pension.

He wants to work. He says:
"Right after I was laid off I went to see my brother, a foreman at another auto plant, and asked him to try to get me a job as a

welder.
"He did everything he could, but he told me they wouldn't hire me because my age was against me.

"Then I answered a company's ad for a gas welder. The guy took one look at me and told me they filled the position the day before. I noticed the same ad kept running for 2 weeks after I was there.

"I guess I'll just have to keep looking until I find something. I'm a handyman, can do just about anything."

FATHER OF FOUR

Sipe is the father of four grown children. He owns his home.

Earl Manning, 64, worked for the company 25 years in the paint shop, on general repair and in supervision.

He's looking forward to retirement next November. Because his wife will be eligible for social security at the same time, he estimates he will retire on between \$170 and \$200 a month.

Meantime, he's got to continue rent payments of \$71 a month out of unemployment benefits of \$31 a week.

"JUST TOO OLD"

Says Manning: "I've looked for jobs. They tell me I'm just too old to hire. One plant I went to they turned me down and then hired two men I broke in at Hudson."

Joe Castelnuovo, 59, of 16250 Liberal, has worked at the same place off and on since 1920. He worked there steadily for 13 years up until November.

He owns his home and has three grown children, all married.

ALL IN PATTERN

Sald Joe: "You can tell the way they look at you when you go to these other plants. They just shake their heads. They won't even let you fill out an application."

Joe is a tall, muscular man who smokes

He flexes his hands and declares:

"I can put in a good day's work alongside any man.

These are the stories of only a few of the men. The others follow the same pattern.

At least 70 percent of those interviewed own their homes, have been residents of Detroit from 20 to 30 years.

THREE SUICIDES

How desperate are these men? Chatwin shrugs his shoulders:

"I can tell you that at least three have committed suicide since being laid off.

There may be others.

"Wives of the men call me at home. Some of them are hysterical. They want the union to do something about getting their husbands jobs.

There isn't much we can do. Right now we are in the process of trying to work out an agreement between Nash Local 72, UAW. in Kenosha, and American Motors Corps so the seniority of the workers here and Kenosha can be integrated."

Chatwin said a substantial number of Hudson employees have indicated their willingness to move to Kenosha if arrangements can be made.

THEIR HOMETOWN

He continued:

"A lot of these older men have their roots here. This is their hometown.

"We don't want to interfere with manage ment's right to hire whom it pleases, but I think if a man lives and pays his taxes here he should be given preference over an outsider. Something has got to be done."

William Hinson, local financial secretary, said some older workers already are faced with the threat of loss of their homes.

[From the Detroit Times of January 27. 19551

WHITE COLLARS CAST ASIDE, TOO (By Jack Crellin)

(This is the fifth article in a series)

What about the white-collar man or the executive who at 45 suddenly finds himself out of a job?

The answers came from two sources.

Dave Russell, 53, a white-collar worker, had been active all his adult life.

When he wasn't busy earning a living, Dave devoted his time to voluntary work with the Boy Scouts, American Legion, and numerous civic activities.

Happily married, owner of his home at 5306 Cooper, the father of two children, he was looking forward to the golden years of retirement.

NOT WORRIED BY JOB LOSS

But last March Dave was forced to make an adjustment which has left him disillusioned and bitter.

The steel company where he was employed as a time-study man had to lay him off because of a lack of demand for its products.

At the time, Dave, a slightly built, intense man, was not concerned. He had been let go from other jobs and always managed to find a new one.

He applied for unemployment compensation, began making the rounds of prospective employers.

Days and weeks rolled by.

AGE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR

Personnel men interviewed him, discussed his qualifications, and nodded approval. They said he would undoubtedly be hearing from them. He never did.

Dave was proud of his experience in his particular field, and of his work record. His

last job paid him \$600 a month.

Says Dave: "Just to make sure I was not passing any bets, I registered at a second office of the unemployment compensation commission and put applications in at two private employment agencies. I was sure I would score.

Gradually he realized his age was an important factor in his inability to land a 1oh

He said:

"I would spend from 1 to 2 hours filling out a form at an employment office, go in for an interview, and find the man was primarily interested in only one thing-the place where I listed my age. The interview usually ended in less than a minute."

Then it happened.

One personnel manager picked up my application and told me right to my face was too old. I grabbed the application out of his hands, tore it up, and threw the scraps on the floor."

He recalls another occasion when he answered an advertisement for a man of his qualifications:

"I sat in that office from 8 o'clock in the morning until 3 p. m. I didn't even dare go out for lunch for fear of losing my place. Then when I was called in I was told they were sorry, but they were looking for a man 30 to 35 years of age.

"A displaced person, a man who couldn't

even speak good English, was hired.

"Don't misunderstand me. I didn't be-grudge him getting the job. While we were waiting to be interviewed he told me about the tough time he was having trying to support his wife and four small children."

STARTED OWN FIRM

But Dave is not the type to take things lving down.

He took some of his savings and started a small company specializing in fire prevention.

His plans for the future?

"Things aren't going too well right now, but in the near future, if business continues to pick up, I'm going to do some hiring—all men over 40."

We asked D. R. Murrell, managing director of the Forty Plus Club, Inc., about men of the executive type who are over 45.

NONE GOT JOBS

Murrell tilted back in his chair in the sparsely furnished club headquarters at 501 Park and laughed.

"Are you kidding? Last year was the worst we have ever had. We didn't place a single member."

The club was established in 1937 to assist men of the executive type who have passed the 40-year mark to find positions. Its membership is limited to those who earned \$5,000 or more a year. Not a staggering sum by today's standards.

Among the men for whom the club has been seeking jobs are two former presidents of Michigan concerns, vice presidents, in-dustrial-relations directors, treasurers, controllers, engineers, and economists.

The club sends a monthly bulletin to top officials of 3,000 employing concerns in 33 States. The bulletin lists the type of men available, their training, experience, and the kind of position they desire.

Murrell reached in his desk drawer and

withdrew a sheet of paper.

"This is a letter we received from one Detroit employer who contacted us in his search for a controller. We sent him files on eight men. Two were 47 years old, one was 48, two were 51 and three were 58. The answer is typical of the letters we receive."

The employer's reply stated in part:

Unfortunately, at the present time I feel that all of the potential employees are a little too old for our company. Forty-five is really the top age. I would, however, be very pleased to have you keep in touch with us as I think you are doing a magnificent job with motivations of great quality."

MAKES MORE NOW

Murrell exhibits little patience with this attitude.

"If we had a war I know what the answer would be. We couldn't find men fast enough for them. During World War II we placed 1,200 and could have placed that many more if they were available."

Murrell cites a couple of examples as proof of what he considers short sightedness on the part of employers in their hiring and

retirement programs,

"One large Detroit concern, I won't mention any names, forced their chief engineer to retire because he was 65. The man went out and set himself up as a consultant with

a minimum fee of \$100 a day.

"Know who his best customer is? The company that retired him. He received more in fees from them last year than he earned annually while on their payroll."

Another man of 64 was unable to find a job in Detroit although he worked here most of his life. He, too, was an engineer.

Said Murrell:

"We finally got him on with a large eastern concern which didn't consider age a factor. His starting pay was \$7,500. Today he's making twice that."

"Not too many of them have financial problems. But every one of them knows that you can't loaf and get away with it. They know if they don't keep their minds active they must deteriorate."

PENSIONS COSTLY

There are several things which work against the older man obtaining employ-

ment, Murrell says.

Among these are the pension and insurance factors. Most companies maintain insurance on their executives and as a man gets older the premiums go up. Pensions for this type of employee also prove more costly, Murrell said.

He was quick to add, however, that men seeking employment through the club, for the most part, are willing to waive both insurance and pensions.

Murrell thinks the solution may lie in some type of employment legislation which would prohibit discrimination against the older men.

[From the Detroit Times of January 28, 1955] PENSION PLANS STYMIE HIRING

(By Jack Crellin)

(This is the sixth article in a series)

The problem of the older person obtaining employment is not a new one.

The Forty Plus Club, Inc., mentioned earlier in this series, was founded back 1937.

At the same time the trade union movement, having established a firm foothold in industry of the Nation, pressed for a solution.

Labor leaders recognized the difficulties older men were encountering in either getting or holding a job. So did employers. PREMIUM PUT ON LENGTH OF SERVICE

Out of this mutual understanding developed seniority agreements placing a premium on length of service with a company in retaining a job at the time of layoffs due to production cutbacks.

This worked out fine for the older employee so long as his company continued to op-Few foresaw present day shutdowns due to mergers or lack of business.

Then World War II came along and the problem ceased to exist. There were jobs

available for everybody.

Changing conditions have brought about the present situation.

While there are more jobs available than prior to World War II, the labor market also has expanded.

Furthermore, the seniority agreements which had been initiated by union leaders and which, at first, looked like ideal security for workers, turned out in too many instances to boomerang to their disadvantage.

LOSES NEARLY ALL

For example, a man has achieved, say, 15 years seniority, working steadily for the ABC company.

Should it shut down for an extended period he might have a chance to work for the XYZ company temporarily, but that automatically would cancel his seniority with the ABC company, and in the event he returned there when they reopened he would have to start all over again building up seniority.

Labor statistics show that every year 800,-000 more persons are added to the labor market. Not all of these have been absorbed. Competition for jobs increases daily.

PENSION ANGLE

Wayne Stettbacher, general manager of the Employers Association of Detroit, says that employers can afford to be more selective.

One factor, says Stettbacher, operating against the older worker is that the younger man may be more desirable due to the cost of pensions and other fringe benefits.

He pointed out that when a company hires an older man it has that much less time to build up the individual's pension credits. Insurance rates, based on experience, also go up, Stettbacher said.

In this connection many workers argue the unions are most at fault for the plight of older workers. They say the high pressure union insistence during negotiation, for pension and fringe benefits, make it extremely difficult for employers to hire men over 45.

However Walter Reuther, UAW-CIO president, argues that industrial-type pensions, such as his union has negotiated with automobile manufacturers, in no way could be considered a barrier to hiring an older man.

"NO PENALTIES"

Said Reuther: "Economic-wise, there are no penalties. If a man 45 or 50 moves from one auto company to another, it doesn't cost the second company 1 cent more. The company's contribution remains the same regardless of age."

What the individual in such a case does is lose his pension credits with his previous employer. The union hopes to change that.

The auto worker's pension plan is based on his length of employment with a particular company at the time of retirement. He receives approximately \$1.75 a month in benefits for each year of service.

GROUP RATES SET

As for insurance, Reuther argues that rates are based on the average age for an entire group and that only a microscopic change would result because of the hiring of a few older employes.

He said the union had been trying for years to persuade employers in this area to give job preference to persons with homes here who have been laid off at other plants.

He is opposed to what he says is the practice of some Detroit companies of enticing workers here from elsewhere in the Nation

while men willing and able to work are still unemployed.

[From the Detroit Times of January 29, 1955] OLDER WORKERS MUST BE HIRED

(By Jack Crellin)

(This is the final article in a series)

What is the solution to the problem of the worker over 45 obtaining employment?

The simplest would be full employment. Walter Reuther, UAW and CIO president, advocates full employment as the only an-

His views are shared by the Forty Plus Club, the Employers Association of Detroit, and the Michigan Employment Service.

But since there are not enough jobs for everybody in the country today, other courses must be followed.

Secretary of Labor James P. Mitchell, who is championing the cause of the older worker, set up a departmental committee to tackle the problem.

SIX-POINT PROGRAM RECOMMENDED

The committee recommended that Mitchell propose to labor and management the following six-point program:

That workers be selected for employment and training on the basis of ability and qualifications for the job, regardless of age.

That workers reaching retirement age be enabled to continue working, if they desire and are able to do satisfactory work

That sound labor standards, including health and safety measures and equal pay for comparable work, be maintained in order to increase the employment opportunities of older workers.

That inquiries and studies be conducted into the major reasons for existing limitations on jobs and job opportunities, and that the validity of these reasons be evaluated.

That a program of services to older workers. including counseling, selective placement, individualized job development, training, and community cooperation be developed through the State employment security agencies and other public and private agencies.

That consideration be given to the estab-

lishment of systematic programs designed to assist older workers who are eligible and willing to retire to make appropriate plans for the productive use of their time so transition from employment to retirement does not bring undue psychological, social, and economic shock to the individual.

PRODUCE AS WELL

In a recent article for a national magazine, Mitchell blasted several of the myths about the older employee.

Answering claims that older employees result in increased production costs, pointed to a Department of Labor survey which showed older workers produced just as much and sometimes more than the younger workers.

also cited a survey by the National Association of Manufacturers, made in 1951 and covering 3,000 companies employing more than 3 million people.

The survey revealed 93 percent of the reporting companies felt that workers 45 and over were equal or superior in performance to younger workers.

WITCHES' TALES

Mitchell labeled as "witches' tales" claims that older workers are injured more frequently than younger employees.

He said a study of 17,800 workers in a ariety of manufacturing industries, made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics, showed the opposite was true

In the matter of job attendance, Mitchell said a BLS study of 16,500 men in 109 manufacturing industries showed older workers had a 20-percent better attendance record than younger employees.

According to Mitchell, part of the answer to the objection to older men is found in the fact that most companies have a career policy of promoting from within.

These companies argue that if they let the older men remain on the job there will be no positions for the younger men.

TISE OLD RATE

To refute these arguments, Mitchell cited the fact that only four decades ago the average life expectancy of an urban worker was 46.6 years. Today, it is 68.5 years.

The 40-year-old man today has approximately 25 years of productive labor ahead of him.

But, said Mitchell, many industries still base employment practices on an obsolete life-expectancy rate.

Mitchell warned if the country failed in efforts to help older workers it could expect increasing pressure for retirement at earlier

Mitchell has a solution: Hire the older worker and make a profit from his pro-

duction.

American Legion's Legislative Recommendations for 1955

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. OLIN E. TEAGUE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. TEAGUE of Texas. Mr. Speaker. on February 8, 1955, Mr. Seaborn P. Collins, national commander of the American Legion, appeared before the Committee on Veterans" Affairs to present the recommendations of that organization as they pertain to veterans. In order that other Members may have an opportunity to examine Mr. Collins' statement, it is included for the RECORD:

STATEMENT OF SEABORN P. COLLINS, NATIONAL COMMANDER, THE AMERICAN LEGION, BEFORE VETERANS' AFFAIRS COMMITTEE, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, FEBRUARY 8, 1955

Mr. Chairman and members the appearance of our representatives before your com-mittee continues one of the most satisfactory relationships with the Congress that has existed down through the years. May I say, as national commander, that the thanks of our organization are due the members of this commmittee, and the committee, for the undeviating attention given to the problems of the disabled war veterans, and for the privilege of this appearance before you. May we also welcome the new members of the committee.

We join with you in expressing our thanks before God that, for the first time in years, there is no shooting war bringing new problems and more war disabled to your atten-It is our devout wish that this period may be continued. We hope for a return of the period when reasonable nations, like reasonable men, with a common objective, in the presence of facts, may find it possible

to reach a solution of their differences, without resort to war, either hot or cold.

The continued absence of war may permit the Congress to approach the question of benefits and services for veterans with quiet and earnest consideration of all the factors involved. The years since 1949 have been those in which there have been continued efforts to change, to eliminate, to weaken, or to distort the form and substance of Federal legislation dealing with veterans. During this period your committee has retained its steadfast support for such laws and such legislation, keeping always in mind the fact

that the benefits and services provided by the Congress, were in return for services performed for a grateful Nation by those called to military service in time of war.

In our opinion it is significant that many actions have been taken, officially and other-wise, to demean the position of the veteran in the life of America today. Efforts to curtail and combine benefits and services for veterans, or to submerge such benefits in other programs, have been initiated and are continuing. This has occurred, and is occurring, during a period of expanding economy, when wages and benefits in the Nation are on the increase, and when the Federal Government is giving additional pay and added fringe benefits to the civilian employees and other segments of those groups depending upon the Federal Government for their livelihood. We believe the veteran should be restored to, and maintained in, a position of honor, as a special class of citizen (made so by the Federal Government), and we are convinced your committee will concur in the attainment of such a goal.

From the chairman of your committee we have received a request for a reply to certain matters currently engaging your attention. Let me give at least a preliminary reply to those questions as a first order of business.

1. The amended 10-P-10: The calm appraisal of our American Legion department service officers is that this new form has been received and used with a minimum of announced dissatisfaction. Our representatives in the field have discussed this matter with VA hospital managers. There has been no decrease in the number of those applying for VA medical and hospital care. We submit that this is an indication of the sincerity and the true eligibility of those making use of this privilege. Only a small number of cases have come to light where the application has been withdrawn when those seeking hospital care have faced the questions having relationship to their financial and economic status. Generally speaking, the new procedure has worked well.

2. The President's Executive order of January 1 terminating the period of emergency insofar as such an emergency relates to vet erans' benefits and services changes the situation since this question from you was proposed. I think you should know that, prior to the issuance of this Presidential order, I expressed, in person to the President, my thoughts as to the desirability of issuing such an order. You may know that the American Legion has acted to declare eligibility for membership in the American Legion ended as of the date of the Korean armistice. July 27, 1953. Legislation to permit the amedment of our constitution will be sought in the 84th Congress. Since ours is an organization of war veterans, we believe our status and that of war benefits and services should be maintained on that basis

Your chairman subsequently has asked our opinion of legislation he has introduced to continue certain educational benefits for veterans beyond the January 31, 1955, cutoff date for those in service prior to that time.

Insofar as the purposes of this question are answered by the bill introduced by your chairman (H. R. 587) you already have an answer from the testimony of our staff on the hearings conducted relative to the bill. Approval of the bill was recommended in that testimony.

With relation to other phases of veterans' benefits and services eliminated or reduced to peacetime status by the Presidential order, I think you should recall that our national rehabilitation commission will have meetings here in Washington beginning February 28. Discussion of such items is the first order of business on the agenda for such meetings.

To the extent that the impression has gone out that the peacetime veteran benefits and services have been abandoned. I think there should be a reappraisal of the considerable body of such benefits that remains. The list of such benefits as comby the Veterans' Administration and distributed in an information release February 1 should command respect and attention

3. There is being submitted a supporting statement in the matter of VA budgetary needs for major alterations, improvements, and repairs. This report reflects the judgment of our field representatives who have conducted a special survey of the hospitals to arrive at their position. In general it is believed the question of property management and maintenance in the VA is a part of the larger question of how the Government views this question. There does not appear to be an effective general Federal policy in the matter of caring for the items of maintenance, improvements, obsolescence, depreciation, and related questions. Whether the Congress is ready to adopt a general policy and appropriate the funds to maintain VA facilities in line with modern usage and economy of operation is a broad question. There is no doubt in our minds that, since there appears to be a limit on the number of hospital beds to be provided fo rthe disabled veteran, it is imperative that those beds in existence, and the facilities housing them, shall be replaced where necessary and modernized in other cases. The lack of consistent attention to the problem magnifies the size and cost of the problem. The sooner some decision is given by the Congress the better it will be for the maintenance of those facilities dealing with the care of the disabled veteran. Whether the amount needed for this purpose, at this time, is in line with the VA estimate of \$800 million or some other figure, the fact may not be gainsaid that further delay is not the answer that should be given.

4. The home-loan-guaranty program and the direct-loan program, created to give the veteran in money short areas something more than a fishing license, were designed to permit the veteran to overcome a part of the economic displacement brought about as a result of his participation in war. While the national conventions of the American Legion are silent on the question here raised, it is apparent that, as you have stated the question, our organization would be in favor of equalizing the disparity existing between the town and country veteran in the guaranty program. In the average case the veteran interested in earning an agricultural livelihood will want to purchase farm real estate along with a farm home.

With reference to amending the directloan program, on the subject of farm and farmhouse purchase, we feel that consideration should be given to the \$10,000 maximum as such maximum relates to existing farm prices for one-family units, and the additional need of the veteran for funds to secure equipment, supplies, and working capital in the period immediately following purchase.

Pending appropriate action by our governing bodies on the question raised, the American Legion is interested in studying specific legislation proposed to remedy the situation. The staff in our economic commission, which has American Legion jurisdiction of the loanguaranty program and collateral legislation, has considered the legislation already introduced or proposed on this subject. You may be sure that our views on such legislation will be made in reference to specific legislation at the will of your committee.

5. Scholarship assistance program: national conventions have not taken action that is directly in point on this question. In general, the question of education in the American Legion is handled by our Americanism and child-welfare commissions. On the subject of education of orphans of veterans limited programs have been handled by the Armed Services Committees in Congress in previous years. Our child-welfare commission is secking amendatory socialsecurity legislation to extend children's survivor benefits beyond the age of 18 when such children are continuing their educational programs; the same commission is approaching State legislative bodies in the arch for additional scholarship benefits. While we do not have specific authority to appear on scholarship legislation within the jurisdiction of this committee, we should like to present a cautionary viewpoint. We feel that legislation which broadens the field of benefits and services beyond those granted the veteran directly might have a tendency to weaken the existing structure of benefit and services to veterans. In a period when existing veterans' legislation is under attack in areas not within the jurisdiction of this committee, we are reluctant to advocate broadening the field with new programs.

THE AMERICAN LEGION PROGRAM

We come now to the matter of our legislative program prepared on the basis of action by our national convention and our national executive committee. The staff of our rehabilitation commission has prepared bills for presentation through the aegis of Members of the Congress. You will appreciate that in my presentation there is not time to enter into a detailed discussion of such proposals. With your continued indulgence I should like to stress the importance of some of these proposals. If 1 or 2 do not lie within the province of this committee, they nevertheless deal with subjects that have your interest and concern.

ADEQUACY OF FUNDS FOR VA OPERATIONS

The department of Texas is the sponsor of a resolution (No. 473) recording opposition to any limitation in money supply which would result in inadequacy of services and benefits to veterans, their dependents, and survivors of those who have died.

In testifying before the President's Committee on Veterans' Medical Services 5 years ago we stated:

"Certainly the work of the Veterans' Administration as given it by Congress is sufficiently important to call for and justify a permanent policy of understanding on the part of the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs, the Budget Bureau, and Congress as to the amount of money needed and the number of people required to do their business."

As this committee knows, the inpatient care program provided for in the appropriations for fiscal 1955 is based on the assumption that the Veterans' Administration will maintain a total of 127,570 beneficiaries in VA hospitals, non-VA hospitals, and domiciliaries.

The VA Chief Medical Director has stated to our national rehabilitation commission that present planning indicates that this program can be accomplished within the amounts of the present appropriations. We, nevertheless, wish to call the attention of this committee to 1 or 2 matters which may make this accomplishment much more difficult.

After the appropriation act was passed (June 24, 1954), three other laws were enacted which called for additional funds. One of them is Public Law 613, 83d Congress, which increased the maximum amount of Federal aid to State homes for the care of each VA beneficiary housed there, from \$500 to \$700 per year. Supplemental funds to cover this increase may be needed. We do not feel that the Veterans' Administration should skimp on other programs to make up this difference.

Also, there is Public Law 598, 83d Congress, the Federal Employees Group Life Insurance Act. This also calls for additional funds to enable the agency to meet its share of the new insurance program. The estimated cost this year is between \$1,-200,000 and \$1,500,000. The agency is required to absorb this additional cost with-

out supplemental funds. That means other services and programs may have to be restricted somewhat to meet this additional obligation. We are advised that the additional cost is contemplated in the figures for fiscal 1956.

A third law which passed after the budget was set up is No. 763, 83d Congress, popularly referred to as the fringe benefits law. This brings about the transfer of certain custodial and protective positions to general services classification, with consequent increase in pay. There are also adjustments as to overtime work, incentive awards, and other miscellaneous items. Although the additional cost to the Veterans' Administration this current year may be nominal, again the agency is required to absorb the increase in its already established budget.

Shortly after the close of the first quarter of the current fiscal year there were presented to the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs by the director of the national rehabilitation commission excerpts of reports from our national field representatives. These reports contained observations of how certain erans' Administration hospitals were faring under the current budget. Full and detailed reports on each one had been filed previously. This summary was a reminder to the Veterans' Administration on how the functioning of these hospitals appeared to representatives of veterans privileged to make periodic visits to the institutions. Briefly, the composite of these reports is to the effect that hospitals had pared down to the bone in cutting operating expenses and in still trying to maintain their individual average daily patient load on a high plane of medical quality and efficiency.

In response to that presentation the Administrator stated that a review of the first quarter of fiscal 1955 operations had been completed. As a result of this review certain adjustments in primary-fund allocations in certain hospitals were being made. He stated further that the current budget required that certain economies be effected, that every effort was being made to accomplish them; at the same time he expressed his intention that these economies would not be effected at a sacrifice in the quality of medical care for eligible veterans.

The American Legion has testified before congressional committees as to its advocacy of efficient and economical operation of the VA enterprise. Yet we feel deeply that the importance of all the programs fully justifies a meeting of the minds and an understanding on the part of those who are placed in charge of them, including the VA, the top budgetary agency of the Government, and Congress, as to what is adequate for conduct of the business. The thoroughgoing scrutiny, analysis, and appraisal of requirements made by the agency itself and by the Budget Bureau, starting sometimes months before the budgetary period to be covered, and based as it is upon experience and firsthand observation, should afford Congress and all committees interested sound basis upon which to compute the appropriations needed. The American Legion would like to see this procedure accomplished without acrimony on the part of representatives of the groups involved (Appropriations Committee, VA, Bureau of the Budget) and in ample time before the beginning of the budgetary period to be covered.

This appearance before your committee presents a good opportunity to thank those members who have gone before other committees of the Congress dealing with veterans' appropriations. Such action on the part of your committee members has served not alone to provide strong assistance in securing more nearly adequate appropriations, but also in dealing with the practice that we deplore, i. e., in lessening the desire to legislate in the field of veterans' affairs through the medium of riders to the appropriation bills.

VETERANS' HOSPITALIZATION PROGRAM

The American Legion is deeply grateful to this committee for the resolution it passed in March 1954 and for its abiding alertness to the operation of this important program. The national convention approved an outstanding resolution (No. 494) sponsored by the Department of Iowa expressing again the stand of our organization in support of this committee and Congress in maintaining this program.

We have no special legislation to propose in this field. We are continuing our surveys among hospitalized veterans to ascertain their views and status as to how they came to the VA hospital. Our findings are the same as when we started these surveys, over 2 years ago. We find no basis for the charge that the privilege of hospitalization is being abused.

COMPENSATION AND PENSION

We repeat our recommendation and have prepared a bill which, if enacted, would put into effect and reestablish a monthly compensation rate for disabilities evaluated 10 to 49 percent so that amounts payable in that bracket will bear the same ratio to the amount for total disability as the degree of disability bears to total disability (Res. 311). In other words, the American Legion strongly advocates that the differential between the basis for evaluating disabilities 50 percent or more and those less than 50 percent be eliminated. As you know, came about through section 1 of Public 356, 82d Congress (May 23, 1952) when rates for disabilities evaluated 10 to 49 percent were increased by 5 percent, and those rated 50 to 100 percent were increased by 15 percent. Our position would restore a basis for award which we regard as equitable and which was in effect from the days of World War I up to July 1, 1952.

While this is an equalization that we are advocating, we realize that this would mean an increase, however delayed, for those rated less than 50 percent disabled. We think it is appropriate to remind the members of this committee that, at a time when pay relief is being given civilian workers, members of the Armed Forces, and other groups, on the part of the Government, the conditions of those who are living on fixed income, in whole or in part, is more severe for the partially disabled than for those in position to work without the disadvantages of decompensating disabilities.

WIDOW'S PENSION

Here we seek legislation that will exclude the payments made by widows and children for the last illness and burial of a veteran from the annual income computation for death-pension purposes (Res. 32). Our service officers have observed and assisted in a great many cases where the surviving widow failed to qualify for the modest death pension provided because she was not permitted to exclude the amounts she had to pay for expenses connected with the last illness and death of her husband from the computation of her annual income.

In this came field we advocate that present laws be amended so as to provide the same basis for award of death pension to surviving widows and orphans of veterans of World War II and the Korean conflict as now established for survivors of deceased World War I veterans (Res. 129). At present, widows of World War II and Korean conflict veterans are required to prove the existence of a service-connected disability at time of the veteran's death for which compensation would be payable if 10 percent or more, whereas the widow of a World War I veteran does not have to establish such disability on the part of her husband.

INSURANCE

We wish to advise this committee that the American Legion maintains an insurance advisory board. All resolutions pertaining to the various forms of Government life insurance and indemnity available to veterans and inservice personnel originating in our organization are passed upon by this board and by our national rehabilitation commission. Pending before your committee are several comprehensive and technical bills embodying the several resolutions in this field which have been considered by the advisory board and approved by either the national convention or the national executive committee.

Experts on the staff of the national rehabilitation commission will be prepared to appear before this committee and explain in detail the basis and effect of the various proposals.

EDUCATION

The department of Massachusetts is the sponsor of a resolution (No. 34) which was approved and which has been translated into a bill soon to be before this committee for consideration. This bill seeks to afford education and training under title II of the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 in the cases of certain seriously disabled veterans notwithstanding the time limitations of such act. Section 1 of the bill would authorize the Administrator to afford this veteran a reasonable period of time to initiate a course of education under part VIII following recovery from a physical or mental disability which was determined by the Administrator to have prevented the veteran from timely initiation of such a course.

Section 2 of the bill would enable this veteran to take full advantage of his earned eligibility and complete the course initiated under authority conferred by section 1 not-withstanding the time limitation of July 25,

1956 otherwise applicable.

In this field our staff has expressed our support of the bill introduced by the chairman which would continue the accrual educational rights for the veterans of the Korean conflict period who were in service prior to February 1, 1955, notwithstanding the termination date of January 31, 1955 established by Presidential Executive order.

CONCLUSION

In the past there have been occasions when veterans' affairs have come to the attention of congressional committees other than yours. At times some advantage has accrued to the veteran, or to his surviving relatives. At the same time some other right has been taken from the great body of the veteran population.

Executive and legislative committees were active during the period of the 83d Congress in giving separate study to various benefits provided not alone for veterans but for other groups of beneficiaries. We applaud the desire of such committees to correct certain inadequacies and deficiencies and to explore the possibility of securing simplification of the methods of making the award of benefits. We are hopeful that all Members of Congress, including the members of your committee, will study the results of such studies as legislation is prepared in the 84th Congress dealing with such benefits. are hopeful that the Congress will not, in considering such legislation, let the zeal of those who are striving for dollar efficiency subordinate the purposes for which the benefit programs were established by the Congress in the first place. There is little comfort for the disabled veteran in the testimony of the General Accounting Office Counsel who said that all benefit programs should, and would, be consolidated under social security.

The Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government is making its reports to Congress. There are several areas in this field dealing with veterans' benefits. If past practice is followed, then other committees of Congress may handle some of these questions. In this field, as in the matter of reports from the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations, we are hope-

ful that your committee members will take an active interest.

Our legislative director, Mr. Miles D. Kennedy, has informed you that supplemental statements will be filed along with my statement giving more detailed and technical comment on some phases of the legislation in which the American Legion is interested. In the future, as in the past, we shall appreciate, and we thank you now, for the opportunities your committee has provided us to make known our opinions in the matter of veterans' affairs.

SUPPLEMENTAL STATEMENT OF SEABORN P. COLLINS, NATIONAL COMMANDER, THE AMERICAN LEGION, BEFORE THE HOUSE VETERANS' AFFAIRS COMMITTEE REGARDING THE LOAN GUARANTY PROGRAM, FEBRUARY 8, 1955

This supplemental statement is submitted for the purpose of discussing the issues placed before the American Legion by your chairman in his letter to me of December 14, 1954, concerning the operation of the Veterans' Administration's guaranty and direct loan programs as it relates to certain differences existing between veterans purchasing residential property and those purchasing farm real estate to be used as a home,

A review of the evolution of the GI loan program, as it is popularly referred to, reveals that the present application of the program's provisions discriminate to a certain extent against the veteran purchasing farm real

estate for use as a home.

Before referring specifically to the major existing differences, it might be well to define certain terms used. These definitions are based upon information received from the Veterans' Administration. They are reflected in the Veterans' Administration's administrative decisions on this subject.

A house which is to be used as a home is defined as a residential dwelling if the occupant derives his income from a salarled position, or from self-employment (other than farming any land adjacent to the house); a house used as a home is a farmhouse if the occupant derives his income from farming the adjacent land. Thus a residential dwelling may be physically located in the country. The nature of the dwelling is determined primarily by use rather than location.

With the foregoing as background, these are the major discrepancies in the program, as I see them. First, the Administrator of Veterans' Affairs will guarantee a loan for the purchase, construction, alteration, or repair of a residential dwelling to the extent of 60 percent of the principal amount, or \$7,500, whichever is less. However, the Administrator will guarantee a loan for the purpose of purchasing or constructing farmhouse to the extent of 50 percent of the principal amount, or \$4,000, whichever is less. In connection with the direct-loan phase of the program, a veteran, if otherwise entitled, can obtain a loan for the purchase or construction of a residential dwelling, but the veteran who is interested in a farmhouse may obtain a direct loan only for the purpose of constructing a farmhouse, but not for the purpose of purchasing an existing one. Hence, in both the guaranty and direct-loan phase of the program we have a situation wherein the veteran interested in securing a farmhouse is not afforded the same assistance given to the veteran seeking to purchase a residential dwelling.

There are also 1 or 2 minor discrepancies existing which I feel should be mentioned. The veteran owning a residential dwelling, if otherwise qualified, may obtain a guaranteed loan for the purpose of altering or repairing the home, but such is not the case of the farmhouse owner. Finally, both the farm and urban veteran may use part of the proceeds of a loan to release the building site from a prior lien. While this is a simple task in the case of a residential dwelling building

lot, it sometimes is quite difficult to adequately separate the farmhouse building site from the rest of the farm.

As this committee has been informed previously, the American Legion has no mandates dealing specifically with any of the above-mentioned problems. However, it is my opinion that any legislation which would eliminate any of these discrepancies would be received favorably by our organization.

It is my opinion that the evening up, so to speak, of the benefits and assistance afforded to both the urban and rural veteran, under both the guaranty and direct-loan phases of the program, would benefit the veteran, yet would not adversely affect any of the other interests intimately connected with the program, since, in all transactions, either the private lending institution or the Veterans' Administration have every opportunity to determine the business propriety of each individual transaction.

Department of Defense Procurement Policies

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, CLEMENT J. ZABLOCKI

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to enclose the following resolution adopted by the CIO executive board, which I was requested to bring to the attention of the membership of this body:

RESOLUTION OF CIO EXECUTIVE BOARD CALL-ING FOR CONGRESSIONAL INVESTIGATION OF THE POLICY OF PROCUREMENT AGENCIES OF THE DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE IN STRIKE SITUATIONS

The United Automobile Workers and the United Steelworkers are presently engaged in bitter struggles for union recognition and economic justice for their members at the Kohler Co. and Buffalo Arms, Inc. These two companies are viciously antiunion and will stop at nothing, including flagrant violations of law, in their efforts to undermine and destroy unionism at their plants.

Unfortunately the procurement agencies of the Federal Government have been giving vital aid and comfort to these employers in their campaigns to break the union. This is a matter of gravest concern which requires prompt and effective remedial action.

The UAW strike at Kohler began April 5, 1954, when the company refused to offer an adequate wage increase and insisted on elimination of a contract clause calling for arbitration of discharges and layoffs. The company's attitude was bluntly stated by its chief negotiator when he said the company intends to teach the union a lesson and that we went through a bitter strike in 1934 which brought us 20 years of labor peace and we hope to get 20 more years of peace out of this strike. Although the union accepted a suggestion by the governor for arbitration of the contract dispute, the company has steadfastly refused to arbitrate.

Herbert Kohler, company president, in proceedings before the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board, admitted that the company had a store of clubs left over from the 1934 dispute and that it had purchased more clubs, guns, and tear gas. Possession of such munitions is illegal under Wisconsin

On April 12, 1954, the NLRB unanimously found that the company had engaged in

acts of interference, restraint, and coercion in violation of the National Labor Relations Act, as amended. However, the company has refused to comply with the Board's order to cease and correct these unfair-labor practices.

Additional charges of unfair-labor practices, including refusal to bargain in good faith and intimidation, were filed with the NLRB by the union in July 1954. The General Counsel of the Board recognized the merit of the union's charges and has issued a complaint against the company. The complaint is now awaiting hearing.

Despite the existence of a strike at the plant and the company's refusal to comply with an order of the National Labor Relations Board and its commission of new unfair labor practices, the Department of the Army in November 1954 awarded a \$2 million contract for the manufacture of shell casings to the company. The company immediately seized upon this contract as a vindication of its position and it relied upon the contract to stimulate a back-to-work movement by means of letters to its employees and newspaper advertisements.

Wittingly or unwittingly, this procurement agency of the Defense Department thus became a full-fledged partner of the company in the company's campaign to break the strike and the union, in the face of a determination by another arm of the Federal Government that the company is in violation

of Federal law.

The Department of the Army has played a similarly unjustified role in the Buffalo Arms situation. The steelworkers went on strike against this company in June 1954 to protest the failure of the company to bargain with the union following the union's certification as exclusive collective bargaining representative by the NLRB. Charges were filled with the NLRB by the union and the NLRB trial examiner sustained the union's charges in September. Among other things, he ordered the employer to bargain with the union. The trial examiner's findings and conclusions were adopted by the Board in November and the Board also ordered the company to bargain with the union.

The company has refused to comply with these orders. Nevertheless, the company has been favored by the Department of the Army with defense contracts throughout this period in which the union has been on strike and the company has been in violation of Federal law as determined by the NLRB.

The position of the Department of the Army is that it may not even consider the fact that a company is in violation of NLRB rulings in determining whether to award a contract to the company. In a letter to the steelworkers, Assistant Secretary of the Army F. H. Higgins stated: "Procuring agencies may not refuse to award a contract to a firm because that firm is refusing to comply with an NLRB order to cease and desist from an unfair labor practice. Thus, the Department of the Army is precluded from considering a contractor's status under the National Labor Relations Act in the award or administration of contracts."

This position of the Department of the Army raises grave problems bearing on our national labor policy. A situation in which openly antiunion employers who breach the Federal law are rewarded by Federal contracts and are thus aided and abetted in their efforts to break strikes and destroy unions is completely intolerable.

Now, therefore, be it resolved, the CIO executive board condemns the policy of the Department of the Army in awarding contracts to companies which are on strike and have been found by the NLRB to be in violation of Federal law.

We urge Congress to institute a prompt and thorough investigation of this policy of procurement agencies of the Defense Department and to rectify this intolerable situation by legislation, if necessary.

We commend the members of the UAW and the USA at the Kohler and Buffalo Arms Companies for their valiant and self-sacrificing actions against their union-busting employers. We pledge our sister unions and their members at these plants our full support in their just struggle for union recognition and decent contracts.

Special Competence

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, JOHN J. WILLIAMS

OF DELAWARE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. WILLIAMS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have incorporated in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Special Competence," published in the Washington Post of February 8, 1955; also a letter addressed to the editor, signed by the Senator from Ohio [Mr. Bricker].

There being no objection, the editorial and letter were ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington Post of February 8, 1955]

SPECIAL COMPETENCE

Senator John W. Bricker, a man who has specialized in politics for most of his adult life, espoused a somewhat puzzling doctrine in a speech on Saturday commemorating Thomas A. Edison's birthday. Without naming any names, he roundly criticized some present-day scientists who talk publicly about political matters that are outside their fields of special competence. This criticism, although an anomalous one in a self-governing society committed to the idea that political wisdom is most likely to be derived from full and free discussion by all its members, is rather widely held these days—and especially in regard to men of learning in the physical sciences.

Those who subscribe to this criticism like to think of nuclear physicists, for example, as innocent, unworldly, cloistered fellows puttering about in ivy-covered laboratories and perfecting atomic bombs without a care in the world as to what more practical men like Senator BRICKER may choose to do with them. But the truth is that those who probe the mysteries of nature are prone to think about them—sometimes with a heavy sense of responsibility. And perhaps they ought to be pardoned if they wonder whether political science is so far advanced as to know definitively how best to deal with the discoveries of physical science.

Senator BRICKER may have been quite justified in decilining to equate scientific wisdom and wisdom in all the other affairs of life. No doubt there are foolish scientists just as there are foolish politicians. But it does not follow that men of science ought to keep silent about their convictions or that what they say may not be instinct with a reflection and understanding not common among men who do not share their special knowledge.

The Senator went on to tell his audience that, if mankind did not employ the time made available by the inventions of Mr. Edison and others in meaningful leisure, leisure would sink into a boredom more oppressive than tyranny. This strikes us as a pregnant observation. But his listeners must have wondered what there was in Mr. BRICKER'S experience and training that gave him the authority to utter it. "Leisure" is not a subject on which we should expect

any Senator to claim any special competence. Perhaps, however, it would be best to weigh Mr. BRICKER's opinions, and the opinions of other men as well, on their own merits.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C., February 9, 1955.
The EDITOR,

Washington Post and Times Herald,

DEAR SIR: Your editorial, Special Competence (February 8, 1955), states that I "roundly criticized" in a recent address scientists "who talk publicly about political matters that are outside their fields of 'special competence.'"

You say this is "a somewhat puzzling doctrine." Puzzling? It is rather a reactionary doctrine—a doctrine of gag that I oppose as much as you. In my speech commemorating Edison's birthday, I advanced no such doctrine; nor did I utter the criticism which

is the basis of your editorial.

As urged in your editorial, all opinions should be weighed "on their own merits." Too often, however, political opinions are weighed primarily on the basis of fame acquired in a totally unrelated field of endeavor. I praised Mr. Edison for refusing to "trade on his reputation as a great scientist" to win public acceptance of his opinions on complex political issues. In this, I said, Edison "was not like some present-day scientists."

Edison's work habits are a matter of common knowledge. Accordingly, I did not think it necessary or proper to spell out in a commemorative address that the political opinions which Mr. Edison was reluctant to broadcast were not derived from independent study or from serious reflection. Not having the full text of my remarks, and relying no doubt on a misleading story in the New York Sunday Times (February 6, 1955) captioned "BRICKER Decries Scientists' Talk," I can understand how you could draw in good faith unfavorable inferences from my remarks.

I appreciate your editorial comment on the problem of leisure. On that subject I disavow any "special competence," perhaps at the risk of a New York Times story under the heading "BRICKER Declares Self Incompetent." The problem of leisure, however, is that of every man and one which each individual must solve in his own way.

I am placing in the Congressional Record a copy of this letter, your editorial, and my speech on Edison.

Sincerely yours,

JOHN BRICKER, (Copies to editor, New York Times; editor, the Boston Daily Globe.)

Our Prayers Could Change the World

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK CARLSON

OF KANSAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. CARLSON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "Our Prayers Could Change the World," written by Stanley High.

This article appeared in the February issue of the Reader's Digest. St. Paul writes in the Gospel, "The effectual fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much." It occurs to me that in this confused and uncertain period in our Nation's history, we might well give serious

thought to prayer, which has played such an important part in the history of our Nation.

There are many instances, both in our public and in our personal life, where prayer has definitely directed the course.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

OUR PRAYERS COULD CHANGE THE WORLD (By Stanley High)

How can the average American, the average citizen of any free nation, help win the struggle to save freedom and achieve a just and lasting peace?

The answer to this universal question now comes from the weighty testimony of many distinguished men. It is this: A lasting peace can be achieved only through the rediscovery of the free world's spiritual re-sources, the reviving among free peoples of a dynamic religious faith.

"Peace cannot be left to the diplomat and the soldier," says President Eisenhower. "It desperately needs the transforming power that comes from men and women, the world over, responding to their highest allegiances and to their best motives. The cause of peace needs God."

'The West has erred," says the historian Arnold J. Toynbee, "because it has chosen to fight communism with communism's own materialist weapons. As long as the battle is fought on these terms, the Communists will keep on winning. Western democracy must base its appeal on more than freedom, more than prosperity; it must base its appeal on religion. Only in this way can de-mocracy turn the tables on the Communist assailants. The grace of God might bring about this miracle."

Charles Malik, Lebanese Ambassador to the United States and an Arab spokesman in the United Nations, says, "Nothing is more ridiculous than those who say 'fight communism' and then concentrate on the economic and social alone. The real challenge is intellectual and spiritual. What is needed is a positive message, something humble, outreaching, touching the hearts of men, touching their need for understanding, providing hope. How can such a message be given reality save by multitudes of ordinary men and women stirred and exalted by religious faith?"

Is there a way whereby religion's power to shape events can be made effective? ident Eisenhower believes there is. He set it forth before the Assembly of the World

Council of Churches:

"How can we help strike this spark of dedication in receptive hearts around the earth? By personal prayer by hundreds upon hundreds of millions. The goal should be hundreds of millions. nothing short of inviting every single person in every single country who believes in a Supreme Being to join in this mighty, in-tense act of faith. If this mass dedication launched an unending campaign for peace, supported by prayer, I am certain wondrous results would ensue."

This conviction of the President is backed up by the judgment of other Americans who. in times of great crisis, acknowledged their faith in prayer. When, in 1787, the threat of failure loomed over the Constitutional Convention, Benjamin Franklin called for

daily prayers:

"I have lived, sir, a long time; and the longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see that God governs in the affairs of men. We have been assured, sir, in the Sacred Writings, that 'except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." firmly believe this; and I also believe that, without His concurring aid, we shall succeed in this political building no better than the builders of Babel."

With the fate of the Union at stake in his decisions, Abraham Lincoln said: "I talk to God. My mind seems relieved when I do and a way is suggested. I should be a self-conceited blockhead if I should hope to get along without the wisdom that comes from God and not from man."

If each of us set aside some time every day to pray fervently for a just and lasting peace, is it likely that wondrous results

would ensue?

For the answer to this question do not look to those who are skepical of prayer and ignorant of praying. The opinions on prayer of such men, says Dr. George A. Buttrick, are like those of tone-deaf men judging music. Here, as in any field of knowledge, we should turn to experts: men who speak of prayer from their own observation and ex-

"If prayers were not answered," says Dr. Buttrick in his book Prayer, "praying would long since have vanished in man's despair and pain."

"If praying did not produce results," said late Rufus Jones, renowned Quaker philosopher, "it would soon be weeded out of the human race. It would shrivel like the functionless organ."

In these times it is not prayer which has failed, but we who have failed to pray. Dr. Alexis Carrel believed that prayer is our greatest source of power. "But," he added,

"it is miserably underdeveloped."

God does not "force His assistance on us," says Father James Keller, founder of the Christophers. "He leaves us free to take it or leave it. The key to the door is given in Jesus' words: 'Ask,' 'seek,' 'knock.'

"It is as clear, as simple as the story of

the small boy struggling, mightily, to a heavy stone. He couldn't budge it. I pening to pass by, his father asked, 'Are you using all your strength?' 'Yes, I am,' said the boy impatiently. 'I don't think you are,' said the father. 'You haven't asked me to help.'

"The road to a just and lasting peace has

some mighty big stones in it."
"Some years ago," says Dr. Norman Vincent Peale, "the scientist Steinmetz prophesied the time would come when we would take prayer into our laboratories and release tremendous power. Countless men and women today, in the laboratories of their own lives, are proving what prayer can do. A hard core of thoroughly dedicated prayer-scientists, focusing spiritual power on men and events, could loose a redeeming, creating force in the world which no evil host, not even the Communists, could stand against. I believe there are tens of thousands of people around the world ready to join in the fellowship and adventure of such an experiment."

"We will never rid the world of war," says evangelist Billy Graham, "until we ourselves are rid of iniquity. What does God say? From whence come wars and fightings among you * * * come they not from your lusts? What has God promised? 'When a man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his

enemies to be at peace with him."

"Is there any doubt," asks Dr. Rheinhold Niebuhr, that "our dedication would influence the policies of nations? The task of overcoming pride and arrogance, which assall every nation and are an obstacle to peace, is a religious one. Greater humility and patience in our dealings with other na tions must begin with a deeper humility and patience in us, as individuals. Granted we deal with an unscrupulous foe. Yet, how better than by the spirit born of our prayers purposes, the sincerity of our desire for peace?" can we convince him of the honesty of our

From our dedication through prayer we could expect a unity for peace among the world's peoples made vastly stronger because its source was spiritual, not merely military and material. Father Keller quotes the conclusion of Napoleon as he looked back from St. Helena on the ruins of his conquests: "There are two world powers, the sword and the spirit. The spirit has always vanquished the sword."

"Faith has indeed moved mountains," says President Eisenhower. "Ours is a time when great things must again be dared in faith." Millions profess that belief. Will we ac-

cept the challenge?

Quemoy and Formosa

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. WAYNE MORSE

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. MORSE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the RECORD an editorial entitled "Quemoy and Formosa," which was published in the January 27, 1955, issue of the Manchester Guardian Weekly.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

QUEMOY AND FORMOSA

The ambiguities of President Eisenhower's special message to Congress on Formosa are deplorable. The message is so clumsily constructed that it appears to contain a veiled threat of American attack upon the Chinese mainland. It says that the United States must be prepared to "take appropriate military action" against "any concentration of Chinese Communist forces obviously undertaken to facilitate attack upon Formosa." It says this after citing the shelling of Quemoy in September as part of "a series of provocative political and military actions establishing a pattern of aggressive purpose." Communist purpose, it says, is the conquest of Formosa. Quemoy is described as "one of the natural approaches to Formosa." It suggests that American obligations should not be enlarged beyond Formosa and the Pescadores, but adds that "unhappily" the United States must take into account "closely related localities" and actions which "might determine the failure or success" of an attack upon Formosa. Since Quemoy is a "natural approach" to Formosa it is presumably a "closely related locality." concentrations of shipping at Foochow or Amoy and concentrations of aircraft at nearby mainland airfields may be regarded as "undertaken to facilitate attack upon Forthey are presumably the concentramosa." tions against which American forces must be ready to "take appropriate military action." Thus the message can be read as threatening an American attack upon the mainland. That may or may not have been President Elsenhower's intention-it probably was not-but it is the effect. It gives apparent credibility to some of the Communist propaganda claiming that the United States is planning an attack upon China. It is a gross blunder.

The damaging effect of these phrases cannot be undone by saying that their aim is no more than to assure the security of Formosa and the Pescadores. The threat to the mainland and the implicit American commitment to defend Quemoy remain. It does not help to declaim about "the free world's stake in a free Formosa." Nine-tenths of the free

world has grave doubts about the kind of freedom provided by Chiang's regime (even if it has graver doubts about the Com-Nor does it help to speak of the munists). loss of Formosa as "breaching the island chain" which constitutes the "geographical backbone" of American security, for Okinawa and the Philippines complete that chain without Formosa (even if the chain is re-garded as essential). And none of these things justifies a belligerent threat or will help toward the kind of peacemaking which President Eisenhower seems to have wanted. Even the offer of American military assistance for the "redeployment" of Chiang's troops, conceived at first as a means of withdrawing them without provoking further fighting, has been so phrased that it may be read as meaning that those troops may merely be consolidated in better positions near the mainland. The wretched tragedy is that this American initiative, intended to promote a settlement, is going to have the opposite effect. The damage caused by Monday's message will be hard to undo.

Is Dispersal Obsolete?-Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, in connection with House Concurrent Resolution 66, which provides for a joint committee to study the feasibility of industrial and urban dispersal as a means of defense against H-bomb attack, there follows part I of an article by Donald Monson which appeared in the December issue of Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists:

IS DISPERSAL OBSOLETE? (By Donald Monson)

Since 1945 the Bulletin has called for dispersal—that is, defense through decentralization—as the only real protection against nuclear weapons. In this it has been joined by most city planners, who have also held that space is the only effective "before the fact" defense against the A-bomb. In 1953 project East River, in the sections on the reduction of urban vulnerability, presented two dispersion alternatives:

(a) The direction of all new urban construction away from congested central areas to their outer fringes an' suburbs in lowdensity continuous development.

(b) The prevention of the metropolitan core's further spread by directing new construction into small, widely spaced satellite towns, coupled with the breaking up of the central city into a number of smaller towns separated by broad open firebreaks containing escape highways, parks, etc.

Just as these ideas were beginning to be understood, the H-bomb upset the public and defense authorities alike. In this rapid advance in destructive techniques, defense by any system of dispersal has been seriously questioned. Prof. Hornell Hart came to the conclusion that dispersion was obsolete and was essentially like matching a sleeping tortoise against a racing automobile.

Four new developments have been discussed in the public press which bring into question the effectiveness of urban dispersal:

(a) The increased power of the H-bomb, alleged by AEC Chairman Strauss as now

capable of knocking out "any" metropolitan complex.

(b) The radioactive fallout accompanying an H-bomb explosion, which is said to extend well beyond the area of blast and heat.

(c) The alleged accuracy of interconti-

nental ballistic and guided missiles.

(d) The rumored C-bomb, whose lethal

(d) The rumored C-bomb, whose lethal radioactivity would endanger not only metropolitan areas but, in the more lurid reports, "wipe life as we know it from the earth."

The maximum implications of the above four items, taken together, leave little hope of using present city planning practices to achieve a demonstrably greater measure of safety under attack. City planners cannot be blamed for throwing up their hands and going back to their profession along the less awesome, preatomic lines. They are unable to deal with the threats posed by the new weapons because there is no information generally available. The Effects of Atomic Weapons, based on the Hiroshima and Nagasaki explosions, has not yet been brought up to date by the AEC. The writer, therefore, offers the following discussion, incomplete as it may be, on the basis of such unclassified data as was available to him from published sources, supplemented by unpublished data supplied by Ralph Lapp.

THE BLAST AND HEAT EFFECTS OF THE H-BOMB

The Civil Defense Administration has classified possible blast damage from nuclear attack into the following four damage zones:

Zone A: Complete destruction of all structures:

Zone B: All structures severely damaged; if repairable, must be vacated for repairs; Zone C: All structures moderately or se-

Zone C: All structures moderately or severely damaged; if repairable, must be vacated for repairs;

Zone D: Buildings apt to be moderately or lightly damaged; need not be vacated for repairs.

It is assumed that in a dispersal program new construction would be far enough from probable ground zero to fall into Zone D. As a bomb will not necessarily fall in the geographic center of the built-up area, point zero, for dispersal planning purposes, should be assumed to be anywhere on the rough circumferential line bordering the more-orless solidly built-up area of the central metropolitan city and its contiguous suburbs. Knapp 2 estimated that a 20-megaton bomb (the size of the April 1954 Pacific test) would extend the outer edge of zone C, insofar as blast damage is concerned, to a distance of about 15 miles from point zero. If the bomb is increased to the limit of the chart at 45 megatons, the distance would be about 20 miles. Increasing the curve by crude projjection to 100 megatons (assuming that the scaling laws hold), the distance would be about 25 miles, the curve seemingly becoming asymptotic at that point.

A related factor bearing upon the required open space between a new satellite town and the edge of the builtup area of the old metropolitan center, or between satellites, is the effect of the heat wave. Knapp puts the maximum safety level of thermal intensity at three calories per square centimeter. A 50-megaton bomb, he estimates, would exceed this amount only within the 20-mile limit on a very clear day—any haze in the atmosphere shortening the distance. Since the blast effects would carry the C-zone damage slightly further, it would appear that the thermal effects of the bomb are contained within the probable blast damage area and hence may be disregarded in determining the minimum dispersal distance between urban developments.

RADIOACTIVE FALLOUT

The enormous megatonnage of the H-bomb introduced a new factor into the catalog of the lethal effects of nuclear weapons: the impregnation with radioactivity of the dis-

lodged and volatilized material from the earth's surface below the exploding bomb, the particles of which are then carried for greater or lesser distances by air currents and then fall out over an area of considerable extent.

Lapp points out that the lethal effects of direct radiation from high megatonnage bomb bursts are contained within the primary damage zones of the heat and blast effects. The same is true of the lethal effects of the radioactivity in the cloud of steam resulting from a bomb bursting in, or near the surface of, a body of salt water. In the Bikini lagoon this steam bath is reported to have contaminated an egg-shaped area about 3 miles in length, well within the blast damage zone, and so may be discounted.

The fallout is a far more serious matter, Lapp points out that the extent and degree of radioactivity of the fallout depend on several factors: the power and composition of the bomb, height of the explosion, velocity and direction of the wind, and composition of the debris. The worst problems occur when bombs of high megatonnage are set off close to the earth's surface. These factors make it more difficult to set up definite rules for citing satellite towns to avoid the lethal effects of the fallout than in the case of blast and heat.

The fallout will, however, normally occur downwind and will be scattered by the combined effects of the surface winds and the characteristic 40-to-60 knot winds of the stratosphere. Because of the weight of the subsurface particles, half the debris can be expected to fall within the first 24 hours after the explosion, with the maximum activity in the first 3 hours. During this period the surface winds will govern the bulk of the fallout. The finer particles will be carried upward longer and farther by the upper air currents and will be distributed by both stratospheric and surface winds. Because of the rapid decay in radioactivity of most of the fission products, the major danger is in the first hours after the blast.

Since radioactivity is essentially a weapon against human beings rather than structures, relatively simple shelters covered by a few feet of packed earth seem to offer fair chances of surviving the lethal effects of fall-out, provided that the shelter is not infiltrated by air-borne radioactive particles, that a covered reserve of drinking water is at hand, and that people stay in the shelter long enough for the level of radioactivity to recede to tolerable amounts.

Meteorologists in the Civil Defense Administration should be able to supply city planners with charts, showing prevailing wind directions for all our metropolitan target areas and the sectors of the region most likely to be covered by the fallout shadow. In most areas it will be quite pos-sible to site satellite towns outside this shadow. As dispersal progresses, it may be necessary in some areas to locate new towns in the direction of the shadow either be-cause the wind is not prevalently in one direction or because the population is so large that not enough sites exist elsewhere. Even in this latter event, it seems advisable that no town should be located within the radioactive shadow at a distance less than 50 miles from ground zero. Planners will have to decide, in each metropolitan region, what relative weights can be safely assigned to (1) the new town's distance from the builtup area; (2) the estimated amount of time between the bomb burst and the arrival of the radioactive cloud; (3) the shelter program; (4) the length of time people can be expected to stay in the shelters; (5) the period during which the town may be contaminated; and (6) the evacuation of the people as soon as it is safe for them to leave the shelters.

Radioactivity resulting from atomic explosions may also, it has been said, be raised on a global basis to the point of affecting human genetics. Serious as this may be, it does not affect the question of dispersal directly and so is not considered here.

INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC AND GUIDED MISSILES

Senator Stuart Symington, in a speech delivered on the Senate floor July 21, 1954, suggested that "within a few years it will be possible to deliver atomic and hydrogen weapons by long-range, intercontinental ballistic missiles * * * so precisely that any error in accuracy can be measured, not in miles, but in hundreds of yards."

If this is true, any kind of dispersion short of spreading the entire population evenly through the whole country will not be of much help. One thing, however, is certain: It is a great deal easier to hit an urban agglomeration of the size of one of our present great metropolitan cities than a series of small towns scattered at random in the land-scape. To destroy small satellite cities at long range, missiles would have to be of almost incredible accuracy or be guided by electronic devices which in turn would be subject to defensive measures.

THE COBALT BOMB

One of the more alarming possibilities in the advance toward the development of absolute weapons is the alleged theory that by substituting a cobait shell for the usual metal casing of the H-bomb, a weapon can be made which is capable of endangering whole nations, continents, and—say the more imaginative—the whole world. The writer has no way of evaluating this possibility, though it does not appear to be taken too seriously by the scientists.

HOW FAR IS FAR ENOUGH?

Summarizing the discussion so far, it is found that a rough distance of 20 miles from the edge of an existing metropolitan built-up area or between new towns is enough to insure reasonable safety for a satellite town, providing it is not located within the radioactive shadow. Taking as a basis Lapp's estimate of the area likely to be affected within the first few hours after a blast, such a new satellite town ought perhaps to be at least 50 miles from the built-up area. These distances represent compromises which would permit new construction to be located within our metropolitan regions and at the same time would minimize the danger of their being too severely damaged by future intercontinental guided or ballistic missiles.

In most metropolitan areas the problem of siting the first half-dozen satellite cities would not be too difficult. The New York metropolitan region in this respect presents the most difficult problem. There, any extensive dispersal on satellite principles—or any other, for that matter—on a scale set by the H-bomb might well necessitate a total reduction of the area's population and migration on a considerable scale outside the normally defined metropolitan area.

IS THERE TIME FOR DISPERSAL TO BE EFFECTIVE?

Even though they grant that satellite dispersion has theoretical validity, a number of writers have dismissed it as a practical defense measure on the grounds that there is not enough time for it to become effective. Discounting dispersion because of the time available fails to give proper consideration to a number of factors:

- (a) It does not recognize that the Soviets will not necessarily attack as soon as they have the wherewithal to do so.
- (b) It fails to differentiate between the two theories of dispersion.
- (c) It does not distinguish whether the purpose of the first steps in dispersion is a civil-defense measure intended merely to

cut down the number of civilian casualties or a means to insure that the economy can survive the shock of an all-out attack.

(d) It assumes that because absolute security is virtually unattainable relative security is of little value.

CAPABILITY DOES NOT NECESSARILY MEAN INTENTION

The year 1957 in Professor Hart's analysis is indicative of when the U. S. S. R. can strike, not when she may or will strike.5 For the purposes of this article, it is enough to that there are two schools of thought suggesting a delay in a Russian attack: The first is advanced by many economic and political observers and holds that as long as-the Soviets can advance their influence short of general war, they will not start world war III as they have no need to do so; the second is advanced by the proponents of a greater strategic Air Force, who hold that the ability of the United States to inflict massive retaliation on the Soviet homeland will deter the Communist dictatorship from risking world war III. As dispersion is not a substitute for either economic aid to our allies or an adequate strategic Air Force backed by high levels of weapon research and other suitable military defense measures, it is enough to point out that facing up to the situation and doing our best in all fields, strengthens the hope of an uneasy truce which may last for many years.

SCATTER VERSUS NUCLEATED SATELLITES

The fact that there are two distinct theories of dispersal—one which simply seeks to spread out the population at a lower density, another which locates industry and population in small satellite towns located at predetermined points in the metropolitan region—is not yet well understood. Dispersion as a simple reduction in density is based on the theory that the fewer people and the less industry per given unit of area, the lower the number of casualties and the less the property damage which will occur under any given bomb.

This is true as far as it goes, the chief attraction of this system being that it requires the least divergence from business as usual, the least change in the way we build and rebuild our metropolitan centers. However, this method also has severe inherent weaknesses, the chief of which is that it extends even further the unbroken developed area of our large cities—thus making them even bigger targets and at the same time even less efficient in their functioning than they are today.

Dispersion by acceleration of the flight to the contiguous suburbs only aggravates the long-recognized problems of the metropolitan city and its suburban area.

But the case against dispersion by scatteras-usual-only-more-so does not rest only on on the aggravation of old metropolitan problems. A general A- and H-bomb strike against the main population centers of the country would disrupt their present transport and communication grids, cause general fuel shortages, create shortages of skilled and general labor, and generate enormous demands for relief and rehabilitation. Scatter dispersion would make this situation worse in that the more the population is spread out, the more it will have to depend upon a high per-capita expenditure of transport and services to keep producing. The very de-mands and shortages resulting from a general air attack may well isolate a high percentage of the scattered population, making them of little value for continued production or relief work.

The satellite town system of dispersal is in sharp contrast to the above in that it meets the problems of the metropolitan area and does not add to them. Should the core of the area be knocked out, the satellite would

Footnotes at end of speech.

remain intact as a productive urban entity. A metropolitan region having a number of satellite towns would interconnect them with power, transport, and communication grids so that it would be virtually impossible to break contact between any two for more than a very short time.

THE PROBLEM OF SELECTIVE DISPERSAL

Another misconception as to the role of dispersion is found in its failure to define objectives. The Bulletin has pointed out editorially that the basic problem here is not a matter of reducing casualties-important as that may be but rather a question of insuring that the Nation will not be put out of action by an all-out attack. Dispersal by satellite towns is peculiarly adapted to this end. At the present time an appalling concentration of production, storage, and administration lies in the centers of a relatively few metropolitan areas. The extent tively few metropolitan areas. The extent of the damage which it is possible for an enemy to inflict on the Nation by striking at these concentrations is bad enough, but the resultant disorganization of the country may well decide the outcome of a war. It is this additional problem which a program of satellite dispersal can mitigate and which is the proper first objective of a planned dispersal program.

The nucleation of selected new construction into small satellite cities so as to minimize the need of expensive transport and other public facilities in case of attack is the positive aspect of such a program. a metropolitan center is destroyed, there will be an urgent need to conserve drastically all remaining transport, fuel, manpower, and supplies of all kinds. Having our population thinly scattered over great areas will contribute to the aggravation of the breakdown in case of attack. The negative aspect of the satellite dispersal program, therefore, becomes the prevention of the continuous spread of the central metropolis and contiguous suburbs, both for the sake of efficiency in a postattack period and to prevent the central area from becoming a more attractive target.

At first glance it might seem that dispersal by scatter would spread the population over a greater area than dispersion of the same population in small cities and thus give a greater measure of protection. Since missiles would presumably be aimed at the centers of the metropolitan areas, the problem is to keep any additional development from taking place at their peripheries, which are normally well within the H-bomb's danger area. Planless dispersion inevitably results in building, first, close to the periphery of the existing urban area, and then, as the density adjacent to the old builtup area rises, moving outward. This is inherent in our present way of building suburban developments, since the average builder cannot tie up his capital in land for long periods and must attach his project to some existing town which can supply him with public utilities. The net result is that, though any single unit of area in the metropolitan sprawl may have a lower density than a corresponding area in a satellite town, the bulk the scattered dispersed population would be in greater danger than in new towns because they would be living in areas which were extensions of the primary target area.

ADSOLUTE VERSUS RELATIVE SAFETY

Finally, there is the argument that there is no use in starting a program of dispersal because even at best it could not prevent a large number of casualties. A realistic appraisal of the time we may have in which to disperse must also, of course, recognize that war could come before a pattern of small cities emerges in many of our large metropolitan areas. This does not mean, however, that the effort should not be made to build as many satellite cities as time permits. As was stated above, the first purpose

Footnotes at end of speech.

of these new satellites is not just to save the lives of the lucky persons dispersed from the old city, but to pull out of the metropolis in ever-increasing volume the industry and workers which are necessary to the Nation's defense in case of war. Thus the industries in the first satellites would be selected and their management and workers given incentives to move to the new town. The cost of such incentives would properly be a national defense expenditure. As time goes on it would become increasingly difficult for an enemy to knock out our industrial plant; the bombing of our large cities would become less and less attractive to an aggressor.

³Hornell Hart, The Remedies Versus the Menace, Bulletin, 10 (June 1954), pp. 197-205.

² Harold A. Knapp, Jr., South Woodley Looks at the H-bomb, Bulletin, 10 (October 1954), pp. 306-311.

Ralph E. Lapp. Civil Defense Faces New Peril, Bulletin, 10 (November 1954).

'A normal extension of the concept of dispersal, from one of building entirely new towns to enlargement of existing small towns which can be suitably increased in size, has taken place in Britain under the Conservative Government with the passage of the Town Development Act of 1952.

⁵ Hornell Hart, op. cit.

Is Dispersal Obsolete?-Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, in connection with House Concurrent Resolution 66, which provides for a joint committee to study the feasibility of industrial and urban dispersal as a means of defense against H-bomb attack, there follows part II of an article by Donald Monson which appeared in the December issue of Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists:

DISPERSION AND THE METROPOLITAN AREA—THE REGIONAL PATTERN

The distances required by the H-bomb make the present halfhearted attempts at dispersion futile. Planners are in general agreement on the form a metropolitan region ought to take to meet the problem of dispersion. As project East River put it, "a central core and satellite pattern for metropolitan areas [have been] long recommended by professional city planners. * * • Existing metropolitan areas conform rather crudely to this pattern. Both classical statements in city planning and recent and progressive master plans for major metropoli describe a similar arrangement. This theory of metropolitan structure has never been seriously challenged." *

The application of the safe distances presented earlier in this article would not destroy the validity of this pattern, but to make this classical concept of the metropolitan city the basis of a national defense program for dispersal, means solving the problems in a field of government most marked by confusion and disorganization—the metropolitan region. This is the heart of the difficulty.

THE SATELLITE IN THE REGION

Robert E. Merriam, writing in the Bulletin's issue on decentralization and speaking as an alderman of the city of Chicago, was skeptical of dispersion because it was not advanced as a part of a solution of the greater problem of metropolitan govern-ment. "In the Chicago area, for example." In the Chicago area, for example," wrote Merriam, "there are an estimated 1,600 units of local government, many of them with important governmental func-tions. The horrible spectacle of some suburban communities in this area in 1950 refusing to cooperate even in the planning for civilian defense, the haggling over water supply, the perpetual fight over garbage dumps, the never-ending problem of indus-trial plant location, and the nightmare of seven major governments operating within the city of Chicago, all are symptoms of one of the gravest problems American democracy faces today. * * * To meet successfully all the growing problems of modern urban living, including the threat of atomic attack, requires a reorganization of the metropolitan complexes into some rational governmental, social, and economic patterns. The overlap-ping, duplicating, wasteful, inefficient sys-tem of governmental organization must be simplified." 1

Mayor Joseph Clark, of Philadelphia, speaking to the recent annual convention of the American Society of Planning Officials, suggested that a Delaware Valley authority would be an ideal framework within which to tackle the multitudinous problems of urbanization in the three States containing the Philadelphia metropolitan region. Such an authority, the mayor added, could more effectively handle the regional problems now spawning a series of ad hoc bodies working without adequate coordination.

Meanwhile, in the absence of a functioning regional authority in the Philadelphia area, we have seen in the last few years the location of a new major steel plant, Fairless, 7½ miles from the border of Philadelphia and just across the river from Trenton, N. a city already having a population of 128,000. The working force of the new plant is concentrated in the new communities of Fairless Hills and Levittown, where new homes for 16,000 persons were built in 1950 and 1951 alone. This new plant and the now towns indicate that rapid construction of a planned system of satellite towns is wholly feasible ven under our present mortgage and building practices. But in the absence of metro-politan direction and a program of planned dispersion based on knowledge of modern weapons, the towns were, unfortunately built between the plant and the builtup areas of Philadelphia. If the present trends continue, a few years will find that the net result of this dispersion was only to con-nect, with a solid mass of development, the existing Philadelphia area with the smaller concentration of Trenton.

NEED FOR FEDERAL LEADERSHIP

To break this impasse in metropolitan regional development, Federal leadership in the interests of national defense is needed. The central cities have long complained that they are being suffocated by their suburbs, by the flight of industry, the loss of their tax base; but only in a few cases in the last decades—notably Atlanta, Ga., and Toronto, Ontario—have any big cities managed to extend their boundaries and thus control the development of their metropolitan regions.

Many of our big metropolitan areas lie in more than one State and to expect them or the States to meet the problem unassisted is hopeless; even where the area is in one State, solutions are tied to the problem of political rivalries between farm and urban areas, the farm legislators siding with the

suburbs in questions involving their submission to regional controls.

The Federal Government has been increasingly concerned with urban affairs. The Bulletin has repeatedly carried articles by various authors listing the Federal powers and agencies which are already at hand and can be used to implement a dispersal policy. What is needed is coordination of these various programs to initiate an urban satellite dispersal program on a metropolitan basis.

The present Federal policy does not do this. In the industrial field, tax-incentive programs have given but a perfunctory nod to dispersal requirements, even on the merest scatter basis. The concentration of defense contracts with General Motors has not helped spread the base of industrial power, whether or not it may have reduced the national budget unbalance. The Federal housing programs, with their present emphasis on redevelopment and rehabilitation, largely ignore defense and dispersion considerations; highway programs are primarily directed toward relieving peacetime congestion. The budget ought to be balanced, our cities need rehabilitation, congestion should be relieved—but these measures can and should be coordinated with a metropolitan defense program through planned satellite dispersion.

CAN WE AFFORD DISPERSAL?

One of the arguments frequently heard against a dispersal program is that it is expensive and would mean that the national defense effort would suffer in other directions were such a program energetically followed. This is true, at least partially, of dispersion by scatter, which would be costly in terms of the public utilities and service facilities widespread low-density development requires; it is not true of a planned metropolitan dispersal program which, over a period of years, merely directs all new construction into a series of planned satellite towns. Such a program involves no abortive investments; what is built will be in the course of the normal growth of our cities. We will spend these sums anyway, even without metropolitan planning, and we may well spend them less efficiently. The role of of the National Government, charged as it is with responsibility for the national defense, is to break the Gordian knot of metropolitan disorder so that these normal investments in the Nation's growth can be made consistent with the demands of the country's security. In this light the question may well be asked whether we can afford not to disperse.

Adm. Ben Moreell, chairman of the Jones & Laughlin Steel Corp., recently analyzed the vulnerability of our iron and steel industry before the chief executives group of the American Iron and Steel Institute and properly termed the movement of industry to outlying sites as "progressive dispersion." He did not advocate the immediate wholesale dispersion of the iron and steel industry, but stated that within a realistic plan, as replacement of existing capacity becomes necessary at a rate of, say, 3 percent a year, one-quarter of the country's total capacity could be dispersed within 8 years. Admiral Moreell reported the estimated cost of such a 25-percent dispersal of plant facilities as \$9.236,000,000, with an additional \$2,500,000-000 required if all employees were also housed in the new towns.

Between 1940 and 1950, the total population increase in the 12 largest metropolitan centers of the United States was over 6,500,-000 persons. Of this increase, 4,700,000 were in suburban districts. If a policy of directing the suburban growth of these 12 areas alone into properly dispersed satellite towns had been instituted at the beginning of World

War II, almost a hundred complete new towns of 50,000 persons each would now have the necessary open space around them which alone can give any real protection against nuclear attack.

Joint estimates of the Labor and Commerce Departments forecast a new construction level of \$36 billion in the current year. This figure, taken with Admiral Moreell's estimate, for dispersing a quarter of the country's steel and fron ingot capacity, of about \$12 billion in 8 years, indicates that the problem is not so much to increase the rate of new construction as it is to direct such construction in the interests of national defense.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, then, it seems reasonable on the basis of the evidence so far available that urban dispersal on a metropolitan system of satellite towns is still valid as a defense measure. The upper limits of the power of the new weapons have been delineated with sufficient precision so that if we build our new towns in any metropolitan region, about 20 miles from the edge of the buildup area of the old city and from one another, and a greater distance downwind, our new satellites will be relatively safe. Building such a series of new towns around each of our big cities is essentially the problem of metropolitan government, whose solution requires Federal leadership-leadership which already has most of its necessary tools at hand, and which does not necessarily mean greater national expenditures but rather the guiding of normal investment in the extension and redevelopment of our cities to give maximum efficiency and security.

The metropolitan pattern outlined above does not take urban life away from the sun and air and seek to protect it in some impregnable fortress deep in the bowel of the earth; it is the best way we know how to build our cities had there never been an atomic bomb. If the catastrophic threat of the new weapons forces us to build our cities in this way, then there will have been a silver lining to the grim cloud genius has released from the scientific bottle.

Project East River, Report, Appendix

V-B, p. 28-B.
*Robert Merriam, Cities Are Here to Stay,
Bulletin, 7 (September 1951), p. 255.

There are many possible ways of setting up the complex Federal-local relationships which such a program would entail. One possible framework was outlined by the author in the Bulletin in A Program for Urban Dispersal, (September 1951). See also How Can We Disperse Our Large Cities, by the author, in the American City (December 1950 and January 1951).

*U. S. News & World Report, What the H-Bomb Can Do to United States Industries, by Adm. Ben Moreell (U. S. Navy, retired), May 7, 1954, p. 58 ff. Summarized in the Bulletin, 10 (June 1954), pp. 196, 205.

Abraham Lincoln

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD H. REES

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, January 24, 1955

Mr. REES of Kansas. Mr. Speaker, the Honorable Homer Hoch, a former Member of the House from the congressional district I represent, delivered a tribute to Abraham Lincoln. This tribute was delivered more than 20 years

ago. It is a timely statement and one, I believe, the Members of the House and others who take the Congressional Record will be glad to read.

There is no new thing to be said of Lincoln. Nor is there a new thing to be said of the mountains or the sea or the stars. The mountains ever tower in solemn majesty above the drifting clouds, the mysterious sea ever sobs upon the shore, and the silent stars ever keep holy vigil above a tired world-but to mountain and sea and star men turn forever in unwearied homage. And thus was Lincoln. For he was mountain in grandeur of soul, he was sea in deep undervoice of sadness and mystery, he was star in steadfast purity of purpose and of service. And he abides. With the name of Lincoln tears are called from old men's eyes, and with the name of Lincoln childhood learns to lisp a patriot's devotion. And there is no new thing to be said of him-what need, for such as he. But while the Republic stands on whose altar he laid his great mind and heart, while liberty is cherished, while civic virtue and service and sacrifice are honored in the earth, the name of Lincoln will be spoken in undying love by the sons of men.

Address by Judge Learned Hand on Liberty and the Rights of Man, and Review of Published Papers and Addresses by Judge Hand

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, on Saturday night, January 29, the great American jurist, one of the modern glants of the law, the beloved Judge Learned Hand, of New York, received the annual human rights award of the American Jewish Committee. On that occasion, Judge Hand delivered a moving and compelling speech on the subject of liberty and the rights of man. I ask unanimous consent that his penetrating address be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There has recently been compiled in a book the papers and addresses of Judge Hand, together with an introduction and notes by an eminent American journalist, Mr. Irving Dilliard. The title of the collection in its published form is "The Spirit of Liberty."

Recently there appeared in the noted British publication, The Economist, a review of this book. That review, written by a Mr. Hamish Hamilton, in itself makes fascinating reading, constituting, as it does a British recognition of the great contribution made by Judge Hand to the thought and literature of freedom.

I ask unanimous consent that the review entitled "A Great American Humanist," be printed in the Appendix of the Record, following the text of Judge Hand's speech before the American Jewish Committee.

There being no objection, the address and review were ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A FANFARE FOR PROMETHEUS

(Full text of address by Judge Learned Hand at the 48th annual meeting dinner of the American Jewish Committee, Hotel Roosevelt, New York City, Saturday night, January 29, 1955)

Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen, I should have to be more than human, if was not staggered by the terms in which your president announced to me that you proposed to single me out for this unique evidence of your regard. In what I have to say I shall not try to justify him; rather I am going to suggest that you join me in asking what we mean by those "principles of civil liberties and human rights," of which he credits me with being a votary. You will agree, will you not, that we cannot go far in that inquiry until we have achieved some notion of what we mean by liberty; and that has always proved a hard concept to The natural, though naive, opinion is that it means no more than that each individual shall be allowed to pursue his own desires without let or hindrance; and that, although it is true that this is practically impossible, still it does remain the goal, approach to which measures our suc-Why then is not a beehive or an anthill a perfect example of a free society? Surely you have been a curious and amused watcher beside one of these. In and out of their crowded pueblo the denizens pass in great number, each bent upon his own urgent mission, quite oblivious of all the rest except as he must bend his path to avoid them. It is a scene of strenuous purposeful endeavor in which each appears to be, and no doubt in fact is, accomplishing his own purpose; and yet he is at the same time accomplishing the purpose of the group as a whole. As I have gazed at it, the sentence from the collect of the Episcopal prayerbook has come to me: "Whose service is perfect freedom."

Why is it then that we so positively rebel against the hive and the hill as a specimen Why is it that such protoof a free society? types of totalitarianism arouse our deepest hostility? Unhappily it is not because they cannot be realized; or, at least, because they cannot be approached, for a substantial period. Who can be sure that such appalling forecasts as Aldous Huxley's Brave New World, or Orwell's 1984 are not prophetic? Indeed, there have often been near approaches to such an order. Germany, at the end of 1940, was probably not far removed from one; and who of us knows that there are not countless persons, today living within the boundaries of Russia, and perhaps of China, who are not willing partners, accepting as their personal aspirations the official definitions of the good, the true, and the beautiful? Indeed, there have been, and still are, in our own United States, large and powerful groups who, if we are to judge their purposes by their conduct, see treason in all dissidence, and would welcome an era in which all of us should think, feel, and live in consonance with duly prescribed patterns. Human nature is malleable, especially if you can indoctrinate the disciple with indefectible principles before anyone else reaches him. (I fancy that the Janissaries were as fervent Mohammedans as the authentic Turks.) Indeed, we hear from those who are entitled to an opinion that at times the abject confessions, made in Russia by victims who know that they are already marked for slaughter, are not wrung from them by torture or threats against their families. Rather they come from partisans, so obsessed with the faith that, when they are told that the occasion calls for scapegoats and that they have been selected, recognize and assent to the propriety of the demand and cooperate in its satisfaction. It is as though, when the right time comes, the drones agreed to their extinction in the interest of the hive.

Nor need we be surprised that men so often embrace almost any doctrines, if they are proclaimed with a voice of absolute assurance. In a universe that we do not understand, but with which we must in one way or another somehow manage to deal, and aware of the conflicting desires that clamorously beset us, between which we must choose and which we must therefore manage to weigh, we turn in our bewilderment to those who tell us that they have found a path out of the thickets, and possess the scales by which to appraise our needs. Over and over again such prophets succeed in converting us to unquestioning acceptance; there is scarcely a monstrous belief that has not had its day and its passionate adherents. so eager are we for safe footholds in our dubious course. How certain is any one of us that he too might not be content to follow any fantastic creed, if he was satisfied that nothing would ever wake him from the dream? And, indeed, if there were nothing to wake him, how should he distinguish its articles from the authentic dictates of verity? Remember, too, that it is by no means clear that we are happier in the faith we do profess than we should be under the spell of an orthodoxy that was safe against all heresy. Cruel and savage as orthodoxies have always proved to be, the faithful seem able to convince themselves that the heretics. as they continue to crop up, get nothing worse than their due, and to rest with an easy conscience.

In any event my thesis is that the best answer to such systems is not so much in their immoral quality-immoral though they be-as in the fact that they are inherently unstable, because they are at war with our only trustworthy way of living in accord with the facts. For I submit that it is only by trial and error, by insistent scrutiny, and by readiness to reexamine presently accredited conclusions that we have risen, so far as in fact we have risen, from our brutish ancestors; and I believe that in our loyalty to these habits lies our only chance, merely of progress, but even of survival. They were not indeed a part of our aboriginal endowment: Man, as he emerged, was not prodigally equipped to master the infinite diversity of his environment. Obviously, enough of us did manage to get through; but it has been a statistical survival, for the individual's native powers of adjustment are by no means enough for his personal safety, any more than are those of other creatures. The precipitate of our experience is far from absolute verity; and our exasperated resentment at all dissent is a sure index of our doubts. Take, for instance, our constant recourse to the word "subversive" as a touchstone of impermissible deviation from accepted canons.

All discussion, all debate, all dissidence tends to question, and in consequence to upset, existing convictions; that is precisely its purpose and its justification. He is, indeed, a "subversive" who disputes those precepts that I most treasure and seeks to persuade me to substitute his own. He may have no shadow of desire to resort to anything but persuasion; he may be of those to whom any forcible sanction of conformity is anathema; yet it remains true that he is trying to bring about my apostasy, and I hate him just in proportion as I fear his success. Contrast this protective resentment with the assumption that lies at the base of our whole system that the best chance for truth to emerge is a fair field for all ideas. Nothing, I submit, more completely betrays our latent dis-loyalty to this premise to all that we pretend to believe, than the increasingly common resort to this and other question-begging Their imprecision comforts us by enabling us to suppress arguments that disturb our complacency, and yet to continue to congratulate ourselves on keeping the faith as we have received it from the Founding Heretics have been hateful from the be-ginning of recorded time; they have been ostracized, exiled, tortured, maimed, and butchered; but it has generally proved impossible to smother them; and when it has not, the society that has succeeded has al-ways declined. Facades of authority, how-ever imposing, do not survive after it has appeared that they rest upon the sands of human conjecture and compromise. And so, if I am to say what are "the principles of civil liberties and human rights," I answer that they lie in habits, customs—conventions, if you will—that tolerate dissent, and can live without irrefragible certainties; that are ready to overhaul existing assumptions; that recognize that we never see save through a glass, darkly; and that at long last we shall succeed only so far as we continue to under-"the intolerable labor of thought"that most distasteful of all our activities. If such a habit and such a temper pervade a society, it will not need institutions to protect its civil liberties and human rights; so far as they do not, I venture to doubt how far anything else can protect them, whether it be bills of rights, or courts that must in the name of interpretation read their meaning into them.

This may seem to you a bleak and cheerless conclusion, too alien to our nature to be practical. "We must live from day to -you will say-"to live is to act, and to act is to choose and decide. How can we carry on at all without some principles, some patterns to meet the conflicts in which each day involves us?" Indeed, we cannot, nor am I suggesting that we should try; but I am suggesting that it makes a vital difference-the vital difference-whether we deem our principles and our patterns to be eternal verities, rather than the best postulates so far attainable. Was it not Holmes who said: "The highest courage is to stake everything on a premise that you know tomorrow's evidence may disprove?" "Ah"—you will reply—"there's the rub. That may be "Ah"-you the highest courage, but how many have it? You are hopelessly wrong, if you assume the general prevalence of such a virtue; ordinary men must be given more than conjectures, if they are to face grave dangers." But do you really believe that? Do you not see about you every day and everywhere the pre-Not alone on the battlefield; cise opposite? but in the forest, the desert and the plain; in the mountains, at sea, on the playing field, even in the laboratory and the factory, yes (do not laugh) at the card table and the racetrack, men are forever putting it "upon the touch to win or lose it all." Without some smack of uncertainty and danger, to most of us the world would be a tepid, pallid show. Surely, like me, you have all felt something of this, when you have looked on those pathetic attempts to depict in paint or stone the delights of Paradise. I own that the torments of Hell never fail to horrify me; not even the glee of the demons in charge is an adequate relief, though the artist has generally been successful in giving veracious impression of the gusto with which they discharge their duties. But when I turn to the Congregation of the Blessed, I cannot avoid a sense of anticlimax; strive as I may, the social atmosphere seems a bit forced; and I recall those very irrever-ent verses of Lowes Dickinson:

"Burning at first no doubt would be worse, But time the impression would soften, While those who are bored with praising the

Lord, Would be more bored with praising him

By some happy fortuity man is a projector, a designer, a builder, a craftsman; it is among his most dependable joys to impose upon the flux that passes before him some mark of himself, aware though he always must be of the odds against him. His reward is not so much in the work as in its making; not so

much in the prize as in the race. We may win when we lose, if we have done what we can: for by so doing we have made real at least some part of that finished product in whose fabrication we are most concernedourselves. And if at the end some friendly critic shall pass by and say: "My friend, how good a job do you really think you have made of it all?", we can answer: "I know as well as you that it is not of high quality; but I did put into it whatever I had, and that was the game I started out to play." It is still in the lap of the gods whether a society can succeed, based on civil liberties and human rights, conceived as I have tried to describe them; but of one thing at least we may be sure: the alternatives that have so far appeared, have been immeasurably worse; and so, whatever the outcome, I submit to you that we must press along. Borrowing from Epictetus, let us say to ourselves: "Since we are men, we will play the part of a man"; and how can I better end than by recalling to you the concluding passage of Prometheus Unbound?

"To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or
night;

To defy Power, which seems omnipotent: To love, and bear; to hope till Hope creates From its own wreck the thing it contemplates;

Neither to change, nor falter, nor repent; This, like thy glory, Titan, is to be Good, great and joyous, beautiful and free; This is alone Life, Joy, Empire and Victory."

[From the Economist of January 22, 1955] A GREAT AMERICAN HUMANIST

Certain clichés used by the English in thinking about Americans are so widespread that they can virtually be called the settled English view of the American people. One such is the conviction that the mass mind has reached a further stage of development in the United States than anywhere else. country par excellence of the common man has such standardized interests, amusements, activities, prejudices and fears that if you know one, you know them all. Moreover, the type that is produced is not, culturally, of a very high order. Technology and gad-gets have swallowed up the higher things of life and the result, to quote the best loved cliché of all, is a society which has passed from barbarism to decadence without any intervening phase of civilization. Naturally, these prejudices were triumphantly confirmed during the McCarthy era when the junior Senator from Wisconsin not only appeared to be a symbol of barbarism or cadence (or both) but excluded most other Americans from the world's attention.

It is a pity that those who repeat the catchphrases most confidently are least likely to read the collection of papers and addresses of that great American jurist, Judge Learned Hand, now published together under the title of "The Spirit of Liberty." There they would find a personality, a style, and a view of life as far removed from the common, trivial, and the undercivilized mass mind as it is conceivable for a man to be. It is not simply a matter of urbanity and wit-as lively and on occasion as irreverent in his ninth decade as in this third—although the direction of that wit, toward modesty and selfdepreciation, against pomposity and platitude, is in itself an essential element in the wise philosophy of Learned Hand. The contradiction to the great clichés about Amer-ica lies above all in the passionate concern for the freedom, the untrammeled idiosyncrasy of each individual mind that pervades virtually every page of this book. Learned Hand seeks freedom in the ultimate sense of each man being free to discover his own nature and to develop himself not as a unit in mass society but as an unpredictable, unjudgeable, unclassifiable human being who is known only to himself and can be

measured only by himself. Now this kind of liberty demands the utmost forbearance from everyone, for among man's dearest occupa-tions is undoubtedly that of "making friends and influencing people"—attempting to mold others in his own image, squeezing neighbors into the social conformity of mass reactions and mass ideas. Yet while this process may give comfort, it does not give freedom. As Judge Learned Hand suggests:

"The spirit of liberty is the spirit that is not too sure that it is right; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which seeks to understand the minds of other men and women; the spirit of liberty is the spirit which weighs their interests alongside its own without bias; the spirit of liberty remembers that not a sparrow falls to earth unheeded; the spirit of liberty is the spirit of Him who, near 2,000 years ago, taught mankind that lesson that it has never learnt but never quite forgotten: that there may be a kingdom where the least shall be heard and considered side by side with the greatest."

As these words suggest, freedom is not, however, the unfettered pursuit of individual preference. The freedom Judge Hand prizes is far from the freedom to concentrate solely on trivial pursuits or material success. "There is no democracy in human values, however each may cry for an equal vote. It is the business of the soul to impose her own order upon the clamorous rout." His own dedication is to such supposedly un-American activities as the arts, philosophy, the study of history, the cult of the curious mind, the practice of great moral fealties. But these things are not worth much unless the individual soul comes to them of herself "to establish a hierarchy appropriate to the demands of her own nature." It is the sec-It is the second-hand, the glibly accepted, the mass-conditioned that is the enemy of freedom. Men must be themselves or they will not be free.

It is not surprising that such a vision of liberty-so far removed from the accepted notion of America's uniform thought and conditioned social behavior—has conse-quences far beyond the personal sphere. Since its realization is inconceivable save tolerant-and decent-society, Judge Hand's voice has been raised probably more eloquently than any other in the free world to denounce the evils of the McCarthvismevils which occur certainly not only in America but in any society where the doctrinaire and the ideologue are ready to beat in the heads of those who will not be their brothers. It is not only to Americans that these words might be addressed.

"Risk for risk, for myself I would rather take my chance that some traitors will escape detection than spread abroad a spirit of general suspicion and distrust which accepts rumor and gossip in place of undismayed and unintimidated inquiry. I believe that that community is already in process of dissolution where each man begins to eye his neighbor as a possible enemy * * * where orthodoxy chokes freedom of dissent, where faith in the eventual supremacy of reason has become so timid that we dare not enter our convictions in the open lists, to win or lose '

This is the great tradition of western civilization, but in a stream of thought which western civilization has often lacked, to its appalling cost. The skeptical Erasmus, the tolerant Montaigne, the magnanimous Lincoln, each working against the grain of hard intolerance in his own age, come to mind in the reading of Judge Hand's papers, and it is to this select company of wise and charitable men that his contemporaries will assign him. As for the clichémongers, they can at least reflect that the society which produced McCarthy has also formed, advanced, and honored the most eloquent exponent of liberty and tolerance living in our day.

FHA Insurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, the House Banking and Currency Committee started hearings on February 9, 1955. on a request from the administration to increase by \$1 1/2 billion the FHA authorization with which to insure loans for dwellings and dwelling improvements.

The following open letter to our President is, indeed, apropos. It appeared in the January 1955 issue of House and Home Magazine.

One need not agree with all that is said there to conclude that serious problems in housing are crying for solution.

[From House and Home of January 1955]

AN OPEN LETTER TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES ON BEHALF OF THE HOME-BUILDING INDUSTRY

DEAR MR. PRESIDENT: Now that the election is over, we urge, advise, and entreat you to find out for yourself what today's true situation is in housing and the housing agencieswhat needs to be done, what needs to be Your present easy money policies are

booming homebuilding as never before, so concern for our industry's profits today is no part of the reason we urge you to take a closer look at what has been or is being done with your implied approval.

just think you would be surprised and troubled by what that closer look would show you.

We think you would be troubled by the many unfairnesses manifest in both FHA investigations, troubled by the half-truths, and even bold untruths given official utterance, troubled by the politics that are being played, troubled by the general confu-sion in housing that is now hidden behind the easy money boom, troubled by the way this confusion and lack of direction is now frustrating the program you had previously endorsed for housing progress.

And we think it is high time someone spoke up honestly and clearly in defense of our industry and helped you find out what is going on.

Nobody doubts even for an instant your own high purposes in housing as in every other field, but you deserve and need better advice on housing than you have been getting these past 9 months.

Little of this advice has been constructive. Much has been bad, and some has been dangerous for your administration.

Some of this bad advice must have come from men who are themselves uninformed on housing and do not understand the very complex partnership of Government and business through FHA that changed homebuilding from a backward handicraft to a dynamic industry and made it a mainstay of national prosperity-all at no cost to the taxpayers.

But most of the bad advice must have come from men whose primary interest in housing is political rather than social and economic-advisers who care less about helping you find better solutions for our many remaining housing problems than they care about shouting up an old scandal for partisan advantage.

We endorse and support your basic concept of government by delegating responsi-bility to able lieutenants and then relying on their guidance.

We only wish you would put your faith in just such strong and well-informed lieutenants in the field of housing, too.

Your administration got off to a wonderful start in housing because you picked your first housing advisers from the outstanding leaders of our industry—architects, builders, lenders, realtors, suppliers, and spokesmen for the public-interest groups most deeply concerned with better homes. These men helped you develop a fine new middle-ofthe-road program of housing progress and reform—a program to save the taxpayers billions of dollars, a program to bring hous-ing policy back in line with changing housing needs, a program to raise housing standards and build more quality homes, a pro-gram to reverse the spread of blight.

Who persuaded you to turn away from these informed counselors?

In difficult times like this it is worse than

confusing not to know who is calling the

Who were the men from other departments and agencies who moved in on housing last April? Who forced the hand of the Administrator to whom titular authority for housing had been given? Who were the members of your fateful five-man housing committee? Is this committee still in charge?

No doubt these new advisers told you they were driving out corruption, restoring faith in the Government services, cleaning up abuses, and enforcing long-needed moral

But if you wish to get at the truth quickly. you might do well to insist on a straight

answer to these four questions:

Question No. 1: Has the FHA purge raised the standard of public service as you hoped?
You will find the answer is "No." The purge has driven more good men than bad out of FHA, eliminated more livewires than deadwood. The headline-hunting methods used to expose a few malefactors have so discredited, dishonored, and demoralized the agency that able and devoted public servants are quitting faster than FHA can replace them. You were fortunate, indeed, Norman Mason was willing to accept the post of FHA Commissioner under such difficult circumstances, but did you know that for 8 months he has found it impossible to get a good permanent man to fill even the No. 1 job on his staff? Too few people realize the enormous handicaps under which he is trying to rebuild the FHA organization and

Question No. 2: Has the attack on FHA

won the respect of men who know?
Once again the answer is "No."

restore its morale.

the housing industry there is hardly a leader who does not believe the purge is more political than moral. It was not a Democrat but the Republican president of a big New York bank who explained angrily that FHA was the best of all the New Deal agencies, so the Republicans felt they had to do something to discredit it.

Everyone agrees that corruption must be rooted out of Government and malefactors must be brought to justice. But 'no one familiar with the great public service FHA performed over 20 years in raising housing standards and enabling millions of families to buy better homes will believe it was nec-essary to shame its entire staff to expose a few men who had fallen for temptation.

Question No. 3: Are the probes and purges furthering your own housing program?

Once again the answer is "No." Only the most debatable feature of the new housing law is really working-the extreme liberalization of insured and guaranteed mortgage credit put into effect at the peak of a building boom. The more constructive ideas and reforms you sponsored are being largely nullified, partly by some of the mistaken restrictions tacked onto your program as a result of the scandal headlines, partly because Congress declined to let FHA spend enough of its own income to handle its new assignments, partly because the purges have so terrorized the agency around which your housing program was built, that it is afraid

to assume responsibility.

Question No. 4: Has the probe brought a salutary reform in the use of Federal mort-

gage credit?

Once again the answer is "No." partisans have noisily locked the door through which 608 builders mortgaged out 6 years ago,1 but what if anything did they do to halt equally questionable happenings in 1954—happenings which are worrying every responsible leader of our industry?

Today the housing shortage which may have justified section 608 is long past; yet your administration is now guaranteeing not 90 percent but 100 percent loans on houses selling for nearly twice the 608 limit. How can this fail to inflate prices and focus buyer interest on easy terms rather than quality and longtime value? What greater temp-tation could be offered to take a big profit out of the mortgage money? Why do you think as much as \$300 is being bld to induce veterans to buy a \$12,900 house for nothing down?

We realize that you are already carrying tremendous responsibilities at home and abroad, responsibilities for war and peace, responsibilities for world trade and world prosperity. We realize that you must delegate many decisions, and so we hesitate to ask your special attention to the problems of our industry.

But here are four more reasons why we believe homebuilding should have your care-

ful consideration at this time:

1. Homebuliding is far too important to be left a political football: There is no other industry so dynamic, no other industry that can do as much to sustain the prosperity which is so essential to the success of your administration. There is no other industry which touches so closely the lives of so many millions of families, no other industry whose full production is so necessary if we are to raise our American standard of living.

2. There is no industry in which the Federal Government is so deeply involved, except perhaps, agriculture: Twenty-two years ago Fortune called housing the industry capitalism forgot, a disgrace to our freeenterprise economy. The partnership with Government first proposed by President Hoover and realized under Presidents Roosevelt and Truman has brought the industrial revolution to homebuilding and raised housing standards from coast to coast.

3. Your party has walked into a dangerous political position in housing:

The Republicans have lost control of the Senate and House investigating commit-

¹ This magazine is no apologist for everything that went on under sec. 608. years ago this month we called it a program of public risk for private profit and ex-plained in detail how a builder of reasonable acumen could take up to 12 percent cash out of his Government-insured loan. Except for filling in some names, all the recent headlines have revealed very little that Senator Capehart could not have read in Architectural Forum for January 1950. For that matter, they have revealed little that Senator Long did not warn the Senate to expect when he vainly urged the Senate to provide safeguards against mortgaging out back in 1948.

But sec. 608 was always recognized as an emergency measure to meet an explo-sive war-born shortage of rental housing for returning veterans; furthermore, the 608 program included a price ceiling of \$8,100 per unit and at least in theory set a loan ceiling of 90 percent of estimated cost.

tees—the sounding board for scandal that Walter Lippmann called the biggest prize at stake in last November's election. You could have real trouble if the Democrats decide it is their turn to make political hay of what your administration let happen in home finance in 1954.

Until the muckraking started last spring Republicans and Democrats had worked together for 20 years on a bipartisan housing program, and even last summer the Democrats gave you good support on the Housing Act which could have been-and still can be made—one of the outstanding legislative achievements of your administration. After what has happened in the past 9 months no one less than yourself can hope to reestablish that bipartisan collaboration in housing before it is too late.

4. There is still a tremendous need of constructive leadership in housing. Here are just a few of the major problems within homebuilding which merit your personal

How to get politics out of FHA and FHA permanently out of politics, just as everyone agrees the Federal Reserve should be kept out of politics.

How to reduce the Government's vast con-

tingent liability for mortgages.

How to reconcile the needless conflict between conventional and insured lending so that each can make its best contribution to help all Americans have better Would the English plan of insuring only the risk portion of the loan be better as well as cheaper than our system of charging too low a premium on the risk portion and too high a premium on the balance?

How to help the FHA Commissioner in his single-handed crusade to modernize his agency's appraisal attitudes and find a better solution to the problem of standards.

How to bring enough more money into the mortgage market to make the new Housing Act work.

How to reconcile the FHA and VA lending programs and stop VA abuses.

For these and many other constructive steps your interest and guidance are urgently needed.

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Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when

recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

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Murray, James E., Mont___The Shoreham.

O'Mahoney, Joseph C., Sheraton-Park

Neely, Matthew M., W. Va__ Neuberger, Richard L.,

Orea.

Wyo.

Pastore, John O., R. I____ Payne, Frederick G., Maine_ Potter, Charles E., Mich___ Purtell, William A., Conn__ Robertson, A. Willis, Va____ Russell, Richard B., Ga____

Saltonstall, Leverett, Mass_2320 Tracy Pl. Schoeppel, Andrew

Scott, W. Kerr, N. C.____ Smathers, George A., Fla__ Smith, H. Alexander, N. J_Sheraton-Park Smith, Margaret Chase, (Mrs.), Maine.

Sparkman, John J., Ala ____ 4920 Upton St. Stennis, John, Miss_____ Symington, Stuart, Mo____

Thurmond, Strom, S. C Thye, Edward J., Minn_

Watkins, Arthur V., Utah... Weiker, Herman, Idaho....4823 Tilden St. Wiley, Alexander, Wis.....2122 Mass. Ave. Williams, John J., Del.....

Young, Milton R., N. Dak__Quebec House So.

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Mr. Justice Reed, of Kentucky, the Mayflower. Mr. Justice Frankfurter, of Massachusetts, 3018 Dumbarton Ave.

Mr. Justice Douglas, of Washington, 3701 Connecticut Ave.

Mr. Justice Burton, of Ohio, the Dodge.

Mr. Justice Clark, of Texas, 2101 Connecticut Ave.

Mr. Justice Minton, of Indiana, the Methodist Building.

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Deputy Clerk-Hugh W. Barr, 4701 Connecti-

cut Ave.

Marshal—T. Perry Lippitt, 6004 Corbin Road.

Reporter—Walter Wyatt, 1702 Kalmia Rd.

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Second judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Frankfurter (temporary appointment). Vermont, Connecticut, New York. Third judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Burton,

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Fourth fudicial circuit: Mr. Chief Justice Warren. Maryland, Virginia, West Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina.

Fifth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Black. Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Loui-siana, Texas, Canal Zone.

Sixth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Reed. Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee. Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Min-

Seventh judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Minton. Indiana, Illinois, Wisconsin.

Eighth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark.

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Iowa, Nebraska, Missouri, Arkansas,

Ninth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Douglas.

Washington, Oregon, Montana, Idaho, California, Nevada, Arizona, Alaska, Hawaii.

Tenth judicial circuit: Mr. Justice Clark.

Colorado, Wyoming, Utah, Kansas, Oklahoma,
New Mexico.

New Mexico.

Appendix

Federal Fine Arts Center in the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. LEE METCALF

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
- Monday, January 31, 1955

Mr. METCALF. Mr. Speaker, one of the most effective weapons being used by the Russians in the cold war they are conducting against the United States, of which the palace revolution resulting in the overthrow of Malenkov is but an incident, is their cultural offensive which pictures us as a nation of materialistic barbarians. The U. S. S. R. is spending hundreds of millions of dollars a year on this drive alone and has done so for a long time.

Former Congressman Jacob K. Javits made the telling point before a special subcommittee of the House Education and Labor Committee in June 1954, that if "we do not want to fight the Russians with the atom bomb, then we have got to defeat their efforts to have communism take over the world with two other weapons—economic and cultural. We are not doing nearly what we should on the economic field, and many of us are working on that, but in the cultural field we have not even touched it."

Under the able chairmanship of the gentleman from Louisiana, James H. Morrison, a special subcommittee of the Committee on the District of Columbia of the House of Representatives, has begun hearings on several bills which would advance the cultural status of the Nation's Capital vis-a-vis other world capitals creating a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the District of Columbia of a civic auditorium, including an Inaugural Hall of Presidents and a music, fine arts, and mass communications center.

Bills on the subject which are identical, similar, or related have been introduced by the gentleman from Louisiana. JAMES H. MORRISON; the gentleman from Pennsylvania, CARROLL D. KEARNS; the gentleman from New York, EMANUEL CELLER; the gentleman from New Jersey, Frank Thompson, Jr.; the gentle-man from Pennsylvania, George M. RHODES; the gentleman from Minnesota, Roy W. WIER: the gentleman from Connecticut, ALBERT P. MORANO; the gentleman from Minnesota, John A. BLATNIK; the gentleman from New York, ADAM C. POWELL, JR.; the gentleman from Arkansas, OREN HARRIS; the gentleman from New Hampshire, CHES-TER E. MERROW; the gentleman from New Jersey, HARRISON A. WILLIAMS, JR.; and myself.

One of the most telling statements in support of these bills was presented on behalf of the Congress of Industria' Organizations by former Congressman Thomas A. Burke, of Ohio, presently chief of congressional liaison for the CIO. Mr. Burke pointed out that ours is the only great nation of the world today which is not actively subsidizing the fine arts at home. This is somewhat ironic, he goes on to say, since, for many years we have been actively subsidizing the fine arts abroad, and he gives several examples of this. This statement is also included here.

This presentation of the concrete steps that are being taken to give the lie to the expensive propaganda efforts of the U. S. S. R. would not be complete without mention of the President's special fund for United States cultural representation abroad, a report on which was submitted to the Congress on January 12, 1955, by Dr. J. L. Morrill, Chairman, United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange of the Department of State. An excerpt from the report—House Document No. 67, 84th Congress, 1st session—is included here also: STATEMENT OF THOMAS H. BURKE, CHEF OF

CONGRESSIONAL LIAISON, CONGRESS OF IN-DUSTRIAL ORGANIZATIONS, BEFORE THE HOUSE DISTRICT COMMITTEE, IN SUPPORT OF BILLS CREATING A FEDERAL COMMISSION TO FOR-MULATE PLANS FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A FINE ARTS CENTER IN THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 8, 1955

The CIO is delighted once again to appear in support of the proposal before this committee in H. R. 1825, introduced by Representative Morrison, Democrat, of Louisiana, and in identical measures sponsored by Representatives BLATNIK, Democrat, of Minnesota; Celler, Democrat, of New York; Mercalf, Democrat, of Montana; Morano, Republican, of Connecticut; Rhodes, Democrat, of Pennsylvania; Thompson, Democrat, of New Jersey, and Wier, Democrat, of Minnesota.

Our support for this legislation is not new. We have testified before previous Congresses in support of similar proposals, and, I might add, in support of measures which would go far beyond the action proposed in this pending legislation in support of a Federal program of aid to the fine arts.

Therefore, today we not only give our wholehearted support to this matter, but would urge upon this committee that it is a step long overdue. We would also like the record to show that, while we give our unqualified support to H. R. 1825 as far as it goes, we are convinced that a much broader program of Federal activities in the field of the fine arts is needed. This statement is made, of course, with the full realization that this broader program is not properly the responsibility of this committee, or properly within the scope of the legislation it is considering.

The present measure, which would create a Federal commission to formulate plans for the construction in the Nation's Capital of a civic auditorium with connected facilities making it a center for music and the fine arts, is a logical first step toward helping to over-

come a serious cultural lag. This deficiency today is proving to be a serious handicap to this country as it competes with the Soviet Union in the cold war.

Ours is the only great Nation of the world which is not actively subsidizing the fine arts at home. This is somewhat ironic. We have for many years been actively subsidizing the fine arts abroad. For example, quoting from the hearings on Federal Grants for Fine Arts Programs before the House Labor Subcommittee last June, page 111, Curt Schiffeler, president of the National Opera Guild of Washington, D. C., said:

"We are particularly interested in the creation of an opera house or art center and we sincerely hope that during the next Congress, we are able to get sufficient funds from Congress to begin the building of such an edifice, so sadly needed in our Capital. It seems almost wicked, when in the past few years we have spent some of our Marshall-plan money in rebuilding and rejuvenating six opera houses in Europe and here in our city, which is the most dynamic Capital in the world, today, we are lacking such a cultural facility."

In the same hearings, page 113, George Szell, conductor of the Cleveland Orchestra, is quoted with regard to the financial assistance which our country was giving to the Berliner Philharmonic Building, as follows:

"Surely if the money of United States taxpayers is being used to rebuild the home of the Berlin Philharmonic Orchestra, there cannot be any valid argument against this kind of money being used to help and support our own organizations."

While we have been rendering such assistance abroad, the fine arts in this country have clearly suffered. Since the current cold war is in large part a struggle for men's minds, the Soviet Union has throughout this period won a decided advantage from the deficiency of our fine arts program. Even as I am speaking, Russian artists and entertainers traveling abroad under large subsidies from their government are picturing the United States as a Nation of barbarians. At the same time the Soviet Union is sending the best of its ballet troupes and other artists abroad to picture Russia as the artist's dream of a Garden of Eden.

President Eisenhower has underscored the importance of stepping up our fine-arts program in his state of the Union message. On the more practical level of day-to-day government, Judge Learned Hand has emphasized that "An education which includes the humanities is essential to political wisdom."

As an organization which represents the working men and women of America, the CIO knows that the people of the United States have a deep and sincere appreciation of music, art, literature, and other cultural activities. We have constantly supported all efforts on a local level to maintain city art museums and civic operas, orchestras, and dramatic groups. To us it seems a national disgrace that the richest and one of the most culturally articulate nations of the world has not yet provided a national opera house and fine arts center in the Nation's Capital.

We know, however, the forces of narrow self-interest which have blocked all efforts to build such a center in the past. Former President Truman, in a speech reported in the Washington Evening Star of September 26, 1952, named these lobbyists against such legislation. According to the Star:

"In urging an auditorium and opera house, Mr. Truman recalled that as a Senator he had twice helped to push through the Senate legislation providing such a building. But he said the bills had been 'murdered in the House' by the efforts of lobbyists acting for cities around Washington. "They didn't appreciate the fact that Washington was to be the capital of the world, the President said. He said he had seen showplaces in Mexico City, Paris, and Rio de Janeiro, and he remarked: "There isn't a reason in the world why Washington shouldn't have a place where the greatest symphony in the world can play for the public."

In January of 1953 when President Eisen-hower was inaugurated, the people of our

Capital city suffered the humiliation of not being able to hold the Inaugural Ball in a proper manner. Because there was no auditorium adequate to the needs of the occasion, three separate buildings had to be used. Commenting upon the lack of facilities, Richard L. Coe, drama critic of the Washington Post and Times Herald, said in his col-

umn of January 21, 1953:

"These things could be handled in the municipal buildings, such as those possessed by San Francisco or St. Louis, or the National War Memorial Theater and Opera House, envisioned by Representatives Howell and Kearns. But future snafus are inevitable so long as the Capital of the Western World lacks the proper facilities."

The need for such a center is clear. equally clear that the need is not only that of the city of Washington, but it is a need of the Nation as a whole. The people of the United States are entitled to a national center for the fine arts in Washington. They will not permit the narrow, selfish interests of a few nearby chambers of commerce to deny the Nation this birthright. We urge immediate adoption of H. R. 1825.

LETTER OF SUPMITTAL

DEPARTMENT OF STATE, THE UNITED STATES ADVISORY COMMISSION ON EDUCATIONAL EXCHANGE, January 12, 1955.

The Honorable SAM RAYBURN,

Speaker of the House of Representatives. Sm: The United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange submits herewith its 13th semiannual report on the educational exchange activities conducted under the United States Information and Educational Exchange Act of 1948 (Public Law 402, 80th Cong.) from July 1 to December 31, 1954.

This report fulfills the requirements of section 603 of the above-mentioned act, which states that this statutory Commission shall transmit "to the Congress a semiannual report of all programs and activities carried on under authority of this act, including appraisals, where feasible, as to the effectiveness of the programs and such recommendations as shall have been made * * * to the Secretary of State for effectuating the purposes and objectives of this act and the action taken to carry out such recommendations."

The membership of this Commission is as follows:

J. L. Morrill, Chairman. Arthur H. Edens, Vice Chairman. Rufus H. Fitzgerald, member. Arthur A. Hauck, member. Anna L. Rose Hawkes, member.

A duplicate copy of this report is being furnished to the Senate.

Very truly yours,

J. L. MORRILL, Chairman, United States Advisory Commission on Educational Exchange.

(Enclosure: Advisory Commission's 13th Semiannual Report to the Congress.)

III. THE PRESIDENT'S SPECIAL FUND FOR UNITED STATES CULTURAL REPRESENTATION ABROAD

At its meeting, on October 4, 1954, the Department informed the Commission of the special \$5 million fund which had recently been appropriated by the Congress at the request of the President for his use to meet unusual circumstances arising in the international field. This fund is to be used (1) to increase United States participation, mostly through private industry in inter-national trade fairs, and (2) to encourage outstanding American cultural and artistic groups to visit abroad.

The President has appointed the Secretary of State to Chair a Cabinet committee to assist him in making effective use of this fund in spreading world knowledge of American progress in the performing arts through the democratic system of free enterprise. The President designated Mr. Theodore A. Strei-bert, Director of the United States Information Agency (USIA), as executive agent of

this Committee.

Two subcommittees, one under the chairmanship of the Under Secretary of Commerce and the other under the Assistant Secretary of State for Public Affairs, have been ap-pointed to provide general supervision and policy guidance over the two aspects of this special fund. The Department of Commerce Subcommittee is concerned exclusively with the participation by the United States in international trade fairs abroad. The Department of State Subcommittee, which is made up of representatives of USIA, the Bureau of the Budget, Foreign Operations Administration (FOA), Operations Coordinating Board (OCB), and Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), in addition to those from the State Department, is concerned with the cultural presentation abroad.

The Department of State is concerned with cultural presentations abroad of American performing artists, and the International Educational Exchange Service has been designated as the element of the Government responsible for the actual administra-

tion of this part of the program.

The International Educational Exchange Service presented to the Commission its detailed plans for administering the portion of the program concerned with cultural presentations abroad for review and comments. Attention was called to the proposed operating principles, developed by the Department of State and approved by the interagency subcommittee to provide guidance in the administration of this program. Briefly, these basic operating principles provide that-

1. To the maximum extent possible, all details should be conducted through private channels. Similarly, all domestic aspects of the program should be handled by private, nonprofit organizations under contract to

the Department.

2. Priority will be given to professional and amateur presentations of dramatic productions, musical comedies, operas, ballet productions, concert groups and individual singers, dancers and concert artists, and sports groups.

3. Financial assistance will be given only to performances abroad by such American individuals or groups as are generally recognized to be of the highest distinction in

their fields.

4. The selection of individuals and groups to be assisted should be determined in consultation with groups of private citizens who are generally recognized by the public as authoritative in the appropriate field.

5. Funds be used principally for the purpose of underwriting the cost of a free flow of certain professional and amateur performances through normal commercial channels to regular paying audiences by providing international transportation and by insuring the performers against potential losses, and to extend the travel of performers into areas not usually considered commercially feasible but which could fill a need for mak ing an effective cultural impact upon selected local communities.

6. Only projects of urgency in priority fields and areas, as indicated by comments, reports, or requests from Foreign Service

posts be considered for support.

7. Appropriate consideration should be given, especially in the fields of drama and music to the presentation by American performers of works by American writers and composers, and that normally assistance be given only to individuals and groups of American citizenship.

8. Appropriate clearances be obtained in connection with public relations and security problems involved in selecting individuals to

participate in this program.

In accordance with the provisions of the Department's policy, as set forth above, the American National Theater Academy (ANTA), a recognized private agency with competence in this field, was selected as the contracting agency to assist the Department in carrying out this project. A contract has been signed with ANTA, which has set up three panels (music, theater, and the ballet). composed of the most eminent and competent people in those professions, to advise ANTA, as an agent, in determining what artistic productions have the merit necesmeet the President's requirement sary to standards.

The Commission expressed its approval of this expanded program in international cultural exchanges and commended the Department of State for its proposed general administration of such a program through the auspices of a nongovernmental organization.

The Commission, moreover, unanimously approved a proposal, formulated by the Department, to be submitted to a leading private foundation for larger and continuing support of this program, supplementing governmental assistance.

Paying for the Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JOSEPH F. HOLT

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. HOLT. Mr. Speaker, I should like to call the attention of my colleagues to the following editorial from the Washington Post and Times Herald dated January 29, 1955:

PAYING FOR THE MAIL

Postmaster General Summerfield has made a better case for raising the first-class post-age rate than President Eisenhower did in his recent message. Mr. Summerfield points to a virtual doubling of postal costs since the 3-cent letter rate was established 22 years ago. Overdue wage increases recommended to Congress will add to the estimated \$324 million postal deficit for 1955 unless they are offset by rate increases. A new firstclass rate of 4 cents for the first ounce and 3 cents for each additional ounce would bring in an estimated \$237 million more, and well warranted increases in second- and third-class rates would further reduce the

Recently this newspaper raised a question about whether first-class mail was not actually paying its way. The answer is that although first-class service under present rates has not incurred an out-of-pocket deficit, it fails to carry its fair share of postal costs. First-class mail in 1954 accounted for 51.9 percent of the total pieces handled (and with expedited service) but brought in only 39.3 percent of total revenue. In 1954 the cost of handling the average piece of first-class mail was 3.12 cents, as contrasted with 1.89 cents in 1932. The absence of an actual deficit at the 3-cent rate is explained by the fact that some pieces carry more than mini-

mum postage.

With costs continuing to increase, obviously an adjustment is necessary. At 4 cents the letter rate still will be a bargain. Apparently the same factors of cost, however, rule out hopes for restoration of two-a-day residential delivery. It is doubtful whether this concession to convenience would justify the \$80 million annual expense while the general postal deficit re-

What is to be hoped is that Congress will take a constructive and nonpolitical view of the need to raise postal rates. The American people are adult enough to understand that their lawmakers only kid them by keeping postal rates artificially low and making up the difference through taxation. Congress could spare itself the embarrassment of these periodic haggles by accompanying the increases with authorization for a permanent independent commission to decide on future rates.

Federal School Aid Limited

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VERA BUCHANAN

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mrs. BUCHANAN. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include the following column by Doris Fleeson entitled "Federal School Aid Limited," which appeared in yesterday's Washington Evening Star:

FEDERAL SCHOOL AID LIMITED—PROGRAM ASKS MILLIONS, BUT BILLIONS ARE NEZDED; CAN PRESIDENT SEE ITS EMERGENCY PROPORTIONS? (By Doris Fleeson)

President Eisenhower's school aid program does not represent a serious attempt to deal with the national emergency in education.

It is little more than a letter of condolence to the localities and school authorities which are struggling against an enormous and growing shortage of classrooms.

The President's own Commissioner of Education, Samuel Brownell, has placed the current need at 370,000 classrooms. Federal cost estimates indicate that the job well done would cost more than \$12 billion.

The President has suggested only \$200 million in direct aid for 3 years, which is about \$65 million a year. Even if all went well and exactly as planned, it would build only a few thousand of the missing class-rooms.

School authorities are equally skeptical about the proposed plans to help school districts and States. Twenty States are said to have constitutional debt limits which will prevent any new borrowing. In both Maine and Wisconsin, the courts have declared school construction authorities unconstitutional.

The school experts say also that it would be at least a year before any results would show from the Eisenhower plan. Meanwhile, school enrollment is going up at a rate of more than a million a year. This year it is 30.8 million—up 22 percent over 1950.

The President's philosophical approach provokes as much gloom in school circles as

his practical suggestions. As they see it, he has dealt with what they regard as the gravest internal crisis in this democracy in the spirit of a Lady Bountiful who restricts her gifts to the worthy poor.

The reference is to the President's ban

The reference is to the President's ban on outright grants except to communities too poor to build their own schools. There will be no States and few communities willing to take the pauper's oath on this or any other proposition. Actually, many of the wealthiest States which spend proportionately the largest share of their revenues on education are among the most hard-pressed.

The idea that some parts of this country should publicly admit to their poverty and throw themselves on the mercy of richer States or the Federal Government seems to have appeal in many quarters. It emerges regularly at the annual conference of the State Governors and as regularly the overwhelming majority of the Governors turn the cold shoulder.

This quarrel is basic. The original architects of the welfare state—most of which the President has accepted, at least, in theory—believe in prompt and ample Federal action to meet national social emergencies like that confronting the schools. From their point of view the President's approach in the new message looks back—way back.

Perhaps one trouble with the present special school problem is that Washington draws to it for the most part the successful, the well-to-do, and the more mature citizens. Their children are not victims of the present cruel classroom shortage and, as a French philosopher said, one bears with equanimity the misfortunes of others.

Reciprocal Trade and Residual Cil Shipments to the United States and Canada

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include the following resolution adopted by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen at their quadrennial convention in Miami Beach, Fla., September 22, 1954, on the subject of Reciprocal Trade and Residual Oil Shipments to the United States and Canada:

Whereas the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen has long been on record favoring such international trade relationships as are mutually advantageous; and

We are firmly committed to that approach toward international trade which strengthens the ties binding friendly nations, seeking thereby to promote the common defense against antidemocratic forces; and

We recognize the need of the United States and Canada for many raw materials and certain finished goods to maintain our industries and promote our standards of living; yet

We note the existence of a situation that does none of these things, namely, the movement to our shores of residual oil, which is shipped to us by certain large oil corporations at large profit to them; and

This is done because residual oil is a surplus commodity in these foreign countries where its production is by underpaid workers, a product of cheap labor whose uneconomic production costs make it possible for

residual oil to displace coal produced in the United States and Canada by union labor paid a living wage and moved by union railroad labor from the mines to the centers of industry; and

This situation has made many thousands of workers both in mines and on the railroads unemployed at times when other jobs are not available; and

This is a national disaster: Now, therefore,

Resolved by the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, That this convention deplores the shipment of residual oil under these conditions, and seeks its removal from reciprocal trade agreements. To this end, a copy of this resolution shall be sent to the President of the United States, the Secretaries of State, Commerce, and Labor, both Houses of Congress for transmission to their appropriate committees, and to the Prime Minister of Canada, the Minister of Trade and Commerce of Canada, and to the President of the United Mine Workers of America.

The Folly of Low Tariffs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, I am opposed to H. R. 1, a bill designed to open the American market further to products made by cheap foreign labor.

Mr. Speaker, in order to maintain prosperity on our farms and in our factories and to maintain our standard of living, which is at once both the pride and the envy of the world, we must maintain reasonable tariffs to protect our industries and our workers from the competition of cheap foreign labor. I am as convinced of this as I am that to open our markets to a flood of low-cost foreign goods spells economic disaster to our Nation.

This deep-seated conviction of mine was not reached hastily. It is not the result of theoretical reasoning. Nor is it based on some nebulous economic hypothesis. It is the conclusion of experience.

If there were only one lesson which history had taught us since the founding of the Republic, it would be this—that tariff protection has brought us prosperity and that low tariffs have always left economic disaster in their wake.

Mr. Speaker, let us consider for a few moments the history of our Nation. Let us see how the raising and lowering of our tariffs over the years has had its impact on the economy and prosperity of the country. Let us listen with an attentive ear to what the great men of another generation, Democrat and Republican alike, have had to say concerning this historic issue.

After the war with England and the ratification of the treaty of Ghent, President Madison sent a special message to Congress in which he cautioned against destroying our commerce in the framing of a new tariff law. He urged consideration for our industrial enterprises, and had his Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander J. Dallas, make an estimate of

what amount of reduction would be safe. He made it plain that the protective feature of our tariff system was to be cautiously preserved. Contrary to his recommendations, the duties contained in the new tariff law were low and the economic progress of the infant Republic was checked.

Let me offer the testimony of a great Democrat. In the third volume of his History of the American Republic, Woodrow Wilson says on this early phase of a low-tariff policy:

It was manifestly injurious to every young industry that a flood of English imports should continue to pour into the country at the open ports. The remedy was a protective tariff.

Commenting on the results of the Tariff Act of 1816, Senator Tom H. Benton, of Missouri, a southern Democrat, declared:

No price for property, no sales except those of the sheriff and the marshall; no employment for industry; no demand for labor; no sale for the products of the farmer. Distress was the universal cry of the people.

In similar vein, Henry Clay had this to sav:

If one desires to find the 7 years of greatest adversity in this country since the adoption of the Constitution, let him examine the 7 years before 1824.

Even Thomas Jefferson, living in retirment at Monticello, wrote to Silliam Simpson and spoke of the grave danger of tariff duties so low that British merchants could override them.

What was done following the period of distress caused by the low Tariff Act of 1816? In 1818, 1824, and 1828, protective measures were enacted. Industrial progress was so substantial that Daniel Webster surrendered his freetrade theories in the face of the overwhelming physical facts and was forever afterward a stanch protectionist. Moreover, Andrew Jackson also testified to the benefits derived from the higher duties under the act of 1824 in these words:

Our country presents on every side marks of prosperity unequaled perhaps in any portion of the world.

A compromise bill to pacify the freetrade element, the exporters of cotton, which act was introduced by Henry Clay, became law on March 2, 1833. What happened? Foreign commerce rode over these reduced duties and calamity followed; 1837 was the year of the first great American depression. Distress followed until duties were again advanced to the protection point.

This disaster caused by the compromise act, reducing duties on imports, was repaired by a tariff bill in 1842, which carried duties high enough to encourage American industries. Under this tariff act in the 4 years between 1842 and 1846, the country entirely recovered from the depression.

Let me call as a witness to the effect of the increase on duties under the Tariff Act of 1942, the Honorable John M. Berrin, United States Senator from Georgia. He declared:

The credit of the Government was prostrate and has been redeemed. The Treasury was empty, it is now replenished. The commerce and navigation of the country

have increased. Its agricultural condition has improved.

Next came the election in 1844. The election of Polk called for reduction in import duties. As a result, the Democratic Congress reduced tariffs under the Tariff Act of 1846.

The country was prosperous when the so-called Walker tariff bill became a law. The evidence of this is recorded in President Polk's message to Congress in that same year, which reads as follows:

Abundance has crowned the toil of the husbandman, and labor in all its branches is receiving an ample reward. * * The progress of our country in her career of greatness, not only in the vast extension of our territorial limits and the rapid increase of our population, but in resources and wealth, and in the happy conditions of our people, is without an example in the history of nations.

Three physical events staved off the evil day of this low Tariff Act of 1846. The Mexican War, discovery of gold in California, and the Crimean struggle in Europe which involved Great Britain, France, Germany, and Turkey.

The day of doom to American industry, labor, and agriculture came when peace

When peace came to the Old World the vessels which had been employed in supplying strength for each battling nation were released and the importers' flag flew through our open ports. American markets were flooded with cheap wares from abroad, and the political sin of a low tariff brought its inevitable disaster.

As usual, the free traders, refusing to profit by past experience, closed their eyes and ears to facts and logic and instead of meeting the problem by protection, forced a further reduction in tariffs in 1857.

Let a Democrat describe what followed. President Buchanan in his message to Congress in 1858 said:

With all the elements of national wealth in abundance our manufacturers were suspended, our useful public enterprises were arrested, and thousands of laborers were deprived of employment and reduced to want. Universal distress prevailed among the commercial manufacturing and mechanical classes.

A financial crisis swept the country. The depression of 1857 in many ways exceeded in violence that of 1837. After the low tariffs had been in operation for 3 years, President Buchanan, on December 4, 1869, said, regarding the widespread disaster:

Indeed all hope seems to have deserted the minds of men.

This indisputable evidence of the devastating result to the country under a low-tariff policy was recorded not only when President Buchanan went out of office in 1861; but also, to look ahead for a few years, when Grover Cleveland went out of office in 1897, and when Woodrow Wilson went out of office in 1921.

Horace Greeley has left his testimony as to one of these devastation periods in these words:

The 3 years of low duties, as in two former periods of relatively free trade, had been years of general depression, of numerous bankruptcies, of labor widely destitute of

employment, of enormous and harassing commercial indebtedness abroad and of stagnation in improvements at home. Protection has proven beneficial to all the American people.

Mr. Speaker, there is no doubt but that during the 14 years prior to the Civil War when the party in power made no effort to safeguard enterprise of an industrial nature in this country, the fatal and unavoidable consequence was that few competitive mills or factories were built and labor and agriculture suffered.

This surrender to foreign influence and interest came to an end when the Morrill Tariff Act of 1861 restored the American protective tariff policy. Industry and agriculture were immediately rejuvenated. Under the protective tariff the Nation had expanded tremendously, and, by 1872, was nearing the crest of a new era of prosperity. However, the country had still not learned the lesson of bitter experience. Again there was agitation for lower tariffs, and in the act of 1872 very substantial reductions were made. Again the Nation entered into a period of depression marked by the panic of 1873.

There was some upward adjustment of tariffs by the act of 1883, although, however, on the whole, no important changes were made until 1890.

In 1890 Congress passed the so-called McKinley tariff, intended to stimulate further development of agriculture and industry. The result was an average rate of duty of about 49 percent during the 3 fiscal years 1892–94. President Harrison said in December 1892, relative to the Nation's economic condition:

There never has been a time in our history when work was so abundant or wages were so high, whether measured by the currency in which they are paid or by their own power to supply the necessities and comforts of life.

When Grover Cleveland was returned to office in 1893, he immediately began to work for lower tariffs. Little wonder then that uncertainty and pessimism spread throughout the country, culminating in the financial panic of 1893. But still the lesson had not been learned. The freetraders remained blind to the teachings of history. President Cleveland epitomized this refusal to face the facts when he said:

With plenteous crops, with abundant promises of remuneration production and manufacture, with unusual invitations to safe investment and with satisfactory assurance to business enterprise, suddenly financial distress and fear have sprung up on every side. * * Values supposed to be fixed are fast becoming conjectural and loss and failure have invaded every branch of business.

The political campaign of 1890 was waged almost solely on the issue of free silver, but following the election of William McKinley as President, steps were immediately taken for returning our tariffs to protective standards. The Dingley Tariff Act, passed in 1897, provided a general increase in rates, and the country was quickly brought back to health, strength, and prosperity.

Following a split in the Republican Party, Woodrow Wilson was elected President in 1912, and once again the agitation for tariff reduction began. In 1913 the Underwood Tariff Act, adding many items to the free list, was enacted.

It is interesting in the light of the present low-tariff trade-agreement policy to listen to the prophecy made by Jonathan P. Dolliver during the debate on the Wilson measure. He said:

I, for one, am not discouraged even if Congress should enact this into law because I know that the people of the United States, having learned their lesson in the midst of broken fortunes and impoverished industries, will come back speedily to the historic standards of American commonsense.

Another prominent Democrat, commenting on the bill, said:

The disregard of experience, the closing of our eyes to truths chiseled on the walls of time, forever send us to the mourner's bench, sinners against political wisdom.

Mr. Speaker, it does, indeed, appear to have been our unhappy fate over the years—and apparently is still our fate today—to ignore those lessons of history for which we have paid so dearly.

The Democratic Party conducted a rebellion against reason and experience when it lowered the tariff rates in 1913. The country had been prosperous, but what were the consequences by the middle of 1914? Four million people walked the streets of America in idleness; industry was in distress; business lay prostrate; want had its foot inside the door of every home. It was a repetition of the same old free-trade tragedy.

Of course, the World War intervened and raised a wall of protection around the United States as high as the Embargo Act employed by Thomas Jefferson. War orders from Europe poured in like a torrent; imports declined; exports boomed. The day of reckoning was postponed.

However, the low Tariff Act of 1913 was on the statute books when war ceased. Let me quote from a Democrat as to what followed:

But after the World War was over, after the vessels of the Old World were released from their burdens to fly the shippers' flag, after Europe caught up in production and had something to sell, England with her surplus lying in warehouses, Australia with an abundance of wool, South America with cheap meats, and the Far East with vegetable oils, all turned to the land of gold, to America, and commenced dumping their wares upon our shores. * * A situation was immediately brought about which beggars description—ruin run riot from the Atlantic seaboard to the Pacific coast.

And then he said:

This could not have happened with a protective policy in effect.

He refers to the situation of the cattlemen in these dramatic words:

Stockmen, rich and powerful one day, found themselves almost the next without credit and without equity in their vast herds roaming the broad prairies and thousands of hills. The work of years wasted, the earnings of the hazardous task of a midnight guard riding by running steers when the deadly lightning played upon their barns, were scattered in the winds of tariff heresy.

The cattle industry suffered in particular. Every cattleman knows that when the First World War was over the foreign accumulated supply of wool and

beef came into our ports, overwhelmed the domestic markets, and one of the most flourishing industries of America was laid waste. That was under a low tariff bill. It was then that the Argentine began to send boat loads of frozen carcasses into New York and other American ports below the cost of production on the ranges of the Southwest. Also be it remembered that a cattle raiser of the Argentine can put his cattle upon the consuming markets of this country for less shipping rate than the producers of the South and West.

The negotiations for an Argentine trade agreement is temporarily suspended, but negotiations can be resumed. If it is, are the cattlemen of the United States again to be subjected to the same character of competition as they were under the tariff bill of 1913? It must not be forgotten that it was under the low tariff of 1913 that the cattlemen of Texas and New Mexico, and Arizona, and Wyoming, and other producing States saw their market glutted, paralyzed, and their credit destroyed in 1920.

The flood of imports which followed the war led to the Emergency Act of May 1921, which increased duties on agricultural commodities, and provided against unfair methods of competition, especially dumping. A qualified embargo was placed upon dyes and certain other chemicals. In 1922 the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act was passed again providing protection to American industry. What did the Fordney-McCumber law do? It produced more revenue the first year of its operation than any tariff law that ever existed in this country. opened up factories. It put 5 million idle men back on the payrolls of America. It made purchasers and consumers for the farmers.

The Fordney-McCumber law went into operation in September 1922. By the time it had been in operation 12 months the sheep and wool industry showed complete recovery and agricultural conditions in the South had made notable gains. The cotton and peanut producers of Texas, Mississippi, Alabama, Arkansas. Georgia, Tennessee, Virginia, and the Carolinas were enjoying unparalleled prosperity. It was in May 1923, following the passage of this law that a commission of southern governors came to Washington and told President Harding that their States were doing well since a duty had been placed on vegetable oils and urged that the existing schedule be retained.

The postwar decade, 1920 to 1930, was one of great national prosperity and expansion. In 1930 the Smoot-Hawley Act was enacted containing a complete general tariff revision. Of course, the world-wide financial and economic depression had already commenced to spread to the United States from foreign areas by June 1930, when the act was passed. As a result, there is no statistical basis for estimating its effect upon the foreign commerce of this country since during the period 1930 to 1933 price of practically all commodities in the world collapsed and international trade was completely disorganized.

From 1934 on the trade agreements authority has been in effect. During this period the country has been in the depths of depression or engaged in war or busy rebuilding the war-torn economies of the rest of the world. There is, thus, little basis for estimating the effect on the economy of the present tariff program. Of course, one of the most tragic aspects of our pre-World War II trade was our tremendous shipments of war materials to Japan. Millions of tons of scrap metals were shipped from the United States to Japan during that period. The free traders insisted at that time that we were increasing the chances for peace by bolstering Japan's economy. On December 7, 1941, this folly was rewarded. Pearl Harbor was our first dividend on our investment in peace. Once again the lesson had to be learned—this time in the blood of American boys.

Mr. Speaker, once more we are approaching the fateful crossroad. The world is again in arms. The Soviet menace stretches from the banks of the Elbe to the shores of the Pacific. We are asked to delegate to the Executive even broader powers to lower our tariffs—once more in the name of peace and prosperity.

I wish to quote from a speech made by our beloved ex-President Herbert Hoover on his 80th birthday at West Branch, Iowa, the place of his birth. On this occasion Mr. Hoover, among other things, said:

In our foreign relations there are great dangers and also vital safeguards to freemen. During the last war we witnessed a special encroachment of the Executive upon the legislative branch. This has been through a new type of commitment of the United States to other nations. I am not going to argue legalisms—

Said Mr. Hoover-

for they do not go to the center of the issue. The real issue is in whether the President, through declaration or implication or by appeasement or by acquiescence, or by joint statement with foreign officials, can commit the American people to foreign nations without the specific consent of the elected representatives of the people.

Continuing, Mr. Hoover said:

There has been a grievous list of such commitments. They include international agreements which shackle our economy by limiting a free market. But more terrible were such executive agreements as our recognition of Soviet Russia which opened the floodgates for a torrent of traitors. Our tacit alliance with Soviet Russia spread communism over the earth. Our acquiescence in the annexation by Russia of the Baltic States at Moscow and the partition of Poland at Tehran extinguished the liberties of tens of millions of people.

Said Mr. Hoover-

Worse still-

was the appeasement and surrender at Yalta of 10 nations to slavery. And there was the secret agreement with respect to China which set in train the communization of Mongolla, North Korea, and all of China. These unrestrained Presidential actions have resulted in a shrinking of human freedom over the whole world.

From these actions came the jeopardies of the cold war. As a byproduct these actions have shrunk our freedoms by crushing taxes, huge defense costs, inflation, and compulsory military service.

We must make such misuse of power forever impossible. And let me say I have no fears of this evil from President Eisenhower. but he will not always be President.

Mr. Speaker, I, too, have the greatest confidence in President Eisenhower and his use of such powers as are granted to him by Congress; but in the light of what has been done by other Presidents in the use of executive power without reference to the people's representatives, the fact must not be ignored that President Eisenhower will not always be our Chief Executive.

Mr. Speaker, it is a fine thing to be concerned for our friends abroad, to wish to raise their standards of living, to strengthen the economies of the rest of the world. But, Mr. Speaker, in so doing let us not forget the United States. Unless our own economy is strong and our own people prosperous, the free world will indeed be in a hopeless plight.

Mr. Speaker, let us learn the lessons of experience before it is forever too late.

About Farm Prices: Congress Should Act Ouickly

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Rec-ORD, I include the following editorial from the Progressive Farmer of February 1955:

ABOUT FARM PRICES: CONGRESS SHOULD ACT QUICKLY

To our Senators and Representatives From the Southern States:

DEAR FRIENDS: As the 84th Congress gets underway, what is the very first major economic subject that should have your atten-

Unquestionably, in our opinion, it is the serious situation caused by low farm prices and the worsened situation that exists because of (1) the relatively low prices the farmer gets for what he sells and (2) the relatively high prices he must pay for what he buys.

Nor is this a case where we are simply giving you somebody's opinion, theory, hear say, or belief. Please study on this page an authoritative chart based on the official figures of the United States Department of Agriculture itself. As compared with the official 1910-14 base, prices received by farmers now stand at only 239 percent, while prices paid (including interest, taxes, and hired labor) are 279 percent. And while the overall farm parity ratio on December 15, 1953, was 91 percent, by December 16, 1954, it had dropped to 86 percent.

In view of this bad and worsening situation, can you Senators and Representatives, chosen from primarily rural States, afford to look on with complacency? Or can you afford to be unconcerned if you turned to the recent 1955 forecast issue of one of America's leading publications concerned with economic trends, the U.S. News & World Report, and noted on page 67 a table headed—"The Climb in Real Income."

(Average weekly pay, after Federal taxes, with adjustments for increases in living costs since 1950, first year of Korean war.)

Then followed a table prepared after long and careful study by economic experts. shows net weekly earnings or weekly buying power of 20 leading classes of employed people in the United States in 1950, 1954, and their estimated income for 1955. Here are figures for one dozen of the most important of these 20 occupations.

	Buying power in 1950	Buying power in 1954	Estimated 1955 buy- ing power
A verage factory worker	\$57.19	\$59.70	\$61.37
Auto worker	69, 01	71.54	72.84
Steelworker	64.18	68, 14	71. 32
Soft-coal miner	66, 44	66. 84	69. 26
Machinery-manufacturing			
employee	63, 92	67.15	67.82
Farm-implement worker	61.61	64.36	65, 50
Railroad worker	58. 16	62.27	64.41
Schoolteacher	56, 63	61, 28	64. 25
Federal employee	60.74	60.87	63.60
Textile worker	48.22	45, 59	46.62
Clothing worker	43.02	41.91	43, 03
Farm owner	42.10	39. 52	37.24

What are the 2 most remarkable things developed by these statistics about 20 different occupations?

1. For all 20 occupations, income increased from 1953 to 1954--with only 3 exceptions, the former being 1.

2. For all 20 occupations, income is expected to increase in 1955, with only 1 exception. What is that one? Again the farmer.

And why is the farmer suffering? Is it because he is less industrious, less efficient? Is he falling down on his job of feeding and clothing America? Not at all. On the contrary, all this is happening when the American farmer is reaching a degree of efficiency unprecedented in his own occupation-and hardly equalled by workers in any of the other occupations in America. In 1910, 1 farm worker produced only enough farm products for himself and 6 others; in 1953, enough for himself and 17 others. In other words, in 1910 it took 35 Americans out of each 100 to produce crops and livestock to and clothe America; in 1930, only 25; in 1945, only 18; and in 1954, only 14.

Under such conditions, is it not high time for all five agencies that might do something about this matter to hear "the firebell at night," and do something about it? And what five agencies do we mean? Here is our list:

- 1. The President of the United States
- The United States Senate
- 3. The House of Representatives. 4. Our farm organizations-Farm Bureau,
- Grange, and Farmers Union,

5. The Secretary of Agriculture.

We are not passing on the justice of their complaint, but many farmers now say thisthat many to whom they looked for help have seemed more concerned about reducing price safeguards for farmers than about checking this terrible price-squeeze that is bringing trouble to nearly all small farmers and many large farmers as well. And right here we might add two other agencies that farmers are watching-and have a right to watch-with real concern and purposefulness. What are these two?

Here they are:

6. The Democratic Party.

7. The Republican Party.

What did the Republican presidential nominee of 1952, and present President of the United States, say about farm prices in 1952? Let's see:

At Brookings, S. Dak., on October 4, he at Brookings, S. Dak., on October 4, he said: "The Republican Party is pledged to the sustaining of the 90 percent parity price support and it is pledged even more than that to helping the farmer obtain his full parity, 100 percent parity, with the guaranty in the price supports of 90."

At Kasson, Minn., on September 6, he said: "As provided in the Republican platform, the nonperishable crops so important to the diversified farmer—crops such as oats, bar-ley, rye, and soybeans—should be given the same protection as available to the major cash crops."

Not only did the Republican nominee say these things, but the Democratic nominee said: "The Republican nominee has climbed on my platform." The Democrats promised in 1952—and again in 1954, "We'll do better by farmers than the Republicans have ever done."

Well, now the Democrats have Congress and the Republicans have the administration and farmers are ready to hold both parties responsible for what they do or fail

to do right now—in 1955.

The National Planning Association has already predicted that unemployment will rise this year and thereafter "unless Gov-ernment and industry act to increase con-sumer buying power and industrial production." What terribly disappoints us is that the President is trying "to increase consumer buying power" only by increasing hourly wages for labor, while proposing nothing im-portant about the more desperately needed increase in consumer purchasing on American farms.

Vice President Thomas Kennedy, of the United Mine Workers of America, Urges Realization of the Fact That the Devastating Effects of Reciprocal Trade Agreements on the Coal, Railroad, Chemical, and Allied Industries Reveal That the Slogan "You Buy Our Goods and We'll Buy Yours" Is Wishful Thinking and Not Supported by Actual Experience

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES E. VAN ZANDT

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. VAN ZANDT. Mr. Speaker, the following statement by Vice President Thomas Kennedy, recently delivered before the House Ways and Means Committee, contains some of the sound objections against the unregulated flood of foreign products that are destroying the jobs of American wage earners:

STATEMENT OF THOMAS KENNEDY, VICE PRESI-DENT, UNITED MINE WORKERS OF AMERICA, IN RE H. R. 1, BEFORE THE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRE-SENTATIVES

My name is Thomas Kennedy, vice president of the United Mine Workers of America. I live at Hazleton, Pa., and represent the United Mine Workers of America with respect to this legislation.

The meat of this bill is contained in section (A) starting on page 2, as follows:

The President is authorized:

"(A) To enter into foreign-trade agreements with foreign governments or instrumentalities thereof containing provisions with respect to international trade, including provisions relating to tariffs, to mostfavored-nation standards and other standards of nondiscriminatory treatment affecting such trade, to quantitative import and export restrictions, to customs formalities, and to other matters relating to such trade designed to promote the purpose of this section similar to any of the foregoing: Provided, That, except as authorized by subparagraph (B) of this paragraph, no such provision shall be given effect in the United States in a manner inconsistent with existing legislation of the United States."

I am not a lawyer, but I know a little about legislation and it seems to me after reading this section of the bill that Congress is giving to the President greater powers than have ever been given to any previous President; in fact, it is my thought that Congress is really abdicating and delegating to the President, legislative authority on this subject, which inherently belongs to Congress itself. Whenever we clothe the executive branch of the Government with authority to legislate, we are, in my opinion, getting away from the fundamentals of our form of government, and in my judgment, if this bill is enacted, the State Department will run the show from here on in with no regard for our own economic problems affected by international trade. From my personal experience I know of no department of Government which knows less about economic affairs in the United States than the State Department.

When the first reciprocal trade agreement was made back in 1934, I was one of a committee that met with Secretary of State Cordell Hull with reference to an agreement then under consideration with Venezuela. We talked about the repercussions on the coal industry that would be brought about by the importation and dumping of oil from Venezuela. With all due respect to Secretary Hull, who was an able and honest man, we could not interest him in any of the economic phases of trade agreements. His only concern seemed to be one of preventing wars and preserving peace in the world, and he repeatedly told us that these trade agreements would prevent wars. Well, they did not prevent wars. World War II blew up in our face and the world ever since has been in turmoil and trouble bordering upon war.

Our Government is now approaching the subject matter of reciprocal trade relations in the belief that by building up industries and production throughout the world we will be staying the hand of communism and prevent wars. Another purpose the propo-nents of this bill have in mind is virtually free trade. As one who has attended many international meetings of labor throughout Europe, it is my judgment that we have failed in this enterprise of stemming the tide of communism not only in Europe, but in Asia and in the Latin American countries.

We are told that if we buy foreign goods it will give those countries from which we buy. American dollars to purchase our goods. But this is not the way it works, because these countries shop around Europe and buy in the cheapest markets. With our dollars, France, Italy, Belgium, and the Scandinavian countries have been buying Polish coal. Belgium recently concluded a sales agree-ment direct with Russia to buy coal and other commodities. England has also purchased coal from some of the countries hind the Iron Curtain. These facts certainly sweep away the slogan "You buy our goods, and we will buy yours." It should better read, you take our goods, give us your dollars, and we will buy where we please in the cheapest countries, even though the goods we buy may be subsidized by governments.

Wage rates, wage standards and conditions of the workers in foreign countries are evidently never taken into consideration by governments in arranging trade agree-ments—to illustrate briefly: This Congress in the last session and in many previous sessions was told by the President of the United States, by the State Department, and Army engineers that the building of the St. Lawrence seaway and the building of power projects on the St. Lawrence River would aid in American employment and greater productivity in American industry and would result in greater trade between Canada and the United States. I was in Canada in the early part of October of last year and read a news release in one of the Canadian papers to the effect that the first contract for steel in connection with these projects was let, and the steel was not from the United States nor from Canada, but from Dortmund in Western Germany, where at this moment the Federal Government of Western Germany has in effect an import licensing system which pre-vents the importation of foreign goods or commodities where they would compete with like products and commodities of Western

Under the Schuman plan, in effect in 5 or 6 countries on the Continent as affecting coal and steel, that authority recently borrowed \$100 million, which was underwritten by our Government. I was recently at meetings in Paris and London and discussed this matter with delegates from some of the countries affected, and found out that very little of this is being used to improve wage and condition standards in the mining industry. The first \$25 million is to be used for building miners' homes and for transferring miners from high-cost areas to low-cost Creeping communism has not been stopped-and I know whereof I speak. seems to me that we are attempting to build up industry in foreign countries at the expense of our own industry in the United States-especially the coal industry.

I wish to call particular attention to the dumping of residual oil on the eastern seaboard, most of which comes from Venezuela-not a Communist dictatorship, but a military dictatorship, which from the standpoint of freedom and justice is as bad as a Communist dictatorship. Residual oil last year displaced over 30 million tons of American coal. We had in the American coal-mining industry in the month of December 1954 over 143,000 persons unemployed, with thousands of others working part time. If the dumping of residual oil were stopped and placed upon a quota basis, it would mean about 3 weeks extra work for the coal-mining industry. It has been pretty well established as public policy that the dumping of commodities on our shores is wrong and in violation of every concept of fairness and equity and yet the practice continues merrily along its way. I repeat, we are in favor of a quota system being applied to residual oil in much the same way as most of these countries prevent the importation of American goods and commoditles by a quota system.

Our State Department, which handles most of our international trade and other problems, and as they would continue to do under this bill as I have indicated, is not concerned with the economics in this matter at all. They want to bring about the prevention of wars and the preservation of peace, a very laudable objective, but they are evidently not concerned with the fact that our industries and our people should have our own interests first protected because the peace of the world, in my judgment, depends upon the strength and the greatness of our own country, and this can-not be accomplished by ruining the basic coal industry which, in the event of war, must be depended upon for energy not only in our own country, but also those of our allies. Surely with all of the statesman-ship in this Congress and this committee, we can find a better way to provide full employment and stabilization of our own industries and aid in stabilizing industries of other countries.

Unemployment in the coal industry in the United States affects many other industries adversely. This is also true of the chemical industry of the United States—much of it being based upon the byproducts of coal. District No. 50 of the United Mine Workers of America represents most of the

unionized employees in the chemical industry and is the largest labor organization in the chemical industry.
In 1953 there were 608 manufacturers of

synthetic organic chemicals in the United States with a total production for that year of about 29.1 billion pounds. Total sales in 1953 (less tars and crudes) were \$4 billion approximately 20 percent of the \$19,800,-000,000 sales for all chemical and allied products in 1953.

The coal and chemical industries are interrelated and as coal is an indispensable source of power, it, is also an indispensable raw material source of the synthetic organic chemical industry. The importation or chemical produced by cheap labor affects the employment opportunities and standard The importation or of living of the chemical workers directly and, in turn, the coal miners also. It does not stop there. It affects the employment opportunities and the living standards of employees in the vast number of industries where chemicals form an important part of the finished product.

To briefly illustrate this point—coal is often called the black diamond. The analogy obtains not only because both consist of carbon but because from both we get a rainbow of colors, one from the effect of light and the other from the action of various chemicals. If we follow through the manifold chemical and engineering changes that transform coal by the action of many other chemicals into literally a thousand chemicals which in turn throws a protective mantle over many another industry and, of equal importance, over a wise and prudent scheme of national preparednes and defense.

For example, \$1 worth of such chemicals makes salable \$100 worth of other products. Thus, \$60 million to \$70 million worth of such chemicals help mightily in the disposal and sale of \$6 to \$7 billion worth of other products entering our modern technical civilization.

To that extent companies in the chemical industry are thus customers and competitors of one another. Chemicals provide the essential ingredients that enter into the manufacture and sales of the countless multitude of other industrial products. similar extent employees in all of these industries are adversely affected, some directly, and others in the manner of a chain reaction by the impact of imports of chemicals produced by foreign countries by substantially cheaper labor and costs.

Last year, the total imports of chemical and allied products was about \$259 million. This is a 142-percent increase over the value of such imports in 1949.

Our tariffs on imports are now the lowest in relation to the value of imports of all the countries of the world.

The ratio of customs collected to the value of imports of the principal countries on the European Continent, as compared with the United States, is as follows:

Ratio of customs collected to value of imports

8	oundry.		
	United Kingdom	25.6	
	France	10.6	
	Italy	8.4	
	Germany	5.8	į
	United States	5. 1	

Now let us compare wage rates in the chemical industry of the above European countries with those in the United States, as follows:

Country	Average hourly rate	Average rate, including fringe benefits	
Italy Germany France England United States	\$0. 29 .33 .37 .53 1. 98	\$0. 52 . 50 . 58 . 65 2. 50	

Some people may argue that the higher productivity per man-hour or man-day in the United States should overcome or offset this disparity in wage rates, but the differ-

ence is too great.

It is true that the American worker in the chemical industry produced from 2½ to 5 times as many tons of chemicals per man-hour or man-day as his European counterpret. That vastly superior productivity is not enough to overcome the wage cost alone. It must also be taken into account our own present tariff disadvantage plus the ease and facility with which other governments may adjust the value of their currencies in relation to the value of our own to further enhance the advantage of their chemicals and other products in our market.

In addition to maintaining employment opportunities at American standards for the present number of workers in our labor force in the United States, there are about 1,600,000 young men and women coming of age each year. As our population continues to increase, the number of young men and women coming of age will be increasing pro-

portionately.

The number of new additions to our labor forces in the United States is now running about 500,000 per year. As our net population increases, the number of additions to our labor force will also increase propor-

These new additions to our labor force as well as the sixty-five-odd million in our present labor force must find employment opportunities, at American standards of wages and incomes, in our own expanding indus-

trial economy.

A brief word about preparedness or national defense: We are now and have been making vast expenditures for national defense. While we are doing this, it would be folly for the United States to adopt a policy authorizing a further reduction in tariffs that would tend to disable our domestic economy and particularly our synthetic organic chemical production markets, chemical research and, in turn, the employment opportunities of our people.

No important segment of our chemical nor of our coal-mining industry can be put in mothballs and then taken out in full

bloom in case of emergency.

Chemical research cannot be put in mothballs to be taken out in case of emergency. Even the tortoise would win that kind of

an industrial production race.

The skilled labor that is so vital to the operation and processing of chemical production and coal mining cannot be diverted to other work or idleness and then recalled in case of emergency—that time and technical know-how is only lost forever.

The military preparedness of our Nation and the nations of the world associated with us depends upon the live, active, operating scientific technical know-how to more than offset the numerically superior forces that can be arrayed against us.

Our security is in our economic health—that should be our first consideration.

Proponents of H. R. 1 are evidently not sure that the proposed bill will accomplish the result of putting more people to work in the United States because they offer to support legislation introduced to provide for industries and unemployed persons attached to those industries which may be adversely affected to be cared for by increased unemployment compensation, old-age pensions, and help for these industries. If reciprocal trade is what they claim it to be, why the need for such legislation?—and I might propound this question: Where are we going to move deplaced persons where they can find employment when practically every industry in the Nation is now affected by unemployment and part-time work?

Industrial plants, for instance those built in Scranton by the people, are only operating on a part-time basis due to the fact that they cannot get contracts from the Government because General Motors, the Chrysler Corp. and others are getting all of the work. How does Congress propose to solve this problem?

I personally suggested to a conference in Pittsburgh several years ago that unemployment compensation payments should be made for the full period of unemployment and not for 26 weeks as is now prescribed by law. I would further suggest that eligibility for pensions should be fixed at 60 years of age, if a person is unemployed. Regardless of this bill or any other bill, it should be done as a general relief proposition which I think is equitable and just under the circumstances.

The coal industry is basic to the security of this Nation and basic to the extent of supplying coal to other nations. It seems to me an overall proposition that H. R. 1 is not going to solve the problem, and it might be better for all concerned, if we put some teeth in the present tariff and trade relations program and speed it up. We could then require this agency (Tariff Commission) to make reports to Congress on trade agreements or tariff adjustments before they become operative. In this way Congress would be preserving its rights under the Constitution with respect to tariffs, reciprocal trade or any other matter relating thereto.

As given to the committee this statement deals particularly in relation to coal and its allied chemical industries. Other industries related to coal are also affected such as steel, lumber, explosives, machinery, and railroads, and I hope that my statement will be given the consideration that is due it before this committee and the Congress.

Puerto Rico-America's Exhibit A

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. A. FERNÓS-ISERN

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER FROM PUERTO RICO IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. FERNÓS-ISERN. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent to revise and extend my remarks in the Appendix of the Congressional Record, I am happy to call attention to an article published in This Week magazine with the Sunday edition of leading newspapers in a number of American cities on Sunday, January 30, 1955.

This article entitled "Puerto Rico: America's Exhibit A" tells how the island commonwealth which gets no point-4 funds for itself is showing students from 79 nations the best way to use theirs.

I am sure that all who read it will find this article by Henry La Cossitt valuably informative:

PUERTO RICO: AMERICA'S EXHIBIT A

Octavio Alzona is a captain in the Army of the Republic of the Philippines. He is attached to what is known as the Economic Development Corps which, since 1951, has been charged with the resettlement of exrebel Hukbalahaps who has surrendered after being promised safe conduct and land.

Resettlement, however, has proved to be a vexatious problem for which the government was not entirely prepared. So Captain Alzona was sent to, of all places, Puerto Rico, where I met him in an office of the Puerto Rican Department of State on Fortaleza Street in San Juan.

Captain Alzona was there because of a project that is proving to be one of the most effective international public-relations programs the United States ever had. That the idea originated in Puerto Rico, not in Washington does not detract from its value.

Washington, does not detract from its value. Captain Alzona was a guest of Harold Stassen's Foreign Operations Administration. He was one of some 1,500 students who, over the past 4 years, have been sent by 79 nations to see how Puerto Rico, in partnership with the United States, does it. He was studying Puerto Rican rural resettlement and related activities under what is known as the technical cooperation program, a joint operation of the United States and Puerto Rico. "What I learn here," Captain Alzona told me, "we can apply at home."

This is precisely what Puerto Rican Governor Luis Muñoz Marín, a Georgetown University alumnus, had in mind in the summer of 1949 when he went to Washington to suggest the program to President Truman. It was his idea that Puerto Rico—poor, underdeveloped, overpopulated, underresourced, struggling to raise its standard of living and achieve economic balance—could serve as a working model for point-4 applicants, most of which would be suffering from one or another—or all—of these iils.

Puerto Rico is part of the American political system and receives grants-in-aid in the manner of the several States, as well as other Federal financial help. Thus it is not eligible for point-4 aid as such, but the principle is the same, as President agreed. In 1950 the Puerto Rican Legislature appropriated \$50,000 to set up an office in San Juan and Washington then formally designated the island as a point-4 training center. The program has been operating ever since the bipartisan support, with the Interior Department acting as coordinator for FOA and the Puerto Rican Department of State. It is under the direction of an alumnus of the University of Texas and Columbia, Dr. Artura Morales Carrion, Under Secretary in Puerto Rico's State Department.

PARALLELS WITH INDIA

Applicants ask for point 4 funds for projects in almost every field: economic, political, or social. In each of these, Puerto Rico has an example of solid achievement.

Somebody has said that it is an emotional compulsion below the Rio Grande to have a case against the United States. This may be true—but 35 people from information offices in Latin American nations went home last March after 5 months study of community education, astonished at Puerto Rican gains.

Some students come from the colonies of other nations. Puerto Rico was once a colony itself and is now a free associated state, or commonwealth, and the students want, among other things, to see how this transition was accomplished. Among them, for example, was A. L. Adu, an administrator of the Africanization program of the Gold Coast, which is moving toward autonomy.

Indian students, of whom there have been more than expected, all remark on the similarities between Puerto Rico and India, despite the enormous difference in size. Both, they point out, were former colonies; both are poor and underdeveloped and overpopulated. One Indian, Junreivat Chinda, said the island's success or failure "is of first importance to millions living in underdeveloped areas throughout the world."

Western Hemisphere colonies also send students and it is a curious fact that most complaints against the program come from these. Many come for industrial education and attend the mammoth Metropolitan Vocational School at San Juan. Some say the school does not measure up to what Stassen's FOA said it was. The complaints are sifted and evaluated and the condition corrected, if possible.

Many colonials also come to observe selfhelp housing activities, a thing Captain Alzona studied for possible application in the Hukbalahap resettlement. These work out

something like this:

The jibaros, or people of the rural areas, are resettled on government land in communities in order that electrification, water facilities, and other government services, impossible to apply to scattered homes, may be brought to them. In the new community area they draw lots for their 300-squaremeter homesites. Then they build the houses themselves, with the help of their neighbors. The government furnishes the materials, which cost \$300, or which the owner is required to pay half, \$15 down with 10 years to pay the balance, with the government furnishing the pouring machine or block cutter free.

Now comes community education. This does not mean the actual teaching of skills—although help in this is furnished if absolutely necessary—or even help in organizing the community. It is, rather, an effort to instill into the people of the 1,200 defined rural communities of Puerto Rico the idea that by working together, as did the American pioneers, they can achieve wonders.

ROADS AND BRIDGES

Community education has worked particularly well in places where neither the government nor the people themselves could afford to buy what was needed. In Barrio la Yuca, high in the mountains, 450 citizens built a schoolhouse out of timber and materials of the neighborhood with but little help from the government expert.

In another case, a rural community built a bridge out of an old truck chassis and used the sand from the little river itself in pouring the concrete. In still another instance a rural community made a road. This was to get their products—tobacco and pineapples—to market and so a doctor could get through in emergencies.

Such activities are fascinating to people from nations faced with similar problems. One of these is U Sein Hla, of the Burmese National Housing Development Board. In his case, there is the necessity of building 3,000 rural communities in Burma and what he saw in Puerto Rico can, he says, be applied in his nation.

THREE-YEAR RENEWAL

Under a new agreement reached with Puerto Rico last summer, FOA is extending the program for another 3 years, or until 1957. By its terms FOA will supply up to \$1.323.000—an amount Puerto Rico will match with cash and services—for the training of 1,800 point 4 students. This is 800 percent more than was spent in the previous 3 years but, as somebody has observed, technical cooperation pays for itself by teaching fund-saving efficiency.

The 1.800 new students will study a country that in 13 years has increased its net income by 300 percent, its production by 302 percent, its wages and salaries by 358 percent, its agricultural production by 172 percent. They will study a government that uses public funds freely for public welfare, but which has, through shrewd tax procedures, encouraged private enterprise and brought in 300 new industries where there were practically none before.

They will find out how Puerto Rico eliminated malaria, brought hookworm and other parasitic diseases under control, reduced tuberculosis and venereal disease and dropped its annual death rate from 18.4 to 8.1 per 1,000 or below that of the continental United States.

Muñoz-Marin told me this: "We have done all these things in a democratic way and that gives us a sense of pride in accomplishment that we like to pass along to other poor notions so that they may have the same

thing. In the modern world it is the struggle for the mind that is important."

Director Carrion puts it this way: "We show them what the poor of the world can do when they have courage. In the world struggle the poor and underdeveloped countries are going to have the last word."

He could be right.

United States Market and Wages in Peril

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ELIZABETH KEE

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mrs. KEE. Mr. Speaker, in connection with the hearings on H. R. 1, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Extension Act, which were held recently before the House Ways and Means Committee, I should like to insert in the Record the following article by Ira E. Bennett entitled "United States Market and Wages in Peril," which appeared in the National Republic for February 1955:

UNITED STATES MARKET AND WAGES IN PERIL (By Ira E. Bennett)

The plan of domestic and foreign enthusiasts to open the United States to imports produced by cheap labor is now resumed with extraordinary vigor. It is encouraged by the President in his recent state of the Union message asking Congress for certain delegation of authority over tariffs. Oftensibly the request is only for authority to reduce duties by not more than 15 percent during a period of 3 years. Unfortunately, however, the proposed reciprocal tradeagreement legislation could pave the way for tariffmaking by the Executive instead of by Congress.

"Trade, not aid," is a misleading phrase that has been invented by foreign political leaders to camouflage their plans All kinds of ture the American market. arguments are used to convince Americans that they should liberalize world trade by giving foreign countries access to our market. It is urged that Americans are not only destined to risk bankruptcy by excessive handouts to impoverished foreign countries, but are stupid in failing to share their market with those countries, to the infinite benefit of all, and to the benefit of world peace. Free trade, they say, or an arrangement as near free trade as possible, would be in fact an assurance of the success of peaceful coexistence with Soviet bloc countries. by sharing the world's poverty, it is said, Americans would avoid the danger of atomic annihilation.

The foreign leaders who so kindly outline America's duty to itself and the world do not go so far as to suggest that the United States market should be opened to the Communist enemy. No, let the enemy wait. Let free nations exploit the American market.

These foreign political philanthropists do not explain how the high standard of American wages would be maintained if our market should be filled with imports produced by cheaply paid foreign labor. They meet this question by denying that our market would be flooded. They ask only for reciprocal agreements for the importation of commodities that would not compete with domestic products. American wages, they say, would not be affected.

To every objection to the giveaway of the American market these overseas gentlemen have a ready answer. It is all polite, patient,

and convincing—but Americans are slow to understand.

Some years ago, when the great hybrid-corn philosopher Henry Wallace was spokes-man for world trade reciprocity, he told Congress that foreign goods should be freely admitted, and that if any American producer could not meet the foreign competition he should close up shop. He cited several industries, including toymaking, that should give place to superior foreign competitors. What he said seemed like insanity to some of the legislators, but it was not; it was sound reason and conclusive logic, assuming that all countries should have access to all markets on equal terms in the name of world welfare and peace.

world welfare and peace.

The American market, however, is the richest free-trade area in the world. It now sustains many countries. The markets of those countries are beggarly in comparison with the trade between Michigan and Illinois, for example. If England could have the fruits of trade in the Mississippi Valley it could turn away from its slide into socialism-communism and put on airs again. France, verging on collapse and living on Yankee handouts, would be rich if she could take over the profits of the American auto-

mobile and airplane industries.

Aside from the chaos that would follow the disturbance of the American wage scale by excessive cheap-labor imports—a chaos of unforeseeable injury to American society—the chief factor of alarm in and out of Congress is the conversion of millions of citizens to the delusions of world government, and the idea that the United States is bound, somehow, to assert its leadership of all nations at any cost. The extension of this crackpot ideology to the economic field, involving the dissipation of America's wealth and sources of wealth, and lowering its working people to the level of serfs and peons, is actually the core of the project to destroy tariff protection. It is a plan to tariff-making to the White House as part of the plan to wield world power.

Protection of American workers, farmers, and small industries, against the competition of pauper and coolie labor is a cardinal principle of domestic policy. It has enabled the people of this country to develop its vast extent and immense resources, so that the United States now stands foremost among all nations. This was the dream of its founder; but his warning against foreign entanglements, if not soon heeded, may explain the ultimate ruin of the country and

serve as its epitaph.

These observations are forced upon one when even a quick glance is cast over the drift of events since the two world wars. In 1920, the people rejected the movement to merge the country into an international arrangement in which Americans would no longer control their own Government and By 1945, the people seemingly approved of an arrangement whereby they relinquished part of their independence. Since that time misfortune has been the rule. It is no longer a matter of universal protest when the Constitution is violated. Economic conditions, including high wages, seem to have made many of the people in-different to what is happening. The drift different to what is happening. to socialism and internationalism is not only tolerated, but often applauded.

Every step toward socialism is a step away from the system that has made America great—the system of individual and private enterprise. This way of life is endangered by the threat of opening American markets to foreign competitors whenever the Executive thinks it sees a possible bargain. Interference with the delicate balance by which industry manages to flourish in spite of paying the highest wages in the world might easily ruin a private enterprise whose founders were not mere theorists, but hardheaded pioneers and business geniuses. Government

bureaucracy cannot furnish the ability to create a great industry like the automobile or airplane industry, but it can easily ruin it.

Nearly 200 years ago Americans agreed that the true role of Government is to serve as an umpire and guardian of the integrity of private liberty and enterprise. Every man was to be free to exercise his talents and capitalize upon his own energy, always protected against injustice by his Government. Under this rule Congress enacted the first law it ever made, which was a tariff act for revenue and protection. Thereupon Americans were encouraged to go out and conquer the wilderness. The European vultures of trade, hovering on the coast, hoping to swoop down and devour American wealth, were barred out by a vigilant Government. Every dollar earned belonged to the man who earned it by labor or investment or management.

Private enterprise, protected by Government, was made a rule of life in the United States according to the inspired Declaration of Independence, which held that man is endowed by his Creator with the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. What is meant by "pursuit of happiness," if it is not the right to enjoy work best fitted to a man, by the man best fitted to excel in it, to accumulate wealth and leisure, to sit under his own vine and fig tree, and at sundown to drift quietly to sleep with his

Protection and liberty have encouraged every American genius and private enterprise to develop the wealth inherent in the United States. It is a vast country, to be sure, but not as large as the Soviet Union, China, Canada, Brazil, or British Africa. Yet it produces more wealth than all other nations combined. Why? Because Americans are among its products—Americans who know how to work, invent, explore, experiment, organize, ploneer, and cooperate, in liberty.

Mix these Americans with other tribes and we don't know what the mixture would be-but it would not be a product to be

proud of.

Imagination, daring, teamwork, liberty—these are the elements of Americanism which are attacked by theorists who would open the American market.

The American Federation of Labor boasts that it has 10 million members. The CIO other organized labor groups number additional millions. These are all free men, protected in their liberty as they perform the teamwork that keeps America at the head of nations. Unorganized workers, not in unions, make up the bulk of the population. All of them, all equal under law, are entitled to protection by their Government. One of them invented the telephone, and all mankind is now in instant communication. Another invented electric light, and now American liberty enlightens the world. An American, inventing the automobile, revolutionized human transport. Two brothers, Americans, have given humanity the ability to fly around the world. Americans invented motion pictures, perfected radio, and developed television. Innumerable minor inventions by Americans have been a blessing to workers everywhere.

Are not these gifts to mankind a con-tribution worth more than the American market itself? What would foreign nations gain if they should gorge themselves upon America's present wealth and forfeit the advantages that come from the American system of free enterprise?

Americans pride themselves upon being shrewd traders-and they are. But they are often swindled by crooked foreign governments and traders. President Eisenhower appeals to American capital to go abroad to help develop backward countries. But American capital has been stung too often to be attracted by lures of foreign profits. Its profits are confiscated by various sub-

terfuges; its foreign workers are worthless; it is overtaxed; its cannot employ American workers or American methods.

Experience in reciprocal trade agreements is not satisfactory. The negotiators may think they are making a good bargain on The negotiators may but something usually crops up each side, to disappoint our side. The agreement with Venezuela, for instance, is making ghost towns in West Virginia by destroying the market for bituminous coal and substituting residual oil from Venezuela-oil that has been worked over for its good qualities and then shipped to this country for crude fuel. Enormous quantities of this stuff have supplanted coal in Northeastern sections of this country, robbing coal miners of their liveli-hood. Did the American negotiators foresee this fraud upon West Virginia? they were blind. The facts regarding this trade agreement and its evil effects will be revealed during the debate over the pending bill. They will show that nobody can be sure of the operation of trade agreements. They strike innocent parties with unexpected losses and injustice. They disturb labor relations and thus instigate domestic strife and unemployment.

America has been and is still giving more than its share to the uplift of the world. It is willing to do more, whenever the aid it gives shows proof of the betterment of nations. But America should be its own judge of its policy. Foreigners do not know what is best for the United States, and have no sense of responsibility to it. The readiness of leading foreign governments to trade with the world's enemy proves that they do not know what is best for them. How then, can they be expected to know what is best for the United States? They sound the shibboleth of peaceful coexistence, but what they actually favor is appeaseful coexistence with the Reds and coexploitation of Amer-

ica's wealth.

Communist China

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES A. HALEY

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. HALEY. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Appendix of the RECORD, I include a telegram from the Sunshine Post of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, of Sarasota, Fla., relative to Communist China and my remarks on that subject.

The members of the Sarasota Veterans of Foreign Wars post met on February 1 and considered the news reports of the United Nations' invitation to Communist China to send delegates to the United Nations in New York to discuss a cease fire between the Communist and Nationalist Chinese Governments. After a thorough discussion and debate, the members of the Sunshine Post voted unanimously to send me, their Representative, a telegram vigorously protesting the passage through this country of Communist China officials while our servicemen are being illegally held by that government .

This highly patriotic organization has raised the significant point that by allowing Communist China officials to enter the United States, for any reason, we could be leaving ourselves liable for

Therefore, I further complications. have asked permission to include herewith their telegram so that you may know their thoughts on this problem. The telegram follows:

Hon. JAMES A. HALEY, Member of Congress, House of Representatives,

Washington, D. C .: News dispatches state officials of Red China are being invited to the United Nations to discuss the Formosa situation. The membership of Sunshine Post, No. 3233, Veterans Foreign Wars, Sarasota, Fla., in meeting assembled February 1, 1955, unanimously urge that you arise on the floor of the House of Representatives and vigorously protest the passage through this country of any and all officials of Red China while our Armed Forces personnel are held imprisoned in Red China contrary to treaty agreements. Red China is not a part of the U. N. and Red China officials have no right of ingress to the United States or egress therefrom. Nor does the U. N. have the right to govern our passports to its nonmembers.

SUNSHINE POST VFW.

Director and Assistant Directors of Locomotive Inspection

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES I. DOLLIVER

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. DOLLIVER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following memorandum issued by the Interstate Commerce Commission:

MEMORANDUM TO HEADS OF OFFICES AND BUREAUS, ALL FIELD PERSONNEL

INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION, Washington, D. C., February 1, 1955.

In the last 2 weeks, reports published in at least three nationally circulated publications have contained inaccurate statements concerning this Commission's attitude to-ward the appointment of the Director and Assistant Directors of Locomotive Inspection, and the field locomotive inspectors, and alleging the Commission is "putting politics ahead of railroad safety." We believe it is important that all employees of the Commission, and particularly the field safety inspectors, know the truth.

One year ago, Commission representatives appeared before a congressional committee to recommend that the positions of Director and Assistant Directors of Locomotive Inspection be placed under the civil-service system.

Since enactment of the Locomotive Inspection Act in 1911, these three positions have been filled by presidential appointment, with the advice and consent of the Senate. Except for the 11 Commissioners, all other positions in the Commission are filled under the civil-service system. We are not advo-cating any change in this whatsoever, either for Washington headquarters personnel or for the field personnel. The Commission wants all ICC employees, without exception, to be placed or retained under the civil-service system.

The Commission has always taken pride in its contribution to railroad safety. A major role in this contribution has been and is being layed by the field inspectors, and the improvement in the railroads' safety record over the years is the best possible evidence

that their work is being performed well. Yet it has been alleged that, insofar as locomotive inspectors are concerned, "inspection morale is at a low ebb" and, therefore, railroad accidents due to locomotive failures have more than doubled. This is entirely incorrect.

For your information, here are the latest accident figures for steam locomotives and locomotive units other than steam, as reported by the Director of Locomotive Inspection in his annual report to the Commission:

1. Accidents and casualties caused by failure of some part of the steam locomotive, including boiler, or tender:

	Year ended June 30, 1954	Year ended June 30, 1953
Number of accidents	32	59
Number of persons killed	1	12
Number of persons injured	39	62

2. Accidents and casualties caused by failure of some part or appurtenance of locomotive units other than steam:

	Year ended June 30, 1954	Year ended June 30, 1953
Number of accidents Number of persons killed Number of persons injured	73 2 263	75

In both tables, the total number of accidents declined. In the second table, there is a marked increase in the number of persons injured, accounted for not by a doubling of the number of accidents, but by a single accident in which 189 persons were injured. As you may recall, this accident involved the derailment of 2 locomotive units and 11 passenger cars because of a false flange on a slid flat driving wheel resulting from a seized traction motor pinion bearing on a diesel-electric locomotive

An accident in which so many persons are injured is, of course, tragic and deplorable. It is completely inaccurate, however, to cite it as evidence that our inspection work has failed, or that the quality of that work has deteriorated. The decline in the number of accidents plainly contradicts such an alle-

For the future, there is now before the Congress a budget for the fiscal year beginning next July 1 which calls for the same expenditure \$709,500—for locomotive inspection work as is provided in the current budget. The new budget also provides for precisely the same number of positions— 100—as are provided for in the current budget.

Please be assured that the Commission is well aware of the importance of its duties in the field of railroad safety. It has no inten-tion of playing politics in this field or in any other.

Actually, the Commission is gratified that its railroad safety work has accomplished so much toward the greater safety of the general public and of railroad employees. It is also gratified that this picture continues to show improvement.

I should like to take this opportunity to commend our locomotive and other field safety inspectors for maintaining high standards of performance in their public service, and to urge them to guard against any relaxation of these standards. marked degree, the safety of railroad employees and the general public is in your hands, and I am confident those hands are as capable as they have ever been in the history of this vital work.

RICHARD F. MITCHELL,

Chairman.

General of the Army Douglas MacArthur

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. H. R. GROSS

OF IOWA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. GROSS. Mr. Speaker, General of the Army Douglas MacArthur, who has devoted his entire life to the service of his country, recently celebrated his 75th birthday. In this connection, I call attention to the following editorial from the January 28, 1955, edition of the Traer (Iowa) Star-Clipper, which has three times been selected by the National Editorial Association as America's best weekly newspaper:

General of the Army Douglas MacArthur was 75 years old Wednesday. His birth dates are usualy observed on a strictly businessas-usual routine. This time he made an exception. Accompanied by his wife and son Arthur, he went to Los Angeles for public ceremonies of dedication of a city park named for him, and the unveiling of a new

MacArthur statue.

One of the unforgettable experiences of the Star-Clipper editor was seeing and hear-ing General MacArthur at the Republican National Convention in 1952 in Chicago, and the electrifying effect on the capacity crowd in the International Amphitheater at the first sight of the general as he was escorted down the center aisle. It was like an electric spark touching off an explosion. For an hour and a quarter he eloquently blistered the Truman administration, and the cheers were nearly deafening.

The best published report on that event, we thought, was the comment by the novelist, Louis Bromfield, who wrote: "General MacArthur has a natural flair for the dramatic, and cannot avoid giving a great performance. It is quite possible that he could read a telephone directory with electrifying effect. He is a man whose dignity could

never possibly be questioned."

We would like to have been in Los Angeles Wednesday, and we hope the speech is televised nationally. Like Herbert Hoover, General MacArthur is a master of the English language, and expert in the right words to fit every situation. His speeches are not the work of any ghost writer.

One of the most cruel and unnecessary acts of a President of the United States, in our opinion, was that of Truman in firing Douglas MacArthur as supreme commander in the Far East. The consequences of that ill-advised action are being felt more and more in the growing crisis involving the United States in Asia. Every general who followed MacArthur as head of the U. N. armies in Korea had much the same experiences and criticisms as he did of the inept handling of the war by petty bureau-crats in Washington. We stand to lose all of Asia to the Communists largely because our State Department was at all times afraid to attempt anything that might bring Russla into the war more actively. The United Nations, and particularly the British, entered the Korean war as a U. N. enterprise against their better judgment, and ported it grudgingly, not with the idea of trying to win it, but only to get out under the easiest terms offered by the Reds.

MacArthur got in bad with most of these people because he believed there was an opportunity to win, and he was forbidden to use it. The pressure on Truman to get rid of MacArthur was strong, not only from the One Worlders in our State Department, but also from U. N. officials and British and

French leaders. Although the United States furnished 90 percent of the U. N. military forces and virtually all of the money and supplies for the Korean war, the politicians managing it seldom made a move without consulting the foreigners. That policy has not changed much today. We seem to depend on the U. N. and Britain to tell us what to do next.

MacArthur's record as administrator of occupied Japan, where he had been allowed great freedom of action, had been praised in practically all quarters. His successful postwar handling of the Japanese was in great contrast to the blundering of the Allies in the early postwar German occupation

policies.

In the U. N. police action in Korea, Mac-Arthur found the Truman administration and U. N. officials often arrayed against him in policy matters. He chafed at the hit because of the many restrictions he was working under. He often had to wait months for the Washington politicians to talk things over with the U. N. and Britain, and make important decisions. Strategic and tactical planning of the war was stymied by the indecisions. A powerful foe was permitted to throw all it had against his forces, but the general was not allowed to strike back with all the power at his command. For example, he had great superior advantage in our airpower, but was forbidden to use it to destroy Communist bases just across the border in Manchuria. The Chinese Reds were receiving some air support from Russia, and their supply of manpower was apparently inexhaustible. MacArthur com-plained that under the restrictions there was no chance of ending the long stalemate. The U. N. pattern of war in Korea was a little like a football game in which our foes had the full range of the field while our forces had to stop at the 50-yard line. Nearly every move had to be submitted to an inept and inert U. N., which was not always in session.

When the U. N. finally met, it decided there was no longer any hope of unifying Korea or of driving the Communists out of North Korea. In a series of informal meetings, the decision was made to deny MacArthur authority to bomb Manchuria bases supplying the Red armies, or to furnish him more troops. He was directed to hold the line at the 38th parallel, while the U. N. continued efforts for peace.

Truman's decision to fire MacArthur apparently was made after the general, in a letter to the Republican floor leader of the House, Joseph Martin, stated that Chinese Nationalist troops on Formosa should be permitted to attack the Chinese mainland and take some of the pressure off of the U. N. troops in Korea. The Chinese Nationalist leader, Chiang Kai-shek, had been proposing for months to open up a second front against Red China in support of U. N. forces in Korea. Chiang claimed to have nearly 500,000 troops ready for combat, and enough shipping transport 350,000 across the Formosan straits to attack the thinly armed China coast. Chiang is reported to have asked Washington only for guns, ammunition, oil and gasoline, and claimed that he could handle the invasion of China alone. MacArthur urged that he be permitted to do so. The Truman administration replied, "Nix." The United States Seventh Fleet was ordered by the President to defend Formosa against attack by the Reds and also to defend Red China from attack by Chiang.

A nationally syndicated newspaper columnist, a day or two after Truman fired Mac-Arthur, spoke the sentiments of many mil-lions of American people when he wrote with high indignation:

"The architects of the Constitution were brave men, willing to go to any lengths to uphold the dignity of Americans and free-men everywhere. Mr. Truman used it to humiliate a brave American. Does Mr. Tru-man have in his Cabinet or in his personal entourage anyone to compare with Mac-If he does, won't he bring them forth? A Nation would be grateful.

"Does Mr. Truman place himself in the same class as General MacArthur? Does he think he is the equal in stature of the general he humbled behind the official seal of the United States? If he does, he'll have a hard time proving it. I suppose he knows as much law as does MacArthur and I would give him the edge in knowledge of political machines, including the Pendergast one, but, outside of that, my bet rides with the

general. 'One of the things that turned my stomach-and it isn't easily turned-was a paragraph from the Presidential communique to MacArthur. I quote it: 'You are authorized to have issued such orders as are necessary to complete desired travel to such place as A second lieutenant gets you may select.' that sort of order when he is being moved from Fort Riley to Fort Knox. So help me, a private in the infantry gets almost as nice a note. A gracious thing to do to a man who has given so much to his country. I say flatly that a paragraph like that eneral MacArthur proves the signer a petty. little, ill-tempered man—not a gentleman as the world knows a gentleman. I think a man who would do that is a risk to a great Nation and from here on out we should a little more careful of our ballot.

"General MacArthur, in the message that fired him, was told that he couldn't fit in with the policies of the United Nations.

What honest man would?

"The United Nations is talk, more talk, and then a little more talk. There isn't a member who could break down a gun of any caliber and put it together and then use it.

"The United Nations told MacArthur to fight. He did. And what has the United Nations done? So little that you have to laugh when you read of United Nations troops making an attack, or falling back, when all the time you know that the troops are Americans, that the bullets are American, and that the gas for the planes and tanks and trucks is American.

"MacArthur just isn't a phony. This is a country of phonies right now. Five per-centers, lobbyists, hustlers, cheaters, bums, lightweights-you finish it. The greatest

concentration is in Washington.
"The Government has no power to hurt a Greasy Thumb Guzik, but it does have the power to hurt a MacArthur.

"Let us all hope and pray that the good

Lord will let us live until 1952."

The columnist quoted above was hoping, as were many of us, that the 1952 elections and a Republican victory would bring changes in the policies of our Government, by the election of a President and a Congress that would be pro-American, and that there would be a return to constitutional government. A great many changes were promised. Not many have been forthcoming.

MacArthur is described by intimate friends as a general who never wanted to retire, and still awaits a call back to duty that has never With our country facing a great crisis today, and a mountain of defense problems, it is tragic that the services of General MacArthur are not being utilized in any way for our military defense.

The reason General MacArthur, though needed, is being shunned and ignored is that he still "doesn't fit" in the policies of the United Nations. And in Washington, the interests of the United Nations still have high priority over those of the United States. Since the Eisenhower administration has adopted the foreign policies of the Truman-Acheson administration, anyone who places our own country first really has no place to go, and that even goes for a great American like Douglas MacArthur.

Since the above was written we note a press dispatch from Washington which says that our Third District Congressman, H. R. GROSS, has addressed a letter to President Eisenhower urging that General MacArthur be recalled to active duty for service in connection with the Far East crisis. Representative Gross' letter said, in part:

"In this uncertain and grave situation, I call your attention to the presence in our midst of a great American, a great military strategist and commander, a man of vast and unquestioned knowledge of Asia and the workings of the oriental mind-Gen. Doug-

las MacArthur.

'I urge you with all sincerity at my command to immediately recall from retirement General MacArthur and utilize to the fullest extent in this growing crisis the abilities he has so well demonstrated."

He urged that "disagreements of the past be set aside," and that neither MacArthur nor any other commander of United States military forces be fettered with the shackles of a politically divided United Nations command as in Korea."

It is not likely that Mr. Gross' advice to the President will be heeded, but we commend him for offering it.

Gaoss commended the President for his message to Congress Monday requesting congressional approval of the use of military forces in defense of Formosa and the Pesca dores Islands. He said he was confident that the American people approve the President's action seeking congressional backing for any action that may be required. Mr. Eisenhower must be given credit for at least asking Congress for authority to intervene in another war in the Far East-a departure from the example of his predecessor, Mr. Truman, who started a "police action" in Korea without consulting the legislators, who, under the United States Constitution, are given the power to declare wars.

John C. Hazzard

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HARRIS B. McDOWELL, JR.

OF DELAWARE

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. McDOWELL. Mr. Speaker, it is with a heartfelt sense of personal loss and with deep regret that I announce the death of John C. Hazzard who passed

away on January 29, 1955. Among the many positions held by Mr. Hazzard were the following: chairman, Public Service Commission, State of Delaware; sales manager for Warner Co., Wilmington, Del.; Democratic National Committeeman for the State of Delaware; past chairman of the State Park Commission for the State of Delaware; and Democratic candidate for Congress in 1934. Mr. Hazzard was a distinguished citizen of the State of Delaware who attained much success in business and governmental affairs.

A recognized leader among men he was a devoted and loyal servant of the State of Delaware and of the Nation. His contributions to better government were many and he performed his duties in his many positions of trust with a zeal and faithfulness.

Of his many fine personal attributes, his capacity to get along with others and the practical way in which he got things done were outstanding. He was possessed of a keen sense of humor and a friendliness that were ever present in his associations with people of all walks of life. My State and I have suffered a great loss and my warmest sympathy goes out to his family and many friends in this time of deep sorrow.

John C. Hazzard was truly a fine American, loyal Delawarean, and worthy

friend.

A Historic Congregation Is on the March

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES E. BENNETT

OF FLORIDA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. BENNETT of Florida. Mr. Speaker, recently, in my home town, Jacksonville, Fla., the Union Congregational Church made the decision to move from the congested downtown locality where it had devoutly worshiped for many years and to locate its new church building in a growing suburban area. On the occasion of the last service in the old structure my good friend, Dr. Richard K. Morton, the able pastor of the congregation, delivered a thought-provoking sermon, part of which I include here for the benefit of others than those for whom the words were first spoken:

(Psalm 26: 8: "Lord, I have loved the habitation of Thy house, and the place where

Thine honour dwelleth.")

God guided lovingling and wisely those loyal and enterprising folk who formed the first fellowship, in 1875, which took the name, Union Congregational Church.

These walls became hallowed and sanctified by the devotion of those who built and those who served. A building became a temple. A structure created by the hand of man spoke to nearly two generations about our blessings at the hand of God.

Through these doors have come many, young and old, seeking, inquiring, hoping, yearning. They have sometimes come in joy, sometimes in sorrow. They have sometimes come in faith, sometimes in doubt. But as tears were shed, words of compassion said, and ministeries of love poured out, these

walls have become a temple.

We and many before us have justly loved this place, which became for us a chosen place of worship. We who have known what was involved in making a structure into a sanctuary should thus be the first to recognize that God is ready to dwell with the human heart wherever it may be. He is placed on no one fixed site. He is a God who can and does move. As we have loved these familiar walls, we must remind ourselves that love of God must not be confined to associations familiar to one location, one type of building, one form of symbolism. .

Among the early Hebrews the Lord was believed to dwell in the tents of the faithful or to be present in the ark or the tabernacle. The ark was most reverently carried about, even into battle, and great was the consternation if it was captured or damaged

in any way.

"Lead on, O King Eternal, our day of march has come!" In this slightly changed version of words from a great hymn, let us find a way to make this cherished house of worship something which cannot remain fixed or a thing of stones and bricks and wood, but must ever be on the march, in the hearts of men, proclaiming the day of the Lord and the unsearchable riches of Christ and His redeeming gospel.

We have set up habits and ways we are loath to change. But change is often the gateway to new strength, new joy, and new discipleship.

These walls have become a temple not to be revered, for itself, forever—but to signify a great spiritual power within the fellowship making use of it. This temple was never built to keep something inside—but to pour something outside. It was never designed to be an unaging shelter, but to proclaim an unaging word. * *

These walls have indeed to us become a temple, but one which is not an end in itself, but a symbol and a means to promote a great service in the Master's name. As it is reduced to dust and is seen no more, we shall thank God that it did exist, and that it did send us forth to build more nobly and to serve more faithfully.

The Indians Are Going to Town

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. E. Y. BERRY

OF SOUTH DAKOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. BERRY. Mr. Speaker, I call attention to a significant article in the Reader's Digest for January 1955 entitled "The Indians Are Going to Town," by O. K. and Marjorie Armstrong. Mr. Armstrong will be remembered by many of our colleagues as a Member of the 82d Congress from Missouri, and one who was greatly interested in proposals for improving the lot of our Indian citizens.

This article deals with the whole program of relocating in productive jobs all Indians who desire to leave their home reservations and areas and find greater economic opportunity elsewhere. I personally feel that it is a program worthy of the support of the Congress and of citizens of all races.

I wish to commend the authors for their presentation of this matter, so timely and of such great importance to the Indians, our original Americans.

The article follows:

"Sixth floor—Indian Bureau. All Indians off," sang out the elevator operator at 608 South Dearborn Street, Chicago. In an aside to us he said, "They all go to the same place."

Off stepped a young Indian couple, the man wearing a red shirt and jeans with a beit of silver circles; she in a print dress with an enormous turquoise necklace. She carried a tiny baby on one arm and was leading a toddler. They were followed by a tall Indian in cowboy boots.

All were plainly ill at ease and smiled their appreciation when we volunteered to show them to the Indian Relocation Office. In the reception room a neatly dressed young Indian woman spoke to the couple in their own Navaho tongue, calling their names, Hola and Ula Sunrise. Delighted, they responded to her welcome. Then she turned inquiringly to the tall man.

"Me—I'm Charley Gray Fox, a Sioux from Rosebud, S. Dak.," he announced with a grin. During the next hour three other Indians arrived—a Cheyenne from Montana, a Creek from Oklahoma, and another Navaho from Window Rock, Ariz. All had been picked by officials at their reservations to begin a new life in the big city and had suitable homes and jobs waiting for them through the efforts of Kurt Dreifuss, director of the relocation office, and his staff.

"Why did you leave your reservation?" we asked Charley Gray Fox.

"Me—I'm tired of little odd jobs around Rosebud. I want a regular pay check." "What job will you take?"

He held up his huge bronzed hands, "Anything I can do with these. I like to work with my hands. Mechanics—anything. Just so I'm building something."

We asked the Sunrises why they came to Chicago. The young husband waved expressively toward his baby and the toddler peep-

ing from behind the mother.
"Too many Navahos—not enough to eat,"
he answered.

The American Indians are on the warpath again. "Operation relocation," begun in 1952 under former Commissioner of Indian Affairs Dillon Myer, is developing into a major activity of the Indian Bureau under present Commissioner Glenn L. Emmons, Its purpose is to give a helping hand to Indians who want to leave the reservations to find employment. Some 6,200 of the estimated 245,000 Indians on reservations had been resettled by late 1954 (of whom 2,500 are workers in good jobs) via relocation centers established in Chicago, Denver, Los Angeles, and Oakland. Additional centers are being considered for Seattle, St. Louis, and Kansas City.

"At long last," says Commissioner Emmons, "we are doing more than keeping the Indian on relief. We are helping him to help himself."

For several weeks last summer we visited reservations—westward from the Dakotas to Oregon, thence southward through California, then east to the great Navaho, Hopi, Apache, Pueblo, and other southwestern areas. Everywhere we saw the tragedy of these twin evils—overpopulation in proportion to resources and underemployment for men and women anxious to work

When Kit Carson herded the Navahos into their huge barren tract in 1868 there were only 7,800 of them. Today there are 71,000. The grazing lands and other resources won't adequately support more than half this population.

In South Dakota the Indian population has grown from 21,000 in 1930 to 30,000 to-day—and this is about the proportion of increase in all Indian areas.

A few tribes receive good incomes from their reservations, such as the Kiamaths in Oregon from timber and the Arapaho in Wyoming from oil and gas. But the majority of reservations are little better than country slums. Not more than 20 percent of the Crow Indians of Montana or the Shoshoni-Bannocks in Idaho make a living from their own use of reservation lands. Of the 1,700 families on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, only 200 are self-supporting.

We asked Charles F. Miller, chief of the Indian Bureau's Relocation Branch: "Why haven't more Indians left for better jobs on their own?"

"Suppose you had never been very far from home," he responded. "Suppose your land and money were held in trust by the Government, and you feared discrimination because of your race if you ventured outside. Suppose maybe you had difficulty speaking English. Wouldn't you hesitate to buck a big city looking for work? Well, that's the situation for many reservation Indians."

Success of the relocation program, Mr. Miller feels, is due to three important things: Careful selection of applicants, fitting the

Indian to the right job, and adjusting him and his family to the new community.

On each reservation a relocation officer

On each reservation a relocation officer makes contact with those who show an interest in resettling. An applicant must be 18 years old or more, in good health, and of satisfactory reputation. His fare is paid to the relocation center of his choice, and the center pays his living expenses until he receives his first full paycheck. He is told plainly that he will be expected to stand on his own feet after he gets the job.

At the relocation office, expert interviewers discuss his experience, ability, and interests, take him to visit plants and places of business where jobs are available, help him choose. Housing is found for him—and his family, if he has one. Employees of the relocation office follow through with help on getting the children into school, how to shop at department stores and supermarkets. A minister or priest of the family's faith may call and add his words of welcome.

Several big industrial firms give the relocatees on-the-job training. Many of the Indians attend night school, and the Indian Bureau is now emphasizing manual and vocational training on the reservations.

Why the big cities for Indian workers? Why not small towns near home? Relocation officers give three reasons:

First, unhappily, the greatest discrimination against Indians exists in non-Indian communities near the reservations. But in big cities Indians are readily accepted into school, church, and community life.

Second, there are more job possibilities in the cities. Mary Nan Gamble, director of the Los Angeles Relocation Office, pointed out: "Every sort of industry, big and little, is located here. We have 1,000 contacts with potential employers in our files, and 375 have already accepted Indian workers. We hope to double those figures in another year."

Third reason is suitability of Indians for industrial occupations. Says Brice Lay, relocation director at Oakland: "With proper training, an Indian can learn to do almost anything skillfully. Our underemployed Indians constitute the most needless waste of human resources in America. For these people the relocation program comes as a rainbow of hope."

From many Indians working at their jobs, and from their employers, we learned how bright that rainbow can be. The Stewart-Warner Corp. in Chicago has employed about 30 relocatees. "Indians make good workers," Burt Muldoon, personnel director, told us. "We start them at \$1.40 per hour, and after a year many have reached \$1.80. Our machines work fast, but nothing is too fast for a well-trained Indian."

Because of the good record made by several Indian employees, the Boeing Airplane Co. in Seattle plans to hire more Indians when that city's relocation office opens. North American Aviation, Los Angeles, has employed 200 resettled Indians, finds them particularly skillful at cutting, shaping, and riveting sheet metal. "They are intelligent, industrious people," J. M. Wright, employment supervisor, declared. "We plan to continue participating in this program."

Employers are discovering how adept Indian women are as stenographers and machine operators. (About one-fourth of all relocated workers are women.) Betty Koester, personnel director of Swimwear, Inc., a plant in Los Angeles which makes women's swim suits and beach towels, walked with us down long rows of sewing machines. Of the 200 employes, 32 were relocated Indian girls, "Navahos, Pueblos, Utes—we like them all," she said. "They are neat, diligent, and skillful."

Relocation has a strong appeal to younger Indians. The largest group of relocatees is composed of former GI's from 28 to 33 years old, married, with 1 or 2 children. With quiet earnestness, Benny Bearskin, a Win-

nebago whom we met in Chicago, expressed sentiments we heard echoed by many other young Indians: "They've kept the old folks as museum pieces, through ignorance and idleness, but we young Indians are going to free ourselves by education and work. can be good Americans, making a decent living, and still keep our Indian culture."

Visiting the Indians, we saw a normal and happy integration into the community. Several were buying their own homes. There were schoolbooks for children of parents who never went beyond the third grade in reservation schools. There were radios and television sets.

Indian centers in Chicago and Los Angeles provide a club house with reading kitchen for refreshments, and recre ation hall. They are usually open day and evening, and every Indian in town is invited to come in and get acquainted with members of all the tribes represented in the city. The Chicago All-Tribes American Indian Center sponsors a baseball team, appropriately called the Braves. Its news sheet, Tom Tom Echoes, keeps all tribes informed of Indian doings. Teen-age parties are lively affairs. Hearts are never lonely at the Indian enter. Many romances blossom. In Chicago the center's chieftain is Ted center.

White, whose father was Sloux and mother Winnebago Benny Bearskin helps him with dances and pageants. "We do what the Government can't do—we make them feel at home," White told us.

Not all relocatees are readily adjusted. About 30 percent go back to the reservations-mostly because of homesickness. But after seeing the folks an increasing number leave home a second time. Steady work and regular pay have a strong pull. Those who return usually bring a list of names of relatives (meaning good friends) whom they want relocated pronto.

Average cost of relocating an Indian worker in all areas is about \$200. "The best investment the Indian Bureau ever made, both in money and in human values," Mr. Miller calls it. He showed us reports on Indians who had worked at their new jobs for a year or longer. Selecting five Indian families, he found it had cost the American taxpayers only \$1,156 for relocation expenses, while from their combined incomes of about \$15,000 during their first year they had paid income taxes totaling \$1,418.

Among the Indians relocated by George T. Barrett when he was area relocation director at Billings, Mont., were John Houle and his wife of the Cree tribe. Later Mrs. Houle wrote these words of appreciation:

"We are working and finding friends among those we once feared. The things we work for are ours. We can pass them on to our children. By the work of our hands and the understanding of our hearts we have won back our birthright."

As the relocation program progresses, the existing reservations can better support those Indians who desire to live close to the soil on farm or ranch. The others can find their places in new homes and chosen occupations, and the stream of a truly noble race, so long dammed by tradition and prejudice, will strengthen the current of American life.

Seattle-Honolulu Airline Service

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. DON MAGNUSON

OF WASHINGTON

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. MAGNUSON. Mr. Speaker, an editorial in yesterday's Washington Post leave to extend my remarks in the REC-

and Times Herald makes a point which I wish to call to the attention of my colleagues.

That point is the dangers inherent in the overriding by the White House of the considered judgments of regulatory agencies on problems which those agencies were constituted to decide.

In this instance, the White House changed its mind after being convinced, apparently, of the error of its original decision, and happily so. But this emphasizes that snap judgments should not be substituted for the considered determinations of experts in the subject at hand.

The final decision to permit Northwest Airlines to continue its Seattle-Honolulu service, as the Civil Aeronautics Board had recommended, was the correct one, and I am pleased that it came out as it did

The editorial to which I referred fol-

REVERSE PROPELLER

Pressure on the White House has again produced a change in aviation policy, this time in the reversal of President Eisenhower's decision to cancel Northwest Airlines' route from Seattle to Honolulu. In this instance the protests seem to have been justified, and President deserves credit for the tacit acknowledgment that he made a mistake. But why, then, did he upset the recommendation of the Civil Aeronautics Board in the first place? The CAB had unanimously recommended that Northwest's authority for the Seattle-Honolulu operation be continued and that the parallel route of Pan American World Airways be canceled. Now both routes are to continue, at least temporarily.

Quite apart from questions of economics, there are two things very wrong with this picture. In the first place, if the present decision is a right one, then the President did not investigate the situation very thoroughly when he undertook, apparently on the advice of Commerce Secretary Weeks, to over-rule the CAB. In the second place, the manner of the reversal leaves the clear implication that the White House can be deflected from its purposes by pressure. There was evidence of this in the earlier withdrawal of a prospective nominee for the CAB after the White House was deluged with organized protests.

Now, protests and pressures are an inevitable part of the democratic system. What is bad is to permit them to become a substitute for independent judgment. Even though the reversal in this case may have been proper, the whole zigzag performance leaves international aviation in confusion and constitutes an open invitation for con-tenders henceforth to run to the White House. This is what inevitably happens when the President and his advisers attempt to take on themselves regulatory functions which in the absence of compelling reason, ought to be left with the agencies established to perform them.

Echo From a Recession

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under

ORD, I wish to include the following editorial from the New York Daily News entitled "Echo From a Recession," which appeared Wednesday, February 2, 1955. accompanied by a cartoon drawing of President Eisenhower:

ECHO FROM A RECESSION

Interesting news almost always comes from the annual meetings of the American Federation of Labor's executive council in luxurious Miami Beach, Fla. The 1955 session, which began yesterday, has already yielded one unusually interesting item.

This one is from the A. F. of L.'s staff of economists, and concerns what happened to the American working man and woman in 1954, which a lot of labor leaders and Democratic politicians insisted on calling a recession year.

According to the A. F. of L. economists, United States workers did better with the money they made in 1954 than in any other year since World War II.

It wasn't that they got huge raises in ay. They didn't.

What happened was that the money the workers made was real money—meaning its purchasing power stayed put. The dough they earned in former years since the war looked bigger and bigger, but bought less and less. Inflation was steadily eating away the dollar's buying power.

Inflation has now been stopped, the A. F. of L. research experts concede, and we have stable money-about the most valuable single

asset any nation can have.

And who halted inflation? So far as we know, this A. F. of L. report doesn't identify the person or persons who brought this enormous boon to the American people. supply that information by noting that it was a certain Republican administration in Washington, heading up in the mystery man whose picture appears herewith, and you can have one guess as to who the gentleman is.

Lithuanian Independence: A Tribute to a Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, on this occasion I wish to say that any nation that has withstood for more than a century and a quarter continued foreign domination and oppression from a ruthless and tyrannical neighbor and still survive certainly deserves the praise of mankind. Such praise Lithuania deserves; for in spite of the fact that Lithuania has been occupied and ruthlessly dominated by Imperial Russia and Soviet Russia for periods totaling over 125 years this nation still lives.

In many respects the Lithuanian people today are ruled by a far more ruthless master than in the days prior to the foundation of the Lithuanian nationality was relegated to an inferior status in the days of Czarist Russia; but the suppression exercised by the Czar might well be termed moderate when compared to the suppression imposed by the Soviet.

In this 20th century our language has taken on a new word-genocide-which means the willful destruction of a nation

and a people. Genocide is the longrange objective of the Soviet rules; it is to destroy the Lithuanian nation. Deportations of thousands of Lithuanian people and the resettlement of Russians and other Soviet peoples in Lithuania have thus far done much to change the ethnic character not only of that country but also of the other Baltic States-Latvia and Estonia. As part of its scheme of communization Soviet Russia has laid down a plan calculated to eradicate the Lithuanian national consciousness. Along with their plan to destroy the idea of Lithuanian nationality, the Communist are seeking to remold this once free and happy country in the image of the Soviet state.

That Lithuania is going through an epoch of great trial goes without saying. But the Lithuanian nation is a virile nation. It is a nation with a glorious historical past and a sense of national destiny for the future. It is a nation which has survived other oppressions and shall survive this one.

On this occasion commemorating the 37th anniversary of Lithuanian independence the message of America is a message of hope that one day the Lithuanian people shall fulfill their national destiny and that they shall again enjoy the natural right of every nation to be free, as they once were, so that they can once more resume their tasks of development and progress, and pursue the happiness they once enjoyed as a free and independent people.

Butter for Servicemen

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, in January 1953 I requested a report from the Quartermaster General's office and found to my amazement that the Army purchased in January 1953 over 3 million pounds of oleomargarine and only 1 million pounds of butter. I successfully offered amendments to the Agricultural Act of 1954 to correct this unfortunate situation which had developed over a period of 4 or 5 years. I am happy to report that as a result of my inquiry over 2 years ago and as a result of my amendments which were adopted last year, progress has been made in putting butter on the tables of the men and women in the Armed Forces. The report which I received from the Quartermaster General's office as of February 2, 1955, is as follows:

Prior to 1953 the Army purchased both butter and margarine for Army and Air Force use depending upon local troop preference. In 1953 pursuant to an agreement with the Commodity Credit Corporation the Quartermaster Corps, Department of the Army,

which is responsible for the central purchase of subsistence for the armed services, began obtaining Commodity Credit Corporation butter for troop issue for the Army and Air Force in lieu of margarine. This butter was for both domestic and overseas requirements, with the exception of those areas lacking refrigeration facilities where canned margarine was issued, because a suitable canned butter was not available. Since the Department of the Navy is prohibited by law from using oleomargarine for troop feeding, it did not participate in the use of surplus butter procured under the 1953 agreement. Normal military requirements for butter for all services continued to be met by the purchase of butter in the United States on the open market except for some overseas requirements. However, since October 31, 1954, pursuant to an agreement between the Quartermaster General and the Commodity Credit Corporation, under the authority of Public Law 690, 83d Congress (the Agricultural Act of 1954), butter, in addition to the quantities usually procured in the normal channels of trade, is being obtained from the Commodity Credit Corporation, without reimbursement for use by the Army, Air Force, Navy, and Marine Corps.

Although substantial quantities of butter were procured in the United States for overseas use, the European and Far East Commands were purchasing a portion of their resale and troop issue requirements of butter in their respective areas when readily available, pursuant to authorization granted under the provisions of the Department of Defense Appropriation Act, which permitted the purchase of perishable foods from overseas sources by establishments located outside the United States for the use of personnel attached thereto. About October 1, 1954, instructions were issued to those commands to discontinue, upon completion of existing contracts, the procurement of butter from foreign sources for troop issue in their areas. Overseas commands now are permitted to purchase butter from local sources only for resale to authorized commissary patrons. Since October 1, 1954, butter has been obtained from the Commodity Credit Corporation at world market prices for troop issue in Europe and the Far East.

Purchases of butter and margarine by the Quartermaster Corps for the armed services during 1953 and 1954 were as follows:

BUTTER

Sources	Calendar year 1953	Calendar year 1954
Domestic oven market Domestic CCC Overseus	Pounds 27, 500, 000 1 15, 000, 000 13, 240, 000	Pounds 32, 400, 000 2 22, 000, 000 10, 160, 000

¹ purchased in lieu of margarine for supply to Army and Air Force troops in continental United States and

and Air Force troops in continental United States and overseas.

Figure includes 18,400,000 pounds obtained in lieu of margarline prior to November 1954 and 3,600,000 pounds purchased at world market prices for troop issue in Europe and the Far East in lieu of forcign purchases. Although complete figures are not yet available for butter received from CCC under Public Law 690, 834 Cong., it is estimated that during the period Nov. 1, 1954, through Jan. 24, 1955, 10,400,000 pounds (not included in this figure) have been so obtained.

MARGARINE

Source	Calendar year 1953	Calendar year 1954
Domestic open market	Pounds 19, 600, 000	Pounds 2, 700, 000

¹ This quantity represents purchases by brand name for sale to authorized commissary patrons. No pur chases were made for troop issue purposes.

The Growth of San Mateo County

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include an article from the San Mateo Times of February 5, about the growth of San Mateo County. which is the Ninth Congressional District of California. We are particularly proud of the growth of our community in population, but more especially are we proud of the per capita income increase which has occurred since 1940.

The article follows:

COUNTY'S POPULATION GROWTH LEADS STATE From 1940 to 1950 the population of San Mateo County more than doubled. As of July 1954, it had grown to 321,900, an increase of 37 percent since 1950 or more than twice the rate of growth experienced else-where in the State, the research department of California State Chamber of Commerce reported today.

In its recently published Economic Survey of California and Its Counties-1954, the State chamber noted that individual incomes of San Mateo County residents showed a 499 percent increase between 1940 and 1952, rising from \$96,163,000 to \$576,009,000. capita incomes had risen by 158 percent from \$844 in 1940 to \$2,174 in 1952, and were considerably above the per capita figure for the State. Median incomes were the highest, according to census data, for any county in California.

STATEWIDE SURVEY

San Mateo is one of the State's 58 counties covered individually in the chamber's 300page survey published every 4 years by the State of California. The data, collected and compiled by the chamber, will be used by marketing and business research agencies, management consulting, factory locating services, libraries, and information services throughout the country. Information on each county includes population, incomes, manufacturing, mining, business, agriculture, resources, and trends.

In an effort to give a comprehensive picture of each county in the State, the survey includes a brief account of each county's history, topography, climate, and tourist attractions. Uniform tables on economic data also afford quick and easy comparison for each county.

ENCROACHMENT ON FARMS

In its report the chamber had this to say about the rapidly growing county of San Mateo:

"Urbanization and industrialization has encroached greatly upon farm areas in the county. Number of farms, land in farms, and potential cropland, all have declined. Land in crops dropped from 48,000 acres in 1940 to 32,000 in 1953. Agriculture, how-ever, remains an important part of the county's economy. Total value of production rose from \$7,723,811 in 1940 to \$16,242,-216 in 1953. Largest relative decline in the period was in dairy products with a drop in the number of milk cows from 13,575 to 6.849.

"Due to its adjacency to metropolitan centers, San Mateo's agriculture is dominated by specialty crops. Most important are flowers and nursery stock, valued in 1953 at \$6,855,435. About half were grown outdoors on 1,313 acres, the remainder under glass on an area of 3,011,017 square feet. Truck crops are second in importance with a 1953 valuation of \$4,431,651."

Hand in hand with the rapid increase in San Mateo's population is its industrialization. Factory payrolls jumped 204 percent during the 6-year period from 1947 to 1953, compared with an increase of 109 percent for the State. Employment rose from 8,577 in the third quarter of 1947 to 18,667 during the same months of 1953, a 118-percent increase—more than 2½ times that experienced in the State.

Employment and payrolls of the electrical machinery industry show it to be the most important in the county. During the third quarter of 1952, 22 establishments employed an average of 4,064 persons and its annual payrolls exceeded \$18 million, or 25 percent of the county's total manufacturing payrolls in 1952. The electronics branch of the industry dominated the field.

According to the State chamber, Belmont is the most rapidly growing community in the county, followed by Menlo Park. Other rapidly growing communities are south San Francisco and Daly City in the northern extreme, San Mateo in the center, and Redwood City at the southern end.

Wage-Payment Law for the District of Columbia

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill in Congress to regulate the payment and collection of wages in the District of Columbia similar to the labor laws of Connecticut.

I am amazed to find that Washington, D. C., has no wage-payment law. I am offering my bill to fill this vacuum. My bill is solely designed to afford the wage-earners of the Nation's Capital the same degree of protection now enjoyed by workers in the more progressive States like Connecticut.

As a member of the House District of Columbia Committee it is my duty to give legislative attention to correcting glaring inequities in the laws of this Federal city where the citizens are denied the right to vote on their own laws. Members of Congress who are assigned to the District of Columbia Committees have this responsibility in addition to looking after the best interests of their own States and the Nation.

My wage-payment bill if enacted will not materially affect the responsible business establishments of Washington, but is directed specifically at the fly-by-night afterhours bottle clubs and irresponsible subcontractors that pull up and leave without properly settling with their dismissed workers.

I am advised by the Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board that this Board can enforce a statute along the lines of my bill at a very small additional cost to their regular operations, and would be of assistance in the enforcement of minimum-wage laws in the District of Columbia.

The language and the principles incorporated in my bill were initially adopted by a committee of State labor commissioners, with the endorsements of the United States Department of Labor, the International Association of Governmental Labor Officials, the National Conference of Labor Legislation, and the American Federation of Labor.

The purpose of my bill is to require regular payment of wages at least semimonthly in Washington, D. C., and to assist employees in collecting valid claims for wages due. Where, however, by custom or contract, an employer has been accustomed to paying employees at least monthly he may continue to do so.

My bill further provides that wages shall be regularly paid in cash or by check; it provides for payment of wages in the event of discharge, voluntary quitting, or in consequence of a labor dispute, and specifies the method of payment in the event of a dispute concerning the amount of wages due.

The Minimum Wage and Industrial Safety Board of the District of Columbia would be authorized to represent employees in the collection of wages due them and unpaid.

Forty-six States now have comparable legislation; only Delaware, Florida, and the District of Columbia are without a wage-payment law.

About two-thirds of the States, including Connecticut, require prompt payment of wages to discharged employees.

Almost half of the States, including Connecticut, give similar protection to workers who quit.

Also, my bill provides that willful violations of the act are subject to punishment as misdemeanors, and liquidated damages, not to exceed the amount of unpaid wages, are provided as a means of enforcing the act.

A similar bill was passed by the Senate last year, but Congress adjourned before the House took action.

A comparable bill is now pending before the Senate District of Columbia Committee.

Centennials of the Opening of the Pacific Overland Mail

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, GLENARD P. LIPSCOMB

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. LIPSCOMB. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I wish to include the text of a resolution passed on January 17, 1955, by the California State Legislature, relative to the observance of the centennials of the opening of the Pacific overland mail. The text of the resolution follows:

Assembly Joint Resolution 3

Joint resolution relative to the observance of the centennials of the opening of the Pacific overland mail

Whereas by act of Congress, dated March 3, 1857, the Postmaster General of the United States was, for the first time, authorized to contract for the conveyance overland, from the Mississippi River to San Francisco, Calif., of all letter mail; and

Whereas until that time the conveyance of letter mail to the Pacific coast had been by the long, slow, arduous ocean route fraught with danger from storm and sea and totally dependent upon the vagaries of the wind; and

Whereas the opening of service upon the overland route authorized by Congress was the culminating event of a series of events of prime importance not only to the development of the West and California, but also to the development of the United States; and

Whereas centennialy celebrations of these events should be fittingly observed throughout the length and breadth of the Nation for from the modest. "four horse coaches, or spring wagons suitable for the conveyance of passengers, as well as the safety and security of the mails," required by the act, have developed our modern systems of communications which bind the east and west into one great Nation; and

Whereas the American Association for State and Local History has undertaken the national sponsorship of centennials and has established regional committees to plan such centennials; and

Whereas a regional committee has been set up in California which is known as the California Committee, Overland Mall Centennials, 1957-58: Now, therefore, be it

nials, 1957-58: Now, therefore, be it

Resolved by the Assembly and the Senate
of the State of California (jointly), That the
Legislature of the State of California respect
fully memorializes the President and the
Congress of the United States to take appropriate action to insure the cooperation of
the Federal Government in the celebration
of the centennials of the Opening of the
Pacific Overland Mail; and be it further

Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of California respectfully urges that all State and local governmental units; public schools; civic, patriotic, and historical societies; and all agencies of communication do participate wholeheartedly in the observance of the celebration of the centennials of the Opening of the Pacific Overland Mall by cooperating fully with the California Committee, Overland Mail Centennials, 1957–58, in commemorating the acts, the accomplishments, and the memories of those sturdy pioneers who engineered the beginnings of overland communication between the Atlantic and Pacific coasts; and be it further

Resolved, That the Legislature of the State

of California does hereby commend the American Association for State and Local History for its action in undertaking on a national scale the sponsorship for the centennial observances of the Opening of the Pacific Overland Mail; and be it further

Resolved, That the Legislature of the State of California does hereby respectfully request that the Governor of the State of California transmit copies of this resolution to the President and Vice President of the United States; to the Speaker of the House; to the Scnators and Representatives of the State of California in Congress; to the governors of the several States and Territories: to the board of supervisors of each California county; to the mayor of each incorporated city; to the titular head of the American Association for State and Local History, American Historical Association, Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, California Historical Society, Historical Society of Southern California, Conference of California Historical Societies, California History Foundation, Native Sons of the Golden West.

Native Daughters of the Golden West, National Committee for the Overland Mall Centennials, and California Committee for the Overland Mail Centennials.

Some Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Americans Who Personally Knew Him

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

HON. CLYDE DOYLE

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Wednesday, February 2, 1955

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Speaker, by unanimous consent, heretofore granted me, I have the privilege and honor of making these few remarks about Abraham Lincoln-he it is who has been my idol and example in American political life ever since I was a young elementary schoolboy and my schoolteacher in the fifth grade frequently cracked my knuckles with a heavy wooden ruler because she would frequently catch me making a drawing of Abe Lincoln's birthplace cabin when I should, in her judgment, have been studying my les-

This coming Saturday, February 12, 1955, is again the birthday of this former Member of this House of Representatives-he having been born February 12,

In making these few remarks, Mr. Speaker, on this occasion, I am again doing what I have had the privilege of doing each of my 8 previous years as a Member of this great legislative body. On this present occasion I am doing something which I have not done on any other occasion; to wit, I will quote from comments about Abraham Lincoln as set forth in one of the very valuable books in my Lincoln library-Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln by Distinguished Men of His Time-collected and edited by Allen Thorndike Rice, editor of the North American Review.

These incidents which I set forth will prove of different and unique interest and inspiration to all of us, I hope, because they were published fairly soon after the untimely assassination of Mr. Lincoln and were by distinguished men who knew him personally.

Gen. Benjamin F. Butler, ex-Governor of Massachusetts:

I first saw Lincoln in 1840, making a speech in that memorable campaign in the city hall at Lowell; and not again till I was more than 21 years older, when I called on him at the White House to make acknowledgments for my appointment as major general. When he handed me the commission, with some kindly words of compliment, I replied, "I do not know whether I ought to accept this. I received my orders to pre-pare my brigade to march to Washington while trying a cause to a jury. I stated the fact to the court and asked that the case might be continued, which was at once consented to, and I left to come here the second morning after, my business in utter confusion." He said: "I guess we both wish we were back trying cases," with a quizzical

look upon his countenance. I said: "Besides, Mr. President, you may not be aware that I was the Breckinridge candidate for governor in my State in the last campaign, and did all I could to prevent your tion." "All the better," he said, "I "I hope your example will bring many of the same sort with you." "But, I answered, I do not know that I can support the measures of your administration, Mr. President." not care whether you do or not," was his reply, "if you will fight for the country." "I will take the commission and loyally serve while I may, and bring it back to you when frank; but tell me wherein you think my administration wrong before you resign, sald. "Report to General Scott."

Hon. Schulyer Colfax, ex-Vice President of the United States:

Finally, there was a very flagrant case of a soldier who, in the crisis of a battle, demoralized his regiment by his cowardice, throwing down his gun and hiding behind the friendly stump. When tried for his cowardice there was no defense. The courtmartial, in examining his antecedents, found that he had neither father or mother living, nor wife nor child; that he was unfit to wear the loyal uniform, and that he was a thief who stole continually from his com-rades. "Here," said Judge Holt, "is a case which comes exactly within your require-ments. He does not deny his guilt; he will better serve the country dead than living, as he has no relations to mourn him, and he is not fit to be in the ranks of patriots, at any rate." Mr. Lincoln's refuge of excuse was all swept away. Judge Holt expected, of course, that he would write "approved" on the paper; but the President, running his long fingers through his hair, as he so often used to do when in anxious thought, replied, "Well, after all, Judge, I

think I must put this with my leg cases."
"Leg cases," said Judge Holt with a frown at this supposed levity of the President in a case of life and death. "What do you mean

by leg cases, sir?"

"Why, why," replied Mr. Lincoln, "do you see those papers crowded into those pigeon-holes? They are the cases that you call by that long title, 'Cowardice in the face of the enemy,' but I call them, for short, my 'leg cases.' But I put it to you, and I leave it for you to decide for yourself, if Almighty God gives a man a cowardly pair of legs, how can he help their running away with him?"

Hon. George S. Bautwell, ex-Secretary of the Treasury:

Mr. Bancroft gave voice to the considerate judgment of mankind when, in conver-sation, he said, "Beyond question, General Washington, intellectually, is the first of Americans." If this statement be open to question, the question springs from the limitation, for beyond doubt Washington is the first of Americans. His preeminence, his greatness, appear in the fact that his faculties and powers were so fully developed, so evenly adjusted and nicely balanced, that in all the various and difficult duties of military and civil life he never for an instant failed to meet the demand which his position and the attendant circumstances made upon him. This was the opinion of his contemporaries. His preeminence was felt and recognized by the leaders of the savage tribes of America, by the most sagacious statesmen and wisest observers in foreign lands, and by all of his countrymen who were able to escape the influence of passion and to consider passing events in the light of pure reason.

It is the glory of Washington that he was the first great military chief who did not exhibit the military spirit; and in this he has given to his country an example and a rule of the highest value. The problem of republics is to develop military capacity without fostering the military spirit. This Washington did in himself, and this also his has done. The zeal of the young men of the Republic to enter the military service for the defense of the Union, and the satisfaction with which they accepted peace and returned to the employments of peace, all in obedience to the example of Washington, are his highest praise.

With this estimate, not an unusual nor an exaggerated estimate, I venture to claim for Abraham Lincoln the place next to Washington, whether we have regard to private character, to intellectual qualities, to public services, or to the weight of obligation laid upon the country and upon mankind. Between Washington and Lincoln there were two full generations of men; but, of them all, I see not one who can be com-

pared with either.

Submitting this opinion, in advance of all evidence, I proceed to deal with those qualities, opportunities, characteristics, services on which Lincoln's claim rests for the broad and most enduring fame of which I have spoken. We are attracted naturally by the career of a man who has passed from the humblest condition in early life to stations of honor nad fame in maturer years. With Lincoln this space was the broadest possible in civilized life. His childhood was spent in a cabin upon a mud floor, and his youth and early manhood were checkered with more than the usual share of vicissitudes and disappointments. The chief blessing of his early life was his step-mother, Sally Bush, who, by her affectionate treatment and wise conduct, did much to elevate the character of the class of women to which she belonged. His opportunities for training in the schools were few, and his hours of study were limited. The books that he could obtain were read and re-read, and a grammar and geometry were his constant companions for a time; but his means of education bore no logical relation to the position he finally reached as a thinker, writer, and speaker.

Of all the self-made men of America, Lincoln owed least to books, schools, and society. Washington owed much to these, and all his self-assertion, which was con-siderable, in society, in the Army, and in civil affairs, was the assertion of a trained man. Lincoln asserted nothing but his capacity, when it was his duty to decide what was wise and what was right. He claimed nothing for himself, in his personal character, in the nature of deference to others, and too little, perhaps, for the great office he held. The schools create nothing: they only bring out what is; but as long as the mass of mankind think otherwise, trained person like Lincoln has an immense advantage over the scholar in the contest for immortality. In this particular, how-ever, the instincts of men have a large share of wisdom in them. When we speak of human greatness we mean natural, innate faculty and power. We distinguish the gift of God from the culture of the schools. The unlearned give the schools too much credit in the work of developing power and forming character; the learned, perhaps, give them too little. But whether judged by the learned or the unlearned, Lincoln is the most commanding figure in the ranks of self-made men which America has yet produced.

Mr. Lincoln possessed the almost divine

faculty of interpreting the will of the people without any expression by them. often hear of the influence of the atmosphere of Washington upon the public men resid-It never affected him. He was of all men most independent of locality and social influences. He was wholly self-contained in all that concerned his opinions upon public questions and in all his judgments of the popular will. Conditions being given, he could anticipate the popular will and conduct. When the proceedings of the convention of dissenting Republicans, which assembled at Cleveland in 1864, were mentioned to him and his opinion sought, he told the story of two fresh Irishmen who attempted to find a tree toad that they heard in the forest, and how, after a fruitless hunt, one of them consoled himself and his companion with the expression, "An' faith, it was nothing but a noise."

Mr. Speaker, I wish to again do that which I have often frequently done in this great legislative body, which is to urge that each and every one of my colleagues and any who may read these humble remarks by me, and these reminiscences by these former great American citizens, visit as many of the landmarks, statues, and memorials of Abraham Lincoln-and former Lincoln dwelling places—as possible. Also, I urge that if any of you do so you take your children and young people in your families and in your family connections with you. For instance, go to New Salem, Ill. Go to Hodgensville, Ky. Go to Springfield, III. Go to the old Ford Theater here in the Nation's Capital. Go to the Lincoln Memorial here at the Nation's Capital.

Subsidies Became Our Lifeblood—The Remedies Now Appearing

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RALPH W. GWINN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. GWINN. Mr. Speaker, some time ago the Government took by force private property by taxation and gave big gobs of it to the beef cattlemen. In effect, beef became the public property of the Government. More and more people went into raising beef for Government subsidies. Surpluses of cattle increased. Prices to the consumers were fixed high by the Government, in spite of increasing surpluses.

BEEF REVOLTS

Suddenly the people quit eating beef. They struck. Just as suddenly the sturdy big-hatted ranchers woke up to the fact that they were raising socialized beef for Government, a most unrealiable political customer. They had lost their real dependable customers, the American people. So the cattlemen took a vote and threw out Government price supports and control of their business. chose the hard road of winning back their customers in a free beef market. That meant lower prices, but increased beef consumption from 62 to 76 pounds per capita-an alltime record. Congress was not smart enough to stop subsidies, but the cattlemen were.

POTATOES GAIN FREEDOM

The potato growers were corrupted for years by Government checks totaling \$478 million. They, too, delivered their potatoes to the Government instead of the consumers. Suddenly the taxpayers were shocked to see the Government paying farmers for potatoes with taxpayers' money, then burning the potatoes

to make them scarce to keep the prices high. To make it worse, after destroying the potatoes on one side of the road, the Government bought potatoes from Canada to feed the people on the other side. Year after year Congress could not stop it. The growers themselves did stop it. Potatoes won their freedom from Government. And tough as freedom is, potatoes would not go back into socialism, viz, management, ownership, and control by the Government.

PEOPLE REJECT GOVERNMENT HOUSING TOO

In the same way the Government has been insisting on taking by force of taxation uncountable millions of private property and building publicly owned Government houses. It rents them at half rent, exempt from taxation. Here again uncountable millions of taxes must be paid by private property owners which Government tenants should but do not pay. They are exempt.

Of course, Government expects tenants to vote right in return for such favors. A very narrow majority in Congress has been insisting lately on forcing public houses onto the people in spite of the fact that the people do not want them. Generally wherever the people vote they throw out Government housing, keep their own money at home and build their own houses. Constitutional amendments are proposed to stop this sort of Government business.

SCHOOLBOYS UNDERSTAND BUT CONGRESS
DOES NOT

Now come the people of Tennessee telling the true story of TVA, the first and most highly touted of American socialistic experiments. It is turning out very badly for Tennessee. For Tennessee has become totally dependent upon Government for electric power and appropriations from Congress. It is falling behind the other 10 Southeastern States in production and distribution. That is because the other States are not dependent on what Congress may or may not do. The other States make and pay for their own electric power and depend on themselves. Tennessee has found by bitter experience that business firms will not move into their State where electric power depends on Congress money by force from far-distant States. What's more, Congress is finding it more and more impossible to buy votes in Tennessee by charging the cost to Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, and other States. Even the little schoolboys now define TVA as "a river that flows through 7 States and drains 41." They were drained again in 1954 for the 22d year. TVA will be coming up to the public trough again in 1955. The total take to date by TVA is about \$2 billion-all from taxpayers. That will help heat Tennessee houses with electricity, though Tennesseans have plenty of coal in their backyards which they could use. They could also use oil like other people." But it is cheaper to use electricity so long as taxpayers in other States can be socked to provide it. But Tennessee knows that no scheme to buy votes as crazy and incredible as TVA can last. This administration has already given fair warning. So Mr. Robert M. Metcalf, Jr., vice president of Guaranty Mortgage & Trust Co.,

of Memphis, Tenn., comes up with this remedy. He proposed a new and greater TVA in Spotlight for the Nation.

He suggests that the power-generating facilities of TVA be sold to the people in the area which it serves. This would result in relief for the taxpayers of the remainder of the Nation and at the same time give to the people of the TVA reservation exclusive control over the agency upon which they are completely dependent for their power. Perhaps even more important than these immediate tangible gains, is the fact that such a sale would represent a reversal of the largest, most clear-cut Socialist step the United States has ever taken.

I have been criticized for characterizing TVA as socialistic. However, my opinion conforms with that of the authorities. The Chattanooga (Tenn.) Times of February 15, 1934, quotes Norman Thomas as saying:

The TVA is the only genuinely socialistic act (in the New Deal)—a flower in the midst of weeds.

Of course, TVA has never been officially represented as being the first Socialist experiment undertaken in the United States. But it is common knowledge that the Public Utility League pressed for passage of TVA legislation all through the 1920's. It was finally passed in the early days of the New Deal as conversation, flood control, and navigation legislation.

Since that time about \$2 billion of capital has been invested in and used to finance TVA. Only \$101.1 million has been repaid and that merely represents a credit on the books. The 1954 appropriation to TVA was \$188,546,000, which is about the average of congressonal advances that have been made in recent years. Thus, in a single year, Congress appropriated \$87 million more than TVA was credited for repayments during its entire life of 23 years.

Except for a low rate of interest paid on about \$55 million worth of bonds which were bought by the United States Treasury, TVA has paid no interest on the capital advances made to it. It has been estimated that, if TVA repaid the Federal Government for the interest costs alone of Federal moneys spent through TVA, the bills from TVA to its customers would have to be increased over \$40 million a year.

TVA pays no Federal taxes at all. Therefore, it does not contribute a dime of its proper share in our national defense. It pays nothing toward the salaries of the Congress and the President. In 1954 the Consolidated Edison Co., of New York, paid \$113,442,477 in State and Federal taxes, or about 24.4 percent of its revenues. TVA, in 1954, paid \$3,578,668 in lieu of State taxes, or 2.7 percent of its revenues.

From the foregoing it is clear that about 24 cents out of every dollar of power bills paid by customers of private utility companies is used in part to pay the costs, the taxes, the interest, and the capital of TVA, which it should pay for but does not.

The TVA is so weak and totally dependent on what Congress will do that it cannot build new power facilities to meet the growing demand for power; it cannot pay interest or principal; the payment of proper taxes alone would sink the TVA ship. In a debate on the floor of the Senate—1939—Senator George W. Norris, of Nebraska, the author of the TVA legislation, had this to say:

A proposal from a great association of Tennessee says, in effect, "Let the TVA property be subject to taxation the same as everybody else's property." * * If we go to that extreme, Senators, you can see that the TVA would be out of business in 3 months.

For 20 years Congress indulged itself in a kind of vote-getting game, sometimes under the lash of a President, to redistribute the wealth. They indulged in doing good with other people's money without too much disturbance to conscience. If conscience were disturbed, alleged national defense relieved it.

But by now each group getting the benefits of the redistribution are running head on into each other or running out of benefits. Indeed the mess, which Congress came into power 2 years ago to clean up, has smeared the faces of those who have quite diligently wrestled with it.

WHICH SUBSIDY TO KNOCK OUT FIRST

If there are critics of the failure of Congress to reverse the New Deal trend and reduce taxes much more, let them answer these questions. Which particular group feeding in the public trough would they knock out first? Which subsidy law would they repeal to start with? They must be repealed one at a time. That is, which group's vote would they risk losing first? The attempt has been made.

CORN ATTACKS PEANUTS

In the last session of Congress the Illinois delegation in Congress representing corn attacked peanuts. Corn having been for nearly 20 years in the public trough and feeling quite secure said in effect: "Now what basic rights have peanuts to put their feet in this trough?" "Why the country would never miss them if we never raised another peanut. They are indigestible anyway.' And corn called for a vote of all the others to throw peanuts out. Whereupon peanuts furiously counterattacked with most devastating effect. They said, "Why of all those feeding in this trough that have grown sleek and fat and should be thrown out, it's corn. Above all others it should fall on its knees and ask forgiveness for its sins in the well of this House." So little peanuts, who really had no case at all shamed corn and scared the others so that the vote was 228 to 170 to keep peanuts in. After the fight it appeared that peanuts might get nearly as much subsidy as corn got for keeping itself padlocked in cribs so as to make itself look scarce and high priced.

APPLES TAKE INTEREST

After that vote in which peanuts did so well, apples were heard tumbling all over themselves out in the Halls of Congress. They said, "Why sure enough we are just as basic as any of the rest. Besides we can be kept by freezing. What's more basic than an apple a day keeping

the doctor away?" In the distance you could hear groups without number organizing the votes. So every seat in the House may be endangered unless the Member votes to give each new group theirs for no good reason except that all the others are getting theirs. When I asked a friend on the floor if this would ever stop, he answered "No; it will go on forever." Of course it must go on forever unless an overall reversal and total stoppage is devised. For if corn subsidies are lawful, the steer, the cow, the pig, and chicken that eats corn must be subsidized. And so it must go on and on without end until it is all stopped.

GOVERNMENT SUBSTITUTE FOR GOD

Does not history prove that when government controls the economic laws of food, it controls the moral laws of people surrounding food? If government owns your house, and rents it to you, it will tell you how to live in it. You may commit one sin or have one illegitimate child in government housing but not two. This is the rule in the housing authority book of morals in Houston, Tex. You are free to vote, of course, but if you vote against the party that provided your house you may expect to move. And so all dependents on government power loans, health, houses, fruits of fields and forest must do the will of government and not of God. Government pretends to be a substitute for God. The remedy is to reject the idea utterly.

CONGRESS NEEDS HELP OF THE STATES

The people of the United States have witnessed two decades of unprecedented assumption of governmental power, confiscation of private property by taxation, inflation, and debts. As the Government has grown in power and property the individual has been correspondingly reduced in property and weakened in his power to manage his own affairs.

The January 25, 1955, issue of Look magazine concludes that these conditions are here to stay, regardless of which political party wins. This is so because each party tries to be elected by promeising to exercise the unlimited power of government to tax and spend and borrow to satisfy special interest groups in return for their votes. Indeed, this is in itself a fatal blow to the two-party system and makes the one-party or monolithic state inevitable. It makes no sense to have two candidates each with the same idea.

Resistance to the trend has been wholly ineffectual. The economic groups affected either use the Government's power for their special advantage or seek exemption from it in return for votes. Presidents and Congresses will not do anything about this situation because as long as they have unlimited power they will use it to satisfy these groups. It should be obvious, therefore, that unlimited government is absurd.

The remedy can be found in this paraphrase of Edmund Burke:

When government acquires unlimited power, good men must associate; else they will fall, 1 by 1, an unpitied sacrifice in a contemptible struggle.

And so, united action of good men has become apparent and necessary. This

effort must be made in and by the States. As parties to the original contract, they must come forward to redefine, clarify, and reaffirm the limitations of that contract.

The President's Health Plan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ABRAHAM J. MULTER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 3, 1955

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, I am pleased to direct the attention of our colleagues to the following editorial which appeared in the February 3, 1955, edition of the New York Times:

THE PRESIDENT'S HEALTH PLAN

In his latest message to Congress President Eisenhower has forthrightly declared the health of the American people to be a proper national concern. The proposals he makes also show that he believes the Federal Government should accept a large measure of responsibility for the protection and improvement of our physical and mental wellbeing. The degree to which the Federal Government should assume this burden is subject to debate; but the basic principle is sound and the American people are insistent on action by whatever Government agencies are best fitted to help solve the health problems that bedevil them.

The message also shows the President's recognition of what some of these problems are. He rightly rates meeting the cost of medical care at the top of the list. Few of us have avoided the financial crisis—even catastrophe—of a major accident or illness and the strain of continuing smaller disabilities. But the adequacy of medical care is also crucially important. The President has recognized the necessity of trained personnel—now in critically short supply—and of adequate physical facilities: hospitals, clinics, nursing homes, and their equipment—now far from adequate in quality, quantity and geographical distribution.

The President has, rightly we believe, accepted insurance as the best method of meeting the costs of medical care. Also, he probably reflects the opinion of most Americans in saying that it should be furnished by private and voluntary agencies. But we doubt whether insurance can, or should, be limited only to those high-cost risks which may be beyond the capacity of the individual to bear. The experience of leading health insurance plans has disclosed the cumulative economic effects of smaller illnesses, each one of which might be met by itself, and also the saving in expense and energy that flow from early diagnosis of what may seem at first only minor ailments.

As a means to the goal at which we should aim, the President's renewed proposal for Federal reinsurance of existing health plans-rejected by Congress last year—is far from adequate. In the first place, reinsurance does not add a penny to the working capital needed by insurance agencies to organize or to increase the number of their subscribers and the scope of the coverage after they get going. Nor does it help to reduce the prices they have to charge for the protection they give. Essentially, reinsurance is merely a help to the agencies in meeting exceptional demands for benefit payments. At best it is a temporary sid to them—which they have eventually to pay for through reinsurance premiums. Furthermore, testimony at last year's hearings on the Federal reinsurance

bill showed no enthusiasm for it on the part of the agencies themselves. Finally, reinsur-ance offers no help to the 60 million people in the United States who now have no protection at all through existing insurance agencies.

The least the Federal Government should do, we believe, is provide loans to nonprofit especially those which offer full agenciescoverage through groups of doctors working together-so they can organize and operate

more effectively.

The President does recommend direct grants to the States to meet costs of medical care for the 5 million people who can't afford to pay for it; but, all in all, his plan does not seem to recognize that unless private agencles rapidly extend their coverage, both of risks and population, the new latent surge toward compulsory Government insurance will eventually be hard to stem.

On two other important counts the President's message falls short of what the Nation's health situation so urgently de-mands. While he recognized the necessity for more trained personnel he mentioned only nurses-for whose training he recommended grants to State agencies and an expansion of the traineeship program of the Public Health Service. This proposal completely neglects the crying need for more and better doctors. The medical schools of the country are desperately short of funds. Whether the Federal Government should directly help support them is debatable. Certainly the foundations, whose generous grants put the leading schools on their feet in the first place, might well take the lead now in coming to their rescue. But, failing that, some ways might be found for Federal money to be made available without dangerous political controls.

Finally, the President's plan fails to deal effectively with the needs of medical re-search—the foundation on which all therapy depends. In his health message last year he warned the country of the rising threat of heart disease and cancer, and urged strengthening the National Institutes of Health in the Public Health Service, which are carrying on a specially vigorous research attack on these menaces, both directly and through grants to other agencies. This year the message urged more increasing research on air and water pollution but did not mention heart disease and cancer. Furthermore, the Federal budget which he has presented provides less than 10 percent more next year than this for the Institutes' work. Nor did the President say anything about what the Federal Government might do to further medical research by outside agencies, either public or private.

We Must Help Our Underpaid Postal and Federal Employees Now

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. ISIDORE DOLLINGER

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. DOLLINGER. Mr. Speaker, the following is my statement of February 1, 1955, to the chairman and members of the Committee on Post Office and Civil

On January 5, 1955, I introduced H. R. 274, which provides for an increase in pay of \$1,000 per annum for postal workers.

Last year, when the postal and Federal employees pay increase bill came before us, although the increase was inadequate, I

voted for the measure because it was the best that we could get at that time. It was grave disappointment to me and a serious blow to the employees when the President vetoed the measure, for a pay raise was long overdue and they were entitled to it.

Postal and Federal employees are many ears behind in catching up with the cost of living. They cannot meet their obligations or give their families adequate care or support on their present pay. They suffer hard-

ships and anxiety.

Living costs continue to rise, the tax burden is being shifted more and more to the shoulders of the low- and middle-income families, and there is no reason why the Federal Government should not provide its postal and Federal employees with a justified wage increase so that they can enjoy a decent

standard of living.

Postal workers, who have always been un-derpaid, need a raise of at least \$1,000 per Likewise, the other Federal employees vear. need the same help. This sum would bring their pay only to the level of pay they would receive from private industry for similar effort on their part. If we wish to maintain the efficiency of our postal service, then we must recognize the necessity of providing adequate pay for faithful and competent work, and this also applies to all Federal service.

It is our duty to grant this increase in pay without further delay. I trust that your committee will take prompt and favorable action so that Congress may have the opportunity to vote on the necessary legislation in the very near future.

Selling Milk

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MELVIN R. LAIRD

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. LAIRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include an editorial from the Marshfield News-Herald of January 31, 1955, one of the leading daily newspapers in Wisconsin. The editorial is as follows:

SELLING MILK

Wisconsin farmers and other representatives of the State's dairy industry will be pleased to note that the board of regents of the University of Wisconsin have approved the installation of 10 coin-operated milk vending machines in university buildings, with 10 more to be installed later.

The expected sale of 3,000 containers of milk each day by this means is not, of course, of any tremendous benefit to the dairy industry. The College of Agriculture dairy herd will supply it and it will be as a drop in the bucket to Madison's milk busi-

What counts is that the presence of these vendors in the university buildings will serve as a demonstration of the State's interest in its great product and as one of the finest advertisements the dairy industry can dis-

Wisconsin's facilities for the production of top quality milk and dairy products are unexcelled, and its dairy output reflects the fact. But Wisconsin people cannot possibly use its dairy production any more than the Southern States can use up their cotton or

the Plains States their wheat.

Since we must find out-of-State markets for the output of our 150,000 dairy farms, it also devolves upon us to demonstrate our

regard for our own product by making generous use of it ourselves. Our per capita consumption of milk, which is so readily available to us, should far exceed that of any

We should be promoting dairy products all of the time, and one of the ways to do it is to make pure milk easily obtainable in all of our colleges and schools where young people assemble. By fostering a liking for milk among them we not only help to keep them healthy, we also build up a convincing corps of milk promoters.

The Great Game of Politics

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. ARTHUR YOUNGER

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. YOUNGER. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to include the following column, written by Frank R. Kent, entitled "The Great Game of Politics," which appeared in the Baltimore Sun Sunday morning, January 23, 1955:

THE GREAT GAME OF POLITICS (By Frank R. Kent)

Washington, January 22.—The present Democratic strategy is in conflict with one of the soundest statements of the party's oldest, most regular, most generous, and distinguished member, Bernard M. Baruch. A good many years ago Mr. Baruch, in a speech be-fore the War College in Washington, made a comment that has been widely printed, often quoted, and never disputed. "Every man," quoted, and never disputed. "Every man," said Mr. Baruch, "has a right to his own opinion, but no man has a right to be wrong in his facts."

Yet in two outstanding instances the Democratic National Committee has violated this indisputable Baruch axiom. One is in the matter of the Dixon-Yates contract. Mr. Stephen Mitchell, former chairman of the National Committee, started this controversy off with the dirty insinuation that President Eisenhower had espoused this contract be-cause one of its beneficiaries would be Bobby Jones, an old friend of Mr. Eisenhower, and a very small stockholder in the Dixon-Yates After Mr. Eisenhower spoke Mr. Mitchell hastily retreated from this position and his contemptible innuendo has not been repeated. However, the Dixon-Yates opposition, inspired by the Democratic committee, has continued to distort and misrepresent the facts to an extraordinary degree. It completely avoids the only real issue in the fight which is the large one between the advocates of expanded public power operation and ownership and those who do not believe in that expansion.

The other instance in which the Democratic committee, now headed by Mr. Paul Butler, is proceeding in disregard of the facts is in the organized and vicious attack upon Vice President RICHARD NIXON, who was, perhaps, the most effective Republican campaigner in the 1954 campaign. The charge against Mr. Nixon is that he had indicted the whole Democratic Party as "the party the whole Democratic Party as the party of treason." It turns out that Mr. Nixon did no such thing. It was Senator Mc-Carrhy who used that phrase—not Mr. Nixon. It turns out that Mr. Nixon at no time accused the Democratic Party as a whole although he did accuse the preceding Demo-cratic administrations as "being soft" toward Communists and having failed to prevent communistic infiltration in the State

Department.

It is not possible for anyone with any regard for the truth to question the correctness of Mr. Nixon's statement on these mat-Certainly, no one now doubts that if it had not been for Mr. Nixon, then a member of the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Alger Hiss would never have been indicted or convicted. With equal certainty, under the Truman administration, treatmen of the FBI revealed facts about the late Harry Dexter White and the evidence of his treachery to the United States constituted an inexcusable laxity or stupidity, or collusion—or all three. At no time has the Demo-cratic committee attempted to deal with these matters on a realistic basis.

On the contrary, apparently it has elected to disregard the facts and factual denials and continue to repeat its reckless charges as though they had been substantiated inas thought and standard and sta through sheer noise and repetition, to make their charges against Mr. Nixon and the Dixon-Yates affair stick, regardless of the facts. It hardly seems that they can be successful. One hesitates, of course, to disregard the great power of skillful mass propaganda. Nevertheless, to make a case as false as that against Mr. Nixon and as utterly destitute of honesty as that against the Dixon-Yates contract stand up is to concede that truth is of no avail and the way to succeed is to bear false witness.

Of course, it is foolish to predict what a Congress as evenly divided as the present one, and as fully saturated with presidential politics, will do. However, it does seem safe to say that if tactics so clearly founded on fiction and so overwhelmingly flavored with partisanship can really pay, then two rather unpleasant things will be established: (1) that the obvious philosophy of former Chair man Mitchell and his successor, Chairman Butler, that it is better to be clever than to be right, is sound; (2) that Mr. Baruch's idea that "every man has a right to his own opinion, but no man has a right to be wrong in his facts" makes him just (to use one of his favorite expressions) an "old china egg" who does not know what he is talking about. Definitely, the record refutes that.

How Montana Farmers Get Cheaper

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. ORVIN B. FJARE

OF MONTANA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. FJARE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include an article by Paul Friggens in the western edition of the Farm Journal. The article is entitled "How Montana Farmers Get Cheaper Water" and will be of interest to all of the Members of the House interested in irrigation projects. It follows:

HOW MONTANA FARMERS GET CHEAPER WATER (By Paul Friggens)

For \$2 or \$3 per acre, Montana is developing some of the cheapest water farmers can

They're pioneering small, State-built irrigation projects that could be the answer to low-cost irrigation in your State, too.

These State-built projects don't compete with Federal programs. They're small or medium sized, and only a few bring in new land. Most of them provide extra water for farmers who are already irrigating-drought insurance to stabilize Montana's agriculture.

They cost considerably less than public projects, too. "We built some for what it would cost the Federal Government just to investigate a big project," says the water conservation board.

Montana's projects are financed by a new and simple plan—with no liens on the land. Ordinarily, farmers form irrigation districts, which saddle every acre with the full project

Not so in Montana. You just pay for your own water—you're not liable for your neighbor's.

The State builds the project. On some, farmers dollar-match; on others, they provide labor. Once built, the farmers take over and run the project pretty much on their own. They pay back the State on a long-term basis—something like REA.

Other States are getting interested in the Montana plan. Recently I visited a string of projects that are commencing to make a real projects that are commenced by impact on the State's economy.

project, a private system that never got

enough water, and finally went broke. Farmers put up \$30,000, and the State \$35,000, to build a rock-brush dam and bigger canals. It paid off:

From the abandoned land, Big Horn farmers harvested a whole trainload of sugar in one season.

These Big Horn farmers repay only \$1.50 per acre-foot construction charges for 30 years. There's no operation and maintenance charge; they keep up the dams and ditches themselves. "When there's trouble we just hustle a crew and fix it," says director and water-user Ed Verhelst.

Inspired by the Big Horn success, neighboring, burned-out wheat farmers organized the Hysham Water Users Association, and petitioned the State to build a \$500,000 project to pump-irrigate 7,500 acres with water from the Yellowstone River.

Today 54 members are growing 20-ton sugar beets, 5-ton alfalfa, are dairying, and running three steers per acre on irrigated Their water costs \$2.50 per acrefoot-\$871/2 for repaying the loan, and \$1.62 for pumping and maintenance.

"Few years ago, we were going broke trying to grow wheat," says Harold Zent, president of the Hysham Water Users Association. "Nobody's selling us out now."

Zent estimates that the project has already doubled the county's taxable valua-tion. He pointed out Hysham's new \$235,000 county high school. "We're sprouting new homes and stores, too."

Hysham is a good place to see how a typical project operates. A farmer-elected, five-man board runs the show. The mainproject operates. tain the system, levy, and collect all water charges, and send the State its repayment. The State keeps hands off, except to give technical advice, O. K. the budget, and bill the users.

"We like it this way," says Zent.

"But the big thing," water-user Ray Kimball told me, "is that I'm not mortgaged for my water; not obligated for the other fellow. I've got a chance to make it on my own. That district idea has wrecked many farmers."

The Montana Water Conservation Board now has engineered and constructed 173 projects, some smaller, some larger than Big Horn-Tullock and Hysham. Total investment is about \$17 million to irrigate 386,000 acres.

A good chunk of this is Federal money, which started Montana on the projects back

in the drought-and-depression thirties. But finding that the idea paid, Montana-with only 600,000 people-has been spending about \$1 million per year ever since.

Seeking to stabilize its dryland agriculture, Montana first planned these projects back in the twenties. But it lacked financing. With the drought-depression years and first PWA grants, Montana was ready with a

"We want irrigation insurance against another drought," Montanans told Washington.

Frank Cooney, then Governor, called a special session of the legislature in 1934. It created a water-conservation board, with powers to appropriate any unused waters in Montana.

Cooney appointed some of Montana's top irrigation men to the first board, including Rancher D. P. Fabrick, who is a member of the present board, along with Gov. J. Hugo Aronson, C. H. Raymond, Hamilton banker; Max Mathews, Billings REA manager; and Fred Buck, State engineer.

Today, you can see dramatic proof of what the program has done in the 170-mile Musselshell Valley.

The drought in the thirties hit the Musselshell hard. Farmers went broke. "The economy collapsed completely," says Board Member Fabrick, "simply because the farmers didn't have a dependable supply of water."

With about \$2 million PWA and State funds, engineers built a chain of 3 reservoirs, to supplement irrigation on 60,000 acres, and thus stabilize the entire Musselshell waters'ed. Now, it's cow country again.

"Grow 10 tons of feed where we used to raise 1," ranchers told me. Cost of their drought insurance, between \$1.50 and \$3 per acre.

Here are water costs on some other Montana projects (per acre-foot, including both construction and operation and mainte-nance): Rock Creek, \$1.15; Willow Creek, \$0.95; Flint Creek, \$1.20; Ruby River, \$0.71; Tongue River, \$1.40; Deadman's Basin, \$0.95; Vigilante Canal, \$1.44; and Broadwater-Missouri, \$1.28.

The Broadwater-Missouri project is bringing in the biggest chunk of new land under the Montana setup. Financed with \$1 million PWA-State funds also, it was finished just before World War II.

Townsend, Mont., business people estimate that this project has tripled county income. "Been paying a lot of income taxes I never paid before," says pioneer settler Guy Kircher.

These small projects have their problemsupkeep, water loss, drainage—the same as every irrigation setup. But I found farmers overwhelmingly favorable.

"Best thing that's happened to Montana," is how O. P. Balgord, of Lavina, summed it up.

The Montana Water Board often serves the entire rural community. The board has also engineered and build—at a substantial saving-12,000 miles of REA lines.

Recently it's been coming to the rescue of small towns short of water. Conrad, Mont. was desperate for water, but had already spent up to its legal debt limit. So the State water board built a 12-mile lake supply line, and sold the town its water on a monthly contract. Conrad paid up its old debts, and will soon pay for the pipeline. The board is doing the same for other hardpressed Montana towns.

The State water board has a project backlog. "We aren't promoting, and we don't have money to throw around," says veteran Water Board Secretary Robert Kelly. "We just find out what farmers need, and build it to pay out. Every project stands on its own."

Congress Urged by Unions To Protect Railroad Safety

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HARLEY O. STAGGERS

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. STAGGERS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article from Labor of February 12, 1955:

CONGRESS URGED BY UNIONS TO PROTECT RAIL-ROAD SAFETY—ACTION ALSO ASKED TO BLOCK "SPOILS POLITICS" SCHEME—OFFOSE CON-PIRMATION OF HALL AS INSPECTION CHIEF IN COMMERCE COMMISSION

Standard railroad labor organizations this week pressed an all-out battle against injection of "spoils politics" into the operations of the Interstate Commerce Commission and against renewed attempts to undermine safety on the railroads.

The Railway Labor Executives' Association, speaking for the chiefs of 19 unions with over a million members on the "Iron horse," prepared to take the crucial fight to the Halls of Congress.

Keynoting this struggle is a three-point program adopted unanimously by the association:

1. The unions emphatically oppose, as they did in the past, proposals to lump together funds for the Commission's Bureau of Locomotive Inspection with those of the Bureau of Safety and Service. Such scheme, the unions contend, would destroy the long-standing independence of the Bureau of Locomotive Inspection, which was set up by a separate law. Also, it would greatly weaken the adequacy of the inspection.

OPPOSE CONSOLIDATION

2. The unions also vigorously oppose any legislation which would force a consolidation of the bureaus under one head. This, like the lump-sum scheme, would nullify the Locomotive Inspection Act and "strike at the heart of safety on the rails," the unions maintain.

3. In addition, these unions unitedly oppose Senate confirmation of John H. Hall to serve as Director of the Bureau of Locomotive Inspection on grounds that he is a political appointee and without adequate background or competence for this vital safety post.

These actions come on the heels of a denunciation by rail labor spokesmen a fortnight ago of an extraordinary proposal made by the ICC to Congress.

"We recommend," the Commission said,

"We recommend," the Commission said, "that the Locomotive Inspection Act be amended so as to eliminate the provisions relating to the appointment of the Director and Assistant Directors of Locomotive Inspection and the detailed requirements relating to the employment of inspectors."

SEE PERIL TO SAFETY

This would, the unions fear, open the door wide to appointment of "political hacks," thus imperiling safety on the rails. Also, it would apparently wipe out existing requirements that the Bureau's supervisory officials be selected on the basis of practical knowledge and experience. Hitherto the top officials have been chosen on the basis of promotion from the ranks.

To protect the present setup, which has functioned well, the unions affiliated with the RLEA stressed that "seniority and qualification constitute a sound basis for promotion within the Bureau consistent with the public interest."

Also, they adopted a declaration urging that appointments in the Bureau of Locomotive Inspection "shall be made without respect to political affiliation of any applicant," and only from among applicants "who have qualified by training and experience" and who "have successfully passed the competitive civil-service examination."

QUALIFICATIONS STRESSED

Finally, they stressed also that appointments to the positions of Director and Assistant Directors shall be made from among those who have qualified and served as inspectors of the Bureau.

"Technical and administrative qualifications to fill these positions shall be the determining factors, together with seniority within the Bureau," the unions added.

In line with those yardsticks, the unions are opposing confirmation of the existing appointee to the Director's post—John Hall, a former engineer from San Francisco, who had never served on the Bureau's staff, nor ever even taken an examination for an inspector's job in the Bureau.

President Eisenhower at first had followed tradition in filling the post. Last year he named Charles H. Grossman as Bureau Director. Grossman was senior inspector in the Bureau, having been with it since 1918. Grossman was to succeed Director Edward H. Davidson, who retired.

REVERSAL ON GROSSMAN

In the meantime, Grossman testified against a bill introduced by Senator John H. Bricker, Republican, of Ohio, then chairman of the Senate Interstate Commerce Committee, which would undermine the independence of the Bureau of Locomotive Inspection.

Presto! Grossman's name was then withdrawn by the White House—and that of Hall, never before heard of in connection with rail safety, was substituted. Hall is now serving in the post by interim appointment, but he has not been confirmed by the Senate.

The RLEA explained it unanimously opposes Hall's confirmation: First, because he has absolutely no qualifications for the post; and, secondly, because his appointment violated the practice followed since the Bureau was established 44 years ago of selecting the Director from among qualified senior persons on the staff.

Dumping of Trash Along Our Public Highways

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM H. AVERY

OF KANSAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. AVERY. Mr. Speaker, I have received a letter from a high school student in my district to urge more rigid enforcement of the law that prohibits dumping of trash along our public highways. Although this is a rather unusual accident, it does point up the fact that the public feels little pride or responsibility in observing Federal or State statutes that prohibit the promiscuous scattering of trash and litter along our system of public roads.

This careless practice is highly objectionable from a standpoint of safety, health, and beauty.

The letter follows:

BERN, KANS., February 4, 1955.

Dear Mr. Avery: I am a 16-year-old high-school junior. Just last week I lost the dearest friend and closest companion I ever had or ever hope to have. He was my 6-year-old saddle horse, Buddy. I loved him more than anything else. The reason I am writing is because my Buddy was killed as a result of trash-dumping along roads. There is a ditch leading away from the road. A broken beer bottle was washed down the ditch into our pasture. Last Sunday it was snowy and slick. Buddy jumped the ditch, just as he had done so many times before. As he hit the other side, one hind foot slipped and was slashed by the broken beer bottle. It severed some arteries and though he tried to get home, he never made it. Daddy found him at the top of a hill. He had bled to death.

I don't know if the pleas of one person can do it, but won't you please try to make someone enforce the laws concerning trash-dumping along roads. It is too late to bring my Buddy back and maybe something like that will never happen again, but it has happened once and I think that is once too often. Why should my daddy and myself pay (in heartache) for someone else's ignorance? Again I plead with you to make someone enforce the laws concerning trash-dumping along roads.

Sincerely and hopefully, LENIS PLATTNER.

Statement of National Commander of AMVETS

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. CHARLES C. DIGGS, JR.

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. DIGGS. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to include the statement of Rufus H. Wilson, national commander of AMVETS, before the Committee on Veterans' Affairs. House of Representatives, on February 9, 1955. As a member of the Veterans' Affairs Committee, I feel that this statement warrants the attention of the Members of Congress. In addition, I have particular pleasure in presenting it, not only because I am aware of Mr. Wilson's ability and am happy to know that it has been recognized by the AMVETS, but because Mr. Wilson is one of my constituents from the Highland Park area of Michigan's 13th Congressional District.

The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF RUFUS H. WILSON, NATIONAL COMMANDER OF AMVETS, BEFORE THE COM-MITTEE ON VETERANS' AFFAIRS, HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, ON AMVETS 1955 LEGIS-LATIVE PROGRAM, FEBRUARY 9, 1955

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee, AMVETS appreciate the opportunity to appear today to present the highlights of our legislative recommendations for the first session of the 84th Congress.

Having served as national legislative director of AMVETS for several years prior to my election as national commander, I have some knowledge of the fine work being performed by this committee and its very capable staff. Your objective attitude toward veteran problems merits our sincere thanks. We are confident that your continued care-

ful study, nonpartisan action, and constructive criticism on all matters affecting veterans will preserve and strengthen the great rehabilitation program provided by the people of this Nation to their veterans.

We desire to submit for the record a digest of resolutions on veterans' affairs adopted in August of 1954 by the 10th annual national convention of AMVETS. We also desire to submit a digest of resolutions adopted by the AMVETS national executive committee at their meeting on December 11 and 12, 1954, and then speak briefly on certain matters of current interest to all veterans.

PRESIDENTIAL COMMISSION

As you know, the President has appointed a Commission on Veterans' Pensions to make a comprehensive study of the "structure, scope and administration of laws pertaining to pension, compensation, and related non-medical benefits for veterans and their dependents."

AMVETS have never been afraid of studies or investigations per se. In fact, we have always welcomed them, hoping for an everimproving, sound, equitable structure of veteran benefits in complete consonance with our Nation's obligation to its veterans.

History, however, gives us cause for some concern. We have seen some well-meaning commissions foredoomed to fallure because of the simple fact that technical matters were entrusted to nontechnicians and because economy became more important than equity.

Because of our apprehension on this score, we recently asked the Chief Executive to appoint members of this committee and representatives of organized veterans to the new Commission. Although we have received no word as to whether or not the President will accept our recommendations, we have received assurances from the White House that this committee will be consulted as the first order of business of the Commission. We are also advised that veterans' organizations, the House Select Committee on Survivor Benefits, and the Senate committees responsible for veterans' legislation will also be consulted. These assurances are most encouraging.

Legislative recommendations stemming this study will undoubtedly be referred to this committee. We will not pre-judge them. Our objectives are relatively simple. Perhaps, however, they bear repeat-ing. We desire to maintain compensation as the self-evident backbone of the VA benefit structure. We desire to maintain a VA pension system as being both necessary and equitable. If it is determined that there is redtape, confusion, overlapping laws, or inequalities, we desire to eliminate them. And we desire to maintain the structure of veterans' benefits as a separate and distinct entity, simplified and strengthened perhaps, but still identified as a program for and their dependents. Any recommenda-tions made that fall into the pattern of these basic objectives will receive our unwavering support. No other objectives would appear to us to be consistent with our very reason for being. We trust that the objectives of the Commission will be in the same vein. We trust also that the tremendous influence of this committee will be exerted in this di-

CHAIRMAN'S LETTER

On December 14 of last year, Mr. Chairman, I received a communication from you suggesting that this committee would find it most helpful if I would discuss AMVETS position on five specific subjects. It is to these subjects that we now address ourselves.

EFFECT OF AMENDED P-10

In our effort to assist your committee in the evaluation of the effect of the amended VA Form 10-P-10 now being used in connection with the hospitalization of veterans

for the treatment of non-service-connected disabilities, we asked 25 AMVET national service officers to study this question and report upon it.

They were unanimous in their reports that the amended P-10 had in no way curtalled the volume of non-service-connected hospital admissions, but that it had served as a deterrent, keeping many of those who could well afford to pay for hospital treatment from seeking admission to VA facilities for the treatment of non-service-connected conditions.

We have always maintained that abuses in this program have been relatively few. This is corroborated in summing up the reports of our field people. One service officer in particular reports that out of 13,000 applicants for non-service-connected hospitalization, less than 12 have been denied because of either a VA determination or their own admission that they could afford to pay.

Because the ability-to-pay requirement was not spotlighted or featured prior to the inauguration of the addendum. I believe we can logically assume that this small group would very possibly have been admitted to the hospital. It, therefore, seems obvious to us that the addendum has served as a deterrent. It seems equally obvious that the cases of abuse are relatively few in comparison to the total number of applicants. The primary concern to be drawn from the P-10 addendum is that it has effectively answered false criticism of this veterans' benefit.

AMVETS subscribe wholeheartedly to the theory that veterans should be treated in VA hospitals for non-service-connected conditions provided they cannot assume the cost of hospitalization and a bed is available. We urge this committee to continue to support this basic philosophy also. To protect integrity of the thousands of veterans rightfully entitled to this benefit, however, we suggest that the inspection authorized by House Resolution 63 include a further study of the nature and extent of abuses in this program. If it is determined that abuses are still prevalent, AMVETS will support any sound recommendation for their elimination just as we supported and recommended the addendum to the P-10.

TERMINATION OF WARTIME BENEFITS

At a meeting of the national executive committee of AMVETS on December 11 and 12, a resolution calling for the termination of the broad wartime benefit program was adopted. This same resolution, recognizing the continuing need for an above normal complement of personnel in the Armed Forces, recommended that a limited benefit program be established to serve those men and women who will be needed by our armed services to fulfill defense requirements. We desire to submit for the record the complete text of this resolution.

The Presidential proclamation of January 1, 1955, has accomplished the intent of the first portion of our mandate. We are now concerned with the second portion.

In any benefit program for those entering service after February 1 of this year, first consideration should be given to an education and training program patterned in some fashion after title II of the Servicemen's Readjustment Assistance Act of 1952.

The availability of such a benefit for personnel entering service after February 1 should serve as a stimulus to enlistments. In addition, the benefit to the Nation of such an educational program has already been demonstrated by the results of the World War II education and training program. It has been recorded that the income level of those who have taken advantage of this program has been raised to a point where they are now paying an extra billion dollars a year in income taxes to the United States.

To meet the immediate financial needs of dischargees, we recommend the continuation

of mustering-out pay. It is our considered opinion that this benefit assists immeasurably in effecting the transition from military to civilian life and should be made available to servicemen without regard to the circumstances of service. We also recommend that unemployment compensation similar to that paid under title 4. Public Law 550, be made available to the group serving after February 1, 1955.

HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION AND REPAIR

Undoubtedly, the most pressing need in the hospital and domiciliary repair or reno-vation program is the replacement of the cantonment-type hospital or domiciliary home. These facilities were constructed as temporary structures. After many, many years of occupancy they are now obsolete. It is becoming increasingly costly to maintain these structures in a state of repair. This horizontal-type hospital does not lend itself easily to efficiency of operation or administrative economies. Because of the widespread distribution of wards and the many miles of corridors, the serving of food creates a special problem. No less important is the fact that this type of installation poses certain handicapping problems in connection with surgical operations. The surgical suites are for the most part poorly located, making it necessary to transport patients over miles of rough, uneven corridors and ramps following major surgery.

If the Government is to receive 100 cents value of every dollar spent in the Veterans' Administration medical program, it is vitally necessary that the construction, renovation, and repair of older hospital and domiciliary facilities be accelerated. Modernization and replacement of facilities and equipment will promote greater efficiency and economy of operation. The difference, in many instances, between the chronic long-term illness and the short-term illness is the availability of modern medical and therapeutic facilities.

LOAN GUARANTY PROGRAM

In 1950 the Congress recognized an inequity in the Loan Guaranty Program be-tween veterans located in areas where private capital was readily available and those located in areas where such financing was not easily obtained, by enacting legislation authorizing the Veterans' Administration to make direct housing loans to veterans in areas where guaranteed private mortgages were not available. A further inequity was created, however, by the failure to extend this direct loan program to those veterans desiring to purchase a farm residence in areas where private capital was not available. In the same legislation which created the direct loan program, the VA guaranty on home loans was increased from \$4,000 to \$7,500, while the guaranty for farm residential loans was and is only \$4,000.

We recommend that this committee approve at an early date legislation that will extend eligibility for direct loans to those veterans who wish to purchase a farm residence in areas where private capital is not available. We further recommend that the amount of VA guaranty for farm residential loans be increased from its present \$4,000 maximum to \$7,500.

FEDERAL SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM

AMVETS have long recognized the desirability of a scholarship program for the children of certain ex-servicemen. Because we have feit that such a program was warranted, we ourselves have taken some steps in this direction. Our National Service Foundation has sought to bridge a small part of the gap in its own AMVET memorial scholarship program which annually awards 6 \$2,000 4-year college scholarships to high-school seniors whose fathers lost their lives or became permanently and totally disabled as the result of military service during World

War II or the Korean conflict. Such a program sponsored by the Federal Government on a broader scale would provide a brighter future for those youngsters whose fathers' sacrifices have prejudiced their own educational opportunities. We urge this committee to hold early hearings on this subject.

LEGISLATION BY APPROPRIATION

AMVETS continue to be concerned by the tendency of the Congress to legislate on appropriation bills. As this legislative body enters the period where consideration of appropriations for Government departments and agencies will consume a great deal of your time, we respectfully call your attention to this serious problem. We repeat that & matters little that honorable objectives have been sought in this manner. matters not that good moves are sometimes made through this medium. Legislative riders on appropriation bills do not properly resolve important matters of policy. important is that the long, hard battle for legitimate veterans' benefits can be lost in a moment through this process. We respectfully petition this committee to continue its opposition to this method of circumvention of its jurisdiction.

CONCLUSION

In this, my first public appearance before the newly organized Committee on Veterans' Affairs, I desire to reaffirm that AMVETS is dedicated to promoting the welfare of the veteran and his dependents. We recognize in our deliberations that what is good for the Nation is good for the veteran. We are neither partisan nor political and in keeping faith with our responsibilities as citizens of the Nation, we shall always be actively concerned for those who have served our country well.

We welcome the opportunity to appear before this committee from time to time to express our views on veterans' problems. As you embark upon your duties in this year of uncertainty, we wish you well. We pray that you may be blessed with the wisdom and foresight necessary to plot the best course for the millions of veterans and their dependents whom you serve. We pledge to you our cooperation and objective thinking in arriving at our mutual objectives.

DIGEST OF RESOLUTIONS ON VETERANS AFFAIRS ADOPTED BY AMVETS 10TH ANNUAL NA-TIONAL CONVENTION, MIAMI BEACH, FLA., AUGUST 25-29, 1954

1. Resolved, That AMVETS are first of all Americans and must view all legislation primarily as citizens of this Nation and secondarily as members of a group of veterans.

2. Resolved, That any legislation specifical-

Resolved, That any legislation specincally benefiting AMVETS as veterans must be primarily viewed for its effect on the Nation as a whole.

3. Resolved, That AMVETS remain loyal to themselves as veterans by seeking to strengthen services rendered to all veterans and that we try to further the legitimate ends of this group of proven good citizens, that they may continue to make their individual maximum contribution to the continued progress of the United States of America.

4. Resolved, That we commend the Veterans' Administration for its diligence in proceeding with the reorganization plan.

5. Resolved, That we particularly commend the Administrator, Mr. Harvey V. Higley, for his brilliant leadership.

ley, for his brilliant leadership.
6. Resolved, That we again call upon the Veterans' Administration to continue its efforts to strengthen itself as a one-stop agency for all veterans and their dependents.

7. Resolved, That AMVETS oppose actively any efforts to split and dismember the Veterans' Administration and use all the efforts of the AMVETS organization to maintain the VA as an intact and central functioning agency.

. 8. Resolved, That an amendment be made to section 5 of Public Law 23 and section 621 of the National Service Life Insurance Act, to provide a period of 2 years in lieu of the present 120 days.

9. Resolved, That Public Law 23 be amended to allow veterans the privilege of purchasing United States Government life insurance or National Service life insurance within 2 years following the date of enactment carrying out this provision.

10. Resolved, That existing veterans' insurance laws be amended to abolish those provisions which allow the existence of a service-connected disability to be a bar to reinstatement of Government insurance.

11. Resolved, That we recommend legislation to delete from the incontestability provision of the National Service Life Insurance Act the words "except by fraud" and substitute therefor "except by fraud discovered by the VA within the first 2 years from the date of Issuing or converting a National Service Life Insurance policy, or within 5 years from the date of reinstating a National Service Life Insurance policy."

12. Resolved, That we recommend legislation which would "toll the statute" under section 620 of the National Service Life Insurance Act as to mentally incompetent yeterans on whose behalf life-insurance pro-

tection is desirable.

13. Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be strongly petitioned to provide an adequate increase in pay to Federal employees, with the provision that any pay action voted by the Congress be supported by supplemental appropriation sufficient to prevent reductions in force.

14. Resolved, That Congress enact legislation prohibiting the employment of enlisted military or naval personnel on major over-haul, repair, or maintenance of naval vessels or military equipment performed within the continental United States; and further that no enlisted military or naval personnel be assigned to work ordinarily performed by civilian workers, except for training purposes, and consistent with military or naval requirements.

15. Resolved, That the Congress of the United States enact legislation coordinating, under one central governmental agency, the different agency pay systems for "ungraded" or "wage board" employees, so that all such employees in a given or established work area receive the same rate of pay for the same work performed.

16. Resolved, That the Civil Service Commission be requested to review the classification standards for medical X-ray technicians in the Veterans' Administration.

17. Resolved, That the Congress of the United States be strongly urged to retain the present retirement system for Federal employees.

18. Resolved, That AMVETS support the Civil Service Commission in its request for adequate funds for the satisfactory execution of all of its assigned and delegated authorities and responsibilities basic to veterans' rights, benefits, and privileges.

19. Resolved, That the AMVETS view with approval the United States Civil Service Commission's program for counseling veterans in Federal employment opportunities and their rights and benefits under the Veterans Preference Act of 1944. We urge the continuance of the veterans' counseling program with adequate appropriation from Congress to support fully this program.

20. Resolved, That AMVETS oppose any and all attempts to weaken or reduce the privileges and benefits afforded to veterans by either the Veterans Preference Act of 1944 or by other pertinent statutes.

21. Resolved, That AMVETS initiate and support legislation to provide a penalty for the knowing or willful violation of the Veterans Preference Act of 1944 as presently amended.

22. Resolved, That AMVETS initiate and support legislation that will strengthen the merit system in all governmental agencies,

23. Resolved, That AMVETS seek legislation to provide that the Retirement Act of 1930 as amended, be further amended to permit the voluntary retirement with no reduction in pension compensation for all Federal employees completing 30 years of creditable service.

24. Resolved, That the United States Senate be urged to establish a Veterans Affairs Committee.

25. Resolved, That we recommend the decentralization of death claims involving compensation and pension from the VA district office level to the regional office level.

26. Resolved, That we recommend equalization of death benefits for widows of World War II and Korean conflict veterans comparable to benefits paid to widows of World War I veterans.

27. Resolved, That we recommend that veterans be permitted 1 year from the date of award to submit evidence of entitlement to benefits under Public Law 877 as amended.

28. Resolved, That we recommend an amendment to existing legislation whereby retired veterans must waive part of their retirement pay to receive out-patient care by the Veterans' Administration.

29. Resolved, That AMVETS study and propose amendments to the Code of Millitary Justice calling for uniform procedures governing discharges from all branches of the armed services.

30. Resolved, That we recommend that the Veterans' Administration reinstate the traveling Board of Veterans' Appeals, and further, that supervisors of the claims division visit each regional office at least once each year.

31. Resolved, That we recommend that any planned policy or regulation to eliminate presumptive service connection be opposed.

32. Resolved, That we recommend the enactment of legislation by amendments to part I. Veterans Regulation IA, as amended, providing for a 2-year presumptive period for psychosis.

33. Resolved, That we recommend that the Veterans' Administration revise the present rating schedule so that it will include all current considerations for disability evaluation, and that we support any necessary action to bring a newly consolidated rating schedule into use; preferably one of the loose-leaf variety.

loose-leaf variety.

34. Resolved, That AMVETS go on record favoring that the Federal Government initiate a scholarship-assistance program for the children of veterans who died in service or are service-connected totally disabled, to overcome the loss of educational opportunities occasioned by their parents' sacrifices during a national emergency or war while preserving our democratic way of life.

35. Resolved, That AMVETS propose a definite delineation between wartime and peacetime benefits by the establishment of a specific cutoff date for entitlement to educational benefits under Public Law 550. 36. Resolved, That we call upon Congress

36. Resolved. That we call upon Congress to study the advisability of establishing an educational program for youth who are drafted during peacetime.

37. Resolved, That we oppose any plan reverting to the former practice under Public Law 346 of direct tuition payments by the Veterans Administration to educational institutions or training establishments.

38. Resolved, That AMVETS continue to actively support all programs which would bring about improved educational opportunities for all.

39. Resolved, That AMVETS request adequate funds to be appropriated by the Federal Government to continue promotion of the apprenticeship and on-the-job training programs that have been carried on cooperatively by our State and National Governments within our industries.

40. Resolved. That all posts in our State and national departments again approve and actually participate in the observance of National Employ the Physically Handicapped

Week.
41. Resolved, That AMVETS request that additional funds be appropriated by Congress to staff the Bureau of Veterans Reemployment Rights, so that veterans may have their reinstatement, seniority and promotion

rights sustained.
42. Resolved, That AMVETS recommend that section 409 of Public Law 550 be amended to provide for the termination of unemployment benefits to the individual veteran, but not for the discontinuance of the program, and recommend that such an amendment provide that no compensation be paid under title 4 of Public Law 550 for any week commencing 3 years after the veteran's last date of discharge or the date of enactment of this amendment, whichever is the later, provided that a veteran pursuing a training program under title 2 of Public Law 550 or Public Law 894 may receive compensation during 1 year after such training period.

43. Resolved, That AMVETS endorse the

employment security program, the three employment services and related activities.

44. Resolved, That AMVETS request the United States Employment Service and its affiliated State employment services to continue the policy of extending preferential treatment to disabled veterans and priority in referral of all job openings to qualified

45. Resolved, That AMVETS will use every effort within its power to assure adequate appropriations for the effective operation of the Bureau of Employment Security, the Veterans Employment Service and the State

employment security agencies.

46. Resolved, That AMVETS go on record as being actively opposed to the indulgence of the policymaking body of the American Medical Association in activities intended to deprive veterans of benefits to which they

are justly entitled.

47. Resolved, That AMVETS advocate through congressional legislation that veterans honorably discharged from service be granted the right to complete dental treatment once for each and every tooth which is or becomes defective and is established as being service-connected.

48. Resolved, That in the interest of all veterans we recommend that the doctors' draft be amended so as to exclude the drafting of medical doctors serving full time with the Veterans' Administration in such cases

as the VA requests a deferment.

49. Resolved, That we request that Deans' committees be continued, broadened, better financed, and encouraged as a means toward improving the quality of medical care given to veterans.

50. Resolved, That AMVETS support legislation that will result in financing adequate VA medical services in keeping with the request of the VA for their medical program.

51. Resolved, That AMVETS commend the Chief Medical Director of the Veterans' Administration for his leadership and contribution to rendering outstanding medical care to the veterans of this Nation.

52. Resolved, That AMVETS support legislation that would reestablish the maximum rate of interest on GI home loans at 4 percent.

53. Resolved, That the loan guaranty program of the Veterans' Administration be recognized as a completely separate program and that it be kept entirely separate from any other governmental housing, financing, and lending programs.

54. Resolved, That a set of requirements and specifications be established for the loan guaranty program.

55. Resolved, That the term of the loanguaranty program be extended for the vet-erans of World War II and the Korean con-

flict for 2 additional years.
56. Resolved, That AMVETS recommend and urge that the FHA extend and enlarge the Federal housing program to include provision for the construction of Wherrytype housing in critical and isolated areas, such as at radar, airbase, and any aircraft sites.

57. Resolved, That AMVETS, through its national publications and through other public information sources, educate all veterans to the dangers of the actions of unscrupulous persons who urge the exercise of GI home-loan privileges for the use and benefit of others than the veteran in acquiring homes

58. Resolved, That AMVETS go on record as recommending the increase of title I. FHA repair and modernization program, to \$3,000

and 5 years in which to pay.

59. Resolved, That we reaffirm our stand on the military training of our Nation's youth to the end that the young men of this country be adequately prepared for service in the Armed Forces in time of war, just as they are prepared for civilian life through the educational institutions of the United States. We recommend, therefore, favorable consideration of the national security training program.

60. Resolved, That we contend that the operation of the Selective Service Act should not be diminished and that priority for those called into service should be from those who have not previously served in the Armed Forces of their country. It is urged that the Selective Service Act be reenacted before its expiration date, June 30, 1955, and as reenacted be strictly enforced and that de-ferments be granted only under the most unusual circumstances.

61. Resolved, That we support the World Veterans Federation in its effort to make policies and programs known before the United Nations, governments of nations involved and war veterans everywhere.

62. Resolved. That we urge that representatives of the Nation's veterans organizations be designated on a revolving basis as members of the National Committee of UNESCO, affiliated with the United Nations specialized agency responsible for world cooperation in the education, scientific, and cultural

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY AMVETS NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, DECEMBER 11-12, 1954, WASHINGTON, D. C.

1. Resolved, That AMVETS recommend to the Congress that a definite cutoff date be established for the broad wartime veterans' benefits programs.

2. Resolved, That simultaneously with the discontinuance of the above programs a limited benefit program be established to serve those men and women who will be needed by our armed services to fulfill our defense requirements.

3. Resolved, That AMVETS urge the Congress to explore the advisability of amend-ing section 232 of Public Law 550, 82d Congress so that the periodic reductions will be delayed during the 1st year of training and that they begin upon completion of the first 4 months of the 2d year of training.

4. Resolved, That AMVETS request an amendment to existing legislation that will extend the direct-loan program to make eligible for such loans veterans desiring to purchase a farm residence.

5. Resolved, That in areas where private capital is available that the amount of guaranty for farm residential loans be increased from the present \$4,000 maximum to \$7,500 The Agricultural Situation Today in the United States and in Washington

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. COYA KNUTSON

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955.

Mrs. KNUTSON. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following speech made by me at the vocational seminar of the National Council of Churches of Christ in the United States of America, Thursday, February 10, 1955:

Mr. Chairman, members of the National Council of Churches in America, it is with a deep sense of humility and gratitude that I address this respected organization today. You have honored the people of the Ninth District of Minnesota by inviting me to speak to you on the subject of farm problems as I see them. These problems we have had with us, to a lesser or greater degree, since time began. But I am happy to know that our churches and our Christian leaders in the last few years have begun to be gravely concerned and to take an active interest in our problems also. Christ, too, was not only concerned with spiritual food but also with that food which sustained our bodies. In the Old Testament God provided manna for His people walking in the wilderness. It seems to have taken us a long time to understand and to work out from that premise that the two kinds of food, the spiritual and material, are very closely related.

Our storage program is almost as old a the Bible itself. It was the wisdom of Joseph that saved his people from famine and starvation, even to the extent of sharing food with others outside his own tribes. Our missionaries now, too, help and supervise the production of crops and foodstuffs as part of their spiritual welfare programs.

We have tried to solve our problems through many and varied ways over a pe-riod of years, but none of them have succeeded all the way. Many times we have had drives for increased sales, notably in the 1890's, 1920's, and now. We have an advertising program, the cost of which has been deducted from the price the farmers get, the farmer absorbing the burden rather than passing it on to the consumer. Secretary Benson gave dairymen I year to conduct the sales campaign, but it was utterly unsuccessful. No piecemeal solution will work here. It is an overall long-range planned program that will come the nearest to preserving our rural way of life.

We must be concerned with agriculture to prevent a complete breakdown of that part of our economy. The great depression is burned into our memories by the 25-cent wheat and 5-cent cotton, the loss of farms through foreclosure, and the great swirling black clouds of dust that blotted out the sun and the hope of a crop for another year. With it came grasshoppers. I lived on my parents' farm in North Dakota at the time grasshoppers stopped for lunch. When they took off again, our crops went with them.

During the 10 years after World War I, more than 450,000 farmers lost their farms because they couldn't make enough money to pay off their loans. Two hundred thousand farmers became tenants, because they were unable to buy their farms.

You may remember the name of Milo Reno who organized the Iowa farmers into the Farm Holiday Association. They blocked roads, tipped over milk trucks, and refused

to let food into Sioux City until the cost of production had been obtained. One elderly Iowa farmer told a reporter, "They say blocking the highway is illegal. I says, 'Seems to me there was a tea party in Boston that was illegal too.' Friends this is the desperation we want to avoid for a free and secure people.

Most of our forefathers were subsidized by homesteads. The desire to settle land, to populate it, and to keep it productive, is still with us. Our farmers are 13.6 percent of the population of the United States but have only 6 percent of the income. Official Government figures show that from 1919 to 1922 all farm prices dropped 40 percent. At the same time if the flexible theory is correct, we should have seen a definite drop in the production of farm commodities. Despite the 40-percent drop, farm production went up 1 percent; from 1930 to 1932 farm prices went down 57 percent but farm production went up 4 percent; 1936 to 1939 farm prices dropped 17 percent, but production went up 18 percent. As a Nation we must be concerned with a fair standard of living for all of our people including the farmer.

First. Let me develop the needs of agriculture as I see them from the experience in the Ninth District of Minnesota.

I have found that to start farming today one needs capital outlay of from \$20,000 to \$40,000. Our farming is now a highly specialized occupation. When I lived on the farm, it meant getting up at 5 o'clock in the morning to help with the milking before For my husband it meant that after breakfast, he got the machinery ready to do whatever was necessary and urgent for that day. It could be plowing, cultivating, harvesting, threshing, or hauling hay in winter. Much of the time, the weather was below zero. If there was a breakdown of machinery, it meant he had to go to town for repairs and parts, another time-consuming venture. Often our work was hindered by weather, too much of the wrong kind, and lack of the kind that would bring our crops through. Farming on the family-type farm is not a seasonal job. It has to be a yearround tob to have some income.

We were constantly tied down. We couldn't take a week or two for a vacation. We couldn't afford \$150 a month for a farmhand. Our margin was too narrow between price and cost.

Did you know that the cost of a two-plow tractor at today's prices would have financed the production expenses on an average United States farm in 1910 for 3½ years? I have found that in terms of current dollars, today's farm production expenses are about 6 times those of the 1910 to 1914 period. Today that means that the price of a plow equals the expense of running an average farm only 6 months.

As farmers, we are dependent, to a large extent, on the rest of the economy. only real benefit we derive nowadays from living on the farm is the milk we drink and the eggs we eat. We have meat in the lockers and some of us still have gardens. For this the farmer pays about half in the cost of its production. Let us measure this against the higher taxes we have because of proved roads, school and public buildings, and the increased costs of farming. Rising costs and falling prices have brought the farmer at the end of 1953 to the smallest share of the national income on record. The average person living on the farm has less than half the income of the average nonfarm individual. Though taxes are high, Government outlays for agriculture, however, represent such a small percent of the total Federal expenditure that the average taxpayer would scarcely notice the difference even if all Government farm programs were abolished. In fact, the income tax alone that farmers paid, when receiving parity, nearly covered the total cost of the farm program. Of the budget dollars in 1954, 17 cents was allotted to the cost of running the Government, providing all the services to labor, industry, agriculture, including health, education, welfare programs, and the development of natural resources.

Second. We must be concerned with the standard of living our rural population has. Forty years ago, farmers produced most of own power, raised most of their own fuel, and depended mainly on farm-produced fertilizer. As we can see, most of the material for production came from the farm. Before the midthirties, farmers could reduce their purchases from industry without a serious loss in production. But today farmers cannot produce without material from These must be paid for in cash. industry. Today farmers are producing more with less labor and little more land, because petroleum and electrically driven machines are more efficiently performing the work once done by men and animals. As late as 1935 there were only 1 million tractors on farms. Today we have 4 million. In 1935 we had about 900,000 trucks; now we have 2,280,000. At that time there were 120,000 milking machines; now there are 655,000. Farmers use each year 7 million tons of finished steel, more than the quantity that goes into a year's output of passenger cars. Farmers are big consumers, buyers of tremendous amounts of goods.

In other materials produced by industry and labor, farmers use 50 million tons of chemical material, 16½ billion gallons of crude oil, more than is used by any other industry. Today farmers are using 320 million pounds of raw rubber, enough rubber to make tires for 6 million cars. Our farmers use 15 billion kilowatt-hours of electric power, which is enough to supply Chicago, Detroit, Baltimore, and Houston for 1 year.

We have come to the crossroads where the American farmer is concerned. If we are to preserve farming as a way of life, if we are to be concerned with their standard of living, if we are to keep them from being driven off their land by a flexible price-support program, which, in a few years, is no support program at all, then we will have to include in the prices farmers receive for their products the cost of production, like the other groups of economy in our Nation.

Parity is the measuring stick for the farmer, the cost of products he has to buy as measured against the money he receives for what he has to sell. He must receive 100-percent parity to cover the cost of seed, operating expenses, and the labor to maintain his living standard. Cost of production has never gone below 60-percent parity, and has often been as high as 80- to 85-percent parity. At 100-percent parity, roughly speaking, the farmer may maintain his standard of living comparable to the average wage earner. At present, a farmer can put money into the bank only if he receives 108- to 109-percent parity.

Wealth must be produced from the grassroots up, not the top down. Wealth must percolate up from the bottom, not trickle down from the top.

Third. We must be concerned that as an intelligent and progressive people that we maintain a progressive standard of living for our whole Nation.

The population of the United States has increased 68 percent since 1910. Our farm production has increased about the same amount during the same period but with most of the increase coming in the last 15 years. Population has caught up with production, so now our problem lies in distribution.

People who lack proper diets number among the 60 percent that make less than \$4,000 a year. Folks above this figure buy just about all the food they want and need. As the incomes go lower, the consumption of healthful foods go with it, so that finally protective foods reach the vanishing point. The Paley Commission gave a conservative estimate that we will need 40 percent more food and fiber by 1975 to adequately feed and clothe our people. This increase will have to come from our family-type farms.

Our largest overall problem lies in distribution. America must grow to be prosperous. With the growth of America comes more jobs, more income, more consumption of food and fiber.

We are at the beginning of a new era. We must go forward with our abundance, the creation of which grows from the bottom up. We need a steady climb up the economic ladder, a ladder that was itself on the rise. We cannot let it skid any further. Holding the ladder firmly in place is our Government. With the advent of World War II, as the noted economist, Stuart Chase, expressed it, came the advent of a new regulator on the flow of our economic resources. Where Wall Street previously controlled a volume of money which directly affected our country. sometimes used for our good, sometimes to our detriment, now the Federal spending and Federal regulation have firm control of the ladder's legs to guard the destiny of our economy. Principals of Government help have been accepted by every segment of our people. Perhaps business was one of the first to accept help. When industry needed help or protection, a tariff was used to prevent smothering competition. We also have trade regulation to maintain fair practices. We have established minimum wage laws. These are accepted patterns in complicated society. Where problems grow so large that individuals cannot cope with them, we must solve those problems with Government help.

Therefore parity prices now mean even prices in troublesome times with the added advantages of plenty. Parity simply means justice, fairness. I want parity for the farmer, too. We must not sacrifice the farmer and his family when he is nailed against high costs of production over which he has no control.

I do not propose to know everything and all of the solutions. However, I do know the practices that have proved themselves should be used, not reversed, not forsaken. In the terms of progress we must explore the new avenues which we have not used. We need at least 90 percent parity until another solution takes over. Let us promote adequate diets for the 15 million people on public assistance and the unemployed. Let all our schools have lunch programs to help equalize opportunity for healthy minds to learn. Food for international aid should be used in such a way that it will be welcome and not revolting to needy people.

Friends, we can develop our farm life to take its rightful place in our standard of living and to maintain it as a most satisfying way of life.

This is a crucial problem affecting us—our stake—yours and mine. Conditions for the first tobacco grower, who settled in Virginia, creased his troubled brow to be solved by his thought and imagination, just like we must wipe the crease of hardship from our farmer's brow today. Our son tugs into his uniform of service for our protection. When he leaves our Armed Forces, opportunity must be available for him and all others to choose as he pleases. Whether he wishes a drygoods store in Brooklyn, or a \$30,000 farm in Minnesota, the choice to a fair standard of living is right for us all. The glitter of opportunity has always been the gem of America.

Passive Defense for Atomic War-Part I

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, in connection with House Congressional Resolution 66 which provides for a joint committee to study the feasibility of industrial and urban dispersal as a means of defense against H-bomb attack, there follows part I of a paper by Klaus Knorr on Passive Defense for Atomic War which was published by the Center of International Studies, Princeton University:

INTRODUCTION

(Note.—The author is indebted to his colleagues William W. Kaufmann and Roger Hillsman, who, in numerous discussions, helped him to clarify some of the issues presented in this paper. He also benefited from a conversation with Ansley J. Coale. They are not responsible, of course, for the views presented.)

In view of the uncertainties surrounding the use of A- and H-bombs in any future war, the bearing of these weapons on a realistic foreign and defense policy is necessarily controversial. These uncertainties not only baffle the nonofficial outsider, but also must weigh heavily on those admitted to the inner sanctum of classified information. The implications of these new weapons are so tremendous in their consequences that they should be allowed to challenge our ingenuity without restraint if we are to make the best preparation for surviving in the age of new technology and old international conflict.

To the outsider unfamiliar with official knowledge and deliberation, it is puzzling to see the merits and demerits of alternative policies discussed within extremely limited circles, with the majority of the interested public condemned to the sidelines by de-liberate exclusion from official calculations. It is equally puzzling to find official policy on airpower committed to a rather one-sided emphasis on the offensive arm with a corresponding neglect of air defense.1 On the basis of public knowledge 1-and on most assumptions, this knowledge should suffice for the purpose at hand—the official orientation seems debatable and, possibly, illogical and dangerous. Leaving aside the important question of providing for waging peripheral hostilities, limited in theater of operations, in the use of weapons, or in both, and concentrating on the problem of a major and unlimited war, a strong case can be made for preparing defenses against air attack. There is active defense, which comprises warning and interception of air attacks, and civilian defense, which is concerned with emergency measures toward minimizing casualties in the event of air raids. There is passive defense, designed to diminish vulnerability by changing the nature or location of industrial and urban targets, thus making them less susceptible to bomb damage.

THE OFFICIAL DOCTRINE ON AIRPOWER

The official American doctrine on airpower—which, with slight modifications, also informs British policy—assigns an overwhelming proportion of resources available for airpower to the strategic air force. A strong Strategic Air Command (SAC) is to endow the United States with the capacity for instant and massive destruction of Soviet

cities and industries. A powerful force of intercontinental bombers, plenty of fission and fusion bombs, a farflung string of air bases, and the certainty that this capacity will be exerted in the event of major warall these factors combined are to deter aggression from getting started. As Secretary Dulles pointed out, the heart of our defense problem is how to deter attack. "This, we believe, requires that a potential aggressor be left in no doubt that he would be certain to suffer damage outweighing any possible gains from aggression. The free world must make imaginative use of the deterrent capabilities of these new weapons. * * * Properused, they can produce defensive power able to retaliate at once and effectively against any aggression." Similarly, British Air Marshal Slessor professes the belief that "the continued existence of atomic weapons gives us an almost certain chance of preventing another world war. * * * America's safety lies in the prevention * * * of war, just as does ours." * It is an integral part of this policy that air defense, both active and passive, receive a great deal less atten-tion than nurturing and preserving offensive strength, except insofar as active defense is needed for protecting the ability to mount a massive retaliatory blow.

Whatever merits this doctrine could claim so long as the United States enjoyed a monopoly of, or decisive lead in, the development of atomic bombs, it remains the mainstay of policy even now, when this monopoly has ceased and any persisting American superiority in weapons is diminishing and may well diminish further or disappear altogether in the course of time.

IS RETALIATORY CAPACITY SURE TO DETER?

The extreme emphasis on the big deterrent is sound under three conditions. First, it is unquestionably sound if the big Sunday punch will actually deter major aggression. But can this effect be taken for granted, even though its achievement is likely? Air Marshal Slessor, for example, thinks that the existence of atomic weapons will give us "an almost certain chance of preventing another world war." But "almost certain" falls short of certain, and even his qualified prediction may be fallible. He does concede moreover, that atomic weapons will be used 'in the unlikely event of another great war. If we cannot expect the possession of the Sunday punch to deter with certainty, then it is doubtful wisdom to stake everything on this one card, for if the card turns out to be high enough, the consequences will be frightful. The deterrent weapon may not deter because a possible aggressor—the U. S. S. R., for instance—decides on peace or war according to cost calculations which are not necessarily identical with those that seem reasonable from the viewpoint of American goals and preferences. Soviet leaders may, for example, put a lower value on avoiding the casualties which they must expect to suffer in unrestricted warfare than American leaders put on the lives of their own people. With an assortment of objectives different from ours, the Soviet elite may also foresee greater gains from unlimited war, at any particular time, than we would anticipate. Furthermore, the big deterrent may fail to deter because we slide, more or less unwittingly, into atomic warfare. A trigger-happy or desperate commander, or anxiety not to sustain the first nuclear blow on the homeland, might turn a more limited form of war into one of unrestricted air at-

If the strategy of the big deterrent should prove mistaken—that is, if a major war involving nuclear air attacks should be precipitated by the other side, then the United States could presumably retaliate in kind. While it would give us satisfaction to chastise the aggressor, we might still be defeated and, even in the best of circumstances, be burdened with a degree of destruction that spelled the end of the American way of life with finality for tens of millions of casualties, and for the survivors as well for a long time to come.

Furthermore, we shall be severely limited in our freedom of action if we cannot be sure that our capacity to retaliate will deter aggression, for a determined aggressor could then blackmail us ad infinitum, provided he were less loath than we are to unleash the full fury of nuclear bombs. Air Marshal Slessor is correct when he observes that "nothing would be more dangerous than to give the impression to a potential aggressor that we should not use them [atomic bombs] in the event of aggression." §

It is difficult to see how we can feel sure that SAC's Sunday punch will prevent largescale war from occurring and, if we cannot, the one-sided concentration of air power in a powerful SAC is a risky policy.

IS AIR DEFENSE TECHNICALLY IMPOSSIBLE?

The second condition under which this stress on offensive prowess is sound involves the impracticability of mounting any effective air defense because defense is physically unfeasible.

It may be true that effective air defense, both active and passive, is indeed technically impossible and that unlimited resort to fission and fusion bombs will literally wipe out civilization. This possibility suggests the well-known image of two scorpions confined in a bottle, each able to kill the other only at the cost of being killed himself. So far as public knowledge goes, this condition does not now prevail. We have been told that H-bombs can be made with an explosive power about 1,000 times as large as the A-bomb dropped on Hiroshima, and that this bomb can inflict destruction up to a radius of some 10 miles, or over an area of about 300 square miles. We have also been told that, given a sufficient supply of A-bombs, the manufacture of H-bombs is relatively cheap. These are dreadful dimensions. Yet since bombs must be delivered, and delivery is not as yet cheap, they do not suggest the likelihood that life in a country nearly 3 million square miles can be obliterated with ease.

Senator Symington has stressed that intercontinental ballistic missiles are sure to be available in the not too remote future; that there is no present defense against them, once they are launched, for they do not depend on electronic guidance and hence cannot be diverted from their course by electronic jamming; that accuracy in delivering these weapons will become less and less important; and that target dispersal will no longer offer a solution to the problem of defense." It is possible that radioactive vapor will threaten the lives of populations not directly killed by enemy bombs. The question is whether this stage has been reached or will be reached soon. And in making such predictions, it must not be ignored that, whatever the awful destructiveness of the bombs and however cheap they may be, the ingenuity which invented them, although only by dint of tremendous effort, may also, if urgently turned in this direction, improve our capacity for destroying bomb carriers. That such a development is not now in sight does not offer conclusive proof of technical infeasibility.

CONCEPTS OF EFFECTIVE DEFENSE

Even should defense be technically possible, its effective establishment might call for installations, equipment, trained manpower, and a dispersal over space and underground on a scale that would entail economic suicide and bring down civilized life in any case. Without access to all the information, the outsider can make no judg-

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ment on this matter. However, gross concentration on an offensive striking force would be debatable, and perhaps wrong, should defensive preparation be neither physically impossible nor suicidal economically. It is on this assumption that the following arguments rest.

Conclusions about the merits of building up effective defensive strength hinge in large measure, of course, on concepts of what constitutes effective defense. The concept which appears to dominate a great deal of the current debate on the subject is of the all-or-nothing variety. To be effective, air defense must, according to this school of thought, prevent all but minor destruction of Hfe and property. Defense tends to be regarded as ineffective if it is reasonable to expect a huge outlay on air defense merely to reduce casualties from a hypothetical 40 million to a hypothetical 20 million, and the destruction of our productive capacity from a hypothetical 50 to a hypothetical 35 per-The discussion of active air defense, designed to intercept hostile aircraft or missiles, exhibits this disposition. Air Marshal Slessor, for example, argues that an attrition rate on attacking bombers of from 5 to 10 percent was effective over time under the conditions of the last World War, but that this rate is appallingly inadequate in view of the awesome destructiveness of single nuclear bomb. In his view, the kill rate must approach 100 percent to make active air defense effective." The United States Air Force has announced publicly that a kill rate of no more than 20 to 30 percent could be counted on under recent conditions, and it is the conclusion of many experts that this state of affairs renders active air defense impotent.

Whether one expects 20 or 40 million victims, depending upon more or less defensive capacity, a horrible mauling is implied in either case. But is it actually an equal mauling? Is the hypothetical difference of 20 million survivors really negligible, when another 20 million are doomed to perish? this is our response, then we are saying in effect that either the deterrent weapon works to prevent war, implying our firm resolve to use this weapon in an eventuality, or—if it fails to deter—we think ourselves lost and might as well throw in the sponge in any And this amounts to saying that the additional 20 million survivors, who could have been saved by defensive measures, would in that event proceed to commit mass suicide or submit to a worse fate than death. While it is, of course, repulsive to consider these contingencies, is it wise to refuse to face the

In the following, this issue is faced on the assumption, already stated, that an atomic assault on the United States will not snuff out all life with one murderous blow; on the further assumptions that a majority of Americans will in fact survive such an attack and that the size of this majority can be increased appreciably by appropriate defense action; and on the final assumption that, when the chips are down, Americans will rather fight than surrender, and rather live than commit suicide. All of these assumptions can be questioned. But they cannot be dropped before they are proved wrong or extremely farfetched. Moreover, even if the pessimists are right and a majority of the population cannot expect to survive, the question remains whether it is not worthwhile to increase the number of survivors. provided the increase can be of appreciable

HOW MUCH CAN WE AFFORD FOR AIR DEFENSE?

The official doctrine on airpower could also claim strong support under a third condition: If an adequate provision for an effective air defense would be so costly as to wreck the economy. It has been argued that we

cannot afford to maintain both offensive and defensive power, that there is some immovable ceiling on what we can spend on defense, that our expenditures are bumping against this ceiling now, and that—because deterrent force holds out great hope of averting major war altogether—we must allocate to SAC nearly all we can afford apart from outlays on conventional armed forces.

This condition is almost certainly a figment of the imagination. Unhappily, there is no general agreement on any criterion which will permit rational decision on what is or is not too expensive. The argument is usually in terms of undermining or wrecking the economy without any definition of these terms or of precisely how these effects would result from various levels of investment in passive air defense. Only reference to quantitative factors can afford a basis for enlightenment.

As will be argued below, a great deal can be done to lessen American vulnerability to hostile air attack without increasing current defense budget by more than a fifth or even less. It makes no sense to say that the United States cannot sustain such a rise in defense outlays without subjecting the economy to unbearable strain. This country has spent a great deal more than these amounts in wartime and has done so with a thriving and expanding economy. This is perhaps not entirely relevant, since the Nation will be averse to putting up with the sacrifices of a perpetual emergency. Yet, according to a sober study, sponsored by the National Planning Association, the United States could appreciably add to its defense budget without sapping its economic strength. Defense spending rising gradually above current levels at a rate of \$10 billion a year by 1956 would-given a normal growth of the economy-neither interfere with further economic expansion nor prevent a continuing rise of civilian consumption. It would permit some tax reductions and not necessitate comprehensive direct controls over spending. A larger increase by \$20 billion per annum would still permit per capita consumption to rise moderately and net investments to increase, provided the labor force were somewhat expanded and the average workweek somewhat lengthened; and this could be achieved by only continuing 1953 rates of taxation or their equivalent.

If defensive capacity can be improved appreciably by expenditures within these ranges, then there is no reasonable economic argument against doing so; and the question of whether or not to make these outlays can and should be decided primarily on military and political grounds. This is not to pretend that, excepting expenditures made under conditions of unemployment, defense could be bolstered without sacrifice in terms of somewhat lower levels of investment and/or consumption than could be maintained otherwise; and there is therefore good reason to keep military preparation to the minimum consistent with safety. The range of these sacrifices, however, is so moderate that they seem a small insurance premium when viewed against the horrendous scale of destruction which atomic warfare is likely to inflict. Atomic weapons do not belong to a dream world. They are part of a very real world which Americans, and especially Americans, inhabit.

ACTIVE AND PASSIVE AIR DEFENSE

There is a good deal that can and should be done in the area of civil defense by way of providing air-raid shelters, emergency reception centers for evacuated persons, fire-fighting and medical facilities, relief of congested traffic arteries, and many other emergency facilities of this kind. There is a great deal more that can be done to set up an effective warning and interception system. Some of these tasks are already being

undertaken, although on a scale which those in charge regard as far too stingy. These measures of air defense would doubtless be very costly in absolute amounts, especially since changes in the technology of offensive and defensive means and operations may cause a high rate of obsolescence. Yet, relative to the strength of the American economy, and relative also to the additional margin of protection that these measures can afford m—even if this protection is far from 100 percent—they are likely to be reasonably cheap. Would an outlay of, say, \$4 billion a year for such preparations be too expensive? Do not both a false conception of economy and a psychological impediment to considering the full consequences of weak defenses paralyze sound planning in this realm?

Important as such defense preparations are, they should not be allowed to blind us to the opportunities for exploiting one great asset which the United States, unlike its European allies, posseses in abundance: There are, moreover, good reasons for expecting that the costs of utilizing this asset are relatively small compared with the costs of active and passive civil air defense, which require large outlays on installations useless for anything but their specific purpose and highly trained manpower to man them. For a nation endowed with the advantage of ample space, the first objective of passive air defense must be in the direction of maintaining as large a proportion of the population as possible outside obvious and highly concentrated target areas. Being the abundant resource, space is relatively cheap; and over a wide range of locations for pro duction and residence, the disadvantage of one over the other must be relatively mar-

¹This neglect of air defense also marks most private discussion. For a notable exception, see J. Robert Oppenheimer, Atomic Weapons and American Policy, Foreign Affairs, XXXI (1953), pp. 525-535.

fairs, XXXI (1953), pp. 525-535.

This memorandum is written without benefit of any classified material. The author has been told that there are a few studies which present a point of view similar to that taken here, but these documents are not available to the public.

³ John Foster Dulles, Policy for Security and Peace, Foreign Affairs, XXXII (1954), pp. 357-358.

4 Sir John Slessor, Strategy for the West, New York, William Morrow, 1954, pp. 18, 21.

⁴ Ibid., p. 18. ⁶ Ibid., p. 19.

'It is unimaginable, for obvious reasons, that the United States should plan to start an atomic preventive war. Nor would doing so make sense now that the Soviet Union may be able to retaliate instantly and in kind. Why should we want to initiate hostilities which are bound to lay waste to our cities and fatally cripple the economic capacity of this country? If this were a possible strategy, moreover, it would most likely be a possible strategy for the Kremlin as well, and to concede this is to shatter the doctrine of deterrence.

* Ibid., p. 18.

CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, U. S. Senate, 83d Cong., 2d sess., July 21, 1954, pp. 10707-10710.

¹⁰ According to one authority, a strong civil-defense program may cut casualties by half. Cf. Gordon Dean, Report on the Atom, New York, Knopf, 1953, p. 129.

" Strategy for the West, p. 19.

Derhard Colm, Can We Afford Additional Programs for National Security? National Planning Association, Planning Pamphlets No. 84, Washington, D. C., October 1953.

¹³ The current deemphasis on defense may be retarding technological advance in the design of defense instruments and tactics which would increase the margin of protection.

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Passive Defense for Atomic War-Part II

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RICHARD BOLLING

OF MISSOURI

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. BOLLING. Mr. Speaker, in connection with House Concurrent Resolution 66, which provides for a joint committee to study the feasibility of industrial and urban dispersal as a means of defense against H-bomb attack, there follows part II of a paper by Klaus Knorr on Passive Defense for Atomic War which was published by the Center of International Studies, Princeton University:

PARTIAL PASSIVE DEFENSE IS NOT TOO COSTLY

Following the development of the A-bomb, some serious thought was indeed given to the possibility of dispersal. Yet this idea was quickly dismissed by most students as unrealistic, on the grounds that disassembling our great urban and industrial centers would surely be of prohibitive cost, ruinous to the economy, and scarcely feasible politically. These conclusions were justified. But consideration of the case for extreme dispersal did, unfortunately, do an injustice to the cause of far more limited and gradual dispersal, which, although falling far short of giving complete protection, might still save millions of lives and a corresponding quantity of productive assets. Merely to ask whether the existing capital facilities should be moved or abandoned was a loaded question to which there could be only a negative answer.

There is a different order of question that could have been raised then and deserves to be raised now. The United States has a rapidly growing population and is constantly rebuilding and adding to its capital assets Residential housing, office building and plant, merchandising and transportation facilities, public utilities, etc. From 1945 to 1953, the population grew by no fewer than 20 million. Marriages have been averaging over 10 per annum per 1,000 of population. The output of electricity has risen from 23.5 billion kilowatt-hours per month in 1948 to 36.8 billion a month in 1953. Housing starts (nonfarm only) have amounted to 8.2 million units from 1946 to 1953. residential construction, but excluding public investment, gross domestic investment has run to about \$354 billion from 1946 to 1953. Of this, \$80 billion has been for new business construction, not counting equip-ment. Would it have been unreasonable or too costly to have caused this rebuilding and growth to have taken place in a somewhat more dispersed fashion than it did? And would it be unreasonable or too costly to cause some spatial redirection of maintenance and growth in the future?

The fact is that, in this respect, the United States has been benefiting during the postwar years from some spontaneous and gratuitous dispersal, as is evidenced by establishment of numerous new plants outside the traditional metropolitan and industrial agglomerations, the rapid economic de-velopment of the South, the continued expansion of the West, and the remarkable push of urban populations toward the suburbs. There are good reasons for this relative deconcentration. In a wealthy country, further industrial development means in general a rising ratio of value added to the raw material, and this makes location near the sources of raw maerials less compelling than before. Production also is becoming less dependent on coal, and the increasing use of electric power and natural gas means a shift to fuels which are available in many localities that cannot be cheaply provided with coal. The trend visible in many large corporations toward diversifying their output and granting a high degree of autonomy to individual production units facilitates industrial dispersal. So does the sensitivity of many businesses to seeking out areas of relatively cheap labor and land and low taxa-In a wealthy economy which characteristically sees service industries grow faster than manufacturing or primary production, there is also a strong incentive to locate production in or near markets. Once some key industries establish new plants in a new area, it will become profitable for others, especially subsidiary industries, to follow suit; and any influx of labor will attract the construction industry, merchandising and other service trades, and such manufacturing production as benefits from close proximity to markets. Any sizable relocation of production is likely to have multiple effects in attracting population.

What is required for a sensible policy of dispersal is to supply a marginal stimulus and thus strengthen the spontaneous trends which are already operating and which will come to operate as facilities in new areas expand. If dispersal is encouraged at the margin, where on all other considerations not much of an incentive is needed to tip the balance in favor of one location rather than another, then the expense of giving such encouragement cannot be prohibitive. There may be numerous instances, once dispersal gets underway, where it is cheaper, from a strictly economic point of view, to provide houses, schools, utilities, and roads in areas of relatively sparse population than in the big urban centers. It is possible that, if the public has become more keenly aware of the horrible specter of modern war, many workers and entrepreneurs will let considerations influence their choice of where to work and live; and, once this happens, it becomes profitable for other businesses to follow. Once the problem is grasped, provision of tax incentives—some tax deterrent to putting up new facilities in specified areas of congestion, and perhaps some incentives for choosing locations in specified areas of lesser concentration-may suffice to give considerable impetus to practicable dispersal of people and property.14 The required tax incentive may be obtained by allowing a more or less rapid writeoff of new construction; and this technique could be applied to relatively few key industries instead of to all businesses or industries.

Another suggestion has been to set up a compulsory scheme of war damage insurance with premiums varied according to risks. For newly growing towns, it will be cheaper than in old established ones to provide ample traffic facilities; for houses about to be constructed, it may be worth exploring whether solid cellars, affording protection against blast damage near the periphery of a bomb explosion, would not be feasible at a relatively modest cost; and there are, no doubt, other protective techniques that are more easily applied in new structures and towns than in the old urban centers.

Thus, some dispersal could result from simply helping citizens to make locative decisions which reflect the contingency of nuclear warfare, and individuals themselves would, in that event, bear the presumably small cost of choosing, at the margin, one locality rather than another. Employment of other techniques, such as tax or insurance schemes, need not cost the Government anything, or will cost it only little, since tax or premium concessions could be made to offest tax or premium penalties; so that the costs, again presumably modest, would devolve upon individual businesses or citizens. If, and to the extent that, dispersal would add to the Nation's transportation bill, the expense would also fall largely on private

citizens; and these costs should be low so long as only a moderate push toward increased dispersal is in question.

But the Government has opportunities for promoting decentralization by direct expenditures. If desired, it could subsidize certain protective measures, such as the building of cellars adequate to afford some safety at the periphery of bomb bursts. It could disperse public enterprises, such as arsenals, and participate vigorously in the construction of irrigation systems, power facilities, highways, and other assets for the purpose of influencing the geographic distribution of an expanding economy and population.

So far as a substantial but practicable program for dispersal requires Government expenditures, there is a further point to the problem of costs. These expenditures would represent real costs in an economy operating full-employment level. There would be additional and highly undesirable effects if these expenditures were injected into an economy subject to strong inflationary pressures. On the other hand, the real costs would be small or nil when these expenditures were made at a time of unemployment or economic stagnation, for they would set to work resources which would produce nothing otherwise. It cannot be demonstrated that the recession which the United States has been experiencing since the middle of 1953 has been induced by the cut in defense expenditures and its anticipation, but it is not unlikely that this retrenchment fed whatever deflationary factors were at work at the time. What is important is that this business activity has cost the United States more than \$20 billion of goods and services that would have been produced if the preceding expansionary trend had not been interrupted. There are times when the economy is depressed or stagnating, during which a program for passive air defense could be pursued at zero or slight real costs. such a time, expenditures of this kind would strengthen rather than weaken the economy. This is not to suggest that such a program should await times of economic slack for its implementation. It deserves a priority which does not tolerate deferment. But since the program is a long-range one, there are opportunities when it can be stepped up at low cost.

The costs of thus paring our vulnerability to enemy air attacks are not, of course, entirely economic. One cost would certainly be the abandonment by some people of psychological income which is peculiarly available in large metropolitan areas and which they happen to cherish. Another cost would be the requirement that people accept the burden of thinking out the implications of possible atomic warfare, and the Government insist on their doing so. A third cost item would be a somewhat increased measure of government interference in the location of production and residence. Finally, dispersal might well affect, in some cases, the relative position of different States in the Union and, on this account, raise awkward problems and political resistance to which a feasible program would have to make reasonable adjustments. These are heavy drawbacks. But they may be worth accepting in view of the greater protection to be afforded in time of war.

A scheme for dispersal may be practical and fairly inexpensive and yet fail to be worth undertaking if it costs a would-be aggressor even less to add to his offensive strength. Little would be gained, for example, if it cost the U.S. S. R. fewer resources to double its capacity to deliver bombs on American targets than it cost us to double the number of targets through dispersal. It is doubtful, unfortunately, that such a comparative calculation could be made with any pretense to accuracy or that it would not quickly become out of date if it could be made for present conditions. The chief fac-

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tors involved-the offensive air power of a possible enemy and our active defense—are highly variable in terms of technology, the actual production of facilities, and the skill of the military services. If all these considerations are taken into account, the prospects are likely to indicate that dispersal is a

reasonable insurance policy.

On the basis of the assumptions made, there seems to be a persuasive case for giving the problem of passive defense an expeditious and generous airing. A substantial program-though not a program to protect everyone—seems feasible and inexpensive. What is involved is not the abandonment of the large urban centers, but that they grow less than they otherwise would, and some promotion of medium-sized cities of between 30,000 and 100,000 inhabitants, still large enough to provide manpower for manufacturing enterprises of economic scale even when they are not located on the periphery of metropolitan centers. What is also involved is a gradual rather than immediate diminution of vulnerability.

Psychological and Political Impediments

If the above analysis is reasonable on the basis of the assumptions that have been set forth, then it is curious and astonishing that passive air defense has been neglected in the United States. Three reasons may chiefly account for this neglect. In contrast to the economic argument, they are rarely mentioned in public discussion and cannot he measured in their impact

1. Conceivably, American policy for air defense lacks overall balance because passive defense would fall largely outside the province of the military. Therefore, so far as the Pentagon determines defense policy, this institutional obstacle might well prejudice the case for reducing United States vulnerability. Since defense funds never seem large enough, the inclination of the military to emphasize their own activities is certainly understandable, and the corrective to be applied is a compensatory intrusion of civilian government.

2. Consideration of passive air defense may also suffer from an emotional block. Among military and civilians alike, there is a widespread preference for contemplating offensive as against defensive operations, a belittling of defense-mindedness, which is easily shrugged off as Maginot-line mentality, and an irrational faith that, somehow, "It can't happen here," an abiding conviction that this country is not really violable."

This wishful faith in the ultimate safety

of the United States is held, inconsistently enough, even by people who are-in a separate cerebral compartment, so to speak-fully cognizant of the danger actually confront-ing the country. It is a faith, therefore, which will not readily retreat before the disagreeable tenor of rational expectation. On the other hand, considerations of defense, in addition to mobilizing offensive strength, do not in the least imply softness or lack of viability. They are the outcome of a rational attitude not at all incompatible with a bold and firm posture. Maginot-line mentality, finally, is not to be equated with the attitude of discovering that combination of defensive as well as offensive strategies which will maximize military strength from available resources. It denotes rather a onesided preoccupation with putting all reli-ance on a single strategy. It is possible that excessive concentration on the Sunday punch represents Maginot line mentality in its true

3. There is also the grave question of whether those in the Government who possess full knowledge of the potentialities of nuclear war dare to draw the general public into their confidence. They may hesitate to do so on two grounds. Supposing that the general public does desire to receive full

clarification of its involvement in the atomic age. Those in charge of official policy, as well as those aspiring to the responsibilities of office, may fear that an informed public will fall victim to at least a temporary case of severe jitters and thus circumscribe still more than is already the case, the available room for maneuver in foreign affairs. If, on the other hand, the public is reluctant to face enlightenment, they may suspect that a government placing the burden of knowledge upon it will not be a popular government, especially when it becomes clear that what the government can do to protect the nation is in any event limited. Among a frustrated and resentful part of the electorate, the desire to find scapegoats might repudiation of those who insist on revealing the awful consequences of major

The first fear-if it holds sway in high quarters-may or may not be justified. But it can hardly be argued seriously that the power and foreign policy of the United States best served over the longer run by not assisting the general public to realize the facts of life in the atomic age; for the shock of realization may come at a critical time and then undermine the very foundations on which American foreign policy was built.

Government inaction is more pardonable if it is the second fear which prevents political leaders from pushing an unwilling public into an awareness of the predicament democratic society, it is the business of leaders to seek, rather than jeopardize, public support. Yet it is far from certain that more than a small proportion of the citizenry would, in fact, react with hostility to being informed of the choices open to it. In order to minimize the risk and overcome public reluctance to face the issue, the undertaking should be put on a nonpartisan basis and enlist sensitive opinion leaders from all groups. Information is only the first step in such an attempt and must be followed by an effort to arouse concern about the dangers of nuclear weapons and assist in evaluating alternative courses of action. To do this, and to minimize the shock of recognizing the terrifying implications of the situation, it is necessary to suggest programs by which the danger can be lessened appreciably.18

So far, the majority of the general public has apparently chosen to ignore the consequences to themselves of atomic warfare. even though the subject has received a great deal of attention in press and radio, and even though the public shares a fairly high expectancy of large-scale war. In part, peo-ple justify this inconsistency by assuming either that the Nation's military forces will, in fact, prevent heavy damage to the cities, or that, in this matter, the individual is helpless and must leave it to Washington to find a solution. Probably it is fear which, among the larger public, accounts for the fact that the problem is more or less suppressed.19

No large-scale preparations for air de-fense—active or passive—can be undertaken without strong public support. Reluctance to secure this support forecloses the possibility of a balanced strategy. Provided defense is technically feasible, it will be political impracticability, rather than economic cost, which actually militates against a rational consideration of defense.

ADDED STRENGTH FROM LESSENED VULNERABILITY

Assuming that SAC cannot certainly prevent full-fledged atomic war and that a worthwhile measure of effective air defense, especially passive defense, is both techni-cally possible and economically supportable, the doctrine on air power currently in vogue contains a serious fallacy. Over a wide range of military considerations, it is clearly useful to distinguish the defensive arm from offensive capability. When overall strategy

Footnotes at end of speech.

is at issue, however, this distinction can be carried to excessive lengths and become productive of faulty inferences. From this broad point of view, offensive air power and air defense are surely integral parts of one capability, military air power. Our military literature reveals that American strategists are seriously concerned both with Russia's active air defense, which must affect our ability to deliver bombs on selected targets, and with Russia's passive air defense, which must affect her vulnerability to our retalia-We assume that their air power rests on several foundations. What holds true of the Soviet Union as an air power must hold true also of the United States.

By reducing, over time, the vulnerability of the United States to the atomic weapons of an aggressor, passive as well as active air defense would not merely save lives and property—it would also confer on us several other advantages. By reducing the offensive power of an aggressor, it would force him to consider allotting more scarce resources to an expansion of his bomb stockpiles and trucking facilities. By making our own country less violable by air attack, such a balanced program would diminish the aggressor's ability to intimidate us or to defeat us if he precipitates war. This means that our capacity to use our offensive power is enhanced, for our willingness to use this power is not independent of our own vulnerability. Defensive preparations would demonstrate to any would-be aggressor that the United States is neither given to delusion nor bluffing, but that it means business. If these expectations are correct, then a strengthening of defense might, by discouraging attack. increase the likelihood that we shall be spared disaster.

It is also possible that nuclear attacks would start a war, but not finish it. Increased defensive capacity, in these circumstances, could enable us to mobilize resources for the more conventional types of military action which might ensue. Nor is this Nation only interested in preventing war if possible, in winning it if unlimited war is precipitated by an aggressor. It is also interested in reconstruction thereafter. If defense against air raids can save life and property, it can also increase our capacity for recuperation.

In conclusion, once we have built up our strategic striking force, there must come a marginal point at which our total air power would gain more from allocating a relatively larger, rather than a relatively smaller, proportion of available resources to expanding defensive, rather than offensive, facilities. No doubt, it will be difficult to settle even approximately on the most efficient distribution of resources-difficult particularly in view of continuous technological and military changes; but the principle is sound and its recognition would promise a healthy consideration of defensive efforts. The United States could have more confidence in its Sunday punch if it were associated with some capacity to absorb punishment.

"The United States initiated such a dispersal program under the Truman administration, but it was confined to key defense plants and has since been reduced to an extremely minor operation.

15 Cf. Carl Kaysen, The Vulnerability of the United States to Enemy Attack, World Poli-

tics, VI (1954), p. 203. 16 Cf. Opportunities for Economic Expan-

sion, National Planning Association, Planning Pamphlets No. 87, Washington, D. C., July 1954, pp. 1-10.

"This point has been made strongly by Bernard Brodie, Possible United States Military Strategies, The Rand Corp. (p. 524), April 1954, pp. 11-13. 4 Cf. William A. Scott, Attitudes Toward

Participation in Civil Defense, Public Opinion Quarterly, XVII (1953), p. 384. Carl I. Hovland and others, Communication and

Footnotes at end of speech.

Persuasion, New Haven, Yale University

Press, 1953, p. 65.

** Elizabeth Douvan and Stephen B. Withey, Some Attitudinal Consequences of Atomic Energy, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, CCXC (November 1953), pp. 108-17.

Extending Universal Military Training and Service Act

SPEECH

OF

HON. FRED MARSHALL

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

The House in Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union had under consideration the bill (H. R. 3005) to further amend the Universal Military Training and Service Act by extending the authority to induct certain individuals, and to extend the benefits under the Dependents Assistance Act to July 1, 1959.

Mr. VINSON. Mr. Chairman, will the gentleman yield?

Mr. MARSHALL. I yield to the gen-

tleman from Georgia.

Mr. VINSON. So the issue can be clear before the Committee, the gentleman is making it applicable only to educational deferments that a man can be drafted over 26 years of age?

Mr. MARSHALL. What I am saving is that except for those who have been deferred for educational, research, or study purposes, all others between 26 and 35 would be exempted.

This is a comparatively simple amend-We have been faced with a ment. rather odd situation which was mentioned on the floor earlier today. The Army has lowered its mental requirements and its physical requirements, and one of the things that that has brought about has been the induction of people who were previously exempt from in-duction. That has brought these people into the service at a later period in their lives and it has created uncertainty among the local boards because they do not know exactly what to do in connection with some of these people. They have no way they can find to exempt them and, therefore, they induct them. They induct them into the service and the Army as a rule does not want them. They do not want them because their years of service are certainly limited and their ability to take the rigors of training is somewhat limited. We had an odd thing happen. I know of one young man, 29 years of age, who was inducted in my district. He has a crushed ankle and a silver spike in that ankle. He was inducted at the age of 29 years. The Army doctors examined him and they immediately said he is subject to limited service. All I am doing by this amendment is to exempt those who have previously been deferred for hardship reasons or for any other of a number of reasons, and to permanently exempt those between the age of 26 and 35 who are presently subject to induction. I am making an exception. I am

saying that those who are granted deferments to complete their education or to engage in research or to engage in the numerous other things that some of these people were exempt for in the way of education will not be deferred, and they are subject to induction into the Army to complete their period of service as I justly think they should be. That was the obligation of the contract that they entered into. Then I again want to repeat, this merely exempts those who at the age of 26 to 35 are available for induction. I am granting permanent deferment to those men. I think that is the thing that local boards desire, and I think it is the thing that local communities desire. I cannot for the life of me see any purpose in inducting that group of men into the armed services. The testimony before the committee itself said that this past year this group only made up 6 percent of the number inducted. That 6 percent includes people who were previously deferred to get their education and to get their training and for research and other purposes. It seems to me this would be a good and fair way to handle this problem. I hope that the chairman of the committee who is such an outstanding American and who so thoroughly understands these things agrees with me. I am sure he would agree with me if he understood fully what I am trying to say. I am sure he must understand what I am talking about. I am sure he wants a strong armed services. I am sure he wants one of the best armed services we can possibly get. I am sure we are going to get a better and a more vigilant and a more useful Armed Force and get a better training program, if my amendment is accepted.

Mr. Chairman, I do hope that the gentleman from Georgia accepts my amendment and I am glad now to yield to the distinguished chairman of the committee.

Mr. VINSON. I thank the gentleman for the compliments, but I am sorry to say that notwithstanding I have to disagree with you because what you accomplish will, as I mentioned today, free these people from induction. As I said, there are 17,000 occupational deferments. Under your amendment, every-one of those 17,000 men would go free of liability for induction if they reached the age of 26. Under the law today they are liable to age 35. The only people your amendment will hold are those engaged in research, educational work or studies. But so far as all occupational deferments are concerned, if they are still deferred when they reach 26 years of age, you turn them loose and they will have served the country at no time and yet have received constant deferments because of their occupation. Do you think that is fair?

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Chairman, I have a high regard for the gentleman from Georgia, but I must disagree with you to the extent that you use the word 'occupational deferment."

Mr. VINSON. Well, that is what it is. Mr. MARSHALL. I would almost be inclined to agree with you to an extent if you were to say it were a hardship

deferment, but I believe there has been ample testimony before your committee in favor of this younger group. I believe someone testified before your committee saying that if your present policies were carried out in connection with the age limits before you would get a group at the present rate of induction that is needed for the armed services, some of the men would be 90 years of age before they would have a chance to serve their country.

Is that right? That is before your

committee, is it not?

Mr. VINSON. I am sorry to say I could not follow the gentleman on that. But go ahead and make your statement.

Mr. MARSHALL. Mr. Chairman, may I ask this? Are there not ample people in the age limits below 26 to fill all of the requirements this country is going to have?

Mr. VINSON. What the gentleman is driving at is to have this burden fall exclusively almost on the shoulders of the younger group each year as they come in, and let out those in the over 26-year group. Now it is not fair. These other people owe an obligation as well as the 18-year-old boys.

Mr. MARSHALL. I think my amend-

ment is fair.

Mr. VINSON. I hope this amendment is voted down. I think the committee understands the purport of it.

Cheerful Information for Small Business

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I am inserting in the RECORD the following release issued by the National Federation of Independent Business, Inc., under date of February 6, 1955:

The announcement of Herbert Brownell, Jr., Attorney General, that the Department of Justice has filed notice of appeal to the United States Supreme Court to overrule the decision of the lower court in dismissing Government charges of monopolistic and restraint-of-trade practices against Du Pont, General Motors, U. S. Rubber empire was halled by George J. Burger, vice president, National Federation of Independent Business, as a forward step by the Antitrust Divi-sion of the Department of Justice to put "real teeth" in the enforcement of the anti-

He continued that the Federation has made continued demands since the decision was made by the lower court that the Department of Justice appeal the decision-that if the lower court action was allowed to stand, with no further action taken by the Government, all business, both small and large, would believe that the "lip service" action that has prevailed for nearly 40 years in the enforcement of antitrust laws was still continuing.

Burger concluded that the present head of the Antitrust Division. Judge Stanley Barnes, due to his vigorous action in the enforcement of the antitrust laws, has convinced small business that at last they see real relief for them from those in industry who looked upon the antitrust laws as "dead-letter laws."

The Dixon-Yates Contract

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FRANK T. BOW

OF OHIO

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. BOW. Mr. Speaker, there have been many misrepresentations of the facts in the much-discussed Dixon-Yates contract during the past few months. This discussion and the resultant confusion brought by the charges and halftruths have left many people uncertain about what the true facts in the case really are. There is sufficient confusion that I feel some effort must be made to bring the real facts on the controversy to the attention of my colleagues and the people of this Nation. I would like therefore to explain and discuss this important project at this time. The following questions and answers bring out many of the issues that have been clouded by the recurrent misrepresentations. Some of the facts I have obtained for this purpose, Mr. Speaker, are from an informational bulletin published January 25, 1955, by the News and Information and Natural Resources Departments of the United States Chamber of Com-

1. WHAT IS THE DIXON-YATES CONTRACT?

The Dixon-Yates contract is an agreement between the Atomic Energy Commission and the Mississippi Valley Generating Co. under which the company will provide 600,000 kilowatts of electric power needed by the Commission. The Mississippi Valley Generating Co. was formed specifically for this purpose by Middle South Utilities, Inc., whose president is Edgar H. Dixon, and the Southern Co., whose board chairman is Eugene A. Vates.

The contract stipulates that 500,000 kilowatts to be provided by the newly formed utility will replace power being supplied by the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) to the Commission's atomic-energy plant at Paducah, Ky., while the remaining 100,000 kilowatts will represent additional power for the Commission's plant at Oak Ridge, Tenn. The 500,000 kilowatts of TVA power thus released will become available to regular TVA consumers in the Memphis area where there is a growing shortage of electric power.

The Mississippi Valley Co. proposes to build a generating plant at West Memphis, Ark., at a total cost of \$107.250,000, all of it to be provided by private sources. For technical reasons, the power generated by the company will be delivered to TVA at Memphis, which in turn will deliver an equal amount of power to the Atomic Energy Commission's plants.

2. IS THERE AND PRECEDENT FOR THE DIXON-YATES CONTRACT?

Yes. The Atomic Energy Commission signed similar contracts with other private companies to supply power for AEC facilities at Paducah, Ky., and Portsmouth, Ohio. Neither of these projects caused any controversy.

3. WHY HAS THE DIXON-YATES CONTRACT STIERED UP SO MUCH CONTROVERSY?

Chiefly because some persons see the contract with private firms as an attack on the Tennessee Valley Authority, a Government agency, whose officials wanted to supply the power needed by the Atomic Energy Commission. Opponents of the contract argue that it is a first step toward permitting pri-

vate power firms to take over TVA's power operations.

However, President Elsenhower has said that nobody in his administration has any intention of destroying or damaging TVA or of diminishing its effectiveness in any way. He has also said there is nothing in the Dixon-Yates contract to raise by a single cent the price TVA power customers must

The contract does not diminish TVA's production of power. It simply makes unnecessary, for the time being, an increase in TVA's facilities at taxpayers' expense. Actually, the contract provides that the 600,000 kilowatts to be produced by the Mississippi Valley Generating Co. will be distributed by TVA. Thus a huge additional block of power becomes available to TVA.

4. WHY DID THE GOVERNMENT SELECT A PRIVATE FIRM TO PRODUCE THE ELECTRIC POWER NEEDED BY THE ATOMIC ENERGY COMMISSION'S PLANTS?

The only alternative to the Dixon-Yates plan was construction of a steam generating plant by TVA at Fulton, Tenn., costing taxpayers \$100 million. Even before the Dixon-Yates issue arose, Congress three times had rejected a proposal by TVA to build the Fulton plant. There seemed to be a strong belief on Capitol Hill that in building steam plants to generate power, TVA was going beyond its professed original purpose of improving navigation in the Tennessee River and preventing floods. Production of electric power was to have been only incidental to these objectives.

The Dixon-Yates plan revived the question of how far TVA should be permitted to go in producing power which competed directly with private enterprise. It also raised an even more vital question: Why should residents of the Tennessee Valley area enjoy privileges not shared by citizens in other parts of the country?

President Eisenhower summed up this question last November in a letter on the Dixon-Yates contract to Representative W. STERLING COLE, then chairman of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy. The President said:

"It seems to me that all arguments for the construction by the Federal Government of the additional steam plants ignore this one and very important truth: If the Federal Government assumes responsibility in perpetuity for providing the TVA with all the power it can accept, generated by any means whatsoever, it has a similar responsibility with respect to every other area and region and corner of the United States of America. * *

"The directive to the AEC to make arrangements for the purchase of private power—either directly or by finding a new private source to replace available TVA power—was designed to allow time for a thorough examination of this whole vast field, without hurting the citizens of the valley."

5. DOES THE DIXON-VATES CONTRACT GUARANTEE A PROFIT TO THE POWER COMPANIES?

No. The contract permits a theoretical profit of 9 percent on the \$5,500,000 which Middle South Utilities and the Southern Co. will raise by selling stock in the Mississippi Valley Generating Co. (Average return on equity capital is close to 10 percent for all United States private utilities.) In the heat of the Dixon-Yates controversy this was widely mistaken for a guaranty of 9-percent profit on the entire investment. If costs go too high, it is entirely possible for the companies to take a loss.

If costs are kept within the original estimate of \$107,250,000 total investment in the Mississippi Co. (all but the \$5,500,000 to be supplied by banks), the rate of return on the \$107,250,000 will be from 3.75 to 4 percent. This compares with the approximately 6 percent which regulated electric companies normally are allowed to earn. In-

terest charges on the borrowed capital, as well as stockholders' dividends, must be paid out of this return.

6. WHAT ADVANTAGES TO THE GOVERNMENT DOES THE DIXON-YATES CONTRACT PROVIDE?

The principal advantage is an immediate saving of \$100 million, which taxpayers would have to provide were the powerplant to be built by TVA. In addition, Mississippi Valley Generating Co., which will operate the plant, will pay Federal, State, and local taxes. TVA pays no Federal income tax, and only token State and local taxes on its power operations. Thus Federal, State, and local governments will benefit along with Federal taxpayers.

The Atomic Energy Commission has estimated that the rates it will pay for power under Dixon-Yates contract will be lower than those provided in any present AEC power contract, when allowance is made for taxes the company will pay.

Finally, AEC can take over the plant at any time within 3 years after the contract becomes effective, and can cancel the contract during the construction period, or on 3 years' notice after the plant is completed. The company, however, cannot cancel. The contract is essentially a fixed-cost, not a cost-plus, agreement. Before it was signed (in November 1954) the contract was examined and reexamined by many Government agencies, including the AEC, the Bureau of the Budget, the General Accounting Office, the Federal Power Commission, and the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy.

7. WHAT IS THE BASIC ISSUE INVOLVED IN THE DIXON-YATES CONTROVERSY?

The basic issue is public against private power. It is a political issue. At the same time, there are many sincere people on both sides of the fence. Public power advocates believe that electric power created by Federal dams should be sold to private consumers by the Government. They argue that water, unlike man-made products, is a natural resource belonging to all the people, and its benefits, including electric power, should be distributed by the National Government. They go further and argue that hydroelectric power (water power) should be supplemented by power created by steam generators. In other words, they want the Government to go into the power business in competition with private firms. They say that consumers benefit because Federal power is cheaper than private power.

Private power advocates say that Federal power is cheaper only because Government powerplants pay no Federal taxes, and not all of them make even token payments in lieu of State and local taxes. TVA, unlike other Government power agencies, can borrow capital from the Treasury without interest. Thus, the taxpayers actually pay the difference in cost between public and private power. Private power firms, on the other hand, not only pay taxes but also provide their own capital without recourse to public funds.

Before the recent tremendous growth of the private power industry, public power advocates also argued that Government should go into the power business because private firms were unable to provide facilities for such huge projects as the Tennessee Valley Authority. This argument is heard less often today. The administration, in advancing its policy of partnership in development of natural resources, states frankly that "Government can't do it all."

8. WHAT IS THE ADMINISTRATION'S PARTNERSHIP POLICY?

The policy holds that our natural resources can be most wisely developed by emphasizing Federal cooperation with State, local, and private interests.

Douglas McKay, Secretary of the Interior, says this policy fully recognizes Federal re-

sponsibility for resource development. At the same time, Secretary McKay states that the task of resource development is too vast to be carried out by the Federal Government alone. Those who contend otherwise, he asserts, are either misinformed "or attempt-

ing to mislead the public."

As an example of the partnership policy, Secretary McKay recently cited the plans for development of the Columbia River Basin. Here States, local government agencies, and private companies are ready to spend an estimated \$2 billion for development and control of water resources.

With respect to development of electric power, the partnership policy simply means that the Federal Government does not assume that it has exclusive rights or responsibility for the construction of dams or the generation, transmission, and sale of electric energy in any area, basin, or region.

President Eisenhower has said: avoid extremes. We shall neither withdraw from the power field nor federalize all electric generators in the United States. * Where local enterprise can shoulder the burden, it will be encouraged. * * * But where local action cannot or should not fully meet the need, we shall have Federal action."

9. DOES THE LIXON-YATES CONTRACT FIT INTO PARTNERSHIP POLICY

The offer of private utilities to build Yes. a powerplant to meet Government needs was in direct response to President Eisenhower's challenge to local groups, public and private, to share in large governmental projects. With the Atomic Energy Commission re-

quiring more and more electric power from TVA, power supply in the Memphis area was becoming critically short. Tennessee Valley Authority was seeking \$100 million to build a steam plant to provide the power needed by AEC. Since the private utilities were able to satisfy AEC that they could provide the needed power, no reason was seen for allowing a Government agency to build the plant at taxpayers' expense.

Suspension of Import Duties on Scrap Metal

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON, JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill to suspend the import duties on all metal scrap in order to insure an adequate supply of essential raw materials for Connecticut industries and to reduce the amount of strategic metals now going to Russia, China, and other nations in the Soviet

My bill continuing the suspension of import duties on metal scrap is only one step in the direction of protecting our industrial economy, but it is a vital step. In the 80th Congress, I was the original sponsor of legislation to take the duties off copper imports badly needed by Connecticut's great copper and brass industries. I am gratified that each succeeding Congress has voted the continued suspension of taxes on imported copper. I need hardly add that I will continue the fight to get essentials for Connecticut's industries. There is much to be done yet.

In connection with the present bill I wish to explain that scrap metal is an essential raw material, the processing of which provides work for Connecticut labor. It should be permitted to enter the United States free of duty or import tax as an essential raw material.

The tonnage of scrap metal imported is very small when compared with United States production and consumption of such metals, but this small tonnage is very important to the welfare of the waste materials industry.

Imports of lead scrap and zinc scrap are principally from Canada and other countries in the Western Hemisphere which are good customers for articles produced in Connecticut. Every ton of scrap metal imported reduces the drain on our natural resources, and insures a stable market for domestic scrap and in preventing temporary shortages of metal scrap with the accompanying excessive variations in price due to the sudden jump in the London market.

I, therefore, recommend to Congress that legislation be enacted to provide for the suspension of import duties and import taxes on all metal scrap for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1956. I feel confident that Congress will see the need for such legislation in view of the critical world situation today.

Importations of Frozen Tuna From Japan

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BOB WILSON

OF CALIFORNIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

WILSON of California. Mr. Speaker, the tuna industry of California has been hard hit by increasing importations of frozen tuna from Japan. There is currently no tariff on tuna in frozen form, and the resultant flood of imports has had a serious effect on our domestic producers of this popular American food-stuff. Our long-range fishing fleet is rapidly declining in numbers, and unless some relief is forthcoming, we may well see American consumers entirely dependent on foreign producers of tuna.

A clear-thinking spokesman of the fishing fleet, Mr. Harold Cary, general manager of the American Tunaboat Association of San Diego, in my district, recently summarized the position of the industry in regard to current trade negotiations

I include his remarks in the RECORD. JAPANESE-UNITED STATES TRADE AGREEMENT HEARINGS

The United States Government is preparing to negotiate a trade agreement with Japan. In that agreement the United States is preparing concessions to Japan on a large number of products, on which a list was published. The published list includes frozen tuna, tuna canned in oil, and tuna canned in brine. The concessions granted by the United States usually take the form of a reduction in the tariff or duty rate charged by the United States on imports into the United States.

Before actual negotiations begin with Japan the United States Government allows interested persons or groups to appear before a committee known as the Committee for Reciprocity Information and before the United States Tariff Commission to state why they believe a concession should or should be granted to Japan.

Once negotiations with Japan are under-taken the United States Government, through the executive branch, would have the authority to cut the duty on tuna canned in oil from 45 percent to 221/2 percent, and to cut the duty on tuna canned in brine from 12½ percent to 6½ percent. A different situation presents itself in regard to frozen tuna. There is presently no duty on frozen tuna. Therefore a question arises as to what concessions the United States could grant to Japan on this item. The negotiators could act to bind the present duty rate through negotiation of a trade agreement with Japan. This means, in its simplest practical terms, that the United States Government would be agreeing with Japan that there would be no duty rate or quota imposed on the product, frozen tuna, in the future.

An action to bind the duty rate at zero on frozen tuna would be, in essence, a statement to the world at large and to the Japanese tuna industry in particular, that the tuna-producing industry of the United States (the boat owners and fishermen) is completely dispensable.

The association appeared before both the committee and the Commission on December 20, taking the position that the United States Government should take no action to bind the present zero duty rate. In addi-tion, it was pointed out that no change should be made in the canned-tuna duty

THE BASIS OF THE ASSOCIATION'S POSITION

It is a fundamental of United States trade policy that foreign trade be encouraged, but not at the risk of injury to domestic industry, labor, or agriculture. The Trade Agreements Act itself lists certain ways by which injury may be measured. If there is a decline in the domestic production, prices, wages, or profits of an industry, there is evidence of injury. If there is an increase in actual imports or an increase in relative imports, there is evidence of injury. If there is a decline in the proportion of the domestic market supplied by the domestic producer. there is evidence of injury.

A part of the association's presentation was to use these means of measurement to show what has happened to the United States producer. The following figures are taken from the statement submitted to the committee and to the Commission:

1. Domestic production: The following figures illustrate the trend of production by the total domestic fleet, including the baitboats, purse seiners, and albacore boats:

	Pounds
1948	331, 624, 000
1949	335, 680, 000
1950	392, 273, 000
1951	319, 748, 000
1952	324, 914, 000
1953	1318, 000, 000
1954	1 322, 000, 000

1 Estimated.

From the foregoing it will be seen that there has been a decline in domestic production.

2. Prices: There has been a decline in the price structure for raw fish. A comparison made between 1948 and the end of 1954 shows an overall decline of 14.4 percent in the prices paid for yellowfin and skipjack tuna.

During this same period the costs of boat operation have risen. There is no item of expense in the conduct of the fishing business which has lessened during this period. The expenses of operation for a trip, which include provisions, fuel, and foreign licenses, in addition to fishing gear, have all increased. In addition, the boat owners' costs for the repair and maintenance of their vessels, the insurance on the vessels, and the replacement of major components have all likewise increased.

3. Profits: There has been a decline in profits from boat operations resulting from declines in price and declines in volume of production. A measurement may be made of this by placing the profits for 1948 on the basis of an index of 100 and measuring subsequent years on the basis of data received to date, as follows:

1948	100.00
1949	86. 79
1950	87. 67
1951	38.39
1952	-00.6
1953	-16.00

4. Wages and employment: There has been a decline in wages paid to fishermen on a share basis and in employment of fishermen. A survey of wages has been made and placed on an index basis, as follows:

1948	100.0
1949	93.3
1950	92.8
1951	71.4
1952	170.0
1953	170.0
1954	180.0

¹ An estimate.

The loss of a number of vessels from the southern California fleet, particularly in the bait-boat fleet, but also affecting the purse-seine fleet, has cost many hundreds of jobs. It is estimated that the decline in employment in the bait-boat fleet alone approximates 500 persons in the past 3 years.

5. Increase in actual imports: Frozen-tuna figures show amazing increases in imports into the United States. The following figures are given on the basis of pounds of round weight:

1948	9, 143, 000
1949	20, 606, 000
1950	56, 712, 000
1951	62, 085, 000
1952	69, 003, 000
1953	95, 038, 000
1954	1110, 759, 000

¹ Jan. 1 to Oct. 31 only.

From the foregoing it can be seen that the imports have increased over 12 times in a period of 6 years, even though that rate of increase is measured on the basis that the last year is given only for a 10-month period.

The subject of the trade-agreement hearings was whether or not a trade agreement should be negotiated with Japan. Japan's participation in sales of frozen tuna to the United States is, of course, of major interest. The following are the figures from Japan, the principal supplier:

	Pounds	Percent of total
1048	2, 392, 000 2, 839, 000 25, 369, 000 35, 727, 000 50, 985, 000 77, 112, 000	20. 2 13. 8 44. 7 56. 7 73. 9 81. 1

¹ Jan. 1-Oct. 31 only.

From the foregoing analysis the pattern of import supply has each year tended to become more fixed in Japan, principal supplying country, with the total percentage of frozen imports increasing steadily from 13.8 percent in 1949 to 81.2 percent in 1954 for the first 10 months.

There have also been significant changes in the types of tuna imported from Japan.

Prior to 1954 the overwhelming majority of this tuna was albacore. In 1954 for the first 10 months albacore represented 51,054,000 pounds, or 56.8 percent, while yellowfin and skipjack totaled 38,847,000, or 43.2 percent.

While the brief of the association was directed chiefly to the item, fresh and frozen tuna, the following figures on tuna canned in oil and in brine are of importance and illustrate another great increase:

P	ounds of
proce	ssed weight
1948	8, 302, 000
1949	4, 584, 000
1950	36, 790, 000
1951	12,970,000
1952	23, 321, 000
1953	34, 593, 000
1954 1	24, 438, 000

Jan. 1-Sept. 30 only.

Japan has become the leading supplier of canned tuna, increasing her percentage of the imports from 7.8 percent in 1948 to 93.6 percent in 1953.

6. Relative imports:

One way of measuring the rate of imports is to take the amount imported and compare it, percentagewise, with the amount produced by the domestic producers. The following percentage tabulation shows the percent which imports bear to the total amount produced by domestic producers:

P	ercent
1948	2.76
1949	6.14
1950	14.46
1951	19.42
1952	21.24
1953	29.83
1954 1	39.10

¹ Jan. 1-Oct. 31 only.

Therefore, there has been a sharp increase in the amount of imports relative to domestic production.

Proportion of the domestic market supplied by the domestic producer:

There has been a decrease in the proportion of the domestic market supplied by the domestic producer. Taking into account production of canned tuna from imported frozen fish and considering that as foreign production, and adding to that the importation of tuna and tuna-like fish already processed and canned, this is the condition with respect to the percentage of the market filled by domestically produced fish:

Domestic producers' percentage of the market

1948	91.4
1949	85.3
1950	67.4
1951	70.9
1952	66.0
1953	59.9
1954 1	55.9

² Jan. 1-Sept. 30 only.

Meanwhile, the percentage of the total United States market represented by importations from Japan of tuna in all forms has increased as follows:

	CICCIER
1948	1.3
1949	2.6
1950	20.3
1951	15.5
1952	23.2
1953	30.9
1954 1	32.4

Jan. 1-Sept. 30 only.

8. Other considerations:

The change in the number of producing units (in the case of the fishing industry the increase or decrease in the size of the ficet) is also an important measurement of the trends of a business. If a fleet is expanding it illustrates that venture capital is

available and people are willing to make the venture. If the fleet is declining it appears that there is an excess of caution in the investment of funds. The following figures exhibit the decline in size of the domestic bait-boat fleet:

	Vessels	Capacity
Dec. 31, 1951	210 191 180 168	Tons 44, 300 42, 470 40, 535 37, 915

Since the end of 1951 the fleet has declined to the extent of 42 vessels through casualties and transfers. Of the 32 vessels lost through various types of casualties during this period only 2 have been replaced, and these have only very recently joined the fleet. Twelve vessels have transferred their operations to other areas.

The purse seine fleet in the meantime has shown a decline, as evidenced by the fact that, in 1948, 102 vessels took out Mexican fishing licenses, while, in 1954, only 67 ves-

sels used such licenses.

The foregoing figures are significant and indicative of a trend. They become far more significant when they are compared with what has happened in the Japanese fleet of tuna-skipjack vessels similar in size (from 50 tons carrying capacity and upward). For the 30 months, from January 1, 1952, to June 30, 1954, the following increases have taken place:

	Japanese vessels	Gross ton- nage
Dec. 31, 1951	272 202 332 388	40, 714 47, 623 63, 122 78, 684

The statement of the association before the committee and the Commission contained a considerable amount of additional information, plus a number of reasons why the United States Government should not take action to bind the present duty-free status of fresh and frozen tuna.

Income Tax Deduction for College Tuition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, today I introduced a bill in Congress to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 to provide, in the case of individual taxpayers, a deduction equal to 30 percent of amounts paid as tuition for college or university students.

The purpose of my bill is to afford a higher educational opportunity to many young men and women who might otherwise be denied the benefit of a college education that opens the door to successful careers in all walks of life. This is accomplished by easing the tax burden on the parent or benefactor who pays the tuition fees for college students. The taxpayer receives a 30-percent deduction of amounts paid for tuitions. Not only

does this provide tax relief for low-income families struggling to send their children to college but offers an incentive to higher-income benefactors to cut their income tax by sending talented and deserving young persons to college.

From the national standpoint, the proposed legislation I am now offering will materially assist in providing a future supply of trained leadership and technical skill. In his budget message, President Eisenhower stressed the need for highly qualified scientists. Furthermore, today there is a pressing need for engineers and technologists in the rapidly expanding field of new industries and commerce. There is always the need to fill the vacancies in the older professions in this great Nation of free enterprise.

According to a recent survey conducted by the Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training, only about 51 percent of the highest talented high-school graduates are currently enrolling in college. My tax relief proposal for education is especially designed to aid that 49 percent denied the privilege of educational advancement. The cornerstone of our Republic is our system of free enterprise, and there is no higher aspiration of free enterprise than pursuit of education.

Friendship Drive

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, I was pleased to read in the Wall Street Journal of February 4 an article by Mr. William Henry Chamberlin entitled "Friendship Drive," and with permission to extend my remarks in the Record, I include this article. I hope the readers of the Congressional Record will peruse this carefuly, for it contains a viewpoint many of us seem to have forgotten.

FRIENDSHIP DRIVE—SOVIET OFFICIALS TRY TO REGAIN SOME OF THE CONFIDENCE THE UNITED STATES UNCRITICALLY GAVE THEM DURING THE WAR

(By William Henry Chamberlin)

During the war it was almost worth an American's reputation as a loyal citizen to voice distaste for Communist methods of rule in Russia or to express distrust as to the use which the Soviet Government would make of the immense power which it was clearly building up.

Today, despite such possibly ominous signs as a new emphasis on heavy industry for arms production, the Soviets are trying to recreate some of that wartime confidence. They do not now, it is true, have the same amount of gratuitous help in this country they had then, but they are trying.

In those not-so-long-ago days, the most influential and publicized press and radio commentators went out of their way to read sermons on how the Soviet Union had been wronged and misunderstood and how hope for a brave new world after the war was linked to trust in Stalin's benevolent intentions toward the whole human race. It was not only the publications of red and pink tint that enjoyed a field day. Pro-Soviet

propaganda of the most inaccurate and undiscriminating kind found it way into normally conservative publications.

In this connection, the American Committee for Cultural Freedom has recently published an interesting little pamphlet by Paul Willen, entitled "Who Collaborated With Russia?" This work is not complete and one may take exception to some of its conclusions. The author seems inclined to let off the Roosevelt administration too easily and to accept, in retrospect, this phenomenon of collaboration somewhat too fatalistically.

DOUBTS NOT ENCOURAGED

Still, there is enough authentic data in the pamphlet to make some faces in very respectable editorial rooms distinctly red. That was a time when State Department officials who refused to swim with the tide and retained their doubts about the grand design of Soviet foreign policy found it advisable, for the sake of their careers, to be very cautious about being seen in public with persons of known anti-Communist views.

The theory of trusting Stalin and hoping for the best became the leitmotiv of American foreign policy and led to Teheran, to Yalta, to Potsdam—and ultimately to a cold war that is being fought under far less favorable conditions than would have prevalled if healthy distrust of Soviet ultimate intentions had been cherished even when American-Soviet military collaboration was considered a practical necessity by both countries.

The current effort to recreate this atmosphere of trusting confidence began after the death of Stalin. Soviet diplomats are coming out of their isolated towers of grim seclusion, inviting conversations with non-Communist diplomats and journalists and saying, in effect: "We really want to be friends. Why do you distrust us?"

saying, in elect. We really want to be friends. Why do you distrust us?"

Since human memory is short, it may be worthwhile to recall briefly a few valid reasons for distrust of what seems to be a carefully rehearsed and stage-managed Soviet friendship and confidence offensive.

First, there is the theory on which the Soviet state was set up. This was implacable hostility between the Soviet Union and the non-Communist world. As Lenin put it: "It is inconceivable that the Soviet Republic should continue to exist for a long time side by side with imperialist states. Uultimately one or the other must conquer. Meanwhile a number of terrible clashes between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states are inevitable."

It may be suggested that all revolutions start out with frothy language and tend to settle down with the passing of time. If it were only a case of a theoretical belief of Communists that their system would outlast ours, as a result of immutable laws of history, we could take this in our stride and leave the verdict to the future.

Unfortunately, the Soviet Communists, from the very beginning, felt a strong urge to give history a helping hand. So they built up throughout the world an enormous fifth column, composed of local Communist parties which are completely subservient to Moscow and faithfully follow every zig and zag of the tortuous Soviet foreign policy.

THE DIFFICULT NEIGHBOR

Partly by this device, practiced on a scale without parallel in history, partly by outright force, partly by capitalizing on the social and economic chaos which World War II brought to many parts of the world, Soviet communism in less than 40 years has become an enormous imperial power, controlling the destinies of one-third of the population of the world.

Such an empire would have been a formidable neighbor in the best of circumstances. With its rulers committed to militarization at home and expansion abroad this empire becomes a very difficult neighbor. It is, moreover, a regime that has always practiced Lenin's maxim: "It is necessary to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealment of truth."

One of the silliest of the wartime legends represented Stalin as a basically likable character, a little rough and blunt perhaps, but a man whose word could always be relied on. The truth is that Stalin was one of the most devious and cunning of politicians, with a record for breaking treaties and promises that Hitler perhaps equalled, but did not surpass. Stalin built his empire by fraud as much as by force, concluding treaties of friendship and nonaggression with neighboring states which he took over at the first convenient opportunity.

There are two other characteristics of the Soviet regime which are scarcely compatible with an attitude of cordial confidence on the part of the outside world. The Soviet government recognizes no control on its actions except that of equal or superior force. There is no recorded case when it has accepted arbitration as a means of settling a dispute with some other state.

HOODWINKING THE PEOPLE

And the Soviet population is so shut off from normal contacts with the outside world—despite recent surface relaxations, and newspapers are not freely sold, contacts between Russians and foreigners are few and restricted—that it can be hood-winked into regarding an act of aggression as an act of self-defense.

There is not much danger the American people will respond to the present Soviet offensive by succumbing to another wave of uncritical adulation, though unhappily the same cannot be said of all non-Communist countries. But the friendship offensive is at least a reminder that until and unless the basic characteristics of Soviet rule are changed, a wary skepticism about Soviet words unsupported by Soviet deeds will continue to be a sign of elementary common sense.

Michigan State College Founders' Day

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. VICTOR A. KNOX

OF MICHIGAN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. KNOX. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include an editorial from the Menominee Herald-Leader pertaining to the centennial awards which Michigan State College will present at its Founders' Day program on February 12. Among the 27 to receive these rewards are two outstanding citizens of the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, and who are very deserving of the honors which will be bestowed upon them.

Michigan State College will honor 27 persons with centennial awards at its Founders' Day program February 12. Among them are two men from the Upper Peninsula, George A. Osborn, publisher of the Sault Ste. Marie Evening News, and George E. Bishop, secretary-manager of the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau. Both men have served the Upper Peninsula and Michigan well and are deserving of the honors which Michigan State, marking its hundredth year, will confer on them.

Osborn has devoted himself for years to helping peninsula progress. He has served on the board of Houghton Tech, on the Mackinac Straits Bridge Authority, on the International Bridge Authority, on countless commissions and committees in his profession of journalism and in civic affairs. He is very apt to be found present wherever there is a gathering to plan a major Upper Peninsula promotion. An indefatigable traveler and planner, he has made his Soo News a reflection of its publisher's personality—clean, helpful, and orderly.

George Bishop, the executive officer of the Upper Peninsula Development Bureau for more than 30 years, has rallied and united Upper Peninsula promotional forces again and again. He would deserve honor for the resolution and persistence which he has brought to his work if it had not been accomplished as much as it has, and it has done much. He has been a valuable educa-tional force in the peninsula, teaching patiently (he used to be a school teacher) cooperation is the way to achievement, uniting the peninsula in projects for its common good, preaching a love of this northern land, its iron ranges and great forests, its lake deeps and rushing streams, and especially of its people.

Had the Upper Peninsula itself nominated two eminent citizens for citation by Michigan State College at its centennial celebration it could not have done better than the college itself has done in the selection of George Osborn and George Bishop.

Health Reinsurance

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD H. POFF

OF VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. POFF. Mr. Speaker, pursuant to permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I quote herewith an editorial which appeared in the February 1, 1955, issue of the Daily Advance, a newspaper published daily in the city of Lynchburg, Va.:

WELFARE SHOT IN THE ARM

The President's dissertation to the Congress on reinsurance of private health in-surance plans is an interesting message. It is rather glowing in its concern for the health of the people and in specifying how vital that is to the Nation. But it is a shot in the arm for all the welfare state programs and proposals of the New Deal and Fair Deal to which the Republicans were so opposed, and to which conservative Democrats who really elected Mr. Eisenhower, were opposed.

The bureaucracy necessary to carry out such a program as the one he now has presented to the Congress means more people in Government to exercise paternalistic su-pervision of those not in Government. It is another blow against individualism, the self-sufficiency of the individual which is at the same time his evidence of growth

into the best kind of citizen.

The health program is apparently, to pin it down, a substitution for socialized medicine. It is another form of paying medical costs, with the Government in a considerable degree guaranteeing those costs, so that in extremely numerous cases the Government will be paying part or even all costs.

This is so far from what all of us have

been taught about strength through doing it yourself, exercising your muscles if you want to be strong-to put it in its simplest form-that it is hard to swallow.

That it will have considerable support is certain. And this will come from both parties. And it will be widespread in the land and will come from unexpected sources. States burdened with welfare costs, care of the mentally and physically ill, with all the increasing difficulty in meeting these costs, will see in this program Federal funds to ease the State or locality burden. And this is the result of the tax system, where Federal taxes take so large a part that State and locality cannot find revenue to do what they would prefer to do instead of channeleverything through Washington.

The cost is set casually at \$100 million—as a beginning. But every time a program is instituted which does this it grows, eventually is added to the debt, from the beginning increases the centralization of government, of power, of control, and diminishes the strength of every political subdivision in its role and initiative. And the initiative and individual dignity and strength of the citizen.

This is done by men who are not social, not political philosophers but politicians. Sole blame and burden of it lies not on the President but on advisers and the forces influencing these advisers. For it seems now that it does not matter who the President or which the party—the welfare state grows. And there still are many Americans who prefer, and who will insist, that it is better for man to earn his way, better to contrive his own systems outside of government for tak-ing care of human welfare except in cases of unavoidable indigency.

There is at each level of government a legitimate place for concern with human welfare, but when it takes the form of subsidy for which all pay, and in which all are ultimately also to be benefactors, it is moving toward a situation about which no man can be informed, for it is largely a process of taking out of one pocket, passing it through government hands, returning less to the other pocket after costs of government processing, until the time comes when both

pockets will be empty.

One man's utopia can be another man's poison. In theory, that is, for the utopia remains, ultimately, a dream.

What Is Just Parity Percentage?

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. W. R. POAGE

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. POAGE. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I include the following editorial from the February 1955 issue of the Progressive Farmer:

WHAT IS JUST PARITY PERCENTAGE?

More and more a radically new attitude toward this whole problem of parity seems absolutely necessary if farmers are ever to get out of the terrible financial squeeze in which they are now caught. Somehow or other our city people and the city press (aided, alas, by some in our own Depart-ment of Agriculture and some agricultural leaders) have spread abroad the notion that full 100-percent parity prices would mean inexcusable prosperity for farmers—a sort of "all this and heaven, too" situation where farmers would be carried to the skies on flowery beds of ease. This is not only not true, but it is the absolute reverse of truth as proved by these demonstrated statistical

facts which the Progressive Farmer has more than once mentioned:

1. In 1949 farm prices stood at 99 percent of parity, and yet the average net income per farm person was only one-half that of the average nonfarm person.

2. In 1951 farm prices were 107 percent of parity, and yet the average net income of farm workers and industrial workers compared as follows: For farm workers, \$1,718;

for industrial workers, \$3,416.

Plainly, therefore, 100-percent parity will not give farmers real prosperity, but only a fairly decent income. They should never be content with anything less than 100 percent. On products for which any variable price-support formula is set up it should be at 85 to 95 percent of parity-not 75 to And where farmers are willing to provide their own production control and reduce their acreages or other production factors In order to make production fit expected demand, then we believe price supports should be guaranteed at 95 percent of parity instead of the 90 percent which has proved unequal to the task of giving farmers the decent income to which their efficiency entitles them. To restore 90-percent price supports may be all that is expedient as to this Congress, but who can say farmers do not honestly earn the definitely larger percentages just suggested?

Devastating Effect of Foreign Competition

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. DANIEL A. REED

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, February 7, 1955

Mr. REED of New York. Mr. Speaker, we have furnished foreign nations with billions of our taxpayers' money. furnished them with the blood of our fine American boys, and now we are asked to surrender our payrolls-in other words, the jobs of our American workers. to further benefit foreign countries. Is there to be no stop to this raid on the economy of the United States? I can answer that question by saying that with such legislation as H. R. 1, the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act, there will be no end to it.

The pending Japanese Treaty is another example where it is proposed to open our market to their low labor products, and drive many of our industries into bankruptcy.

Under leave to extend, I am including an article which appeared in the Olean (N. Y.) Times-Herald on February 7, 1955:

BICYCLE-MAKING BUSINESS IN NEW YORK IS MENACED

In an editorial one evening last week, this newspaper, in speaking of the grave situation that had arisen concerning the migration of industry from New York State, men-tioned the removal of a big carpet-manufacturing concern from Amsterdam, N. Y., to a location in another State in which it could operate more profitably.

This, as it happens, was one of Amsterdam's largest industries—maybe its largest and the payroll of 1,700 workers will be lost to the community.

And what will that mean in terms of cold dollars and cents?

Well, let us figure the average weekly wage conservatively at \$40. It was probably considerably higher.

At \$40, the weekly payroll would be \$68,000; and this would mean an annual payroll of \$3,536,000.

All of us can understand just what the loss of such an industry and payroll will mean to Amsterdam.

This concern, however, found it desirable to move elsewhere purely for domestic rea-

What many of us may not have realized is that some of the State's industries are falling by the wayside because of cheaper foreign importations.

Take the bicycle industry, for instance. In Little Falls is the plant of the H. P.

Snyder Manufacturing Co.

The Snyder people make bicycles. They make good bicycles. But there are foreign bicycle makers who also make good bicycles; and because they can turn them out cheaper, they can be imported into this country and undersell the Snyder concern and other American bicycle manufacturers.

British bicycles, for instance, can be placed on the docks here at \$21, even after paying the duty, when it costs \$29 to make the same product in Little Falls.

Well, what's the solution? Increase the

duty on foreign-made bicycles?

That is the conviction of Assemblyman Leo A. Lawrence, of Herkimer, who has introduced a resolution in the legislature in which both the assembly and senate are urged to memorialize Congress to provide tariff pro-

The comment of the assemblyman may be

noted:

"We've seen Amsterdam lose a big industry," he observes, "and we don't want the same thing to happen in Little Falls."

Nor does anyone else. It's time to get right down to brass tacks, isn't it?

A Letter From a Coal Miner's Wife

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. AUGUSTINE B. KELLEY

OF PENNSYLVANIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. KELLEY of Pennsylvania. Mr. Speaker, under permission to extend my remarks in the RECORD, I wish to insert a letter from one of my constituents a coal miner's wife-whose name, of necessity, I have omitted-which speaks for itself in bringing to the fore the seriousness of the emergency in which our coal industry finds itself today:

DEAR CONGRESSMAN KELLEY: Oh, I am so puzzled and downhearted over the situation that I don't even know how to write this letter. But I will try my best and do hope you try your best to understand.

It is about the coal mines. Do you really understand that this situation is getting worse by the days? More layoffs are taking place right now. It is pitiful to see some of the miners' families. I have a neighbor that is out of work almost a year and a half. A family of five. Really pitiful. I tried my best to help them out, especially with clothing. I can't anymore. Who will help me ing. I can't anymore. Who will help me and my children? Most men from Mount Pleasant work at Leisenring 3, Collier, and Bridgeport. More layoffs at Leis; three, and more to come next week. Why? they are bringing new machines in and the men are told, "We don't need you." Those poor men stand their looking at their two

hands. Yes, their hands can do the work; they are willing and able to work. But they would rather see the man out of work and let the machine do it. Is it fair for children to go hungry because of a new machine?

Answer this for me please. How can one manage on a check at \$30 a week? A family of five. My family. Our eats, electricity, gas, water, coal, insurance, our clothes, how? possible. And a house payment. Yes, we are struggling to build a home for the children. We now live in our foundation. Well the old saying, "A coal miner is just a rat under the ground, so a miner's family should live down in the ground also."

I had a neighbor visiting me Monday evening. Her husband, a millworker. She hurt "Oh, we don't need coal my feelings terribly. any more. Everything is gas and oil nowadays. You just ask my husband. They use gas at their plant. We have an oil furnace. I think John L. Lewis is a fake." That is what she said. A coal miner is always laughed at. All I can do at times like this is turn around and go into tears. My husband wants to work. Someone, somewhere won't let those men work. So many articles I have read, "Brighter future for coal indus-Is it true or is it propaganda? Just the big shots have work and good incomes. Not the poor man. Not even a chance.

My oldest child will be out of school this May. A boy. Is there any future for him? Is there anywhere he could start looking for a job? So many times he says, "Mom, wait till I'm out of school. I'll work and help so we can build up." Oh that dear child. Does he know? Where should he look for work? If you, dear Mr. Kelley, have any idea please, oh please let me know. Let him and others have some kind of a future. Mr. KELLEY would it pay to write personally to Mr. Lewis about these conditions? These machines in the mines that are taking our men's jobs away? Please let me know.

I will fight and not stop until something is done. My children cannot go hungry. The Government buys up so much surplus articles; why can't it buy up some surplus coal and have our men working? Help me and I will help others by passing on the

word.

Loads of luck to our Congressman, and may God bless you.

JUST A MINER'S WIFE.

Congressional Salaries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BRADY GENTRY

OF TEXAS

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. GENTRY. Mr. Speaker, a bill has been reported to the House which would raise congressional salaries from \$15,000 to \$25,000.

I oppose this legislation on two grounds. The first is that the present salary will suffice, or should be made to suffice, at least until Congress is willing to stop voting appropriations that, even with our very high taxes, prevent our Government from living within its income and result in more borrowing and more debt. The Treasury will have to borrow the money to pay any increase in salary we vote ourselves, and the taxpayers will have to pay interest on it for generations. My second objection to this legislation is that the granting ourselves of this large increase in salary on the recommendation of the President would unconsciously, if not consciously, make us more responsive to pressure groups which will insist on the passage of the remainder of the President's recommendations, much of which cannot be afforded by our people because of its great cost

Of all salaried and wage-earning people in America, 90 percent get less than \$5,000 per year and less than 1 out of each 450 receives as much as the \$15,000 already paid Congressmen. A Member of Congress, however, actually receives more than \$15,000. Congressmen passed a law 9 years ago giving themselves retirement at 62 with 6 or more years' service. The retirement age was later lowered to 60. Retirement pay is \$200 per month after 6 years' service, \$400 per month after 14 years' service, and \$700 per month after 26 years' service. These payments last for life. If the pay raise passes, retirement payments will increase in proportion to the raise in salary.

One-half of the funds necessary to meet these retirement payments are contributed by Congressmen during their service, the other half being contributed by the taxpayers. Members also receive certain traveling expenses. In addition, Congressmen, under the duties of their office, may travel extensively, not only throughout the United States, but throughout the world. This is a privilege which, by reason of circumstances, is denied most of the people of our country. In addition to the \$600 income exemption given all taxpayers, Congressmen passed a law giving themselves an additional \$3,000 exemption upon showing expenses of that amount while living in Washington. The Government, under a law passed by Congress, also gives each Member of Congress life insurance of \$5,000. free of any cost.

There are those who say the salary here should be large enough to make one resist temptation, while some say it should be large in order that others than the rich can afford to come here. An answer to the first would seem to be that only honest people should be sent here and that honest men do not yield to temptation. Since it is contended that the salary here has not been sufficient for several years now, the charge that this condition makes it possible for only rich men to serve here seems completely disproved by the fact that only a handful of the present Members are men of even moderate means. It is entirely likely that larger salaries would result in more men of wealth trying to come to Congress, instead of fewer.

Members of Congress should be paid reasonable salaries, of course. Is not \$15,000, with all the added considerations, a reasonable salary? And, is it not true that a man who loves public service and devotes his time to the discharge of the duties of his office will find that a reasonable salary is sufficient for his normal mode of living? One of the great compensations in occupying any place of public trust is the satisfaction of having served your country in a position that gives a mesaure of public recognition. The office of a Representative in the United States Congress is such a position, one that is honored in the estimation of the American people.

Under all the circumstances would it not be fair for this proposed legislation to be deferred until after the next election? Then, the position of every candidate for Congress next year can be made known on this issue and the people themselves can decide it. If that is not acceptable, would it not be only fair to at least defer passing it until late in next year's session in order that the people of the Nation may, in effect, pass judgment on it soon thereafter?

The President's state of the Union message which recommended that congressional salaries be raised, also made other recommendations which would require additional expenditures of more than \$25 billion. While there will be many urging congressmen to pass the particular recommendations in which they are interested, most of these recommendations should be rejected. This is true because their passage, at a time when the Treasury is absolutely bare, can only result in the Government taking and spending more of the people's savings, thereby further increasing an already dangerous public debt.

The combined debt today of the Federal Government, State and local governments, businesses, and individuals, is more than \$650 billion. It amounts to \$16,000 for each American family. This debt has tripled during the last 15 years. It has increased by one-third in the last 5 years. Even more alarming is the fact that both individual debts and State debts have actually doubled within 5 years. The Federal debt alone is \$280 billion.

Our taxes today are so high that a person on a salary of \$250 per month must pay an income tax of \$422 per year. If one makes \$300 per month, the income tax is \$541. These do not include social-security payments. This illustrates the severity of present-day taxes and argues strongly against our increasing them for our own benefit.

If we now give ourselves a large salary increase, will not that action make it less likely that we will resist those who will so strongly insist that we pass all others of the President's recommendations just as we did his recommendation concerning ourselves? If we do that, when will we ever have the responsible fiscal policy which has been promised and which is so vitally needed here in Washington? When will we, if ever, lighten the tax load that so heavily burdens the American people?

Yalta

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HENRY S. REUSS

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, February 8, 1955

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, it is the 10th anniversary of the Yalta Conference, at which Russia promised free elections to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and the other lands now behind the Iron Curtain.

In the 10 years that have passed, we have seen this solemnly pledged word betrayed again and again. The gallant people of Poland and the other countries of Eastern Europe groan under a totalitarian regime.

"The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they grind exceeding fine." Just as surely as the daylight follows the darkness, as truth and justice ultimately prevail over deceit and wickedness, the time will come when the people of Poland and the other enslaved lands will once again breathe the air of freedom. The United States will never forget its goal of free elections for the unhappy people of Eastern Europe.

Struggle Inside Kremlin

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM A. DAWSON

OF UTAH

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. DAWSON of Utah. Mr. Speaker, the events of the past week in the Kremlin may have taken some of us by surprise. However, those among us who had read the January 21, 1955, issue of U. S. News & World Report were in possession of a good deal of information as to what the shift in power in the Kremlin portends.

For those Members who may not have read the magazine's interview with former Soviet spy, Nikolai E. Khakhlov, I recommend his article to their attention. He predicted with astonishing accuracy the events of the past week and his analysis of what these events portend should receive careful consideration. The U. S. News & World Report deserves commendation for its diligent pursuit of the news and its meaning—particularly in this instance.

Mr. Speaker, I am submitting for the RECORD the editor's note that accompanies the article entitled "Executioners' Shots Reveal New Struggle Inside Kremlin":

EDITOR'S NOTE.—There's an important new change in Soviet policy that increases the danger of war. Another struggle for power is developing inside the Kremlin: It's Malenkov versus Khrushchev.

Authority for these statements is a man who until less than a year ago was a captain in the Soviet Intelligence Service, Nikolai E. Khokhlov. To get the inside story of what is going on in the Soviet Union, U. S. News & World Report invited Mr. Khokhlov to its conference room. In the interview that follows, he tells what is behind the current struggle in Russia—and why it is dangerous to the West.

Nikolai E. Khokhlov spent 13 years in the Soviet Intelligence Service. He joined it at the age of 19, was a spy behind German lines in World War II. After the war he performed special missions in Rumania and Western Europe, rose to captain.

In 1954, Mr. Khokhlov was assigned to supervise the assassination of an anti-Communist Russian leader in Frankfurt, Germany. Disillusioned by communism—and

encouraged by his wife—he foiled the plot and joined the anti-Communists. He is now in the United States. Efforts to rescue his wife and child failed and they remain in Russia, their fate unknown.

The Distressed Coal Industry

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, an audience of leading statesman, diplomats, and industrialists was in attendance at the Silver Quill Award Dinner in this city a week ago last Saturday.

One of the highlights of this occasion was the novel way in which various spokesmen presented information on their respective industries and governmental activities. This information was elicited through questions such as that asked of L. C. Campbell, president of the National Coal Association, and vice president of Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates, some of whose mining operations are in my district. His response was in answer to this question:

If coal is the sick industry that it is reported to be, will you as the man responsible for the coal development at Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates, as well as president of the National Coal Association, tell us what steps are being taken by producers to bolster the future security of your industry, which is of course tied to the security of the Nation?

Under leave to extend my remarks, I am including his answer in the RECORD. I should like also to associate myself with the views herein expressed in respect to prevailing conditions in many of our coal-mining communities. I want to emphasize Mr. Campbell's comment regarding the fact that a single plant which closes down sometimes takes the jobs of as many as 800 miners. On an average, the number of human beings thus directly affected is in the neighborhood of four or five thousand. Yes; besides those 800 men are the women and children who are automatically deprived of many of the actual necessities of life once the breadwinner's income is removed. It is true that, for a short time, unemployment benefit payments provide a part of the food and clothing which every normal family requires, but when those benefits are exhausted these persons must depend entirely upon surplus food commodities for subsistence. Today if you should walk into many of the schools in the mining communities of West Virginia, you would meet numerous children who left their homes this morning without an adequate breakfast. By this time, they will have participated in the free lunch program, but by nightfall they will again sit down to a meal that is sadly lacking in the nourishment necessary for proper growth. Many of those children are improperly clothed, and there is little chance that they will obtain new coats or dresses or suits or shoes so long as current conditions persist.

Mr. Campbell stated very precisely that it is dangerous from a defense standpoint to take for granted that a crippled industry can respond to the demands that would come about in a national emergency. I believe that none among us could ignore coal's place in the national security if only this statement from Mr. Campbell's address were observed and considered:

A ton of coal per ton of steel—a pound of coal per kilowatt-hour of electricity—there you have the lifeblood of America's industrial might today and tomorrow.

Mr. Speaker, Congress is empowered with the authority to alleviate at least a portion of the distress that has enveloped coal communities. It can return employment to many thousands of our miners and make it possible for the families of these men to again assume the God-given right to adequate food and clothing if it will enact legislation to provide a 10-percent quota limitation on foreign residual and crude oil shipped into this country. In the last paragraph of the Campbell statement, he mentioned that most of his audience had never seen a coal miner. As a person who was brought up in a coal-miner's home, I would like to assure you that the story of poverty that has come to coal communities is not an exaggeration. I lived in a coal-mining town when foreign residual oil began to trickle into the fuel markets of the east coast. As this inflow increased in intensity, mine after mine was forced to cut back production, and the "no work tomorrow" sign began to haunt more and more mining families. As the imports reached flood stage, jobs were wiped out completely, and today throughout West Virginia there is ample evidence of the dire consequence of the policies which have permitted these imports to plague the coal industry. I believe that the present predicament of our mining families is the most compelling testimony for need of a quota restriction on oil imports

Following is the text of Mr. Campbell's statement:

STATEMENT OF Mr. L. C. CAMPBELL, BEFORE THE SILVER QUILL BANQUET OF THE NATIONAL BUSINESS PUBLICATIONS, INC., ON JANUARY 29, 1955

Question: If coal is the sick industry that it is reported to be, will you, as the man responsible for the coal development at Eastern Gas and Fuel Associates, as well as president of the National Coal Association, tell us what steps are being taken by producers to bolster the future security of your industry, which is of course tied to the security of the Nation?

Mr. Chairman, may I say that coal is not necessarily a sick industry, but rather that its economic health is seriously impaired. This is evidenced by the fact that whereas 95 percent of the Nation's power and fuel needs at one time were supplied by coal, today coal accounts for about 45 percent, petroleum and natural gas supply 25 percent each, and the balance is supplied by water power.

Production of 630 million tons of coal in 1947 has declined to less than 400 million tons in 1954. Manpower of more than 600,-000 has declined to slightly over 200,000 in 1954. One hundred thousand miners went off the payrolls in that year alone. These jobless miners have thus become our displaced persons in the United States. This is a brief sketch of the gradual dismantling of

the great basic coal mining industry on which the industrial might of America was built.

There exists a tremendous conflict of the energy supply available from coal, oll, natural gas, and electricity. The attrition of the coal mining industry still goes on. The tragedy of displaced workmen stalks every coal field in the country. Whole communities see their only source of livelihood wiped out. Plant after plant is closed down. The dismantling of a single plant frequently takes the jobs of as many as 800 miners.

Despite factors contributing to the present situation, including competition from domestic as well as imported fuel, coal producers have invested millions on millions of dollars to improve mining methods and the quality of the product. Mechanization and modernization of mining plants and methods have increased the man-day output from 4½ tons per man-day 20 years ago to more than 9 tons per man-day in 1954, and 10 tons per man-day is in sight. This compares with a little over 1 ton per man-day in European mining. The effect has been to lower the price of the product at the mine to an average of \$4.82 a ton in 1954, in spite of wage increases which have taken place in all industry over a period of years.

Reliable estimates place the demand for coal in an all-out emergency mobilization at 650 to 700 million tons annually. To reach that figure in a given year the industry must have a minimum year-to-year production of 500 million tons. The 1954 production was more than 100 million tons below the safe level.

American coal producers have never yet failed to meet the challenge for necessary coal in every national emergency. The Nation should not take for granted that a crippled industry can again thus respond unless an adequate going industry, properly manned and equipped, is available for the expansion in this mechanical mining age. The Nation's welfare and security demand that the industry be given proper scrutiny by the Government to the end that appropriate policy changes be effected, so that the coal industry's own efforts to meet the challenge of not only emergency but normal requirements may no longer be impeded by factors beyond its control.

A ton of coal per ton of steel—a pound of coal per kilowatt-hour of electricity—there you have the life-blood of America's industrial might today and tomorrow. The challenge is for all of us to do our part to keep it flowing.

Most of you have never seen a coal miner. I appreciate the opportunity to be here as one who has spent 30 interesting years in the industry and express my appreciation to the business publications which have contributed so much to our American story on industry, and especially to the group who speak for coal.

Edison the Philosopher

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. HUGH J. ADDONIZIO

OF NEW JERSEY

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. ADDONIZIO. Mr. Speaker, I know that the Members will read with pleasure and profit the following thoughtful address entitled "Edison the Philosopher," delivered by Mr. George E. Stringfellow, long-time business associate of the late Thomas Alva Edison,

before the Kiwanis Club of New York City on February 9, 1955.

Mr. Stringfellow is a director and senior vice president of Thomas A. Edison, Inc., West Orange, and a director of Thomas A. Edison of Canada, Ltd., and Thomas A. Edison Ltd., Scotland.

Mr. Stringfellow is also director of Mine Safety Appliances Co., Pittsburgh, Pa.; member of the board of directors of the American Mining Congress, Washington, D. C.; member of the American Iron and Steel Institute and the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, New York City; member of the board of directors of Indiana Technical College, Fort Wayne, Ind.; and member of the board of governors, American Foundation of Religion and Psychiatry, New York City.

His heavy business responsibilities have not prevented Mr. Stringfellow from taking a highly active interest in numerous civic and humanitarian organizations. He served two terms as president of the Kiwanis Club of New York City and two terms as president of the Chamber of Commerce and Civics of the Oranges and Maplewood. He is an honorary member of the New Jersey Medical Society; was awarded the certificate of service by the Rotary Club of Orange, N. J.; was cited as the outstanding citizen of the Oranges and Maplewood; was cited by the Brotherhood Committee of Christians and Jews for bringing about a better understanding among the three religious sects.

Mr. Stringfellow is a member of the Imperial Divan of the Shrine of North America; president and director of the New Jersey Taxpayers Association; member of the board of directors and executive committee of the American Cancer Society. He was the founder and first president of the New Jersey division of the society, and the recipient of the American Cancer Society award. He is also former chairman of the New Jersey Republican Finance Committee.

Among the numerous honors that Mr. Stringfellow's impressive achievements have won for him are honorary degrees of doctor of laws from South Jersey Law School and Upsala College; doctor of fine arts from Ithaca College; doctor of humanities from Indiana Technical College; and a citation of merit award from the New Jersey Association of Business Schools.

As the foregoing sketch indicates, Mr. Stringfellow possesses the same noble qualities that characterized the great Edison. He has truly followed Mr. Edison's advice, which he quoted in his address yesterday:

Be courageous. * * * History repeats itself again and again. Be as brave as your fathers before you. Have faith. Go forward.

His inspiring speech on Edison the Philosopher reads in full:

Address of George E. Stringfellow, Senior Vice President, Thomas A. Edison, Inc., West Orange, N. J., Long-Time Business Associate of the Late Thomas Alva Edison, and President, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, Before the Kiwanis Club of New York City, February 9, 1955

EDISON THE PHILOSOPHER

When I mentioned the fact that I was going to speak to the members of this club

about Thomas Alva Edison, I was asked whether it is possible to say anything more about that great man that has not already been said. But, when anyone studies the life and the contributions to civilization of so great a man as Edison, one soon realizes that hundreds of talks would not exhaust the subject.

the subject.

Edison is most often identified as the greatest inventor that ever lived. In a nationwide newspaper poll he was voted 1 of the 4 great Americans of all time. Among the innumerable fascinating facets of his life that one could talk about. I have chosen on this occasion to look at the one that shows him to have been a great philosopher—a man with an intense love of wisdom, concerned with the science that investigates the facts and principles of reality, and, in Edison's case, seeks to convert them to the service of his fellow men.

Like all great philosophers, Edison had the ability to turn misfortune to advantage. You know much about his success. Let me tell you something about his failures, for it is mainly from their failures and what they did in the face of their troubles that we learn most about the great men of history.

Edison insisted that he could not have succeeded without the lessons of his misfortunes and failures. In fact he emphasized that even his deafness, from which he never recovered, was a great asset. "My deafness has not been a handicap but a help to me," said Edison. "From the very start, after the earache pain ceased, deafness probably drove me to reading." He was in his energy, courage, and sincerity, even thankful for the necessity of adapting his experiments to his affliction. He attributed at least two important developments to that necessity—the telephone as civilization knows it and the phonograph.

"In experimenting on the telephone," Edison explained, "I had to improve the transmitter so I could hear. This made the telephone commercially practical, as Bell's magneto telephone receiver was too weak to be used as a transmitter commercially.

"It was the same with the phonograph. The great defect of that instrument was the rendering of the overtones in the music and the hissing consonants in speech. I worked a year, 20 hours a day, Sundays and all, to get the word 'specie' perfectly recorded. When this was done I knew that everything else could be recorded."

Edison had the philosopher's unquenchable thirst for knowledge. Although his formal education ended in the fourth grade, he had read and absorbed far more worthwhile books than the average college graduate, not just on technical subjects, but on history, literature, art, philosophy, and music.

The great inventor was not discouraged by his meager education and by what he believed to be his limited knowledge of anything. He worked that much harder to overcome his shortcoming, so that it wasn't so much what he knew that helped him, but what he tried to know, and what he did with what he knew.

Edison knew that freedom and progress for an individual or a nation does not mean "I do not have to work." He knew the future belongs to those who prepare for it. He knew the commonest form of opportunity is harder work and better work. When he was declared to be a genius, in true Edison philosophy he coined the famous adage, "Genius is I percent inspiration and 99 percent perspiration."

Among the distinguishing characteristics of any philosopher is the patient, persevering search for truth, and Edison possessed that drive to an unlimited extent. At one time, after he and his associates had conducted thousands of experiments on a certain project without solving the problem,

one of his fellow workers expressed discouragement and disguest over having falled to find out anything. "But," said Edison, "we learned something. We learned for a certainty that we can't do it that way, and that we will have to try some other way." And in his patience, he tried again and again until he found what he was searching for.

In inventing the incandescent lamp, it took 361 days of trial-and-error experiments, constant watchfulness, and everlasting faith to produce the satisfactory glow in the lamp. And then the real work started, for the lamp was only a fraction of what Edison needed if the light was to be useful on streets, in homes, in workplaces, and if the thousands of future tasks of electricity were to be born. He had to develop an entire generating and distributing system, including the invention and construction of glant dynamos, conduits, power lines, wires, insulators, sockets, meters, fuses—everything.

But that was one of his successes. I spoke of failure a few minutes ago. This is what

About 11 years after the first success of his electric light, Edison set out to devise a system of mining and milling low-grade Iron ore that would be economically sound. He was convinced that the country's known deposits of iron ore were disappearing. Through tremendous effort and enormous expenditure Edison invented and put into operation a revolutionary method of reclaiming iron ore. It was called the magnetic ore separator. Then the unexpected happened. New and immensely rich iron-ore deposits were discovered, making Edison's refining method unnecessary and costly.

Looking back on this period, Edison said:
"For a good many years I worried about my
payroll; didn't know how I was always going
to meet it. My trouble had been that I always had too much ambition and tried to do
things that were financially too big for me.
If I had not had so much ambition and had
not tried to do so many things, I probably
would have been happier, but less useful."
Yes, and it would have been a darker world
for us if it hadn't been for his ambition and
his desire to advance the welfare of mankind.

Probably the final measure of every philosopher is the degree to which he has changed the thinking of the world. In the case of Thomas Alva Edison consider the effect there has been on humanity's entire outlook because of his vital contributions. When man can command abundant light by pressing a button; can go faster from place to place with the aid of electrical motor power systems and batteries; can hear the music of the ages and words of statesmen; can view living history, drama, and current events with no trouble or even inconvenience—when man can do those things—the world has surely attained a new era.

Understanding, light, warmth, joy, and a higher living standard—all this we owe to Edison. But with a full measure of friend-liness and good will, Edison expressed gratitude to those who saw him through—his associates and his financial backers. He credited the American free-opportunity system as an essential factor in what he was able to do for all mankind.

He pointed out that it was cooperation, vitality, and risk-taking willingness of American business enterprise that sustained him and brought his results within reach of all. It was this American opportunity for enterprise that left him free to develop his wonderful talents of invention and development. It ran the risk and supplied the vast capital needed to translate his inventions into tools for human advancement, and made them available to the average people, at a low cost to all. In other words, American enterprise encouraged and promoted the dreams of a humanitarian, the skill of a genius and the wisdom of a philosopher for the benefit of humanity.

Under the American system of free enterprise, more good things have happened to us than to men and women any place in the world. And the great days of America are by no means done. We have only touched the border of our achievement. If you and I did not believe this, we would not believe in America. Let us heed the wisdom of Edison's last message to the American people: "Be courageous * * * History repeats itself again and again. Be as brave as your fathers before you. Have faith. Go forward."

February 10

American Participation in World Trade Fairs

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. JAMES T. PATTERSON

OF CONNECTICUT

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Thursday, February 10, 1955

Mr. PATTERSON. Mr. Speaker, I wish to extend my sincere congratulations to the Honorable Sinclair Weeks, United States Secretary of Commerce, for his forthright action in establishing the new Office of International Trade Fairs in the Commerce Department and appointing Mr. Roy F. Williams, Boston industrialist, to direct the new organization set up to promote American foreign trade expansion.

Soviet Russia has been grabbing the spotlight in all the world trade fairs. This is an integral part of the Soviets' aggressive program to exploit the world markets in a vicious campaign of economic warfare.

It is gratifying that Secretary Weeks is taking forthright action to put America to the forefront in the race to win the world markets.

It is my understanding that Secretary Weeks has no intention to compete with Russia in purely propaganda assaults, but to win sales contracts by attractively presenting superior American-made products and by superior American merchandising know-how.

The Russian Government has budgeted vast funds to build the most magnificent pavilions stocked with the biggest display of exhibits at these world trade fairs. How much the Russians have grabbed in the way of sales contracts is a debatable question. But we do know the Communist traders are making inroads in the world markets strategically designed to undercut American exports and thus create unemployment in the United States. This is the same old pattern of Soviet trade before World War II when the Soviet dumping program depressed the world market.

Secretary Weeks' projected program is the first time America has seriously sought to participate in the world-trade fairs except by small-scale representations. Historically speaking, these trade fairs are long-established trade marts in Europe extending back to the early middle ages. In the days of Charlemagne the annual trade fairs were great festival occasions where the East met West over the bargaining counter. Today West meets East but not to barter with the rich merchants of the East with their rare perfumes, spices, and silks. Today a ruthless politico-economic power, producing with slave-labor, prepares to dump cheap commodities on the world market in a shrewd exchange for the raw materials and implements of war.

In order to avoid misunderstandings about these world-trade fairs, please permit me to explain that these world fairs are not operated for the entertainment of the general public nor for the benefit of sightseeing tourists.

Admission to these trade fairs is by official invitation only. Invitations are generally limited to big buyers in the world markets, industrialists, scientists, engineers, labor leaders, diplomatists, and high political leaders.

The big-scale operations of these world-trade fairs may be pictured by just one example, namely, the 1954 International Samples Fair at Milan, Italy, where 12,336 exhibitors displayed 900,-000 samples and 84,213 foreign buyers representing 109 nationalities, inspected the displays in the colorful, flag-draped pavilions of all the leading exporting nations of the world. And the forthcoming International Trade Fair at Paris will be the world's biggest affair of its kind. America will be represented by a central exhibit entitled "Main Street, U. S. A." depicting the fuller, better life that is possible with American-made products.

These world-trade fairs are the cheapest and most effective advertising methods ever devised. Here sellers meet buyers from the far corners of the earth and are afforded the opportunity of getting acquainted and dealing directly. I am going to urge the Atomic Energy Commission within bounds of security to design an exhibit portraying the peaceful use of atomic energy to be entered in the Paris fair beginning May 14 of this year.

Another exhibit at the Paris Fair will be a four-sectional exhibit of a New England manufacturing town, showing a home, a school, and a farm, and a factory. A large-scale model of a typical New England house will have a full-scale furnished kitchen, diningroom, and livingroom in which life-size models of residents are placed. Many labor-saving household devices will make it clear how well we live in New England under our great system of free enterprise. This is one of many American exhibits for the Paris Fair.

There is keen competition among businessmen for the limited space in the American pavilion. I hope to see Connecticut's skilled techniques and high-quality products displayed at all the world trade fairs during the coming months.

I will be glad to help get proposed Connecticut exhibits entered in the limited American space available. I will be happy to cooperate with Connecticut industry and labor in promoting our State's foreign-trade expansion by soliciting the Commerce Department for our equitable share of recognition in the activities

programed by the new Office of International Trade Fairs.

I offer the following information relative to dates and places of the world-trade fairs selected by the Commerce Department for United States participation:

The international spring fair at Frankfort, Germany, to be held March 6-10 is the first European fair selected under the 1955 program. Over the 200 American industrial products—from an eggbeater to a tractor—will be exhibited by American companies at the central exhibit.

Protection of Domestic Industries

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, ROBERT C. BYRD

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
Wednesday, January 26, 1955

Mr. BYRD. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks, I wish to insert a statement which I made before the House Committee on Ways and Means on January 31, 1955. My statement was made during the hearings on H. R. 1, and I emphasized to the members of the committee the imperative need for protection of domestic industries such as the coal, chemical, glass, and railroad industries. Thousands of our fellow Americans who formerly worked in these in-

tection of domestic industries such as the coal, chemical, glass, and railroad industries. Thousands of our fellow Americans who formerly worked in these industries have lost their jobs, but there are thousands of other workers still employed who will be thrown out of work unless adequate safeguards are provided against foreign competition. Not only should we be concerned about unemployment in these fields, but we also must remember that these industries are our first line of defense. If they suffer, we suffer; and if they perish, we perish. The statement follows:

STATEMENT OF CONGRESSMAN ROBERT C. BYRD BEFORE THE HOUSE COMMITTEE ON WAYS AND MEANS, JANUARY 31, 1955

Mr. Chairman and members of the committee:

We are again faced with a crisis in world events—a crisis which could plunge us overnight into a world conflict for actual survival. Pray God this does not happen. But if it does, I am seriously disturbed over the grave danger to our country if we fail to recognize and halt the serious disintegration and deterioration of one of our basic and most important resurces.

I refer, of course, to the coal industry.

When World War II broke out, there was an immediate demand for vast new amounts of energy to run our tremendous war production effort. Tanks, guns, planes, and all the other equipment of a modern fighting force had to come rolling out of our converted factories at rates unprecedented in world's history.

Total energy demands, excluding motor fuels, rose 19 percent in 1942 and 32 percent in 1944. Most of this new energy source had to be supplied by coal.

Submarines practically halted the import of petroleum products because the Nazis were in almost undisputed possession of the waters along the entire Atlantic coast during the early months of the war. An official publication of the United States Department of

the Interior states: "From the Caribbean to Cape Race, no spot was safe * * * From then on, until the last year of the war, tanker deliveries were an insignificant factor in supplying the oil needs of the east coast."

We have all read accounts of Russia's new, modern submarine force. There can be no question that it is far superior to the one with which Germany was able to almost entirely halt oil deliveries from abroad. Thus, we must accept the fact that foreign petroleum will not be available to us in case of a new war.

It would seem only the part of wisdom and prudence, then, that we look carefully at our domestic resources for fuel and energy, and make certain that they will again be able to meet a new emergency as they did in 1942.

Unfortunately, there is every reason to fear that they will not, unless immediate steps are taken by this Congress.

In recent years of an expanding economy and new levels of prosperity and production for almost every other industry in America, the coal industry has sunk to critical levels of low production and disintegration.

Production of bituminous coal, which is the major industry of my own State of West Virginia, fell from a high of 613 million tons in 1947 to less than 400 million last year

Employment in the mines has been cut in half, dropping from 400,000 men 6 years ago to no more than 200,000 now. Gentlemen, this state of affairs should be cause for grave concern for every one of us. We cannot afford to sit idly by and watch the destruction of the livelihood of thousands of our fellow Americans, and at the same time the weakening of our productive capacity for national defense to the critical point.

The demand for bituminous coal and lignite rose from 461 million tons in 1940 to 620 million in 1944. I am told by competent authority that the demand to run our expanded industrial machine in case of a new war would be much greater.

Leaders in the coal industry estimate that an annual peacetime production of 500 million tons would be necessary to keep the industry at a level from which it could rapidly expend to meet such war demands. Yet last year, the Bureau of Mines estimates, we produced only 390 million tons.

Throughout the coal fields of my State, and of Pennsylvania, Kentucky, and all the other great producers, are idle tipples, idle railroad cars, deserted shafts, and mine after mine closed down. During the past 3 years, at least 150 commercial mines have closed in the State of West Virginia, idling thousands of miners. Add to these the thousands who depend on coal for a livelihood—railroad workers, storekeepers, service station owners, and a host of others, and we begin to get some picture of a real depression in coal producing areas.

But the best picture. Mr. Chairman, could be gotten by the committee itself were it to delegate a subcommittee to visit these forsaken and miserable people who have long since despaired of a return to full employment in the only occupation they have ever known. In view of the seriousness of the problem as it affects coal producing communities, in the light of depressed conditions in the chemical, glass, pottery, and other industries; and because of the profound controversy which centers around H. R. 1, onthe-spot hearings would seem advisable, desirable, and necessary.

Mr. Chairman, I live in the Beckley area of

Mr. Chairman, I live in the Beckley area of West Virginia, and in that area alone, the percentage of total employment as represented by mining has declined 43 percent from that of 1 year ago. Practically all of the unemployed are men who are over 45 years of age, with none other than mining experience, a fact which in many instances precludes them from finding employment

elsewhere. A recent report shows 3,500 persons a month exhausting their unemployment benefit payments in my State, and many individuals passed this point of exhausted benefits months ago.

On January 1 of this year, 223,847 people in West Virginia were depending upon Government surplus food commodities for survival, and the figure is increasing at the rate of 10,000 each 2 weeks, I have been informed. School lunch programs have been seriously affected in these mining areas, as more and more children of unemployed workers are forced to depend upon free school lunches. Many requests are being received by teachers for clothing to keep children warm. The situation, in many instances, is desperate, to say the least.

Mr. Chairman, throughout many months, T and other Members of Congress have offered evidence of rising unemployment, hunger, and destitution in coal-producing States Our arguments have gone for naught. If the attitude we have met continues to prevail, I assume that to offer further evidence would be "Love's labor lost." Some may say that the difficulties confronting these people are so provincial as to be excluded from consideration in a program devoted to international-trade policies, but there are other aspects of the damaging impact of foreign residual which cannot be looked upon as sectional problems. Coal mining and railroading are as essential to the conduct of a mobilization program as are aircraft industries, munitions works, and shipbuilding. Coal mines and railroads cannot survive under a system which demands that they operate like a stop-and-go traffic light—on again, off again, on again, gone again. The caution light is now burning and, unless the rail and coal industries are given consideration in the immediate future, the red light may be on when this Nation's security is in jeopardy and these great basic industries are called upon once more to deliver the goods.

Large among the factors which have contributed to the deciline of coal sales in the United States is the importation of cheap, residual oil from Venezuela and the Netherlands West Indies. This oil, a residue remaining after crude has been refined and lighter oils, gasoline, and the like taken off, was formerly treated as a waste product and dumped into the ocean. Now, however, it is "dumped" on the east coast of the United States, and is playing a large part in wrecking America's coal industry. Total imports in 1954 were over 131 million barrels, totaling 32 million tons coal equivalent residual refined from foreign crudes, giving a total entry of heavy fuel oil amounting to 47 million tons coal equivalent.

Some may say that about 17 million tons coal equivalent is needed to satisfy the preferred uses of the oil for ship bunkering and other noncompetitive purposes. However, the current domestic-origin residual supply on the East coast is at a rate of 17 million tons coal equivalent, enough to satisfy the preferred uses. The 47-million-ton figure broadly measures the residual oil available from foreign sources after preferred-use demands have been met. This figure is representative, it is believed, of the overall impact of foreign-origin residual fuel oil upon the coal industry.

On the basis of this figure, what has been the effect upon the coal and rail industries?

The loss in sales to coal producers exceeds \$225 million, and the loss in freight revenues to the railroads accounts for an additional \$180 million—a combined total of over \$400 million.

If one considers only the direct residual oil imports annually running to 32 million tons coal equivalent, the figures are still very disturbing. This amount represents a loss in coal industry sales of \$153 million annually, a loss in miners' wages of \$74 million, a freight revenue loss of \$90 million, and a loss of \$40 million in wages to railroad employees. Over and above this is a continuing uncertainty facing coal and railroad management in programing of capacity, financing, development of reserves, research, and the like.

Mr. Chairman, too long have we flirted

Mr. Chairman, too long have we flirted with national disaster by failing to give domestic industries an opportunity to regain some of the vigor needed in a mobilization period. Can we afford to delay longer? The answer is best spoken in the word of Poe's ghastly, grim, and ancient raven—"Nevermore"

Several Members have introduced a measure which would limit the importation of foreign residual to not more than 10 percent of the domestic demand during the corresponding calendar quarter of the preceding

year.

This is not a drastic restriction of such imports, but it would provide a real benefit to the American coal and railroad industries and thousands of unemployed workers.

Total domestic demand for residual in 1954 is estimated at about 565 million barrels, while imports of residual totaled approximately 131 million. Under the suggested 10-percent quota, 57 million barrels would be allowed.

This protection would be a major step in restoring the coal industry to a level of production which would enable it to meet the demands of any new war emergency.

demands of any new war emergency.

We simply cannot dare to let our most basic fuel supply deteriorate. It takes a ton of coal to make every ton of steel we produce for war or peace. It takes almost a pound of coal to produce a kilowatt of electric power. Coal is essential in the production of thousands of vital drugs and chemicals, and for other uses so varied and widespread it would take pages to list them.

Too long have our domestic industries sought relief in vain. The coal industry, the glass and chemical industries, and many others must be protected by placing adequate safeguards, in the form of amendments, in H. R. 1.

Let us prepare while there is yet time, lest, like the five foolish virgins, America be found wanting in her most critical hour.

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To the Vice President and each Senator 100 copies; to the Secretary and Sergeant at Arms of the Senate, each, 25 copies; to the Secretary, for official use, not to exceed 35 copies; to the Sergeant at Arms, for use on the floor of the Senate, not to exceed 50 copies; to each Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress, 68 copies; to the Clerk, Sergeant at Arms, and Doorkeeper of the House of Representatives, each, 25 copies; to the Clerk, for official use, not to exceed 50 copies; and to the Doorkeeper, for use on the floor of the House of Representatives, not to exceed 75 copies; to the Vice President and each Senator, Representative, Delegate, and Resident Commissioner in Congress there shall also be furnished (and shall not be transferable), 3 copies of the daily RECORD, of which 1 shall be delivered at his residence, 1 at his office, and I at the Capitol.

PRINTING DOCUMENTS AND REPORTS

Documents and reports of committees with the evidence and papers submitted therewith, or any part thereof ordered printed by Congress, may be reprinted by the Public Printer on order of any Member of Congress or Delegate, on prepayment of the cost thereof (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 162, p. 1940).

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE PRINTING OF DOCUMENTS

Either House may order the printing of a document not already provided for by law, but only when the same shall be accompanied by an estimate from the Public Printer as to the probable cost thereof. Any executive department, bureau, board, or independent office of the Government submitting reports or documents in response to inquiries from Congress shall submit therewith an estimate of the probable cost of printing the usual number. Nothing in this section relating to estimates shall apply to reports or documents not exceeding 50 pages (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 140, p. 1938).

Printing and binding for Congress, when recommended to be done by the Committee on Printing of either House, shall be so recommended in a report containing an approximate estimate of the cost thereof, together with a statement from the Public Printer of estimated approximate cost of work previously ordered by Congress within the fiscal year (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 145, p. 1938).

Resolutions for printing extra copies, when presented to either House, shall be referred immediately to the Committee on Printing, who, in making their report, shall give the probable cost of the proposed printing upon the estimate of the Public Printer, and no extra copies shall be printed before such committee has reported (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 133, p. 1937).

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Additional copies of Government publications are offered for sale to the public by the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C., at cost thereof as determined by the Public Printer plus 50 percent: Provided, That a discount of not to exceed 25 percent may be allowed to authorized bookdealers and quantity chasers, but such printing shall not interfere with the prompt execution of work for the Government. The Superintendent of Documents shall prescribe the terms and conditions under which he may authorize the resale of Government publications by bookdealers, and he may designate any Government officer his agent for the sale of Government publications under such regulations as shall be agreed upon by the Superintendent of Documents and the head of the respective department or establishment of the Government (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 72a,

CONGRESSIONAL DIRECTORY

The Public Printer, under the direction of the Joint Committee on Printing, may print for sale, at a price sufficient to reimburse the expenses of such printing, the current Congressional Directory. The money derived from such sales shall be paid int. the Treasury and accounted for in his annual report to Congress, and no sale shall be made on credit (U. S. Code, title 44, sec. 150, p. 1939).

RECORD OFFICE AT THE CAPITOL

An office for the Congressional Record is located in Statuary Hall, House wing, where Mr. Frank Brodle is in attendance during the sessions of Congress to receive orders for subscriptions to the Record at \$1.50 per month, and where single copies may also be purchased. Orders are also accepted for the printing of speeches in pamphlet form.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the Record.

Appendix

Lincoln Day Address by Hon. George H. Bender, of Ohio

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. FREDERICK G. PAYNE

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. PAYNE. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the text of the address delivered by the distinguished Senator from Ohio [Mr. BENDER] at the Lincoln Day meeting in Portsmouth, Ohio, may be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

I am very happy to be here this evening. Anyone who has ever gone through a statewide election campaign can never forget it.

And when you have gone through a campaign, an unofficial count, an official countand then a recount-never seems too short. I am most grateful to you for your help

during the difficult weeks before, and after, November. You may be sure that I shall work my hardest to show my gratitude. We Republicans have good reason to ob-

serve our Lincoln Day tradition every year. It serves to remind us of many fundamental truths. First, and perhaps most important, is the reminder that crises are nothing new to the American people. There is no war more shattering to a nation than a civil war. Lincoln led us through the valley of the shadow of death to a new understanding of the Union. Division and disunity have become unthinkable in our country since his We may differ, we may disagree violently, but we shall never again divide.

There are other reminders, too, in the Lincoln story. We have almost forgotten that the War Between the States was also a time of international tension. We had enemies overseas in the 1860's. They were ready to do everything in their power to disrupt the Federal Union. They encouraged rebellion and hoped for American weakness. With civil war raging, they planted a foreign em-peror upon the soil of Mexico. This fantastic episode in our continent's history has faded from sight, but it was a major threat to our peace and security then. Foreign problems are nothing new to our people. We have met them and we have overcome them be-We shall do it again.

I think of still another lesson from the Lincoln legend. No man in the pages of history was ever a more direct example of Micah's Biblical injunction: "Do justice, love mercy, and walk humbly with Lincoln never strayed far from these guides to human conduct. He showed in his life that men can achieve greatness without vio-lence, without injustice, and without ar-

We know all these things. I emphasize them because there is a strong similarity between our own times and the troubled days of the 19th century. There is a strong sim-

ilarity between the man who leads our coun-

try today and Lincoln.

President Dwight D. Eisenhower is a great man. He is a humble, God-fearing man.

There are people who disagree with him. There were many who disagreed with Abe Lincoln. That is as it should be. There is room for honest division of opinion on the policies and the program of any President. But there can be no disagreement on the absolute integrity, the single-minded devotion, and the firm determination of President Eisenhower.

This is the 166th year of our Republic. We are just beginning the second century of the Republican Party. Our country's greatness is just beginning.

The times are difficult. When were they

ever otherwise?

I am an optimist. In the midst of our trials, I look to the future with confidence. There are some people who have little faith in the future of our country. They call themselves Democrats. During the difficult years of the 1930's, these Democrats told us to plow under our crops, to destroy the little pigs, and throw in the towel. America was through. Some new form of socialism was

going to sweep the land.

Last year, these same Cassandras were out in full cry, scaring up a depression which never occurred, looking for the age of darkness under every burned-out electric-light bulb. They closed their eyes to the real wave of the future, the tremendous new age which is almost here.

In the last few weeks, I read the report of the Atomic Energy Commission. They have a tiny atomic device, only a few inches square, which can generate the same amount of cancer treatment as \$20 million worth of radium. They have a new atomic plant which will preserve food for as long years without a trace of spoilage. I don't know if you will like this one, but they say they can turn out women's stockings that will never wear out. We know that atomic energy will drive ships, fly planes, heat cities, and do almost everything we can think of except find a place to park our car.

Maybe there won't be too many cars. The next generation may be flying the family plane exactly the same way we have been driving the family auto. You can sit down and start thinking of the most incredible You can sit down new inventions you can imagine. Somebody already has it on a drafting board. We have come to take these things for granted.

I don't think we ever should. Look back with me for a moment into this whole amazing period. How did our side win the atomic race? Before World War II, German scientists were as far advanced as our ownperhaps further advanced. Yet, somehow, thanks to the policies of Hitler and Mussolini, the greatest minds of Italy and Germany and Central Europe were driven to our country at the most critical moment of modern history. Enrico Fermi, possibly the master mind of all the great minds in atomic physics, came to America because of his wife. Albert Einstein and Niels Bohr fled from Europe because they could not breathe in the stifling atmosphere of fear and hatred. These were not accidents. were the hand of destiny. The outcome of World War II might have been far different without this divine intervention.

Abraham Lincoln was always aware of God's presence in human affairs. One time a delegation of northern clergymen came to see him in the White House. One of them said, "I pray that the Lord will always be on our side." Lincoln looked up and said, "I would like to modify that prayer.

Let us pray that we shall always be on the Lord's side."

Our President today is the same kind of man. He is a fighter who prays for guidance. We need it today. Let there be no mistake about the facts before us. The administration in Washington has not created the problems we must solve. We have inherited them. They were the legacy of those New Dealers who dealt the cards from marked deck under the table at Yalta. No one has yet analyzed fully the significance of that infamous conference. It was a sellout of China. Personal, secret agreements were entered into by Mr. Roosevelt, by Stalin and Churchill. Roosevelt approved all of Russia's encroachments upon China. He approved Russia's claim to preeminence in Manchuria. In 1951 Dean Acheson admitted to a Senate committee that the Government of China knew nothing of this secret agreement.

At this same conference, we sanctioned the occupation of North Korea by the Communists. These were the two big decisions at Yalta. They have been the root of all They have been the root of all the problems in Asia ever since. Because of Yalta, we found ourselves fighting an undeclared war in Korea.

Because of Yalta, we find ourselves in a desperate dilemma today in the Straits of

Formosa.

This is by no means all of the story. made other deals, unknown to the American people, involving all of Europe. Poland was not turned over to the Communists by action of the Polish people. A few men sitting around a table made the decision. They did not consult with the leadership of the countries involved. They did not even consult with the leadership of our American Congress, much less the full membership.
When Roosevelt reported to Congress on March 1, 1945, after the Yalta meeting, he said that the formula for the future of Poland was "agreed to by Russia, by Britain, and by me."

The decisions on East Germany, turning over the great industrial centers of Silesia, Saxony, and Bohemia to the Soviet Union, were made by a few individuals. They were not produced by bipartisan agreements or by partisan consultation with one

party.

Lenin once wrote that communism would conquer Europe in a bypass through They are trying; they have seized China; they have seized Korea. Now they have taken the northern part of Indochina. The battle for Formosa is already on. Let us not deceive ourselves or permit others to

Some people ask why we are concerned. They say that we should not be fighting in a Chinese civil war. This is not a civil war. It is a war between international communism and the free world. There can be no misunderstanding of this fundamental

Formosa in the hands of Red China would be exacty what President Eisenhower de-scribed—a dagger thrust into the heart of the Pacific.

For half a century our lines of defense have been committed to the Philipine Islands. We saw how our own country could be endangered in 1941. An air attack based from Japan came within a hair's breadth of destroying our Pacific Fleet at Pearl Harbor. That destruction would have opened the whole of our Pacific coast to the threat of invasion.

Thanks to President Eisenhower, we are far stronger today than we were in 1941. We have learned the realities of life the hard

Our country wants peace. We know that in a new war there will be no victors. Albert Einstein has said that he does not know all the weapons which could be used in world war III. But he does know the kind which will be used in world war IV. They will be bows and arrows.

This terrible paradox confronts us today. We have arrived at a moment when we can look forward to a new era of tremendous human progress-at exactly the same moment when we have discovered the means of wiping mankind from the face of the earth. Our scientists are frightened at the Frankenstein they have created. They us that the "fall-out" of atomic radiation from a hydrogen bomb can impair life for hundreds of miles away from the spot where the bomb hits. What sane men will risk war with this knowledge?

These are the serious facts of life today. The next 25 years will be filled with crises. When we analyze them, they always come down to the same basic issue. Each one represents the fight of the State to own our Communism says, "Give me your birthright, and I will feed your stomach. Let the state run your life for you."

In America the Republican Party is still fighting for the rights of the individual. We know what happens when governments take over the responsibilities of the people. They surrender their birthright of freedom for a mess of pottage. In our day we have seen how this works. Here in our own coun-try the Democratic Party is offering us the same bait. Turn to Washington for every-thing you need. We will take care of you. All we want in return is your vote, your taxes, and your soul.

The Republican Party has never followed this theme. We fight the belief that there is some magic in a mysterious thing called the state. We object to the theory that the people of this country are members to be manipulated for political purposes, like pup-We believe in pets dangling from a string. free men, living in a free economy, leading

a free world.

Look back at the record of our service. From 1860 until 1900 only one Democrat was elected President. In that span of time our population grew from 23 million to 76 million. Our railroads crossed the continent.

American unearthed the treasures of our natural resources. They developed mines; they poured out a never-ending stream of inventive genius. America became a world power. It was an unmatched period in his-tory. All that has happened since that time has been an extension of this magnificent effort.

Republican leadership, Republican foresight made the system of free enterprise a symbol of creative skill. They made free enterprise a living force throughout the

When he came to the crucial questions, he understood how America had become great back in 1860. "We are a great empire. We are 80 years old," he said. "We stand at once the wonder and the admiration of the whole world, and we must inquire what it is that has given us so much prosperity, and we shall understand that to give up one thing, our free government, would be to give up all fu-ture prosperity. This cause it is that every man can make himself. It has been said that such a race of prosperity has been run nowhere else."

That is the story. The words are just as true as they were when Abraham Lincoln said them. The only way to improve our condition is to increase our business by investing more money and making more jobs for more people. If we kill the goose there can be no eggs. We are not going to kill our geese, and there are going to be enough eggs

for everybody.

I think that we have made long strides forward in the past 2 years in Washington. Lincoln would have approved our efforts. He was a man who abhorred violence and bloodshed but he was not afraid to use all the power at his command to fight for what he believed right.

He enjoyed peace and quiet, but he fought one of the flercest wars ever fought for prin-

ciples-not power.

In our own time, too, Americans have been called upon to perform repugnant tasks. We have done them well. I like to think in terms of parallels. History does not ever really repeat itself. We like to interpret it in terms of the past, so that it has meaning

and continuity.

President Eisenhower, like Abe Lincoln, stepped into the White House after years of Democratic supremacy. He too has been forced to clean the stables. In the very short space of 2 years, people have forgotten what we endured before. This is a tribute to our Republican administration. The stale odor has gone and a fresh spirit moves into Wash-

No one can tell us what the future will bring. A few months ago, President Eisenhower used a neutron wand in Denver, Colo., to break ground in Pennsylvania for the first commercial plant powered by atomic energy. The first atomic battery has already been manufactured. Think of what a small atomic generator in your home would be able to do. All of your heat, light, and fuel will be provided for as long as you can foresee. Ealt water will be converted to fresh in quantitles sufficient to feed the deserts into life.

Those are some of the miracles before us tomorrow, if only we have the courage and the wit to overcome the problems that plague us today. Here in our country, we have the technical know-how, the scientific skills, the manpower necessary to realize these

Political parties and their programs have played a tremendous part in the develop-ment of our Republic. The Republican Party has always stood for stability. We do not believe in the quick shortcuts, or in the planned utopias of the New Deal intellec-

The WPA, the PWA, the CCC, and all the rest of the alphabetical agencies never achieved security, or stability or prosperity. They were emergency measures designed for the moment only. When they ended, we were as badly off as we were when they began.

We Republicans differ from the Democrats in much of our outlook.

In the field of public spending, there is a basic difference between Republicans and Democrats. The Democrats like inflation. Republicans abhor it.

We have seen what happens when money declines in purchasing power. Every man and woman who plans ahead and saves for the future knows that he has been cheated when our dollar is worth only 35 cents.

The Republican Party does not believe in controls. We want to keep the system of free enterprise which built this country. The Democrats are split into two groups on this vital issue. Many of them are con-servatives. They want to keep the system. But the leadership of the Democratic Party today has been captured by the leftwing group whigh does not like our system. are the Americans for Democratic Action, the professional labor leaders who are using the Democratic Party as a handy vehicle. They want to turn the Democrats into a party patterned after the British Labor Party. No matter how loudly they protest, this is the record of the Democratic Party. It is one thing in the North and another in the South. It is one kind of party when it calls on Harry Truman.

It is quite another when it calls on Adlai Stevenson.

Let me call your attention to still another major difference between the two parties. In the field of taxation, the Democrats are trying one of the greatest feats of magic ever conceived. They have suddenly discovered that taxpayers are voters. For 20 years, no Democratic Congress ever thought of a tax cut.

Suddenly, when the Republicans come up with a real cut for everybody, they decide that we didn't cut enough. But, interestingly enough, although they criticize us for cutting down on taxes more heavily. some of them are demanding bigger mili-

tary spending.

I think the American people know what we want. We want consistency. We want firmness. We want a prosperous economy. We do not want to walk through the world with a chip on our shoulder. But we don't want anyone to think we're afraid to fight for our beliefs.

We have a President who is committed to these principles. He does not compromise with them. He has made them clear not only to us but also to those who challenge us.

I admire his courage. I regard him as a great man. Some folks have been asking me if I think he will seek reelection in 1956.

Back in 1864, a reporter asker President Lincoln the same question. He did not want to answer, so he told him this story of an old friend back in Springfield, Ill.

It seems that a very mild-mannered little preacher came to see him one day to rent a hall for a series of lectures. "You can't rent any hall in this town," he was told, "until we know who you are and what you propose to preach about." The preacher looked at him and said, "My subject shall be the Second Coming of Our Lord." "Then you're wasting your time. If the Lord has been to this town once he knows better than to come back a second time."

Mr. Lincoln did choose to come back a second time. And you know there were peo-ple who opposed his renomination. Some of them were Republicans and they held a convention in Cleveland. They wanted to nom-inate General Fremont. The convention was a complete fizzle. Only about 400 people attended, and when President Lincoln heard about it he called for his Bible and opened it to the First Book of Samuel, chapter 22, and he read it out loud: "And everyone that was in distress, and everyone that was in debt, and everyone that was discon-tended," he read, "gathered themselves unto him, and he became a captain over them, and there were with him about 400 persons."

I don't think any opponent to Dwight D. Eisenhower would do any better.

Address by Hon. Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., of Missouri, Before Lawvers Association of St. Louis

> EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. THOMAS C. HENNINGS, JR.

OF MISSOURI

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. HENNINGS. Mr. President, recently it was my privilege to address the Lawyers Association of St. Louis, Mo., on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of its founding. My speech was devoted to the problem of establishing proper standards for the conduct of congressional investigations. I ask unanimous consent

to insert in the Appendix of the Con-GRESSTONAL RECORD the text of that speech.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Address by United States Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., of Missouri, Before the Lawyers Association of St. Louis, December 3, 1954

Mr. Susman, distinguished guests, ladles and gentlemen, I am greatly honored to be invited to address you on this occasion as part of the 20th anniversary celebration of the Lawyers Association of St. Louis. In the 20 years since the formation of this distinguished society of lawyers on April 24, 1934, you have achieved a record of which you may be justifiably proud. To review the list of the many accomplishments of the Lawyers Association of St. Louis, would, I think, consume the better part of the time which you have so graciously allotted me. Moreover, most of you well know the record, having shared in these achievements.

We have had the pleasure of participating this evening in ceremonies honoring the service of past presidents of this association, among whom I have had some of my closest associations and friendships in my practice at the St. Louis bar. These 19 past presidents, together with Bernard Susman, your present presiding officer, would constitute a distinguished bar anywhere in the land or wherever Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence is a shield and a bulwark. Beyond this, the Lawyers Association of St. Louis has numbered among its members many of our State's leading lawyers. In short, this a society in which any lawyer or counselor-atlaw is very proud to claim the honor of membership.

This evening I am going to talk about something we all recognize and believe deeply—the importance to our country and our civilization of an independent and fearless bar and incorruptible judiciary as the foundation of constitutional democracy. With this theme in mind, I think it fitting that I repeat tonight the preamble of the constitution of the Lawyers Association. As you know, it reads: "To promote the study of law as a science and its practice as a learned profession; to defend the courts, their officers, and the administration of justice: to maintain the honor, dignity and worthy traditions of the profession of law; to encourage general improvements of conditions among lawyers in the practice of their profession; and to secure reasonable reforms and improvements of law and procedure." In these words, the Lawyers Association has set for itself high standards and worthy objectives. In the past, you have fulfilled these standards and met these objectives. I am confident that in the trying years ahead, you shall continue, as an association and as individuals, to make these precepts dynamic and vital.

I think we can take it as axiomatic, and especially so among lawyers, that liberty of person and security of property cannot be said to exist without impartial justice, adequate juridicial defense and proper representation.

For Anglo-Saxon lawyers almost from the 13th century, it has been a tradition that to provide a fair trial and an adequate defense for one accused of crime is the highest dignity to which the law can attain. As stated by Thomas Erskine on the 18th of December, 1792, in his defense of Thomas Paine then being tried, in absentia, for libel and sedition, "If I were to ask you gentlemen of the lury what is the choicest flower that grows upon the tree of English liberty, you would answer security under the law. If I were to ask the whole people of England the return they look for at the hands of government, from the burdens under which they bend to

support it. I should still be answered, security under the laws; or, in other words, an impartial administration of justice." Erskine, you will remember, later to become Lord Chancellor, was, at the time of his defense of Thomas Paine, the foremost advocate in England and, even though only 42, had already made a fortune at the bar handling civil as well as criminal matters, and had behind him a distinguished record of successfully defending in a hostile atmosphere many persons accused of crime.

But, to have liberty of person and security of property based on the impartial adminis-tration of justice we must have stable and orderly government. Indispensable ingredients for justice are an independent and incorruptible judiciary and an informed and fearless advocacy. We lawyers often bear the brunt of heavy criticism for being conservative, for resisting change, and for defending the status quo. Our basic conservatism is tradition and our heritage. It flows naturally from our knowledge of history. from our intimate acquaintance with legal institutions, and from our deepfelt realiza-tion that liberty and security are, at best, precarious. Our training and our traditions at the bar insist that, in spite of calumny that may be heaped upon us, we must do everything within the law to preserve our ancient rights, including the right of one accused of crime, however helious, to receive an adequate defense.

Lately, in this country, we have been witness to certain reprehensible tendencies toward disorderly government. To you, my friends, who have been trained in and daily practice the orderly procedures of our law courts, to you I do not have to expand in great detail concerning the tendencies to which I have alluded. You are all aware that some congressional committees have tended with increasing tempo to go beyond the restraints dictated by orderly procedures.

Congressional investigations have been the subject of increasing concern among thoughtful people for two reasons. First, in some instances they have amounted to unconstitutional attacks on the authority and prerogatives of the executive. And second, they have failed, in some cases, to provide due process of law.

Insofar as unlawful attacks upon the executive branch are concerned, it seems to me that we must look to the President to provide the proper checks and balances by asserting his authority. Members of the Congress can assist him by speaking out, as they have done in recent attacks on his authority. Insofar as congressional committees have falled to provide due process of law in their investigations, the Congress, and the Congress alone, has full responsibility.

To the charge that some congressional committees have, at times, used star-chamber methods and have denied due process of law by refusing to persons whose integrity or loyalty are impugned the right to present evidence, to be represented by counsel, and to cross-examine adverse witnesses, we have heard the argument that these investigations are being conducted to get the facts. To the charge that some committees have, at times, conducted inquisitorial investigations on the premise that one is presumed guilty until proven innocent, we have heard the reply that such investigations are not juditrials to which "due process" applies. And we hear repeatedly, in answer to these charges, that these investigations are conducted to expose Communists and that, therefore, the niceties of fair procedure are irrelevant.

This last-mentioned defense, of course, calls to mind a basic doctrine of the Communists—that "the end justifies the means." It is this concept which threatens the core of our personal liberties—the liberties for which our Republic was founded. We have

been shocked with the thoughtless comments of those who assert: "I don't like the methods, but I approve of the end result." As lawyers, we know that there can be no liberty without due process of law.

We have also heard the argument that to compel congressional investigating committees to meet the minimum standards of due process would add unduly to the burden of these committees, that it would be timeconsuming and would impede the work of the committee in getting at the facts. In this connection, we may recall that one of the reasons set forth for the establishment the court of Star Chamber in 1487 was that the convictions by the regular courts of justice were so slow as to enable felons to break the peace with impunity. In fact, statute 3, Henry VII, chapter I, creating the court of star chamber, provided that the body should punish misdoers "as they should and ought to be punished if they were thereof convicted after the due order of the law.

In considering what standards should govern the conduct of congressional investigations, we should bear in mind that congressional investigations or hearings, in general, fall into 2 fairly distinct types; I is what I would term the legislative hearing, the other I would call an inquisitorial hearing. It is the latter about which we are disturbed. The procedures that are quite appropriate for the legislative hearings are not appropriate for the other type. One of our principal difficulties with inquisitorial investigations, I think, stems largely from our fallure, until very recently, to note the basic difference between the two types of hearings and our consequent fallure to apply different rules to them.

In legislative hearings the purpose is to develop concise and adequate information in order to formulate intelligent legislative policy. Such hearings often involve the wisdom of actions that Government officials have taken and invariably explore questions of governmental policy and the administration of particular programs. Such hearings seldom, however, explore the integrity or loyalty of individuals and the committees holding such hearings have not had to concern themselves with the problem of providing persons under attack with an adequate opportunity to defend themselves. When the problem presents itself, however, I think committees ought to give it special attention.

In the case of inquisitorial investigations to ferret out disloyalty or dishonesty, the purpose is, or at least it should be, to supplement the extensive investigative machinery at work in the executive branch and to provide information on which to base legislation, that is, to strengthen our laws dealing with crime and corruption generally, and, in particular, with acts and conspiracies against national security.

national security.

The inquisitorial investigations have affronted our standards of fair play and fair hearing. They have at times caused irreparable damage to loyal and innocent persons. However, even for persons who may not be honest or loyal, there must be fair hearings in the legislative branch as well as in the courts. We cannot have one code of procedure for innocent people and another code of procedure for guilty people. The abuses that have been practiced in congressional inquisitorial hearings must be brought to an end as quickly as possible.

to an end as quickly as possible.

In coping with this problem, it would be well for us to bear in mind that no Senator or Representative of the Federal Legislature has any power to investigate on his own beyond that enjoyed by every citizen. The same is also true of congressional committees. They hold their powers at the pleasure of the Senate or the House acting as a body. They have only the power which the Senate or the House delegates to them. And, likewise, subcommittees, whether they consist of one or more members, may enjoy power

only as it is delegated from the parent committee. The Senate and the House may at any time take away the powers given to a

committee.

What I have just said is, of course, a simtruth that is obvious to everybody. think, however, that many persons, includ-ing Members of the Congress, have at times overlooked these basic facts. From these facts we may conclude that it is within the power of the Senate and the House of Representatives, respectively, to deal with abuses of its committees or its own Members. With this in mind, a good many Members of the Congress in both Houses have introduced measures that would establish mandatory codes of fair procedure for committees. I, myself, have been a cosponsor of one or more already introduced in the Senate.

While some changes are apparently needed in the rules governing investigative committees, the problem with which we have recently been confronted in the Congress, cannot, in the end, be reached by rules. It is a matter which, in its basic elements, involves moral standards, self-restraint and ideals of fair play. Can any of you imagine the kind of scenes which we have so recently witnessed occurring in a court of law? It is offensive to us. It is unthinkable. And while for obvious reasons, the rules of procedure governing the conduct of cases in our law courts cannot be carried over into legislative matters, it is our duty to be ever vigilant and to have one eye on the traditions and the standards of our law courts as a guide to orderly procedure and fair conduct in legislative matters.

Our present day difficulties with congressional investigations would not have reached the present point of crisis if Russian Communist conspiracy and treachery were not

abroad in the world.

The convictions of Klaus Fuchs, in England, and of the Rosenbergs and others here for espionage in connection with atomic secrets; the conviction of the top Communist leaders in this country; the charges of Whit-taker Chambers and Elizabeth Bentley leading to the conviction of Hiss and Remington-these dramatic events together with other developments including the seeking of refuge in the fifth amendment by many witnesses before various congressional committees, set the stage for abuses of committee The point I am making is that without the Communist conspiracy, congressional committees would not have had occasion to take on the inquisitorial aspects which I have just discussed.

In this era of the hydrogen bomb-in this period of neither peace nor war so aptly called the cold war-all loyal Americans are concerned about our national security and bitter against traitors. Some loyal citizens have even become hysterical and stand ready to pillory those who insist on orderly demo cratic government, on the preservation of constitutional rights, and on lawful procedures even in the exposure and conviction

of traitors.

In this period of tenseness, lawyers have a reat opportunity and an equal responsibility to lend a steady hand to the course of public affairs and to bring the full pressure of their wisdom and sound judgment to bear against disorderly and illegal extremes.

So far, we have come through this period fairly well and with reasonable dignity, but, at times. I have felt that the atmosphere of public affairs was in danger of being permanently polluted by fear, intolerance, and hysteria. During this period, altogether loyal and usually restrained Americans have felt impelled to employ such epithets as "witch hunt" and "book burning" to describe some of the excesses.

In pondering our present problems, I have searched for a period of history which, while not on all fours with our own-no two periods are ever identical-would contain some - of the elements of tension and world unrest that we are now experiencing. I wanted to consider what fearless advocates did to meet the crises of their times. My thoughts turned to the events in England and France, during the French Revolution, beginning with the fall of the Bastille on the 14th of July 1789. Conservative Englishmen, in that day, viewed the atrocities committed by the Paris Commune with its Committee of Surveillance and its mob rule with a horror and a fear even as great as that with which we view the conspiracies and the treachery of the men in the Kremlin. The French revolutionists, it is true, did have many sympathizers among the British people, and even distinguished defenders in the House Commons, such as Charles James Fox, the great Whig leader. On the other hand, we will recall that it was Fox's former friend and colleague, Edmund Burke, who after his dramatic appearance in the House of Commons dressed in the blue and buff of revolutionary America to defend our War of Independence, was now so shaken by the terror in Paris, that he wrote and published his historic philippic against the French, Reflections on the French Revolution. You will remember that this bitter controversy ended the long association and friendship of these two great titans of the Whig Party.

William Pitt, the Younger, then Prime Minister of England, decided that Thomas Paine should be indicted for libel and sedition against the Crown for having written part II of his famous essay The Rights of Man as an answer to Burke. In November of 1792, the trial of Paine was commenced before the Court of King's Bench. Paine was at the time in Paris, having been elected a member of the National Convention, and he was tried in absentia, the laws of England at that time permitting the trial of criminal without their presence before defendants the court. Friends of Paine urged Thomas Erskine to take Paine's case. Erskine, at the height of his career as England's ablest advocate, was faced with a hard decision. Should he provide, for Thomas Paine charged, in effect, with treason against the British Crown the best defense possible in England-not just an ordinary defense which Paine might otherwise get-but a defense in the hands of this master of the English juries, or should be heed the cautious warnings of his friends not to be identified with this defendant who was anathema to British conservatism and respectability? As you all know, Erskine took Paine's brief and stood before the King's judges while his client, as a member of the French Revolutionary Government, remained safely beyond the reach of the court. You will also remember Erskine's magnificent address to the hostile jury in the face of what he knew was certain defeat for his client.

This case was soon followed by the trial of John Frost, a London solicitor of great eminence and respectability who was pronounced guilty of sedition on the evidence of a copy of The Rights of Man found in the pocket of his greatcoat. This case Erskine likewise took in the face of an almost

certain verdict of guilty.

Erskine, intrepid advocate that he was, continued to act as counsel for persons accused of sedition and in December 1793 won an acquittal before a jury for the owners of the Morning Chronicle. Soon after, Erskine successfully defended Thomas Walker, of Manchester, who likewise had fallen victim to an oppressive zeal to prosecute anyone who dared to question Government policy. there were many others. This period came to be known as England's reign of terror. But in the end, fearless, resolute British advocacy won through. As you know, Erskine on April 7, 1806, became Lord Chancellor of England and took as his motto for his peerage

My friends, I have dwelt at some length on the history of Lord Erskine not so much because he was an exception to the ruleI think he was not. He merely took his place among the many before and after him who have maintained the highest tradition of the British and the American Bar. You and I can cite cases much closer to hand if there were need to do so. I think, however, I have illustrated my point.

As lawyers in this great democracy we

have a public trust and a responsibility that falls more heavily on us, perhaps, than on any other group of our citizens-to cherish our independence of judgment, to champion just causes without fear or timidity, to remain vigilant against any inroads upon our basic freedom of person and security of property, and to defend with all our vigor the principles of justice under a government of laws and not of men.

As members of the Lawyers Association of St. Louis, I am confident there will be no shrinking from this obligation, true to the high standards and noble traditions of this great organization, we will meet this continuing challenge with courage and

with honor.

Lincoln Day Address by Hon. Edward Martin, of Pennsylvania

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. J. GLENN BEALL

OF MARYLAND

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. BEALL, Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of today's Record the text of an address delivered by the senior Senator from Pennsylvania [Mr. MAR-TIN] on February 10, 1955. The occasion was a Lincoln Day dinner in Hagerstown, Md., given by the Washington County Republican State Central Committee.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD.

as follows:

Address by Senator Martin of Pennsylvania

I am sincerely grateful for the privilege of addressing this splendid meeting of true Americans and loyal Republicans.

It is an honor and a real pleasure to come to the Free State of Maryland and to join you in tribute to one of the greatest of all Americans—the first Republican President of the United States-Abraham Lincoln.

First, let me tell you that in the Keystone State of Pennsylvania we have the highest admiration of our fine Maryland neighbors.

We know how much of the spirit of America has gone into the building of your great State.

We share your pride in its glorious history and its steadfast record of loyalty and patriotic sacrifice.

Like Pennsylvania, Maryland is the home of many faiths and creeds living in tolerance and good will. One of the great landmarks in religious liberty was the Maryland Toleration Act, passed by the Provincial Assembly more than 300 years ago.

It was the first law in the American Colonies granting freedom of worship everyone who professed belief in the Chris-

tain faith.

In my own State we are proud that the same principle of religious liberty was established by William Penn in founding the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

I am happy to be here tonight to tell you of my high regard for my distinguished friends and colleagues—John Marshall ButLER and GLENN BEALL. They are both great Americans and great Republicans.

Both served their country with honor and distinction as soldiers in time of war. Both serve their State and Nation with the highest degree of statesmanship in these days of troubled peace.

I am proud to tell you that the State of Maryland is represented in the Senate of the United States by two forceful, vigorous, fighting American patriots who battle with tireless energy to protect the American system of government and the American way

I want to make special mention also of your distinguished Republican Congressman, DEWITT HYDE, and to offer my praise for his able, courageous, and patriotic service.

He came to the House of Representatives in the 83d Congress with a valuable background of legislative experience in the general assembly as a member of the house and of the State senate.

The people of the Sixth Congressional Disgave proper recognition of his outstanding ability by sending him back to Congress for a second term.

The fame of your great Governor has spread far beyond the borders of Maryland and has made him an outstanding national

Maryland is so fortunate to have the lead-ership of Theodore Roosevelt McKeldin. His statesmanship is in the historic pattern of Maryland's greatness. His stanch Republi-canism is in line with the highest standards

of political integrity.

I congratulate the people of Maryland on retaining Governor McKeldin in office for a second term.

Your Republican Senators and Representatives and your Governor believe in freedom of the individual, freedom of enterprise, and freedom of opportunity.

These are American principles. They are the principles of the Republican Party.

were the principles of Abraham Lincoln.
In commemorating the birthday anniversary of the Great Emancipator we recall his steadfast courage, his inexhaustible pa-tience, his lofty spirit of tolerance, his deep humility, his enduring devotion to the ideals of our Republic, and his faith in God,

It is therefore fitting on this anniversary to reaffirm our allegiance to the heritage passed on to us by the Founding Fathers, preserved for us by Abraham Lincoln, and strengthened by the high principles to which President Eisenhower and the Republican

Party are dedicated.

We honor Lincoln as one of the founders

of the Republican Party.

It was his suggestion that the delegates to the first national convention of the Republican Party unite on the principles of the Declaration of Independence and hostility to the extension of slavery.

Lincoln put it in these memorable words:

"Let us, in building our new party, plant ourselves on the rock of the Declaration of Independence, and the gates of hell shall not be able to prevail against us."

The political wisdom of Abraham Lincoln grows more impressive with the passing of the years.

The Declaration of Independence stands as a firm, immovable rock, symbolizing the Republican Party's dedication to freedom of the individual, human dignity, and human integrity.

Throughout the 100 years of its existence the philosophy of the Republican Party has been based on the sacred principle that "all men are created equal; that they are en-dowed by their Creator with certain un-alienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Let me read to you the first resolution adopted by the first Republican National Convention in Philadelphia in 1856. It is as follows:

"Resolved, That the maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the Federal Constitution are essential to the preservation of our republican institutions, and that the Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, and the Union of the States, must be preserved."

My fellow Americans, that ringing declaration has been the watchword of the Republican Party ever since. The words are timely and true. They apply to the issues which confront us today.

Lincoln called upon every American to accept a full share of responsibility for the preservation of our liberties.

On February 11, 1861, when he was on his way to Washington to assume the office of President he made a speech at Indianapolis in which he said:

"In all trying positions in which I shall be placed, and doubtless I shall be placed in many such, my reliance will be upon you and the people of the United States. * * * "It is your business to rise up and preserve

the Union and liberty for yourselves-and not for me.

"I appeal to you to constantly bear in mind, that not with politicians, not with Presidents, not with officeseekers, but with you is the question:

'Shall the Union and shall the liberties of this country be preserved to the latest generations?"

Those words of Abraham Lincoln are a challenge to all of us in this present day.

They are a warning that the people alone can save America from the dangers that can

bring us to national disaster.

Our system of government is based on the fundamental principle that people can manage their own affairs better than government can manage for them.

One hundred years ago Abraham Lincoln said:

"The legitimate object of government is to do for a community of people whatever they need to have done, but cannot do at all or cannot so well do for themselves—in their separate and individual capacities. In all that people can do as well for themselves government ought not to interfere."

Lincoln recognized that interference by government in the lives of its citizens is a dangerous encroachment upon individual liberty—contrary to the plan of the Founding Fathers.

Only the people can rise up in their might and enforce relief from the evils of big government-high taxes and excessive debt

It is frightening to realize that the public and private debt of the American people has climbed to a point so high that it is a serious threat to the safety and security. of the

Uncontrolled debt, rising higher and higher year after year, places a crushing burden on the economic structure of our country, and points the way to financial collapse.

It should be a matter of deep concern to every one of us that the American people now owe a total of more than \$600 billion, three times as much as the debt of 15 years

In the last 5 years alone the total public and private debt has increased by \$50 billion. Never before in the history of the world

have any people owed so much as we owe At the top of the list is the Pederal debt of \$278 billion-an increase of \$20 billion

since the end of World War II. Twenty-three years ago, when we were fighting the worst depression we ever had, the Federal debt was less than \$20 billion.

The debts of State and local governments have increased 16 percent in 1 year alone, reaching a total of \$38 billion on June 30,

In terms of national income public debt stood at 34 percent in 1929, rose to 102 percent in 1933, declined to 69 percent in 1941, and rose again to 147 percent in 1945. It has since declined to 86 percent, largely because of the rise in income.

There is real cause for alarm in the tragic fact that while the debt burden is increasing by millions every day, the great majority of our people don't seem to be worried about it.

They take the position that we are a strong nation, we are prosperous, our people have a backlog of savings, times are good, the national income is high, why worry? But the danger is all about us.

If for any reason we should be forced into a decline—even a slight decline in business activity, jobs and income, the staggering burden of debt could prove too much for our economy to sustain and could bring us to disaster.

I ask you to remember that the debts, which so many people hold so lightly, are not mere bookkeeping items. They will have to be paid by generations far in the future, out of the earnings of Americans who had no part in creating the debts.

The question that naturally arises is: Are we going to drift into bigger debt, or are we going to begin thinking about reducing it.

I bring this serious situation to your attention because I believe we Republicans should be concerned with the problem of government grown too big and too costly.

Yes, my fellow Americans, we have too

much government, and government is involved in too many functions in which it does not properly belong.

The future of our Nation depends upon the course of action we take and the principles for which we fight.

Let us-like Lincoln-call for a new dedication to our country's cause and resolve that this Nation, founded to sustain the God-given freedom of the individual, shall not perish from the earth, but shall live forever, and grow stronger with each passing generation.

United States Assistance to Foreign Nations

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. RUSSELL B. LONG

OF LOUISIANA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. LONG. Mr. President, in the Shreveport Times of Saturday, February 5, 1955, there appeared an editorial regarding the senior Senator from Louisiana [Mr. ELLENDER]. It is with much pleasure and pride that I ask unanimous consent that it be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

ELLENDER POINTS THE WAY TO ECONOMY

As a result of his inspection tour of overseas American agencies, taken under direction of the Senate Appropriations Commit-tee, Senator ALLEN ELLENDER has submitted to the committee some 3,000 words of recommendations on cutting expenses and improving efficiency of operations by the State and Defense Departments, the United States Information Agency, the Foreign Operations Administration, and other lesser groups.

If the Louisiana Senator's recommendations are carried out, American taxpayers will be saved millions of dollars and many

United States operations overseas will gain in efficiency.

The Louisiana Senator specifically calls for an end to all economic aid to Western Europe, holding that such nations are quite capable now of handling their own economy. He also urges that there be no economic aid to any part of the world where the recipient nation does not meet the United States half way in financing the various aid programs. On this point, Senator Ellender states in his report:

"In Lebanon the United States is carrying the total burden because the Lebanese do not wish to operate their government in the red, hence, our planners have magnanimously saddled the debt-ridden United States Government with the full load.

"No attempt is made to obtain local aid.
"A similar situation obtains in Jordan.

"Examples such as these, few though they may be, should shock the conscience of the responsible Foreign Operations Administration leaders.

"Personnel responsible for the diversion of Indian program funds from their originally understood purposes should be severely chastized by FOA.

The Foreign Operations Administration—FOA—is headed by Harold Stassen.

As an example of the diversion of funds for India, Senator ELLENDER points out that Congress last year appropriated \$89,100,000 to continue existing FOA programs in India, but that the Stassen organization, without even notice to the Appropriations Committee, diverted \$20 million for rebuilding an Indian railroad for which no funds had been authorized or appropriated.

"Such action borders on gross misrepresentation," the Senator's report said.

The report also cited numerous instances of huge construction programs to house American agencies whose programs are temporary, and in some instances should be ended at once. There also is excessive construction of American libraries in countries where American data easily could be placed in local libraries, and also in areas where virtually none of the native people can read. The Senator's report continued:

"I call the committee's attention to the fact that in many areas of the world no effort is being made to terminate special programs, even though their objectives have been accomplished.

"On the contrary, there is a definite tendency to perpetuate jobs, increase programs, and maintain spending, without any regard to the impact their continuance may have on our own economy. The Western European nations offer ample ground for com-

mittee attention in this respect.

"Despite the recommendations of the committee report on the 1955 defense appropriation bill to the effect that the Department of Defense should 'effectuate Senator ELLENDER's recommendations with a view to the accomplishment of substantial economies' in the conduct of its military attaché functions, there not only has apparently been no effort made to do so but, on the contrary, I found every indication that there is a continued emphasis on swelling attaché staffs and maintaining the emoluments that

accompany those positions overseas.

"The waste involved in duplication of staffs, vehicles, office space, housing, etc., which the maintenance of separate, distinct offices for each branch requires, is inconceivable.

"I reaffirm my observation that in many instances the operation of the majority of United States military attaché offices abroad is shockingly extravagant and wasteful."

Senator ELLENDER also criticized administration of the Fulbright scholarship student-exchange program, saying that some countries sent students to this country who were not their natives, but natives of other nations.

The Louisiana Senator hit the United States Information Service hard with accusations of waste and inefficiency. He added:

tions of waste and inefficiency. He added:
"I recommend that USIA bear in mind
the fact that one operation, well planned
and well executed, is much more effective
than several haphazard programs.

"As I warned last year, too many of our planners seem to believe that we are bound to operate a library, a press program, a film program, an exchange program, as well as others, in each and every nation which is host to the agency. This has resulted in much wasted effort.

"The programs maintained in each country should be tailored to local educational levels and needs and should be administered in accord with the fiscal capabilities of our

own country."
Senator ELLENDER's recommendations are thoroughly sound throughout. Also, they testify to the value of his overseas inspection tours and illustrate the type of foreign touring by Members of Congress that really pays off for the American people, particularly taxpayers.

Tribute to Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. EDWARD J. THYE

OF MINNESOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, there recently appeared in Letters to the Editor department of the Washington Post and Times Herald an excellent and well-deserved appraisal of the work of Ambassador Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., at the United Nations. It was written by Dr. Charles W. Mayo, one of Minnesota's best known and most distinguished professional men, who himself recently made a significant contribution as an alternate delegate to the United Nations.

I ask unanimous consent that Dr. Mayo's letter paying tribute to our former colleague in the Senate, Ambassador Lodge, be printed in the Appendix of the Record.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

[From the Washington Post and Times Herald of January 24, 1955]

AMBASSADOR LODGE'S ACHIEVEMENTS

In your newspaper on January 9, Mr. Herbert Elliston characterized Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., our chief representative to the United Nations, as "flatfooted." Again on January 11, Mr. Marquis Childs said that Mr. Lodge is not a happy choice for his job because, for instance, he has "rushed out with statements when, in a delicate situation, silence would be preferable."

Having served as an alternate delegate for the United States in the Eighth General Assembly under Ambassador Lodge and being at present president of the American Association for the United Nations, I have followed closely the events of the United Nations, including those of the Ninth General Assembly last fall. It is my opinion that Mr. Lodge, and those who serve with him, have dealt effectively, factually, and successfully with Communist propaganda and maneuvering and, at the same time, have developed a high degree of cooperation with free world delegations.

As a result, every major United States objective in the United Nations since he has been there has been achieved. In fact, I believe that United States influence in the United Nations has greatly increased in the past 2 years and that Soviet influence there is at an all-time low.

What seemed to Mr. Elliston "flatfooted" was the idea, which he attributes to Mr. Lodge, that Secretary General Hammarsk-jold be given the job of going to Peiping to seek release of the prisoners in Chinese Communist hands. It would surprise me to find that, as Mr. Elliston speculates, Mr. Lodge prodded Mr. Hammarskjold on the subject. It might be a good idea for Mr. Elliston to ask one or both of these gentlemen about it instead of contenting himself with speculation.

Sometimes in the United Nations it is necessary to be flatfooted, blunt, or whatever you wish to call it, and sometimes it is necessary to be delicate. Mr. Lodge has shown that he can be both, as the occasion requires. When it comes to educating world opinion on Communist atrocities and the behavior of the Chinese Communists, he has not hesitated to speak unpleasant truths. When it comes to diplomacy, he can be as delicate as the next man. The success of these tactics is reflected in many votes in the General Assembly on important matters that he has handled personally.

In December 1953: 42 to 5 in condemnation of Chinese Communist atrocities in Korea, the Soviet bloc alone voting against it.

In November 1954: 60 to 0 for the Eisenhower atoms-for-peace program, for which even Soviet Union felt compelled to vote;

In December 1954: 47 to 5 to condemn Red China's sentencing of the 11 United States airmen and to seek release of all United Nations prisoners still detained, the Soviet bloc alone voting against it:

alone voting against it;
Since January 1953: 24 separate votes against admitting Red China to various United Nations bodies, or against even considering the question.

You do not get results like these without diplomacy, and not without bluntness either, when that is called for.

Mr. Childs' observation about Mr. Lodge's "rushing out" with statements at the wrong time seems strange, coming shortly after Mr. Lodge's appearance on a national television program on December 19. He was asked repeatedly about the matter of the filers imprisoned in China and he declined to make any comments that might complicate things. He said, "What we are all thinking about now is what is good for those filers. We ought to try to avoid doing or saying anything which will act adversely on the negotiations to get those filers out."

One of Mr. Lodge's assignments, he has told me, was to do what he could to bring back American confidence in the United Nations, which had been sagging dangerously. In May of 1951 43 percent answered "Yes" in response to the question: "Are you satisfied with the progress of the United Nations?" By January 1954 this percentage had risen to 63 percent, which was the highest point in 7 years of polling on this question. Last October 1954 the percentage of those who wanted to pull out of the United Nations altogether fell to 6 percent, which is the lowest ever recorded. I respectfully suggest that this is not an unhappy record.

All these accomplishments may explain what Harvard University had in mind when, in giving Mr. Lodge the honorary degree of doctor of laws last June, it called him "an eloquent defender in the United Nations of the truth that freemen cherish."

There certainly is nothing wrong with being politically ambitious, a state of mind which Mr. Childs attributes to Mr. Lodge. But my impression is that this is not an accurate characterization and that he is totally absorbed and satisfied by the work

he is doing at the United Nations. I have never seen a man give a greater impression of being happy in his work. CHARLES W. MAYO, M. D.,

CHARLES W. MATO, M. D.,
President, American Association for
the United Nations.
New York.

Criticism by Walter Reuther of President Eisenhower's Economic Report to Congress

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. MATTHEW M. NEELY

OF WEST VIRGINIA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an impressive article, appearing on the first page of the Baltimore Sun of today, entitled "Reuther Raps Ike Economy—CIO President Assails Recent Report to Congress."

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

REUTHER RAPS IKE ECONOMY—CIO PRESIDENT ASSAILS RECENT REPORT TO CONGRESS

Washington, February 10.—In the most scathing attack yet made on President Elsenhower's recent economic report to Congress, Walter P. Reuther, CIO president, today charged that the administration is selling the American people short by falling to fulfill its obligations under the Employment Act of 1946.

Reuther charged that the President had shown complacency over unemployment, failed to mention both the decline in farm income and the relatively deteriorating position of small business and avoided a discussion of automation and its implications for economic expansion, production, consumption, and employment.

He told the Congressional Economic Committee that the administration had offered only petty, half-hearted economic programs based on a hypnotic preoccupation with statistical indexes of the long-run past.

CHALLENGES CONTENTION

Reuther also challenged the administration contention that the outlook for 1955 is bright. He said his observations lead him to believe that well may be a leveling off or decline of economic activity in the later part of 1955.

Reuther in a 6,000-word statement lashed the administration for avoiding any mention of the tremendous potential for rapid economic growth and improved living conditions which new technologies offer.

Nor has the President, said the CIO head, given Congress or the people any guidance or preparation for the new technology—including atomic power—which hold limitless possibilities for growth and improved living standards.

The Economic Committee also heard a plea by the National Farmers' Union for some solution for the rapidly deteriorating farm situation.

A statement prepared by James G. Patton, head of the Farmers Union, and read to the committee by John A. Baker, his assistant, said that the President's economic report concealed many of the true facts about the economic situation.

Patton charged that the President ignored the requirements of the Employment Act of 1946 to lay before Congress concrete recommendations for dealing with the economic steps needed to produce full employment, The Farmers' Union spokesman also as-

The Farmers' Union spokesman also asserted that the administration is deliberately trying to minimize the true facts about unemployment by labeling a 538,000 rise of the jobless in January as "seasonal."

jobless in January as "seasonal."
"If we were in a great upsurge of business," Patton declared, "it would overcome the seasonal factors and bring about a drop in the pathologically high unemployment."

Concerning the farm situation, Patton told the committee that between 1952 and 1954 the income of the average farm family had dropped from about \$200 a month to \$150 a month, and that in his estimation it will drop further to \$100 a month "under the Eisenhower sliding scale farm program."

The Fund for the Republic

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PAUL H. DOUGLAS

OF ILLINOIS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Wednesday, February 9, 1955

Mr. DOUGLAS. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record the incisive and thought-provoking address recently delivered before the National Press Club in Washington by Mr. Robert M. Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic. This speech runs a little over two pages, and the Printing Office estimates the cost at \$187.

There being no objection, the address was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

Address of Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, Before the National Press Club, Washington, D. C., January 26, 1955

I speak only for myself, not for the Fund for the Republic, the directors of which I have not consulted; not for the Ford Foundation, of which the Fund for the Republic is completely independent; not for other foundations. They have been doing a good deal of talking lately. In fact they have been uncommonly vocal.

They have been uncommonly unanimous. I have been dealing with the foundations in one way or another for more than 30 years. They have always been distinguished by their lack of fellow feeling. They have scorned a project if it required the cooperation of another foundation. One of the more absurd charges made by the Reece committee was that the foundations were an intellectual cartel. The Reece committee forced them to huddle together in self-defense. One more investigation and they might become a cartel.

The conduct of the majority, if it was the majority, of the Reece committee was so scandalous that it outraged almost all the press and apparently even one of its own members. At any rate, Angier L. Goodwin, of Massachusetts, wrote a new kind of concurring opinion, one that disagreed with all the conclusions of the opinion with which it purported to concur. In the conduct of the hearings Mr. Reece added some new wrinkles to the distortions that we have become accustomed to in congressional investigations.

The foundations were elaborately attacked by the staff and by some witnesses of dubious standing. Then, pleading that Mr. Hays of Ohio would not let him conduct the hearings as they should be conducted, Mr. REECE adjourned them and informed the foundations that they could file written statements. Perhaps the most depressing fact about the report of the so-called majority of the Reece committee is that Mr. REECE takes credit for relieving the foundations of what he calls the embarrassment of cross-examination. You might as well execute an innocent man without the embarrassment of a hearing—but if you did, nobody would claim that you had conformed to the principles of Anglo-American jurisprudence.

The most entertaining of the new wrinkles was that the majority took a philosophical position. The Cambridge ladies, E. E. Cummings said, lived in furnished souls; so Mr. REECE and Mr. WOLCOTT came bustling out in secondhand suits of antiempiricism, supplied them by the sages of the staff. Mr. REECE and Mr. WOLCOTT were much against empiricism, which they associated with moral relativism, irreligion, the cultural lag, and ultimately with subversion.

The Congressmen could not be bothered with history. They overlooked the fact that some of the most empirical empiricists in history, like Hume and Montaigne, were thoroughgoing Tories. The Congressmen could not be bothered with consistency; for example, they went after the teachers' colleges for sponsoring empiricism and then after the Fund for the Advancement of Education for not sponsoring the teachers' colleges.

If a committee may charge a foundation with empiricism, why not charge a college with it; and if with empiricism, why not with Presbyterlanism or Catholicism or any other philosophy, religion, or dogma that the committee does not care for? The grant of tax exemption may carry with it certain obligations and those who accept it may by implication agree that they must perform certain services. But it has never been supposed that by taking tax exemption a college, university, church, or foundation, otherwise within the law, was liable to condemnation because of the philosophy that it held. If there is such reliability, the way is open to the most flagrant violation of religious freedom and of freedom of speech and teaching.

The lesson the majority, if it is a majority, of the Reece committee wants to teach the foundations is stated in words of crystalline clarity: "They should be very chary of promoting ideas, concepts, and opinion-forming material which run counter to what the public currently wishes, approves, and likes."

Here the committee throws overboard the principle accepted by the Cox committee that the justification of the foundations is that they supply risk or venture capital in the field of philanthropy. That is what they are for—to take chances—the Cox committee said. The Reece committee would confine them to what a public-relations man, presumably by a series of careful polls, found that the public currently wished, approved, and liked. The way to be safe would be to attract no attention, arouse no discussion, and create no controversy.

Even this would not be enough. All the things of which the committee now complains were currently wished, approved, and liked at the time the foundations did them. To meet the test laid down by the committee, therefore, a foundation would have to be able to foresee what would become unpopular by the time of an investigation.

But even this is not enough. The issue is not what the public will wish, approve, and like. There is no evidence, for example, that the American public dislikes empiricism. Quite the contrary. The public does not dislike empiricism: The Reece committee does, or rather two members of it do, or perhaps just the staff of the Reece committee does. Running a foundation on these terms be-

comes an extrahazardous occupation fraught with dangers that test pilots and submarine explorers and others who are up against nothing worse than the laws of nature do not encounter

The Reece committee achieves some of its gaudiest effects by the simple process of giving old words new definitions and then pinning the old words on the foundations. the way that empiricism becomes This is subversive. Subversion now means, the committee says, a promotion of tendencies that may lead to results that the committee will not like. Hence support of the New Deal Social engineering, could be subversion. planning, world government, the United Na-tions, William James, John Dewey, the American Friends Service Committee, Dr. Kinsey, and reform are all subversive in the bright new lexicon of the Reece committee. And of course all these things are socialistic, if not communistic, too,

At times one feels when reading the report that old scurrilous words will be redefined and applied to any expression of decent human feeling. So it was that a staff member found himself identifying the papal

encyclicals as communistic.

But the Reece report is said to be a majority report, and it will be referred to in the future as a majority report. Its anpendix will be quoted as an authoritative collection of dangerous names. The only reason for the appendix is to enable some committee in the future to say of somebody that he was listed by the Reece committee. This fact will then be greeted with hushed and incredulous awe by those to whom it is communicated.

All you have to do to qualify for the appendix is to favor world government or Worker. get mentioned by the Daily principal charge against one distinguished professor is that he is quoted, apparently with approval, in a dissenting opinion in the circuit court of appeals. A low of some sort is reached with the mention in the appendix of the name of George F. Kennan. He is accused of the following-and this is the total record: A book of his was reviewed (we are not told whether favorably or unfavorably) in the Daily People's World and the New World Review; on May 9, 1950, the New York Times reported that he spoke on Communist China (what he said does not appear); and on May 28, 1950, the New York Times reported that he "attacked witch-hunting of Communists." On the basis of such information Mr. Kennan will in the future be refered to as "cited by the Reece

The appendix of the Reece committee's socalled majority report is an endless carnival of good clean fun-it is almost 200 pages long; but I must pass on. I cannot regard the Reece committee as having more than symbolic or symptomatic importance. Its wild and squalid presentation affords a picture of the state of our culture that is most depressing. Its aims and methods are another example of the exploitation of public concern about communism and subversion to further political ambition and to work off political grudges.

We may as well state it plainly: the Reece investigation in its inception and execution was a fraud. Nobody in his right mind could suppose that the great accumulations of wealth left by our richest men were being intentionally used by their trustees to overthrow the institutions of this country. Hence the Reece committee had to take another tack: the trustees were said to be so busy that they had to leave the foundations to officers who were often quite disreputable. Though this relieved the men of wealth and staning of the charge of being knaves, it did so only at the expense of charging them with being fools. Only fools could be so careless as to allow enormous sums entrusted to them for charitable purpose to be stolen

away and lavished on the subversion of their

Congress may properly investigate the foundations and seek to arrive at general legislative policy concerning them. But the most important question to ask about any given foundation is whether it is one. Is actually using its money for religious, charitable, educational, or scientific purposes? The first amendment suggests that tax exemption should not be denied or revoked because the particular views of religion, education, or science held or promoted by the foundation are unpopular.

On the other hand, nothing in the Constitution requires that tax exemption must be accorded an organization, which though in outward form a foundation, is actually a tax dodge, or a public relations device, or a scheme to promote the personal interests of the donor. The test is public versus properly nurnoses. The Government may properly inquire into this question, since the exemption is granted with a promise of performance. The appropriate forum for the determination of the question of performance would seem to be a court.

As Dr. Johnson used to say, we must clear our minds of cant. When we do, we see that, in general, the foundations have for many years been following the prescription laid down for them by the majority of the Reece committee. This prescription is to try to avoid doing what is or may become unpopular. The failure of the foundations to be universally popular at all times is seldom caused by a spirit of reckless abandon or eager pioneering on their part. It is caused rather by the difficulties of predicting

what will be popular or unpopular.

Who could have imagined that helping prospective teachers in Arkansas to get an education would have ever been regarded by anybody as exhibiting dangerous tendencies of mind? But when a foundation did this, it was criticized by teachers, businessmen, and newspapers in that State and was, of course, complained of by the Reece committee. What would the foundation have done in Arkansas if it had been possible to foresee the reactions that, in fact, occurred? I do not say that the grant would not have been made, but I would not bet on it; for the foundations have in varying degrees suppressed their ambition to provide risk capital in favor of a desire to have what are called good public relations, that is, to avoid unpopularity.

We know that the Attorney General's list is an ex parte finding of guilt with no probative standing in law. But how many foundations would give money to an organization or even to an individual in an organization on the Attorney General's list, no matter how meritorious the project? Would we support organizations that allowed groups listed by the Attorney General to meet in halls owned by them? If not, for meet in halls owned by them? an irrelevant reason, one that has nothing to do with the quality of the proposal, but that has a great deal to do with our popularity, we have made our peace with REECE.

We know that the most dreadful aspect of the current situation is the atmosphere of suspicion and of guilt by association in which we live. We ought to say that until a man or an organization has been condemned by due process of law he, or it, must be presumed innocent, and therefore, individuals and organizations are not to be automatically denied support solely on the ground that they are associated with unpopular people. Yet, how many foundations would give money for a good purpose to be well carried out by an organization which, though not on the Attorney General's list, was supposed to have some Communist members or was vaguely reported to be dominated by Communists?

We have come a long way since Lord Ma-caulay, who said, "To punish a man because

we infer from some doctrine he holds or from the conduct of others who hold the same doctrine with him that he will commit a crime is persecution and is in any case foolish and wicked."

Congressman Reece was scoffed at. It was agreed that his investigation was a farce. think he had good reason to be satisfied with himself. I think he won. Without firing a single serious shot, without saying a single intelligent word, he accomplished his purpose, which was to harass the foundations and to subdue such stirrings of courage, or even of imagination, as could be found in them. As I have said, there were not many there when he came on the scene. Congressman Cox had been there before him. And even before Congressman Cox the foundations were coming to limit their venturesome risk capital supplying to the natural sciences, medicine, technology, and longterm research. These fields are of great public benefit. They are also not controversial. If there ever was a foundation that was willing to be controversial, that was willing to take risks and to venture capital in areas about which people have strong prejudices, it learned its lesson by the time Cox and REECE got through. Who will venture now?

The pressures of our time produce strange contradictions, as in the case of the man who said that there were two things he hated, intolerance and Jews. Even those who understand what they are talking about are sometimes afflicted with a disease that often attacks intelligent people, a disease that gives them such satisfaction in what they say that they are blinded to the fact that

it makes no difference. The Houston Post did a wonderful job on the situation in the schools of that city, but the deputy superintendent, who was fired, has not been reinstated. We all smiled at the decision of the commandants not to permit West Point and Annapolis to debate the entry of Communist China into the U. N. and applauded Mr. Eisenhower's sensible We went away feeling very observations. good, forgetting that West Point and Annapolis are not to be permitted to debate the entry of Communist China into the U. N. The Illinois Department of the American Legion has repented, I hear, of its brutality to the Girl Scouts; but the Girl Scouts revised their manual as the Legion manded. We were pleased to notice that Bishop Oxnam was cleared by the House Un-American Activities Committee; but he is not allowed to speak at the Philharmonic Auditorium in Los Angeles. We assert that the fifth amendment is one of the brightest stars in the crown of our liberties and proclaim the inalienable freedom of every man not to testify against himself, conveniently overlooking the fact that almost everybody who has declined to do so is now unemployed. We say that a security system that deprives us of the services of some of our ablest people is scarcely helping us to be secure; we regard this as a pungent remark. But Davies and Oppenheimer are not working for the Government; Ladejinsky is not working for the Department of Agriculture. And what about Edward U. Condon, retiring president of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, who has been repeatedly cleared. but who, at the prospect of his 10th or 11th investigation, pronounced himself investigated out of public service? And now, after Reece, how many foundations do you suppose would be prepared to assist such a man? The temper of the times appears to be

such that the real victories go to those who are nominally defeated. The rather messy anti-Communist legislation adopted at the close of the last session of Congress and the plous resolution passed by the Senate at the opening of this one must be regarded as real victories for a Senator who was formally condemned by his colleagues 2 months ago. So must the requirement imposed on every

public speaker these days that he must disavow any connection with communism and attack the vicious conspirators in the Kremlin.

The newer orthodoxy is an odd thing. For example, it requires us to be against Mc-CARTHY, but not too soon or too much, not in such a way as to arouse too much ani-mosity in too many of those who might have a different opinion. If, for example, we say that rumor and gossip are an inadequate basis on which to condemn a man or a group, we are told that of course we are right, but that in this case the rumor and gossip are so widely believed that people would think bad thoughts of us if we insisted on proof. So it comes to this: We must ourselves adopt an un-American attitude because if we don't we may be regarded as un-American by those who have an admittedly un-American atti-tude. We are all dedicated to the great American tradition, but the battlecry of the Republic is, what will people say?

The motto of the Fund for the Republic is, feel free. At least that is what the officers tell one another it ought to be. This is, I believe, the essence of Americanism. Our ancestors came to this country because they wanted to feel free. They developed laws and institutions under which they and we could feel free. The Declaration of Independence, the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the amendments extending the suffrage—these are expressions of the American conviction that everybody should feel free. The limits of this feeling or this freedom are not to be found in a formless fear of public opinion. On the contrary, public opinion is to grow and change through the free discussion of all points of view.

These ideas seemed so important to a new and inexperienced foundation, the Ford Foundation, that something more than 2 years ago it established the Fund for the Republic. The foundation gave the fund \$15 million and turned it loose as an independent corporation, a wholly disowned subsidiary, with a self-perpetuating board of directors of its own. Its mandate from the foundation was to try to strengthen the basic rights guaranteed by the Constitution and to support activities directed toward the elimination of restrictions on freedom of thought, inquiry, and expression in the United States, and the development of policies and procedures best adapted to protect those rights in the face of persistent international tension. Those were the happy, carefree, pre-Reece days.

Somewhat later, after the organization of the fund, its chairman, Paul G. Hoffman, said: "We propose to help restore respectability to individual freedom. * * * Out of our discussions has come a preliminary conclusion that the attention of the fund should at this time be concentrated in the following five areas, not necessarily in order of priority: 1. Restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom; 2. Due process and equal protection of the laws; 3. The protection of the rights of minorities; 4. Censorship, boycotting, and blacklisting activities by private groups; 5. Guilt by association."

By restoring respectability to individual freedom the board means that it hopes to help Americans feel comfortable about feeling free. A board letter calculated to bring about this result would be difficult to find; for the members are all comparatively respectable, comparatively free, and comparatively interested in helping other people to feel so. The mere existence of this board should take the fund some distance on the way toward the restoration of respectability to individual freedom. You cannot belong to this board without believing in conscientious nonconformity as necessary to the growth and progress of individuals and States. The mere existence of this board serves as a reminder that intelligent, even important, people can and do believe this even yet.

The fund has no other ax to grind than support of the traditional liberties of the American people. It does not seek to support them by trying to influence legislation. attempts instead to disentangle the issues, and to promote rational discussion of them. It helped the American Bar Association to make up its mind on congressional investigations by financing the association's committee on national security and individual rights. It assisted the League of Women Voters to stir up discussion of civil liberties among its members and among the members of other organizations. It aided Columbia University in the presentation of the theme of its bicentennial and supported the efforts of the National Citizens' Commission on the Public Schools to promote debate about the condition of public education, with special reference to academic freedom and racial discrimination.

If you are going to disentangle the issues that affect the traditional liberties of Americans, one of the first big ones that you have to try to get clear is communism in the United States. Not a day passes without the most positive statements being made on this subject. Many of them disclose a total lack of authentic information, but they are nonetheless positive for all that. The Fund for the Republic has made the Communist rec-The Fund for ord in this country available through the work done by Professor Sutherland of the Harvard Law School. Professor Stouffer, of Harvard, will shortly publish a book called Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties, representing the results of a study financed by the fund of the attitudes of Americans on these subjects. Professor Rossiter, of Cornell. with a considerable staff, is now embarking on a comprehensive investigation of what Communist Party has amounted to in the United States and what it amounts to now. These three jobs together should help the American people to decide on the relative importance of communism in this country and on the successes and failures of the methods that have been employed to deal with it.

One of the methods that has been employed to deal with it that has been severely criticized is the security-loyalty program of the Government. Many suggestions have been put forward calling for a study by distinguished and disinterested persons. The Association of the Bar of the City of New York has undertaken to organize such a study, which will be financed by the fund.

Since we do not want subversive influences to reach our children, we have instituted methods of assaying the patriotism of teachers. It is widely believed that they are ineffective and that they interfere with education by frightening the teachers off the discussion of some subjects. Professor Lazarsfeld, of Columbia, has undertaken to find out for the fund whether or not these conditions do actually exist in the high schools, colleges, and universities of the country.

It is charged that in the effort to eliminate subversive influences in motion pictures, radio, and television we have allowed irrelevant and unsupported attacks, or attacks of little value, to deprive men and women of their livelihood. Unauthorized private persons are alleged to determine by obscure means the fate of those on whom these attacks are made. John Cogley, a former editor of the Commonweal, is conducting an investigation of blacklisting in the entertainment industry for the fund for the Republic.

Through the American Friends Service Committee, the Catholic Interracial Council of Chicago, the National Council of Churches, and the Southern Regional Council the fund has been trying to do something about the rights of minorities. The fund re-

gards Negro housing as the next big issue in race relations and will shortly announce its plans with regard to it.

The Fund for the Republic is a kind of antiabsurdity fund, a fund for the law of contradiction, a fund to remind us that we can't have things both ways. We can't brag about the Bill of Rights and talk about fifthamendment Communists. We can't say that every man has the right to face his accusers and go on using what the Denver Post has called faceless informers. We can't proclaim our devotion to due process of law and then deny it to people we don't like.

The Fund for the Republic is a sort of fund for the American dream. I do not think the fund can make the American dream come true; but perhaps it can help keep it alive and clear. Perhaps it can show where we are forgetting the dream as it once was dreamt and can point out those places, and they are numerous, where the progress toward the realization of the dream has surpassed our most expansive expectations. Who knows? Perhaps some day "what will people say?" will be replaced as the battle cry of the Republic by "feel free."

A Defense of Admiral Radford

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER

OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an article entitled "A Defense of Radford—Joint Chiefs' Chairman Is Main Target for Campaign of Smears, Half-Truths." The article was written by Constantine Brown, and was published in the Washington Evening Star of Thursday 3, 1955.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

A DEFENSE OF RADFORD—JOINT CHIEFS' CHAIRMAN IS MAIN TARGET FOR CAMPAIGN OF SMEARS, HALF-TRUTHS

(By Constantine Brown)

FBI Director John Edgar Hoover has a permanent list of the most wanted criminals at large in the United States.

Similarly the Communists, the phony liberals and neoprogressives in this country are also setting up a list of the most dangerous people to American liberties or American peace.

Their agents do not have the power of arrest, it is true. But they have a sometimes more deadly power; that of a smear campaign intended to discredit the "wanted" individual and get him out of public life. Half-truths, innuendoes, sometimes actual fabrications are the weapons of the pressure groups which, while claiming to be in favor of freedom and peace and democracy, are serving wittingly or unwittingly the cause of the enemies of our country.

the enemies of our country.

JOE MCCARTHY and his methods, the "Senator from Formosa," WILLIAM KNOWLAND, the late Pat McCarran, and other such "reactionaries," have been and some still are on the "most wanted men" roster. So was Gen. Douglas MacArthur before he was dismissed from his command. A new name has been added recently, that of Adm. Arthur W. Radford, who has become fair game for them principally because the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff is credited with

advocating a strong national policy toward the Communists' imperialistic policies in Asia

Admiral Radford is regarded by all those who are in close contact with him, from President Eisenhower to officials of the State Department and Members of Congress, as one of the most lucid and competent men in our Armed Forces. He was discovered by Mr. Eisenhower when he went on his fact finding trip to Korea, soon after his election. The victor over the Germans and Italians in the European theater recognized in this naval officer the highest qualities of military concept and chose him as his principal military adviser.

Admiral Radford does not have the knack of endearing himself to the members of the fourth estate or to politicians. He has a cold, retiring nature and is an extremely poor backslapper. Neither does he see any need to sell himself to the public through press agents, public-relations officials, radio and television appearances. Unlike his colleagues among the Joints Chiefs of Staff, he does not have to go to Congress to fight for appropriations for any particular branch of the service. His job is strictly one of correlating the strategic views of the top defense hierarchy and presenting them to the President, the National Security Council and, whenever requested by the civilian superiors, to the Members of Congress. His functions require him to express his own military con-victions based on facts, which frequently cannot be revealed to the public lest they injure the national security. These are argued out behind closed doors with the civilian policymakers. But at no time does he have the power-or for that matter the intention-of imposing his judgment over that of the real policymakers in the Government.

Admiral Radford considers anoymity an essential portion of his job. Newspapermen who used to be in close and friendly contact with him while he held less responsible positions in the past have received hints not to press their former friendship in an effort to wrench from him statements or "leaks" which might be useful for a good story. He seldom sees them privately and, when he does, only in the presence of one of his subordinate officers. The conversation generally covers the vaguest generalities and results in a waste of time for the admiral and the newspaperman alike.

Yet he is an easy target for those who need a whipping boy to show Mr. Eisenhower as putty in the hands of the "pro-Chiang schemes." Admiral Radford is not in a position to contradict the stories, rumors, and innuendos spread in print or by word of mouth about his impressive influence over the President, the Secretary of State, and a number of congressional leaders. This much is true: His unquestionable honesty, his cold and brilliant analysis of situations whenever he makes a presentation do have an impact on the thinking of the Nation's policymakers. But when decisions are made, they are based on the political consequences more than on the military merits of the case.

Because, in 1949, Admiral Radford had fought with the rest of the admirals for the construction of the Forrestal-type supercarrier-and subsequent events have proved their contention correct-he was then and still is described by his detractors as one of the top villains of the Navy. Admiral Radford was, however, soon forgotten as a villainous public figure. Domestic matters followed by the Communist aggression against Korea provided other targets. It has been particularly since last summer, when, in response to queries from the civilian policymakers, he urged action in southeast that the attention of the so-called liberal ideologists became focused once more on the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Armchair strategists in Congress, in the press

and on the radio question the soundness of his military views and for good measure, lest their arguments be not sufficiently impressive with the general public, occasionally add a little smudge to his character and integrity.

President Eisenhower's School Aid Program

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Appendix of the RECORD a very thoughtful column by the distinguished author and columnist, Miss Doris Flee-son, on the subject of President Eisenhower's school-aid program, which appeared recently in the New York Post.

This column, entitled, "The Worthy Poor" discusses the inadequacy of the President's program for school aid and stresses the need of very substantial Federal grants if we are to make any impact on the ever increasing growth in student population and the lack of sufficient classrooms. I believe this article will be very useful to Members of the Senate and the public generally in the consideration of what I consider one of the most important issues now before the American people—aid to education.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD,

as follows:

THE WORTHY POOR (By Doris Fleeson)

Washington .- President Eisenhower's school-aid program does not represent a serious attempt to deal with the national emergency in education.

It is little more than a letter of condolence to the localities and school authorities which are struggling against an enormous and growing shortage of classrooms.

The President's Commissioner of Education, Samuel Brownell, has placed the current need at 370,000 classrooms. Federal cost estimates indicate that the job, well done, would cost more than \$12 billion.

The President has suggested only \$200 million in direct aid over 3 years, which is about \$65 million a year. Even if all went well and exactly as planned, it would build only a few thousand of the missing class-

School authorities are equally skeptical about the proposed plans to help school dis-tricts and States. Twenty States are said to have constitutional debt limits which will prevent any new borrowing. In both Maine and Wisconsin, the courts have declared school-construction authorities unconstitutional.

The school experts say also that it would be at least a year before any results would show from the Eisenhower plan. Meanwhile, school enrollment is going up at a rate of more than 1 million a year. This year is it 30,800,000-an increase of 22 percent since 1950.

The President's philosophical approach provokes as much gloom in school circles as his practical suggestions. As they see it he has dealt with what they regard as the gravest internal crisis in this democracy in the spirit of a lady bountiful who restricts her gifts to the worthy poor.

The reference is to the President's restriction of outright grants to communities too poor to build their own schools. There will be no States and few communities willing to take the pauper's oath on this or any other proposition. Actually many of the wealthiest States which spend proportionately the largest share of their revenues on education are among the most hard-pressed.

The idea that some portions of this country should publicly admit to their poverty and throw themselves on the mercy of richer States or the Federal Government seems to have appeal in many quarters. It emerges regularly at the annual Governors' conferences and just as regularly the overwhelming majority of the governors turn the cold shoulder.

This quarrel is basic. The original architects of the welfare state-much of which the President has accepted, at least in theorybelieve in prompt and ample federal action to meet national emergencies like that confronting the schools. From their point of view the President's approach in the new message looks back-way back.

Perhaps one trouble with the present special school problem is that Washington draws to it for the most part the successful, the well-to-do, and the more mature citizens. Their children are not victims of the present cruel classroom shortage, and, as a French philosopher said, one bears with equanimity the misfortunes of others.

The Dixon-Yates Contract a Partisan Battle at Its Very Worst

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. BOURKE B. HICKENLOOPER OF IOWA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, there appears in this morning's New York Times a most interesting and informative article by Arthur Krock. The article is in connection with the Dixon-Yates matter, and is entitled "Partisan Battle at Its Very Worst." I ask unanimous consent that the article be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

> IN THE NATION (By Arthur Krock)

PARTISAN BATTLE AT ITS VERY WORST

WASHINGTON, February 10 .- The most unattractive exhibition of partisan politics the Capital has witnessed for years is the row over the Dixon-Yates contract. The attack on this contract by some Democratic legislators and by the National Committee has been adopted as a party line. It extends even into the Federal Commissions directly concerned with the issue. Bets have been made and won that the appointees of President Truman would vote against the appointees of President Eisenhower on the technical as well as the general aspects of the contract.

The partisan spectacle descended today in the Joint Congressional Committee Atomic Energy to a spat over the method employed by Chairman Strauss of the Atomic Energy Commission to support his contention that the AEC was doing business as usual. Senator Anderson, the committee chairman, whose previous conduct in political battle has been an example to his colleagues, objected to Strauss' way of trying to disprove a charge that the Commission was spending an inordinate amount of time over the contract at the expense of the weapons program. Strauss produced four large boxes of documents on other subjects, as contrasted with a small pile of envelopes touching the contract, to refute the charge. This ef-fective, because graphic, demonstration seemed to irritate the usually bland ANDERSON.

(The point was later raised with an apparently agreeing Anderson that Strauss recklessly exposed top-secret papers. These, however, were moved under the rigid regulations invariably imposed.)

That incident and others support an opinion here, which may be increasingly shared in the country, that the Democrats are discomfited by the disclosure of weaknesses in their partisan line against Dixon-Yates, Certainly, from the time former Democratic National Chairman Mitchell suggested that the President may have ordered the contract made to favor the finances of a golfing friend to the committee scene of today. the partisan technique has been far from

AN ARGUMENT BACKWARDS

Those Democrats who have fought the contract principally because they think votes are to be gained by doing so are under an obvious handicap. They cannot admit their purely political animation. Hence they have been obliged to assert and defend this preposterous proposition:

The Dixon-Yates contract has provided a bitter controversy in a Federal agency on whose effectiveness the whole security of the West may well depend. Clearly a commission rent by such controversy, which has new produced personal ill feeling among its members, cannot perform its intensely vital function as well as it could in an atmosphere of harmony. Therefore the President should abandon the contract.

The weakness in this is that these Democrats themselves have made the controversy bitter. And they have augmented its heat and scope by forcing into the area of par-tisan politics what should be a sober, nonpolitical issue of engineering and administrative procedure. In pursuance of this course they have put Chairman Strauss' integrity to the question on the flimsiest of pretexts. And they have encouraged their fellow-Democrat, AEC Commissioner Mur-ray, to engage in a vendetta with Strauss.

Many other Democrats sincerely dislike the Dixon-Yates contract for reasons that are only incidentally partisan. Some honestly and openly want the Tennessee Valley Au-thority to expand without limit. Some think the proposed site of the Dixon-Yates plant (behind the Mississippi's main levee at West Memphis, Ark.) is precarious. Some are for public power over private power in any competitive field. Some are constructive critics of the President's procedure in ordering the AEC to make the contract with Dixon-Yates to supply the TVA with power for the waiting market in the Memphis

In this view the President erred administratively (1) when he brought the AEC directly into the situation instead of making the TVA and Dixon-Yates the contracting principals. And they hold (2) that the President should have involved neither his high office nor the Budget Bureau in the Though the TVA already power from private utilities by contract, the Dixon-Yates episode marks the first time use was made of these procedures.

But Democrats whose minds are concentrated on getting the partisan advantage they think they see have obscured these legitimate objections. The results are distasteful public spectacles, an unhappy atmosphere in the AEC, and its chairman daily badgered for carrying out the President's order—which under the law he was obli-gated to do. Among their more remarkable byproducts were Senator Anderson's outburst today of a temper that seemed evoked by partisan frustration; and MURRAY's explanation that he once voted for Dixon-Yates to get it out of the way, but, now that it is still in the way, he actively opposes

The President, who is one of the real political objectives in the battle (the other is unchecked expansion of public power with the tax favoritism enjoyed by the TVA), is standing firm. If he continues to do so the West Memphis steam plant will be built and its power distributed according to his order.

The Importance of Women in the Public Life of the Nation

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

OF OREGON

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. NEUBERGER. Mr. President, I think the presence of women in the public life of our country has contributed greatly toward the humanitarian legislation passed both by the Congress and by the State legislatures in recent years. My State is proud of the fact that recently it has sent to the Congress a most outstanding woman Member of the House of Representatives, Mrs. Edith S. GREEN, a Member of the House from the Third District of Oregon.

Oregon also is proud of the fact that, in the house of representatives of our State legislature, are four notable women members-Mrs. Jean Lewis, Mrs. Kay Meriwether, Mrs. Katherine Musa, and Mrs. Maurine B. Neuberger.

I ask unanimous consent that a very informative and able article about these four women legislators written by Mrs. Ann Sullivan and published in the Oregonian of February 6, 1955, be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

FOUR INTERESTING WOMEN GIVE COLOR TO OREGON'S LEGISLATURE

(By Ann Sullivan)

The four conscientious woman legislators in Oregon's 48th Assembly are quite lively individualists in their own balliwicks.

All of them-Maurine Neuberger, Jean Lewis, Kay Meriwether, and Katherine Musa—are in their forties. All are married. The first three are from Portland, the fourth from The Dalles. All are Democrats.

One is a youthful grandmother.

One is an attorney and on occasion a fill-in on the circuit court domestic relations bench.

One flies an airplane.

COLOR GIVEN MARGARINE

One is famed in her own right as the legislator who got color into Oregon margarine, and also for her spouse, a United States

One is executive secretary of the National Hells Canyon Association.

One gets lots of letters about her cat.

One is always leaving her purse behind her. One likes to ski and fish and can even stand on her head-if she's among friends and they laughingly tease her to prove it. One only made two speeches before she

was elected, and those on the radio.

ALL BUTTERMILK DRINKERS

All of them drink buttermilk and frequently order it in the house lounge. Better not call them the buttermilk babes though—they'll cringe. Besides, they drink other beverages, too, like coffee, and their like or dislike for buttermilk has absolutely nothing to do with their legislative leanings.

All four are emphatically serious about why they wanted to go to Salem. To a woman, they feel that thinking, conscientious people can do more for their State and country if they actively participate in the run-ning of them than by just staying home and complaining.

They are intelligent, quick-witted gals and are working hard.

Jean Lagerquist Lewis, Mrs. H. W. (Hank)

Lewis, 7700 S. W. 27th Avenue, is the attornev.

She has served as a pro tem judge in the court of domestic relations in Multnomah County. She is a member of the American Bar Association the American Judicature Society, and the Oregon State Bar and was for 2 years secretary-treasurer to the Multnomah County bar.

She is a wiry, amusing, outspoken gal, with curly, shortcropped graying hair and blue eyes. She likes to ski with her daughter and veteran mountaineer-husband, who is a sales engineer for the Pioneer-Flinkote Roofing Co.

Daughter Judy, 6, dictates frequent fishing and beachcombing trips to the coast or the mountains, and mama enjoys obliging, even if it means ironing or housecleaning sometimes at I a. m. in the morning.

FISHING LACKS APPEAL

"If you can't do a good job with your own family," she says, "you'd better not be in public office or in business of your own."

Jean was born in Portland July 17, 1914, attending Couch and Chapman Schools and graduating from Lincoln High School in 1932. She was graduated from Northwestern Col-

lege of Law in 1938. Her father, in the shoe business, died when she was a child.

She has one sister, Mrs. Helen Maring. She married Hank June 14, 1944, "after 10 years of arguing about it."

RED TECHNIQUE PEARED

She said she was disturbed by what she felt was tendency to deplete national re-sources for the benefit of a few and dis-turbed by a bill introduced in the senate to investigate communism for the House and Senate. She said.

"We cannot adopt the very techniques of communism. We would be destroying the thing that makes us great."

A conservative dresser, addicted to sports clothes, comfortable shoes, and jackets with pockets (purses are a nuisance), she lives in a small apartment in Salem, goes home weekends to her household. It includes, besides Judy and Hank, a gangly Labrador retriever puppy called Sparkplug; a cat named Mr. Tuxedo; 2 turtles, Chipper and Flipper; 3 goldfish, Winken, Blinken, and Nod; and a

budgie, Pretty Boy.

Her mother, Mrs. Estelle Lagerquist, 2650
Southwest Custer Street, who lives a block
away, takes care of Judy while Jean is in

GRANDMOTHER STILL YOUNG

Kay Meriwether, wife of Maurice Meriwether, is the youthful-looking grandmother. Her 19-year-old daughter, Kathy, Mrs., Jack Metzger, has 2 children, Brandon 2, and

Deborah, 9 months. One son, Michael, 20, is a senior at Reed College, and the other, Bill, 17, is a freshman at the University of California.

Kay was born at Oregon City, April 12, 1912, attending Richmond School in Portland and graduating from Franklin High School in 1929.

Her father, W. E. Kimsey, was State labor commissioner 12 years, so she is not exactly a stranger to Oregon government.

She went to business college, then took a job with the State industrial accident commission in Salem, then went to San Francisco as secretary to an executive in a now-defunct furniture store. She married Maurice in Oakland February 23, 1932.

Son Michael was born in Portland in

Son Michael was born in Fortland in 1934, and the family lived variously in Portland, San Francisco, and Seattle. They live now in a pleasant Eastmoreland house at 3417 Southeast Carleton Street.

Most of the time she has been busy bringing up a family, but she has had time to be active in the parent-teacher association, the League of Women Voters, the Urban League, and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. She is also on the board of the Jane Jefferson Democratic Women's Club.

Since July 1, 1953, she has been executive secretary of the National Hells Canyon Association.

NAVY BLUE FAVORED

She's little (5 feet 3) and trim (120 pounds) with blue eyes, a rather pallid face and dark brown hair she wears in a bun.

Another conservative dresser, she prefers navy blue, likes dresses with plain lines, usually wears high-heeled pumps.

Mike and his father batch while Kay is at the legislature, but she manages to be home Friday night, Saturday, and Sunday. Fibe ran for the 1953 session of the legis-

She ran for the 1953 session of the legislature but was defeated, "so I came down to see what I missed and became secretary to Monroe Sweetland in the house."

POWER HOLDS INTEREST

Her legislative interests emphasized the power situation and labor, "and I attend that tax school every morning. I'm bound and determined to know what they're talking about."

She ran for office because she felt persons who care "can really accomplish more by being active in politics."

"I think our party in Oregon has had a particularly hard time in persuading qualified people to run. So you get to feeling you can be a help if you do."

Katherine (Kitty) Musa, of The Dalles, the only one of the four not from Portland, is the one who likes to fly.

MEMBER SHY, SERIOUS

She has graying short-curied brown hair which used to have an auburn cast and is an almost plump 5 feet 4½ inches.

In The Dalles she lives in an old frame

In The Dalles she lives in an old frame house at 512 West Sixth Street, with some modern furniture, some of other vintage.

Kitty Musa is most proud of her family, which includes two sons: Byron, 23, student at the University of Oregon medical school, and Milton, 20, now in the Air Force, and her husband, Ben, a certified public accountant who moved his family to The Dalles because they liked the climate and people there. The household also includes a blond cocker spaniel, Robin.

IDAHO NATIVE STATE

One of ten children (four boys and two girls were older and one boy and two girls younger), Kitty, called Katy by her mother, Mrs. F. V. Moore, 223 S. E. 81st Avenue, Portland, was born in Middleton, Idaho, May 21, 1906.

In 1911 the family moved to Oklahoma, Kitty attended business college in Tulsa and then came to Portland in 1927. She worked for a short while in the office of the Rudie Wilhelm Warehouse Co., then married Ben May 9, 1930, at Grace Memorial Episcopal Church in Porland, They moved to The Dalles in 1942, spent 1 year in Bend. She enjoys sports of all kinds, even played

She enjoys sports of all kinds, even played basketball. She walks a lot, prefers mediumheeled sandals as shoes. She took up flying so she could take her husband on business trips. He used to be deputy collector of internal revenue in Portland. It's still her main hobby. She's had her license since 1947.

She is no stranger to the legislature, because her husband served in the senate in the 1949 and 1951 sessions, and she was his secretary.

Bccause the press of his business is highest at this time of year (income tax stuff), he felt he couldn't neglect his business again this sesion. Only 5 minutes before the filing deadline Kitty was convinced she should run on the Democratic ticket, because no other person would do it. She made only two speeches during the campaign and these on radio.

TAX MEASURES INTEREST

Kitty has a particular legislative interest in tax measures and was the first representative to drop bills (Nos. 2, 5, and 4) into the house hopper. No. 1 is traditionally the appropriations for the business of the house. All three were tax bills. She is particularly interested also in programs of recreation for young people, especially in small towns.

She has sublet a small apartment in Salem, but drives the family car (it's blue, because that's what she likes best) home on weekends.

It is she who every once in a while leaves her purse behind her.

MAURINE VOTE GETTER

Best known of the four feminine legislators is Maurine Neuberger, whose husband, Richard L., became Oregon Senator after last November's whirlwind upset election.

She twice has obtained more votes than any other representative from Multnomah County, once ran second. This is her third term at Salem.

"I really miss Drck, because we used to share our experiences and thinking on legislation by talking things over. We were able to handle a lot of work by doing it."

The tall (5-7), dark-haired representative is thinner now than she used to be, and her blue eyes look a little tired, but she's still almost always the first one to appear at her desk in the mornings.

She maintains a busy, talkative pace, consulting, reading, studying, and listening to constituents. Her mail is very heavy, not only about Salem matters but from people who now think she must be a pipeline to the United States Senate. In first 4 weeks of the session, she hasn't even been downtown.

Maurine was born at Cloverdale in Tillamook County January 9, 1907. Her father, Dr. Walter Brown, was a doctor. Her mother now lives with her brother, Robert, on a dairy farm out of Vancouver.

PHYSICAL EDUCATION TAUGHT

She attended high school at Bethel, then went to teachers' college at Monmouth, graduating in physical education from the University of Oregon in 1929. She took graduate work at UCLA.

She used to do a lot of recreation work in the summer and is an accomplished swimmer. She taught physical education in Portland schools for 5 years at Milton-Freewater, then English at Lincoln High School in Portland for 10 years.

She was an exchange teacher in Rhode Island I year and has made trips to Europe and Japan. She met Dick Neuberger at a party about 1939, didn't marry him until December 20, 1945, when he came down from

Army service in Alaska and asked her to meet him in Missoula, Mont.

Like the others she dresses conservatively, quite often appearing in a skirt and inexpensive but interesting blouse.

She expects she'll have to do quite a bit of entertaining in Washington, and hopes to take up again classes in modern dance and French.

Maurine, who drinks buttermilk every noon (the other gals like it, too), is back on the committees in which she has the biggest interest: education, State and Federal affairs, and food and dairy. She keeps an eye on milk legislation, is interested in progressive and retarded children, and has keen interest in the power squabble.

The League of Women Voters and their study groups aroused her first interest in lawmaking, and then when her husband went to Salem, she found that because she wasn't tied down with a family, it would be fairly easy for her to go and do her share for the State, too.

Oh yes, the cat, Muffet, which went to Washington, has caused the Neubergers to get no end of letters from cat lovers. One even came addressed to Muffet from some Midwestern cat.

Financing for Dixon-Yates Project

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON, WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES
Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Recorp a letter written by one of the best and most fearless and upright insurance commissioners in the United States, Mr. John J. Holmes, of the State of Montana. He has held that office, in combination with the office of State auditor, for a great many years. He was writing, apparently, to the various insurance commissioners all over the country calling their attention to the fact that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Co. and the New York Life Insurance Co. are to finance the Dixon-Yates project, if it is ever built. He wonders whether the insurance commissioners should not investigate the situation in order to find out how insurance companies can take about \$75 million of socalled people's money and invest it in a project such as the Dixon-Yates project at West Memphis, Ark.

It would be profitable for every Schator to read the letter written by this distinguished commissioner of insurance.

There being no objection, the letter was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

STATE OF MONTANA,

Helena, Mont., February 2, 1955.

Re life-insurance companies, investment
of funds, Dixon-Yates contract.

Hon. W. A. SULLIVAN,

Insurance Commissioner,
Chairman Zone 6, NAIC,
Olympia, Wash.
Dear Commissioner Sullivan: According

DEAR COMMISSIONER SULLIVAN: According to a recent article published in the February 1955 issue of Fortune magazine relating, in general; to the vast sums invested by life-insurance companies in corporate enterprises, it was noted that Metropolitan Life, and

the New York Life, are contemplating loaning \$77 million in connection with the Dixon and Yates combination if, however, the contract is finally approved by Congress.

The Dixon-Yates combination, as you undoubtedly are aware, has been and, in my humble opinion, will continue to be a heated controversial issue. I am utterly opposed to any investment of funds by insurance com-panies where policyholders' money is placed at risk in such a venture as proposed.

May I suggest that the matter of the contemplated \$77 million investment in the controversial Dixon-Yates combine, by the Metropolitan and New York Life, be included on the agenda of the March 9-10 meeting of insurance commissioners. zone (6)

Your kind and favorable consideration of this suggestion will be greatly appreciated.

With kindest personal regards, I am Very truly yours,

JOHN J. HOLMES, State Auditor and Ex-Officio Commissioner of Insurance.

Ratification of Southeast Asia Defense Treaty

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. WILLIAM LANGER

OF NORTH DAKOTA

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. LANGER. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an editorial entitled "Maybe It's Time We stop Pushing Our Weight Around in the World," published in the Fort Lauderdale (Fla.) Daily News of February 3, 1955. In my opinion, the editor, a man by the name of Mr. Jack W. Gore, whom I do not know personally, ought to receive the Pulitzer prize for writing the best editorial published this year.

This editor gives great hope to a Senator who sometimes votes alone, contrary to the way every other Senator votes, when he compliments the Senator

who does so.

I may add that in this very fine editorial the editor mentions my name many times, which pleases me very much, in connection with the vote of 82 to 1, in which I voted against the Asiatic Treaty.

I recommend this editorial for reading by all Senators. Every line, every single paragraph of the editorial is outstanding. I do not know what the procedure is to bring editorials to the attention of the committee which awards the Pulitzer prize, but I hope an effort will be made to get in touch with whatever committee selects the editor who writes the best editorial of the year, and call this editorial to the attention of that committee. Mr. Gore certainly is to be congratulated for his splendid, fearless daring to go against the crowd.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD. as follows:

MAYBE IT'S TIME WE STOP PUSHING OUR WEIGHT AROUND IN THE WORLD

In the somewhat frantic efforts that are now being made on various fronts to extricate this Nation from the difficulties that have been created from past mistakes, it is refreshing now and then to note that there are still a few people around Washington who refuse to be stampeded into following the rest of the herd along a course they can't stomach and which they believe can only lead to disaster.

One of these rare individuals happens to be Senator "WILD BILL" LANGER, of North Dakota, who this week gained the dubious distinction of being the only 1 of 83 Senators to cast a vote against ratification of the 8-nation Southeast Asia Defense Treaty.

While all of the other Senators hurriedly voiced their approval of a document which now commits the United States to go rushing in to help block any external aggression or internal subversion over a wide stretch of territory in southeast Asia, Senator LANGER

refused to cast his vote for the treaty.

He declared he thinks this country "ought to mind its own business and keep out of foreign entanglements all over Europe and Asia."

Senator Langer unquestionably realized that it is probably far too late now for this country to pull back its extended horns without inviting the disaster we have been seeking to prevent, yet this didn't stop him from raising his voice against what he firmly believes is an extension of our policy of unwise meddling in the affairs of other nations.

When one considers how far this meddling process has already gone under the guise of protecting our own shores it is no great wonder that we have been caught up in one crisis after another. It is also no great wonder how, under these circumstances, a considerable segment of the populations of Europe and Asia has been led to believe we are just as aggressive-minded as the Communist nations we are arrayed against.

THE RIGHT TO PROTECT

In fact, there is one big inconsistency in our policy that certain foreign nations never will be able to comprehend. Ever since the Monroe Doctrine was first promulgated the United States has taken the position that it would violently resist any attempt by a foreign power to move in on what we term our own hemisphere. Yet while proclaiming the right to define and protect our own sphere of influence we have consistently refused to admit that other nations may hold the same right as far as their own spheres of influence are concerned. And so, while we tell the nations of Europe and Asia to stay in their own backyard, we still go out and continually play around in their backyards and then wonder why they are so suspicious of our intentions.

Let's look at the current Formosa crisis in that light. Formosa happens to be located only about 200 miles from the mainland of China. In that location and under the control of a power inimical to Red China's interests it is only natural that the leader of Red China consider the island as a threat to their own survival.

For argument's sake let's compare Red China's situation with our own situation should some enemy power seize control of an island in the Bahamas just 200 miles from our own shoreline. In that event there would be no doubt, whatsoever, what our re-We would immediately action would be. claim that control of the island by an enemy power was an immediate threat to our own security and we would lose no time in re-moving that threat with all the force at our command.

But in the Formosa case we say Red China isn't justified in holding firm to a similar policy and we are now committed to going to war to keep Red China from seizing Formosa. That island is thousands of miles removed from our own shores. It is only 200 miles from Red China's. Yet we say it is essential to our own security, while denying Red China's argument on the same line.

Why is Formosa so essential to our own security? Only because it happens to be a gateway and a stepping stone to other farflung defensive outposts we are now maintaining. If Red China should seize Formosa, then Okinawa and the Philippines would be within easy reach of Red bombers. And since from a security angle our leaders say we can't very well stand still and permit Red bombers to get any closer than they now are to our defensive bases, we've adopted the policy of defending Formosa at all costs.

Inasmuch as we have now, in effect, stretched the principle of the Monroe Doctripe to cover not only our own hemisphere but other hemispheres as well, it should be no surprise to find other nations questioning our ultimate intentions. If eventually we are to become so thoroughly involved in foreign entanglements that to many nations we appear as a Frankenstein instead of a hero. then maybe Senator Langer had the right idea in saying we ought to go back to mindown business and keep out of ing our any further foreign entanglements all over Europe and Asia.

It is true that Senator Langer was only one lonesome voice crying out in a wilderness this week, but his views as to where we are heading by not sticking more closely to our own knitting have more public support in this Nation than some of our other Senators realize. If we would stop pushing our weight around in the world, we might be a whole lot better off, and some of our present enemies might even drop the idea that it's us and not them who are trying to start another war.

Proposed Increase in National Minimum Wage Rate

EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF

HON. HERBERT H. LEHMAN

OF NEW YORK

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, some days ago I placed in the Congressional RECORD a telegram which I received from the Greater Clothing Contractors Association, Inc., of New York, urging the enactment of a bill which I introduced providing for a \$1.25 national minimum wage. A few days ago I received another telegram from the New York Clothing Manufacturers Exchange, Inc., also strongly endorsing my bill to raise the national minimum wage rate to \$1.25.

I ask unanimous consent to have this telegram inserted in the Appendix of the

There being no objection, the telegram was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

New York, N. Y., January 26, 1955. Hon. HERBERT H. LEHMAN,

Senate Office Building, Washington, D. C .:

The New York Clothing Manufacturers Exchange, Inc., is a trade association organized in 1924. Its membership includes 336 manu-facturers of men's and boys' clothing, who employ approximately 40,000 workers in the New York and metropolitan area. As president and executive secretary of the association representing the membership, we urge you to support the adoption of a \$1.25 national minimum wage. This minimum would protect New York industries against the unfair competition of low-wage areas, would deter movement of industry out of the State, and would improve business by increasing consumer purchasing power.

ISIDORE GROSSMAN, President. ARTHUR J. WHITE, Executive Secretary.

MA

Freedom of Information

EXTENSION OF REMARKS

HON. PRICE DANIEL

OF TEXAS

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES Friday, February 11, 1955

Mr. DANIEL. Mr. President, from time to time since becoming a Member of the Scnate, I have urged that we do everything within our power to keep the people fully informed about their own business-the Government.

In this business of Government, weserve merely as the representatives of the people of our respective States. It is they who really make the decisions in a Government of, by, and for the people. In order to make intelligent decisions, the people must have full access to the facts about their Government. Except on matters strictly dealing with national security, secrecy and censorship have no place in a democracy.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that an editorial on this subject, appearing on February 1, 1955, in the Big Spring Herald, of Big Spring, Tex., be printed in the Appendix of the RECORD.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

GOVERNMENT IN THE OPEN

Government in the open is a requisite of freedom and of sustained efficiency in the public interest.

In recent years the tempo of the fight against arbitrary censorship by bureaus and departments of the federal government has been increased. Those entrusted with the perpetuation of the free press had sensed, from having seen what this cancerous prac-tice produced under totalitarian regimes, good cause to start fighting the practice of withholding or regulating news.

More progress might have been made except for the nebulous line which lies between news in the public interest and that which conceivably might jeopardize the national security. The overwhelming majority of re-porters lean over backward not to infringe on security, and in many cases refuge has been taken unfairly by agents of government

behind the line of security.

Yet not all the battles are confined to Washington or even to Austin, where there has been a disturbing inclination to hide the facts. The fundamental cry for vigilance is in the community. About us we have examples of officials and boards who have attempted to tell the press what it can and cannot print, what would be good for the public to know or what would not. We have seen too many times when members of officials boards sit placidly through regular meetings and then clandestinely conducted business over coffee cups. All of this disturbs us no little, and it ought to disturb every citizen to the point that he demand of his officials and representatives that the public's business be discussed and conducted in public. Most of those in public life would say amen to that.

CHANGE OF RESIDENCE

Senators, Representatives, and Delegates who have changed their residences will please give information thereof to the Government Printing Office, that their addresses may be correctly given in the RECORD.

LAWS AND RULES FOR PUBLICATION OF THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD

CODE OF LAWS OF THE UNITED STATES

TITLE 44, SECTION 181. CONGRESSIONAL RECORD; ARRANGEMENT, STYLE, CONTENTS, AND INDEXES.—The Joint Committee on Printing shall have control of the arrangement and style of the Congressional Record, and while providing that it shall be substantially a verbatim report of proceedings shall take all needed action for the reduction of unnecessary bulk, and shall provide for the publication of an index of the Congressional Record semimonthly during the sessions of Congress and at the close thereof. (Jan. 12, 1895, c. 23, § 13, 28 Stat. 603.)

TITLE 44. SECTION 182b. SAME: ILLUS-TRATIONS, MAPS, DIAGRAMS .- No maps, diagrams, or illustrations may be inserted in the RECORD without the approval of the Joint Committee on Printing. (June 20, 1936, c. 630, § 2, 49 Stat. 1546.)

Pursuant to the foregoing statute and in order to provide for the prompt publication and delivery of the Congressional Record the Joint Committee on Printing has adopted the following rules, to which the attention of Senators, Representatives, and Delegates is respectfully invited:

Arrangement of the daily Record .- The Public Printer will arrange the contents of the daily RECORD as follows: First, the Senate proceedings; second, the House proceedings; third, the Appendix: Provided, That when the proceedings of the Senate are not received in time to follow this arrangement, the Public Printer may begin the RECORD with the House proceedings. The proceedings of each House and the Appendix shall each begin a new page, with appropriate headings centered thereon.

2. Type and style.—The Public Printer shall print the report of the proceedings and debates of the Senate and House of Representatives, as furnished by the official reporters of the Congressional Record, in 7½-point type; and all matter included in the remarks or speeches of Members of Congress, other than their own words, and all reports, documents, and other matter authorized to be inserted in the Record shall be printed in 6½-point type; and all rollcalls shall be printed in 6-point type. No italic or black type nor words in capitals or small capitals shall be used for emphasis or prominence; nor will unusual indentions be permitted. These restrictions do not apply to the printing of or quotations from historical, official, or legal documents or papers of which a literal reproduction is necessary.

3. Return of manuscript.-When manuscript is submitted to Members for revision it should be returned to the Government Printing Office not later than 9 o'clock p. m. in order to insure publication in the Record issued on the following morning; and if all of said manuscript is not furnished at the time specified, the Public Printer is authorized to withhold it from the RECORD for 1 day. In no case will a speech be printed in the RECORD of the day of its delivery if the manuscript is furnished later than 12 o'clock midnight.

4. Tabular matter.-The manuscript of speeches containing tabular statements to be published in the RECORD shall be in the hands of the Public Printer not later than 7 o'clock p. m., to insure publication the following morning.

5. Proof furnished .- Proofs of "leave to print" and advance speeches will not be furnished the day the manuscript is received but will be submitted the following day, whenever possible to do so without causing delay in the possible to do so without taking dealy in co-publication of the regular proceedings of Congress. Advance specches shall be set in the RECORD style of type, and not more than six sets of proofs may be furnished to Members without charge.

6. Notation of withheld remarks.—If manuscript or proofs have not been returned in script or proofs have not been the time for publication in the proceedings, the Public Printer will insert the words - addressed the Scnate (House or Committee). His remarks will appear hereafter in the Appendix," and proceed with the printing of the Record.

7. Thirty-day limit.-The Public Printer shall not publish in the Congressional RECORD any speech or extension of remarks which has been withheld for a period exceeding 30 calendar days from the date when its printing was authorized: Provided, That at the expiration of each session of Congress the time limit herein fixed shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee.

8. Appendix to daily Record .- When either House has granted leave to print (1) a speech not delivered in either House, (2) a newspaper or magazine article, or (3) any other matter not germane to the proceedings, the same shall be published in the Appendix, but this rule shall not apply to quotations which form part of a speech of a Member, or to an authorized extension of his own remarks: Provided, That no address, speech, or article delivered or released subsequently to the final adjournment of a session of Congress may be printed in the Congressional Record.

9. The Public Printer shall not publish in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD Appendix the full report or print of any committee or subcommittee when said report or print has been previously printed.

10. Official reporters.—The official reporters of each House shall indicate on the manuscript and prepare headings for all matter to be printed in the Appendix, and shall make suitable reference thereto at the proper place

in the proceedings.

11. Estimate of cost.—No extraneous matter in excess of two pages in any one instance may be printed in the CONGRESSIONAL RECORD by a Member under leave to print or to extend his remarks unless the manuscript is accompanied by an estimate in writing from the Public Printer of the probable cost of publishing the same, which estimate of cost must be announced by the Member when such leave is requested; but this restriction shall not apply to excerpts from letters, telegrams, or articles presented in connection with a speech delivered in the course of debate or to communications from State legislatures, addresses or articles by the President and the members of his Cabinet, the Vice President, or a Member of Congress. The Public Printer or the official reporters of the House or Senate shall return to the Member of the respective House any matter submitted for the Congressional Record which is in contravention of this paragraph.

12. Illustrations.—Pursuant to section 1825,

title 44, United States Code (as shown above), requests for authority to insert an illustration in the RECORD should be submitted to the Joint Committee on Printing through the chairman of the Committee on Printing of the respective House in which the speech desired to be illustrated may be delivered. Illustrations shall not exceed in size a page of the RECORD and shall be linecuts only. Copy for illustrations must be furnished to the Public Printer not later than 12:30 o'clock p. m. of the day preceding publication.

13. Corrections,-The permanent RECORD is made up for printing and binding 30 days after each daily publication is issued; therefore all corrections must be sent to the Public Printer within that time: Provided, That upon the final adjournment of each session of Congress the time limit shall be 10 days, unless otherwise ordered by the committee: Provided jurther, That no Member of Con-gress shall be entitled to make more than one revision. Any revision shall consist only of corrections of the original copy and shall not include deletions of correct material, substitutions for correct material, or additions of new subject matter.